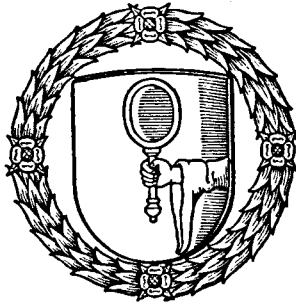


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ROMAN PATRIOTISM AND REPUBLICAN PROPAGANDA: PTOLEMY OF LUCCA AND POPE NICHOLAS III*

By CHARLES T. DAVIS

Two impulses dominated northern and central Italy in the late thirteenth century. One was the striving of cities for self-sufficiency and increased power. The other was the papal thrust toward political as well as religious overlordship. Often policies of the papacy and certain cities were linked by memories and fears of imperial interference. Ptolemy of Lucca's histories reflected his keen awareness of this situation. His more theoretical political works, the *Determinatio compendiosa*¹ and the continuation of Aquinas's *De regimine principum*,² did more: they furnished remarkably supple and sophisticated ideological justifications of the views of municipal patriots and ecclesiastical zealots, and included as well stinging attacks on imperial claims in Italy. On the civic level Ptolemy was a republican, both on grounds of Italian pride and an early acquaintance with Aristotle's *Politics*. As N. Rubinstein remarks, "Ptolemy of Lucca's re-appraisal of the *Politics* constitutes the most vigorous formulation Italian communal theory had yet received by the beginning of the fourteenth century."³ Ptolemy, in fact, was the first Italian republican who could justify his position in a theoretically competent way. But on the wider ecclesiastical level he was a vigorous monarchist. His *Determinatio* was an early and influential exposition of high papalist views, and although written about 1278, it has been called "the key

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¹ *Determinatio compendiosa de iurisdictione imperii*, ed. M. Krammer, MGH Fontes iuris germanici antiqui 10 (Hannover and Leipzig, 1909), henceforth called *Determinatio* in this paper for convenience, although a more correct title is contained in the explicit of the work, "Explicit brevis libellus de iurisdictione imperii et auctoritate summi pontificis."

² Cited by me according to the edition of J. Mathis (Turin, 1924). Also easily accessible in Thomas Aquinas, *Opera omnia* (Parma, 1852-1873), vol. 16. For variant readings cf. the edition by J. Perrier in Thomas Aquinas, *Opuscula omnia*, 1 (Paris, 1949), which is based on MSS Paris, Bibl. Nat. lat. 3110 and 3111. The joint authorship of Aquinas (down to chapter 4, Book II) and of Ptolemy is generally accepted, though occasionally denied, as by E. Flori, "Il trattato 'De regimine principum' e le dottrine politiche di S. Tommaso," *Scuola cattolica*, ser. 7, vol. 4 (1924), 134-169. Flori's arguments are far from convincing, and are effectively refuted by A. O'Rahilly, "Notes on St. Thomas. IV. 'De Regimine Principum,' V. Tholomeo of Lucca, the Continuator of the 'De Regimine Principum,'" *Irish Ecclesiastical Record*, ser. 5, vol. 31 (1928), 396-410, 606-614, who also produces new manuscript evidence to show that attributions of the second part of the *De regimine* to Ptolemy reach back into the fourteenth century. The style of this part and much of its content are so close to the *Determinatio* that even without such manuscript evidence there seems no reason to doubt that Ptolemy was the author of both.

³ N. Rubinstein, "Marsilius and Italian Political Thought," *Europe in the Late Middle Ages*, ed. J. R. Hale, J. R. L. Highfield, and B. Smalley (London, 1965), p. 54.

to the whole vast ecclesio-political polemic of the fourteenth century."⁴ Even by the middle of that century its arguments still seemed so contemporary that a new and extended version of it was prepared in 1342.⁵

In view of Ptolemy's importance and the wide scope of his theories, it is remarkable that no general analysis of their origins and interrelations has been attempted. Yet it is only in this way that they can be adequately understood. Trying to make sense of Ptolemy's political views in isolation from their ecclesiological background is as frustrating as study of the policies of thirteenth century Italian cities would be apart from the wider context of papal-imperial wars and negotiations.

Why has Ptolemy's thought not been tackled as a whole? One reason is a lack of satisfactory texts. Of Ptolemy's main historical works, *The Tuscan Annals* and the *New Ecclesiastical History*,⁶ only the first has been critically edited, and this fragmentary and laconic chronicle is not very helpful as a source for Ptolemy's personal opinions. The second is much more revealing, but it exists only in Muratori's inaccurate and interpolated edition. Probably for this reason, close analysis of it has not been undertaken.⁷ Without research in the manuscripts, who can tell which passages Ptolemy actually wrote?⁸ H. Schmidinger has studied the printed version fairly recently, and has commented on Ptolemy's skill in portraying popes as individuals rather than as schematized types. Indeed he calls the *Ecclesiastical History* the decisive stage in the development of "Kirchengeschichte" out of "Papst-und Kaiserchronik."⁹ But his verdict, if glowing, remains general. He, like others, is unwilling to venture out onto the treacherous terrain of the Muratori text.

More surprising is the fact that only particular aspects of Ptolemy's political treatises, the *Determinatio compendiosa* and the continuation of Aquinas's *De regimine principum*, have been studied, and no satisfactory general account of Ptolemy's political, ecclesiological, and historical theories has emerged.

⁴ By H. Grauert, "Aus der kirchenpolitischen Traktatenliteratur des 14. Jahrhunderts," *Historisches Jahrbuch* 29 (1908), 498. Although Grauert was not successful in identifying the author of this treatise, which he said was written about 1300 to warn Boniface VIII against confirming Albert I as emperor, he gave the first extended precis of its contents.

⁵ See R. Scholz, *Unbekannte kirchenpolitische Schriften aus der Zeit Ludwigs des Bayern*, 1 (Rome, 1911), 39, 125-126, 243-248; the text is partially published in vol. 2 (1914), pp. 520-541.

⁶ *Die Annalen des Tholomeus von Lucca*, ed. B. Schmeidler, MGH SSrG, N.S. 8 (Berlin, 1930); *Ecclesiastica historia nova*, ed. L. Muratori, *Rerum italicarum scriptores* 11 (Milan, 1727).

⁷ Three old but interesting monographs on Ptolemy devote, however, a considerable amount of space to it: Karl Krüger, *Des Ptolomaeus Lucensis Leben und Werke* (Göttingen, 1874); Dietrich König, *Ptolomaeus von Lucca und die Flores Chronicarum des Bernardus Guidonis* (Würzburg, 1875), and *Tolomeo von Lucca. Ein biographischer Versuch* (Harburg, 1878). That the question of the relationship between Ptolemy and Bernard Gui is still open is indicated by the discussion in F. Bock, "Kaisertum, Kurie und Nationalstaat im Beginn des 14. Jahrhunderts," *Römische Quartalschrift* 44 (1936), 105-122, esp. 117-120.

⁸ A. Dondaine, in editing that part of the *History* dealing with Aquinas, has shown this conclusively: see his article, "Les 'Opuscula Fratris Thomae' chez Ptolémée de Lucques," *Archivum Fratrum Praedicatorum* 31 (1961), 142-203.

⁹ H. Schmidinger, "Das Papstbild in der Geschichtsschreibung des späteren Mittelalters," *Römische historische Mitteilungen* 1 (1958), 106-130, esp. 114.

Yet most of the data necessary for such an account is contained in these two works, and one of these can be read in a critical and the other in an at least usable version. It is true that only in this century was the *Determinatio* recognized as a product of Ptolemy's pen, and that some scholars are still unaware that the question of its provenance has been settled.¹⁰ But what of the *De regimine principum*, not, like the *Determinatio*, an early work, but an expression twenty years later of Ptolemy's deepest convictions in regard to history and politics? Here his republicanism is overt, and his authorship of the passages that reveal it seems clear. Why then have commentators been so slow to recognize the fact that Ptolemy was a republican as well as a hierocrat? Do they think that it would have been impossible for him to have embraced both positions sincerely?

In 1928, for example, the Carlyles emphasized his hierocratism but glossed over his republicanism by saying that he showed "indifference" to choosing between the various merits and defects of "regal" government on the one hand and "political" (or republican) government on the other.¹¹ The year after W. H. V. Reade voiced the same opinion.¹²

Only in 1932 was Ptolemy's republicanism firmly asserted by C. H. McIlwain. "It is apparent," McIlwain said, "that the Italian author of this portion of the *De Regimine Principum* has a decided preference for a government on the model of the communes of Italy and an antipathy to every form of monarchy as a *dominium* unfitted for Italians or for men of like spirit anywhere."¹³ This preferred government Ptolemy called *regimen politicum*. It was government by law as opposed to government by will. Aquinas had also grasped this distinction, but he favored a *regimen regale*, existing "when he who rules the *civitas* has full power," to a *regimen politicum*, existing "when he who rules has his power limited by certain laws of the *civitas*."¹⁴ Aquinas was a royalist and Ptolemy a republican. The Aristotle of the *Politics* also seemed, on the whole, a republican, but Aristotle distinguished three forms of gov-

¹⁰ M. Krammer in 1909 was the first to settle on Ptolemy of Lucca as the author of the treatise, supporting his hypothesis by very probable arguments. They were confirmed and Ptolemy's authorship was shown to be certain by M. Grabmann, "Ein Selbstzeugnis Tolomeos von Lucca für seine Autorschaft an der *Determinatio compendiosa de iurisdictione imperii*," *Neues Archiv* 37 (1912), 818-819, who observed that Ptolemy himself in his *Exaameron* had quoted the *Determinatio* and had referred to it as one of his own works. See *Exaameron*, ed. T. Masetti (Siena, 1880), pp. 116-117, referring to *Determinatio*, c. 17, p. 36. J. Rivière, "Lucques, Barthelmy de," *Dictionnaire de théologie catholique* 9, 1 (Paris, 1926), 1062-1067, esp. 1065, regards Ptolemy's authorship only as very probable, apparently being unaware of Grabmann's note, like some later scholars.

¹¹ R. W. and A. J. Carlyle, *A History of Mediaeval Political Theory in the West*, 5 (New York, 1928), 74.

¹² W. H. V. Reade, "Political Theory to c. 1300," *Cambridge Mediaeval History*, 6 (Cambridge, 1929), 630.

¹³ C. H. McIlwain, *The Growth of Political Thought in the West* (New York, 1932), p. 337. E. Lewis, *Medieval Political Ideas*, 2 vols. (London, 1954), 1:254-255, and F. C. Lane, *Venice and History* (Baltimore, 1966), pp. 288-298, are in agreement with McIlwain's judgment.

¹⁴ Thos. Aq., *Sententia Libri Politicorum*, ed. A. Dondaine (Rome, 1971), p. 16.

ernment: despotic, over slaves and barbarians; regal, over free subordinates; and political, or republican, over equals. As Rubinstein has shown, Ptolemy was more drastic than Aristotle. He drew the line between despotism on the one hand and political government on the other. He made monarchy a subdivision of despotism, which he said included any regime in which the ruler carried the law in his own breast. Political government was on the contrary limited by popularly sanctioned statute, and its officials were elected, temporary, and punishable.

Perhaps Ptolemy, as Rubinstein observes, was influenced by Moerbeke's translation of a passage from *Politics* 3.17.1 containing this three-fold division. The translation omitted Aristotle's reference to regal government. But Ptolemy's *Exaameron* shows that he was perfectly cognizant of Aristotle's contrast between despotic and royal rule. Rubinstein suggests that Ptolemy was influenced by contemporary conditions in northern and central Italy, where kings were hard to find and either tyrants or republics held sway. He notes that Ptolemy, although he admitted theoretically the difference between a king and a tyrant, observed that in the actual conditions of northern and central Italy such a distinction made little sense, for there *signorie* for life (except in the case of the Doge of Venice, whose power was not absolute but "tempered") could only be maintained by tyrannical means. Thus absolutist governments in those parts of Italy accustomed to republican rule had to be tyrannical in order to survive. "In substituting the antithesis *regimen politicum-regimen despoticum* for the antithesis *rex-tyrannus*," Rubinstein remarks, "Ptolemy thus attunes the traditional formula to contemporary political thinking in Italy."¹⁵

But what of the great *regimen regale* represented by the papacy? Can Ptolemy's belief in its virtue and divine ordination be reconciled with his civic republicanism? Or is this only a pseudo-problem, the result of an anachronistic modern distortion of a medieval outlook?

G. de Lagarde thinks that the problem is real. He speaks of the "opposition" between Books III and IV of the *De regimine principum*, the former

¹⁵ Rubinstein, "Marsilius," pp. 51-54, 60-61. Republican theory was scarce in thirteenth-century Italy, but hatred of despotism seems to have been widespread. Perhaps its most eloquent expression is to be found in the pages of Rolandino of Padua's chronicle (7.13), ed. P. Jaffe, MGH SS 19:102. After detailing the horrors of Ezzelino da Romano's rule, he says, "Quod esse debet exemplum cunctis, ut talium sit spernendum dominium, conversacio fugienda, vitandum servile iugum et modis omnibus defendenda libertas usque ad finem mortis. Ecce nunc manifeste videmus, quanta orribilia et nephanda tyranni tales operantur in civitatibus, quibus regnant." On usage of the term *libertas* in medieval and Renaissance Italy see R. Witt, "The Rebirth of the Concept of Republican Liberty in Italy," *Renaissance: Studies in Honor of Hans Baron* (Dekalb, Illinois, 1971), pp. 173-199. In Rolandino *libertas* obviously means the opposite of "servile yoke." Rolandino refers to *tyranni* but does not employ the term despot. It was apparently introduced to the West from Aristotle by his thirteenth-century translator Moerbeke, and was used by Aquinas to denote only the rule of master over slave. According to R. Koebner, "Despot and Despotism," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 14 (1951), 275-302, Ptolemy was the first western theorist to apply it to any form of rule by *arbitrium*.

being allegedly devoted to a hierocratic, the latter to a republican theme.¹⁶ How can one, de Lagarde seems to say, advocate at the same time the *regimen politicum* and the supremacy of the pope? Or, to put the matter more crudely, how can a hierocrat be a republican? How can a papalist be a patriot? The sense of unease felt by those who approach Ptolemy with a belief in the unfolding laicism and secularism of the later Middle Ages can readily be imagined. He falls outside the usual categories in which we organize medieval political thought.

But Book III is full of republicanism as well as high papalism. It also looks to the Roman past as well as to the Italian present. H. Baron has noticed a significant passage from it, praising the modesty of Roman republican leaders (a passage Ptolemy himself found in 1 Machabees 8.14–16). Baron says, "Ptolemy, at that early date [about 1302], had formed the clear-cut judgment that the power of Rome had been built up under the consuls and free councils of the Republic, when no one among the Roman leaders wore a crown or was adorned with the purple, for his personal gratification."¹⁷ Book III also contains chapters in which the Romans of the Republic are singled out as uniquely worthy, because of their austerity, patriotism, justice, and civic benevolence, to establish their dominion over the whole world.

But their virtues entitle them to a mission higher than this. Ptolemy sees them as the precursors of Christ, of whom his vicars, the popes, are the followers. It is here, in this singular vision of history, that the link between Ptolemy's hierocratic outlook and his republicanism must be sought. Both are genuine, and one depends on the other. In Book III and in other passages in his works Ptolemy tries to establish a firm historical connection between the Roman Republic and the papacy. The former, he says, was the Fourth Monarchy, which followed those of the Assyrians, Persians and Macedonians. The latter is the Fifth Monarchy, founded by Christ. This scheme of history leaves little place for the Roman Empire. Ptolemy dismisses Julius Caesar as a tyrant who was killed because of his tyranny. Augustus on the other hand was wise and modest, as befitted one who was really only the vice-regent of Christ. Ptolemy regards other emperors as merely the pope's lieutenants, though he recognizes that Sylvester was the first pope to rule openly in Rome.¹⁸

The Roman Republic is thus, in Ptolemy's view, the direct precursor of the church. Early Christians, he said, imitated certain antique Roman virtues like humility and austerity, and Roman virtues themselves were reminiscent

¹⁶ G. de Lagarde, *La Naissance de l'esprit laïque au déclin du moyen âge*, 2, *Secteur de la scolastique*, 2nd ed. (Louvain, 1958), 116–120, esp. 119.

¹⁷ H. Baron, *The Crisis of the Early Italian Renaissance*, 2nd ed. (Princeton, 1966), p. 55. Ptolemy had previously quoted the same passage in the *Determinatio*, c. 23, p. 46.

¹⁸ *De regimine* 3.10, 12–13, 16–17; *Determinatio* cc. 25–26, pp. 47–51; *Ecclesiastica historia* 1:1, pp. 753–758.

of the *statum integrum humanae naturae* that existed before the Fall. The line of history thus ran from Eden through the Roman Republic to Christ.¹⁹

Augustine, with his theory of history as a perpetual, if obscure, confrontation between the city of man and the city of God, had taken a very different view. He thought that even the most heroic leaders of the Roman Republic had only mortified minor vices in the service of the greatest of all vices, pride. They had put down fleshly lusts in order to satiate a diabolical lust for rule. Their proper portion was the world, but also Hell. "Verily," said Augustine caustically, "they have received their reward."²⁰

Ptolemy reversed this opinion. Taking as his point of departure the very chapter of the *City of God* (5.18) in which Augustine had praised the Roman heroes in order to condemn them, Ptolemy made Augustine say that Roman rule was just, benevolent and unselfish, motivated by *sincerus amor pro patria*. A similar stance would be taken later by two younger Tuscan contemporaries, both Florentines, the Dominican Remigio de' Girolami and the lay politician and poet Dante Alighieri, who also referred to the same chapter of Augustine and the same heroes. Ptolemy may or may not have influenced them directly.²¹ In any case he was the first to launch what amounted to a frontal attack on Augustine's view of history, however he might try to veil it by obsequious (and misleading) quotations from the African Father. For Ptolemy, unlike Augustine, the Roman Republic recalled Eden and foreshadowed the virtues of the pristine church.

The approach to politics and history of Ptolemy of Lucca, the republican papalist, was at least as coherent as that of Marsilius of Padua, the republican imperialist, and it can hardly be said that there is more divergence between Book III and Book IV of the *De regimine principum* than between Dictio I and Dictio II of the *Defensor pacis*.²² To be sure, Ptolemy was no blind ideologue, and he saw advantages and disadvantages both in regal and in republican government. Under optimum conditions, however, he clearly preferred the latter.²³ His view of Roman history and his Italian patriotism enabled him to

¹⁹ *De regimine* 3.15; 2.9.

²⁰ See on this my *Dante and the Idea of Rome* (Oxford, 1957), pp. 40-65.

²¹ For a discussion of the possible connections between Ptolemy, Remigio and Dante see my paper, "Ptolemy of Lucca and the Roman Republic," *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society* 118 (1974), 30-50, which is much indebted to H. T. Silverstein, "On the Genesis of *De Monarchia* II, v," *SPECULUM* 13 (1938), 326-349.

²² Ptolemy was a better Aristotelian than Aquinas because of his emphasis on the polity, and a better one than Dante or Marsilius because he did not think the need for government originated with the Fall. See Rubinstein, "Marsilius," p. 52; Reade, "Political Theory," p. 630; Marsilius, *Defensor pacis*, ed. R. Scholz, MGH Fontes iuris germanici (Hannover, 1932), Dictio I, c. 6.

²³ *De regimine* 2.8-9; 3.22; 4.1-2, 8. Ptolemy acknowledges that a prudent ruler can use his prudence more freely under despotic or regal government than if he is bound by statute. He also says that officials of political governments are often mercenary and timid. He remarks that some regions can only be ruled by tyrants. But he does not believe this is true of urban Italy, where (4.1) a "Dominium plurimum, quod communi nomine politicum appellamus," is appropri-

have both a fervent belief in papal supremacy and a strong devotion to communal freedom and popular regimes.²⁴

His synthesis of hierocracy and republicanism was not inconsistent. It was nevertheless unique. One wonders what impulses and influences made him arrive at it. In attempting to answer this question, Ptolemy's earlier work, the *Determinatio compendiosa*, is of more use than his continuation of Aquinas's *De regimine*, where the synthesis is complete. In the *Determinatio* it seems imperfect, indeed hardly existent. As Ptolemy analyzes the breadth of papal authority and the consequent narrowness of imperial jurisdiction, especially in Italy, hierocratic theories predominate. But he includes a section of four chapters on the Romans,²⁵ three of which are almost identical with the eulogistic chapters of Book III of the *De regimine principum* that praise the heroes of the Republic.²⁶ The fourth, in accordance with a common medieval *topos*, compares the decadent inhabitants of contemporary Rome unfavorably with their illustrious ancestors.²⁷

Why, in a treatise dealing with the papal-imperial question, did Ptolemy insert this "republican" section? No doubt through conviction but surely not through naïveté. Everything we know about him indicates that he was practical, sophisticated, and well-informed about current affairs, with unusually good sources of information in the papal curia.²⁸ Moreover, the *Determinatio* seems clearly written for a practical purpose. Any hypothesis about its composition that does not account for the presence of these "republican" chapters must be carefully scrutinized, even the theories of its scholarly editor M. Krammer. How tenable are his views concerning the date and purpose of the *Determinatio*?²⁹ A certain amount of technical discussion is an inevitable preliminary to understanding this work.

Krammer says that the *terminus a quo* of the treatise is 1274, since it quotes *c. Avaritie* from the *Extra de electione*, issued by Pope Gregory X in that year. The bull was later included in Boniface VIII's *Sext*, issued in 1298. Since it is not quoted from that work but is referred to as *Extra*, Krammer thinks that the *terminus ante quem* of the treatise ought to be 1298. The bull is described as *novissima*, which would indicate that the *Determinatio* was composed closer to 1274 than to 1298. It can hardly, however, be prior to the death of Pope Gregory X in January 1276, since he is referred to as *dominus* but not as

ate. In such a regime the actual governors may be many (*politia*) or few (*aristocratia*). Government "per multos" is, however, normal for cities. At the same time there were cases in ancient Rome and Israel and in modern Italy where one man ruled "singulis annis" and where his regime was nevertheless political rather than despotic since it "dependebat ex pluribus."

²⁴ For a fuller discussion of the connection between Ptolemy's theories of history and government see my paper, "Ptolemy of Lucca," pp. 30-50, esp. 32-33, 41-44, 48-50.

²⁵ *Determinatio* cc. 21-24, pp. 42-47.

²⁶ *De regimine* 3.4-6.

²⁷ Ptolemy says, here following Augustine, that sometimes rule is given "non ex merito virtutum, sed ex malitia populorum."

²⁸ See Schmeidler's ed. of the *Annales*, p. 190, n. 8.

²⁹ For them see his preface to the *Determinatio*, pp. iv-xxi.

dominus noster,³⁰ a far more natural title if he had still been alive when Ptolemy was writing. A more precise date is indicated by one of Ptolemy's grosser historical errors.³¹ He said that Pope Gregory V had established the college of the seven German imperial electors in 1030: they nominated the emperor but the pope had to confirm and crown him, according to Ptolemy, before he could exercise his authority outside Germany. Ptolemy remarked that 250 years had passed since the establishment of this custom.³² Krammer points out that this round figure enables us, by adding 1030 and 250, to arrive at a date of c. 1280 for the writing of the *Determinatio*. All this seems entirely convincing, and it is difficult to understand why some scholars are sceptical about Krammer's reasoning.³³

The next step Krammer takes, however, is more hazardous. He thinks that it is possible, by considering the theme and purpose of the work, to arrive at the exact year of its composition. Its theme is an attempt to prove that the emperor's temporal jurisdiction (particularly in Italy) depends on both confirmation and coronation by the pope. Its purpose, according to Krammer, must have been more immediate. Ptolemy wrote the *Determinatio* anonymously and said that it was only zeal for truth that compelled him to treat such a vexed question, "avoided by many on account of scandal."³⁴ This seems to imply the existence of a tense situation. Krammer believes that Ptolemy composed the treatise during the summer or autumn of 1281 at the urging of the municipal government of Lucca to protest against the appointment by Rudolf of Habsburg of an imperial vicar for Tuscany.³⁵ Certainly at this point feelings in Lucca ran high. The little town of Pescia, previously a dependency of Lucca, had had the temerity to submit to Rudolf's vicar. It was consequently levelled to the earth by the Lucchesi on 20 August 1281. Neither women nor children nor churches were spared.³⁶

As Krammer observes, Ptolemy in his *Annals* excused the atrocity by saying that the Pescians ought not to have recognized the imperial chancel-

³⁰ For Ptolemy's use of the title "dominus noster" to apply to Charles of Anjou, see below, p. 419.

³¹ It has been frequently pointed out, and must be admitted, that Ptolemy was a very careless historian.

³² Pope Gregory V actually reigned from 996 to 999. On Ptolemy's fable see M. Buchner, *Die Entstehung und Ausbildung der Kurfürstendabel* (Freiburg-im-Breisgau, 1912), pp. 34–62. Krammer suggests that he got it from an earlier account copied into MS Florence, Bibl. Laur. S. Crucis Plut. 27 sin. 9, fols. 204–205. But the Laurentian copy seems to me to be 14th century, and therefore its original could have been Ptolemy himself; this is much more likely than deriving it from a purely hypothetical original.

³³ See Rivière, "Lucques, Barthelmy de," col. 1065; Scholz, *Unbekannte Schriften*, 1:125, n.2; M. Wilks, *The Problem of Sovereignty in the Later Middle Ages* (Cambridge, 1963), p. 527. But cf. J. Miethke, "Zeitbezug und Gegenwartsbewusstsein in der politischen Theorie der ersten Hälfte des 14. Jahrhunderts," *Miscellanea mediaevalia* 9 (Berlin, 1974), 271, n. 34.

³⁴ *Determinatio* c. 31, p. 64.

³⁵ Krammer, preface to the *Determinatio*, p. xxi.

³⁶ On the sack see R. Davidsohn, *Geschichte von Florenz*, 4 vols. in 7 (Berlin, 1908–1927), 2, 2:197–199.

lor until the latter had been confirmed by the Pope. (The Emperor himself had long since been confirmed — by Pope Gregory X on 26 September 1274.) But why should there have been, as late as 20 August, any doubt whatever as to the papal stand? On 21 May Pope Martin IV had written to the governments of Tuscany urging them to receive the imperial appointee cordially and obediently. By early summer it must have been clear to everyone that Rudolf's vicar was legitimate.³⁷ Ptolemy's reference to him in his *Annals* is either disingenuous or misinformed. Perhaps it was distorted by absence from Lucca. There is no evidence that Ptolemy was in the city in 1281, and we know that by the spring of 1282 he was at Tarascon on the Rhone.³⁸ But even if he spent 1281 in Lucca, why should he have composed a treatise to try to influence a decision to which the pope was already publicly committed? The Luccan government took no such step, but instead, after the bloody deed had been done, and its small neighbors had thereby been cowed, made a fulsome submission to the pope and to Rudolf. The Lucchesi used terror but no arguments. In such a context, Ptolemy's treatise would have seemed quixotic and irrelevant. Why should he, moreover, indulge in such effusive expressions of Roman patriotism if he was directing his treatise to a French pope?

There is another conspicuous difficulty in attributing the *Determinatio* to the year 1281. If Ptolemy was, as Krammer says, then living in Lucca, why did he refer to Charles of Anjou as "dominus noster rex Karolus"?³⁹ Charles had resigned his Tuscan vicariate at the insistence of Pope Nicholas III three years before, on 24 September 1278.⁴⁰ It is hardly credible that Ptolemy in 1281 was guilty of the anachronism of calling him "our Lord."

Nor was there any possibility that Charles might resume his vicariate. On 24 May 1281 Charles seconded Pope Martin's letter to the Tuscans, also urging them to obey the vicar of Rudolph, with whom he was then allied.⁴¹ Krammer's own reasoning on the *terminus a quo* of the *Determinatio*, that Gregory X was called "dominus" rather than "dominus noster" because when the treatise was written death had already ended his papal reign, ought to make Krammer acknowledge that the use of the title "dominus noster" for Charles of Anjou indicates that the treatise was written while Charles was still vicar of Tuscany. This would make its *terminus ante quem* 24 September 1278.

The most probable date for the *Determinatio* is 1277–1278, after Nicholas III's accession to the papacy and before Charles of Anjou's resignation of his

³⁷ *Annales*, p. 196. MGH Constitutiones 3, ed. J. Schwalm (Hannover, 1904), n. 66, pp. 55–56; n. 267, pp. 260–261.

³⁸ On the documentable facts of Ptolemy's life see Schmeidler's introduction to his edition of the *Annales*, pp. vii–xxi and Dondaine, "Les Opuscula," pp. 165–169.

³⁹ *Determinatio* c. 18, p. 39, in the context of a graceful compliment to Charles on sharing the healing powers of the English and French kings.

⁴⁰ Nicholas III forced Charles to lay down his office as senator of Rome as well. For a brief factual summary see J. Haller, *Geschichte des Papsttums*, 2nd ed. (Stuttgart, 1950–1953), 5:46–50.

⁴¹ MGH Constitutiones 3, n. 268, p. 261.

vicariate. Then the term "our lord" would still have been appropriate. As for Charles's loss of this title, it was hardly unexpected. His ten-year term expired on 24 May 1278, but he was actually allowed to keep his office for four more months, until September. The victory of the Orsini faction in the papal conclave the year before had made it obvious that his enormous authority in central Italy would be curtailed. One of the two Orsini cardinals, Matteo Rosso, whose influence would remain great down through the reign of Boniface VIII, had obstructed Angevin plans ever since Matteo's appointment as rector of the patrimony of St. Peter in 1265. As for Giovanni Gaetano, who ascended the papal throne as Nicholas III, his election had been bitterly but unsuccessfully opposed by Charles. The two Orsini had previously taken a leading part in conducting negotiations between Pope Gregory X and Rudolf of Habsburg. Rudolf's crowning in Rome had actually been scheduled for 1 November 1275, but this was delayed. Then a dispute over whether the Empire or the papacy had temporal authority over the Romagna caused a break between Gregory and Rudolf in December. Yet Rudolf had already by the end of the year named two rectors for Tuscany. This proved abortive, since Gregory's successor Innocent V confirmed Charles's vicariate instead. But by 1278 negotiations between Rudolf and the papacy over the Romagna question were proceeding well, and by 4 February 1279 they had been successfully concluded in favor of the claims of the pope. Even a year earlier there was every reason to think that Tuscany might soon have a new vicar, appointed this time not by the pope but by Rudolf.⁴²

It was probably in this situation, to his eyes threatening but still fluid, that Ptolemy wrote the *Determinatio*. Its end implies that a decision has not yet been taken, that the pope still has freedom of movement, and that Rudolf has not yet begun to exercise Tuscan jurisdiction. Ptolemy says that allowing him to do so before his coronation would mark a departure from previous papal policy.⁴³ This was no longer the case in 1281. After the letters of

⁴² On Giovanni Gaetano see R. Sternfeld, *Der Kardinal Johann Gaetan Orsini* (Berlin, 1905); A. Demski, *Papst Nikolaus III*, Kirchengeschichtliche Studien 6, 1-2 (Münster, 1903); E. Dupré Theseider, *Roma dal comune di popolo alla signoria pontificia (1252-1377)* (Bologna, 1952), pp. 199-220; on his negotiations with Rudolf, O. Redlich, *Rudolf von Habsburg* (Innsbruck, 1903), pp. 388-403; on the whole question of the papal claim to appoint imperial vicars and of papal dealings on this matter with Charles and Rudolf, F. Baethgen, "Der Anspruch des Papsttums auf das Reichsvikariat," in his *Mediaevalia: Aufsätze, Nachrufe, Besprechungen*, 2 vols., Schriften der Monumenta Germaniae Historica 17 (Stuttgart, 1960), 1:110-185, esp. 130-158, and "Ein Versuch Rudolfs von Habsburg, die Reichsrechte in Toskana wahrzunehmen (Ende 1275)," *ibid.*, 1:186-191. For Charles's opposition to Nicholas's election, see Baethgen, "Ein Pamphlet Karls I. von Anjou zur Wahl Papst Nikolaus III.," *Sitzungsberichte der bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu München*, Philos.-Hist. Klasse (1960), Heft 7. In a letter to the French cardinal priest of St. Mark's William de Bray, Charles said that the conclave had acted "non invocata Spiritus sancti gracia set pocius provocata." He said that William should have been mindful, if not of his own honor (since he was of plebeian lineage), at least of the honor of his *patria*. Evidently Frenchmen were not supposed to show the independence of William, but rather the sort of cooperativeness that would be demonstrated by the next pope, Martin IV.

⁴³ *Determinatio* cc. 30-31, pp. 60-63.

Martin and Charles recommending Rudolf's vicar to the Tuscans, what point would there have been in urging the pope to take counsel with his cardinals before coming to a major decision? The decision had already been made.

Ptolemy, then, would have been likely to feel impelled to write the *Determinatio* only before this public endorsement of Rudolf's vicar, and, in fact, only at a time when papal policy in regard to imperial lands in Italy seemed unclear, and when important developments appeared to be close at hand. This would not have been the case under Gregory X's successor Innocent V (21 Jan.–22 June 1276), who clearly favored Charles and confirmed his vicariate. Had he lived Hadrian V (11 July–18 August 1276) would no doubt also have been a good friend to Charles and would have supported the Angevin cause as pope as warmly as he had previously done as cardinal. But he died even before he could be crowned, as a result of the rigors of the very conclave in which he had been chosen. The exhausted electors next resorted to a quiet scholar, John XXI (8 Sept. 1276–20 May 1277), whose reign was singularly colorless. Ptolemy could hardly have expected his fervent Roman and Italian patriotism to have much effect on this Spaniard. In fact, he remarked of him acidly in his *Annals* (p. 184), "Fuit tamen magnus in philosophia, set in actionibus spiritu Hyspanico plenus."

The choice of Nicholas III was another matter. He was obviously a man of strong policies (as his previous career as a cardinal had shown), but when he was elected on 25 November 1277 after a six-month conclave, it was not plain what those policies would be. It was thought that he had favored Rudolf's candidacy for the imperial office and that he was Charles's enemy. But he was also intent on establishing papal lordship over the Romagna. His attitude in 1277–78 must have seemed ambiguous, not very favorable to Rudolf even if hostile to Charles and yet perhaps disposed to grant Rudolf the *quid pro quo* of Tuscany for success in the Romagna negotiations.

His attitude remained ambiguous even after these negotiations had been concluded. In the end Nicholas kept Rudolf not only out of Tuscany but even out of Rome, failing to grant him the coronation long before promised by Gregory X. But Ptolemy could not know this in late 1277 or early 1278. He may have hoped by his treatise to influence papal policies and to convince Nicholas that he owed nothing to an emperor who had not been crowned.

Some of the hierocratic assertions in the *Determinatio* were similar to statements in the official German recognitions of exclusive papal rights over the Romagna. Nicholas secured them not only from Rudolf but from the princes of Germany as well. These recognitions were cast in a form drafted by his own negotiators. They contained avowals of gratitude for the supposed papal translation of the Empire from the Greeks to the Germans and acknowledgments of the theory that the emperor exercised the power of the material sword (the secular power) only at the pope's nod.⁴⁴

⁴⁴ See, for example, MGH Constitutiones 3, n. 222 (Rudolf to Nicholas, 14 Feb. 1279), esp. p. 207; n. 229 (Literae consensus Marchionis Brandenburgensis, 12 Sept. 1279), esp. p. 218.

Especially similar were the attitudes of Ptolemy and Nicholas toward the glorious destiny of Rome. Nicholas, as a member of a great Roman family, had a particular interest in the papal capital. De Bouïard says, "Sans doute, le fils du vieux sénateur Matteo Rosso avait souffert, dans son patriotisme fervent, de voir l'illustre Capitole tombé en des mains espagnoles ou françaises, et l'on retrouve beaucoup de ce sentiment sous le style éloquent du pontife."⁴⁵ This eloquent style is apparent in the bull *Almae urbis gesta* issued at Viterbo on 27 July 1278, entrusting Cardinals Latino and Giacomo Colonna with the task of making peace in Rome. "The deeds of the *alma urbs*," said Nicholas, "resound, and her acts testify that that city excells all others in the greatness of her dignity. There God omnipotent wished his church to be founded, and to be called by the name of Rome, in order that no difference of title should separate them, and there he established the seat of the Prince of the Apostles, the Vicar of Christ, that it might be deemed truly apostolic." Nicholas went on to say that he as a native Roman, was, like his emissaries, bound to the city by ties of special affection which made his and their duty to serve her welfare all the greater.⁴⁶

Latino and Giacomo brought with them the famous bull *Fundamenta militantis ecclesie*, promulgated on 18 July 1278. This was the "Magna Carta" that asserted Nicholas's policy of "Rome for the Romans." It was designed to make dominance over Rome by a powerful foreigner like Charles of Anjou impossible. Aliens were discouraged from seeking office as senators or other magistrates. Emperors, kings, princes, counts, barons, and their relatives were excluded from such positions, though the relatives might be eligible if they lived in Rome or just outside and were not too powerful. Terms of office were limited to one year, unless extended by special license of the Holy See. Such regulations were needful, Nicholas asserted, to enable his brothers the cardinals, his coadjutors in administering his ecclesiastical office, to enjoy liberty in giving him counsel, free from fear of a secular ruler.⁴⁷ This passage makes one think of Ptolemy's exhortation to the pope at the end of the *Determinatio*. There he acknowledged that the Supreme Pontiff had sovereign authority to enact a new law, but he urged him not to change an old one without taking advice. Prelates had councils, he said, just as princes had parliaments. The ancient Romans had required their consuls to consult with the Senate. Now the place of the Senate was held by the cardinals, and the pope should consult with them.⁴⁸

⁴⁵ A. De Bouïard, *Le Régime politique et les institutions de Rome au moyen âge* (Paris, 1920), p. 46.

⁴⁶ *Codex diplomaticus domini temporalis S. Sedis*, ed. A. Theiner, 1 (Rome, 1861), n. 370, pp. 215-216 (Potthast 21366).

⁴⁷ *Les Registres de Nicolas III*, ed. J. Gay and Suzanne Vitte, 2 vols. (Paris, 1898-1938), 1:106, n. 296.

⁴⁸ *Determinatio* c. 31, pp. 63-64. The Donation of Constantine had called the Roman clergy the successors of the Senate. Probably with this passage in mind Peter Damian referred to the cardinals as "spirituales ecclesiae universalis senatores," apparently the first time they were so entitled. See on this S. Kuttner, "Cardinals: the History of a Canonical Concept," *Traditio* 3 (1945), 174. Ptolemy's emphasis on the pope's duty to seek the cardinals' advice probably

In *Fundamenta militantis ecclesie* Nicholas said that it was the martyrs Peter and Paul who had made Rome glorious as "a holy race, an elect people, a priestly and royal city" (*gens sancta, populus electus, civitas sacerdotalis et regia*). Because it was to be the seat of blessed Peter it had been made head of the whole world. Here Nicholas was quoting a sermon of Pope Leo I. Leo had gone on to say that warlike labor had subjected less of the earth to Rome than the Christian peace.⁴⁹ This theme was reiterated by Pope Innocent III, who said that it was by an appropriate providence that the Prince of the Apostles established his see in the city that had held a principate over the world. This showed clearly "how much God loved that city, that it should be at the same time priestly and royal, imperial and apostolic."⁵⁰ Innocent affirmed that it was Christ who had given Peter dominion over Rome, and implied that Constantine had merely recognized it. In the course of the thirteenth century a new theory about Constantine's Donation was built on this assertion.⁵¹ It was most fully expounded in the pamphlet *Eger cui lenia*, which Ptolemy quoted, and which he attributed to Pope Innocent IV.⁵² This theory maintained that the Donation was not a grant but a restitution of what had hitherto been unlawfully held by pagan emperors. Ptolemy's belief that after the interval of Julius Caesar's tyrannical rule the Fifth Monarchy of Christ and his vicars succeeded the Fourth Monarchy of the Republic was the logical but also the imaginative consequence of this view.

It is easy to see close similarity in the patriotic feelings of Nicholas and Ptolemy toward Rome, at least toward Christian Rome. Were they both republicans as well? Obviously Nicholas was a monarch insofar as he was a pope, but Ptolemy, too, was monarchical in his attitude to the papacy. Was Nicholas a republican insofar as he was a citizen of Rome? Even if his aim, as is generally held, was to establish a papal signory over the city, did he find it useful to strike republican attitudes, at least at the beginning of his reign? Did he wish to pose as the reviver of a native senatorial tradition, once

reflects the views of contemporary canonists. See B. Tierney, "A Conciliar Theory of the Thirteenth Century," *Catholic Historical Review* 36 (1950-1951), 415-440, who says that Hostiensis frequently states that the pope should not take any important decision without consulting them. In the late thirteenth century the cardinals were few in number but great in power. They were feudal and territorial magnates in and outside the city and formed a very small and powerful oligarchy, which divided with the pope the revenues and authority of the Roman primacy. See on this R. Morghen, "Il cardinale Matteo Rosso Orsini," *Archivio della R. Società Romana di storia patria* 46 (1923), 271-372.

⁴⁹ *Sermo* 82, PL 54:422-423, discussed by F. Kampers, "Roma aeterna und sancta Dei ecclesia rei publicae Romanorum," *Historisches Jahrbuch* 43 (1923), 240-249.

⁵⁰ *Sermo* 22, PL 217:556.

⁵¹ See on this point B. Tierney, "The Continuity of Papal Political Theory in the Thirteenth Century," *Mediaeval Studies* 27 (1965), 240-241 and n. 30, quoting *Sermo* VII, PL 217:481. G. Martini thinks that the beginnings of this theory go back as far as the letter that Leo IX wrote to Michael Cerularius and Leo d'Acrida in September 1053. See his "Regale Sacerdotium," *Archivio della R. Società Romana di storia patria*, N.S. 4 (1938), pp. 120-124, and PL 143:752.

⁵² *Determinatio* cc. 29-30, pp. 59-62; *Eger cui lenia*, ed. P. Herde, "Ein Pamphlet der päpstlichen Kurie gegen Kaiser Friedrich II von 1245/46 ('Eger cui lenia')," *Deutsches Archiv* 23 (1967), esp. 520-521.

personified by his own father Matteo Rosso Orsini, the masterful lay senator who had defended the city against Frederick II? The next figure of relief in the city's history had been a foreigner: Brancaleone, a Bolognese who headed a communal government in Rome between 1251 and 1257. He had been very popular, and had called himself proudly "alme Urbis senator illustris et Romani populi capitaneus." After him other foreigners of less democratic outlook but far more illustrious lineage had ruled Rome, Henry the Infanta of Castile and Charles of Anjou, King of Sicily and brother of the King of France. Henry became a powerful ally of the Hohenstaufen. In 1278 the memory of Manfred's appeal to Rome as the mother of emperors and of Conradin's success in influencing public opinion within the city was still fresh.⁵³ In attempting to exclude in future from the governorship of Rome such uncomfortably powerful princely, regal and imperial rulers, is it not natural that Nicholas should have looked back with nostalgia to the regime of his father? And is it not natural that he should also have tried to use and intensify the communal feelings evoked by the government of Brancaleone?

In his eulogistic treatise *De gente Sabella* the great ecclesiastical historian Panvinio describes floridly but perceptively this republican aspect of Nicholas's reign. He says that Nicholas, "moved by *patriae charitate*, and wishing to restore the tottering *res publica* to its former state" (since previous pontiffs had granted control over it to kings who had ruled by will rather than by law), renovated the senate and the other magistracies, and then resigned his senatorial office.⁵⁴

Nicholas's own bulls go a good way towards confirming this verdict. On 26 September 1278 he ordered that the people be allowed to elect judges who would have the power to demand an account of their actions from the officials of the City.⁵⁵ Nicholas also recognized the right of the people to elect their senators, and on 3 August of the same year advised his emissaries to Rome to be cautious in administering this election. He said he did not want it to be thought that he desired to acquire any right or special interest in such a matter.⁵⁶ Elected senator as a private person and not in his capacity as pope, he resigned the office after a year to Pandulf Savelli and Giovanni Colonna. On 24 September 1279 he addressed to them *Infra Urbis moenia*, a bull urging them to have a proper regard for their exalted office. "Within the walls of the city," he affirmed, "there dwells a great and sublime people whom God so blessed that the city was enlarged by celestial gifts, and its people, fortified by divine aid, excelled other nations in magnificence and

⁵³ For a brief but incisive account of Roman history during this period, see Dupré Theseider, *Roma*. For the first half of the century, see P. Brezzi, *Roma e l'impero medioevale (774-1252)* (Bologna, 1947). The richest and most evocative and penetrating picture of life and institutions in 13th-century Rome is the recent volume by R. Brentano, *Rome before Avignon* (New York, 1974).

⁵⁴ Quoted by F. A. Vitale, *Storia diplomatica de' Senatori di Roma*, 2 vols. (Rome 1791), 1:179.

⁵⁵ Nicholas III, *Registres*, n. 128, pp. 42-43.

⁵⁶ Quoted from MS Vat. Lat. 3980, fol. 131 by De Bouard, *op. cit.*, p. 45, n. 3.

earthly power. She it is whom kings and princes reverence and whom your ancestors honored as their mother and mistress and as the most glorious of all cities."⁵⁷ Was the reference to the homage of kings and princes a veiled adjuration to the city not to let herself slip again into the power of such exalted inferiors?

But the next pope, Martin IV, was not a Roman but a Frenchman. In 1281 he set *Fundamenta* aside in order to make Charles of Anjou senator of the city for life. He also usurped control over the municipal coinage.⁵⁸ Under Nicholas III, however, Rome had met, at least superficially, the criteria for a republican government that Ptolemy would later set forth in the *De regimine*: her officials were elected, temporary, subject to correction, and limited in their authority by statute.

Did Nicholas use republican historical propaganda as well as republican political tactics to strengthen his hold on Rome? Was Ptolemy's eulogy of the pre-Augustan city at least in part a reflection and development of official views? The suggestion seems more probable if one takes into consideration a manuscript now in Hamburg but written, as its editor E. Monaci has noted, in a script apparently identical with that of the papal chancery about 1280. This is a copy of the *Liber ystoriarum romanorum*, a translation into roman dialect of the *Multe ystorie et troiane et romane*, a Latin chronicle thought by Monaci to have been compiled in the twelfth century, which followed and drew on Paul the Deacon in emphasizing episodes and heroes of republican Rome as well as stories of Troy and of the Empire. Nearly half of the *Liber* deals with the period between Tarquin and Julius, and 37 of its 84 illustrated pages are devoted to republican times. Monaci thinks that the exemplar of this copy was probably composed for Brancaleone between 1251 and 1257, since two of the copy's three non-narrative illustrations, one representing Rome as a lion and the other as mistress of the world, were apparently inspired by his coins. But the third allegorical picture, which comes after the *explicit*, could hardly have been designed to flatter Brancaleone. It shows a queenly woman standing on a lion, with a church in her left hand and a globe in her right, on which an angel holding an oriflamme is kneeling. The picture is accompanied by a full explanation. According to it the woman represents the Roman Church, *Ecclesia Romana*. The lion under her feet is the Roman Empire (*imperium romanum*). The church in her left hand is the *Ecclesia Dei*, obviously in the care of the papacy. The globe in her right is the world, *mundus*. The angel and his banner signify the *triumphus clericorum*. Monaci thinks that this last illustration was not included in the archetype of the translation. It must rather have been added to the Hamburg copy, the manuscript of the translation that is written in the script of the papal curia. Was this addition ordered by Nicholas III? What more eloquent pictorial representation could be made of the historical attitudes behind Nicholas's

⁵⁷ Vitale, *Storia*, 1:181-182 (Potthast 21644).

⁵⁸ De Bouard, *Le Régime*, p. 49, says that until the pontificate of Martin IV the Senate continued to superintend the coining of money.

bulls and Ptolemy's *Determinatio*? A visual as well as a verbal portrayal of the triumphs of Roman heroes, many of them republican, leads up to a representation of the apotheosis of the Roman Church, who has put the Empire under her feet.

Monaci suggests that the Latin text of the work, the *Multe Ystorie*, from which the Italian translation, the *Liber ystoriarum romanorum*, was made, was itself composed in the middle of the twelfth century in Rome under the ascendancy of Arnold of Brescia. This is only speculation. At the same time, it is interesting to note that the work exalts Roman liberty under the Republic. It says that after the expulsion of King Tarquin the Roman people decided that the choice of two consuls to rule them rather than one king would be more likely to preserve their new-found liberty for their enjoyment. Two later violators of it are singled out: Sulla and Julius Caesar. Oddly enough, each is called "the first," to seize the *res publica* violently. This inconsistency is avoided in two manuscripts of the translation (those in the Laurentian and Riccardian libraries of Florence) simply by making Sulla the first citizen to seize the *res publica* by violence and Caesar the second. The curial copy of the translation now in Hamburg, however, corrects the error in a different way. It mentions the *res publica* only in connection with Caesar. It says of Sulla that he was the first to enter the city against the will of its inhabitants. It says of Caesar that he was the first to seize the *res publica*: "All men know that from the time of Tarquin the Proud, Julius Caesar was the first to seize the *res publica* violently."

In the curial manuscript in Hamburg, therefore, Sulla's villainy is minimized and Caesar's enhanced. Only Caesar is made to play the role of the second Tarquin. The implication is evident that it was between the last king and the first emperor that there was a period of Roman liberty.⁵⁹

One may say, of course, that anti-Caesarism was not novel. Caesar's insolence was condemned by many medieval writers, who repeated the criticisms of Suetonius and Eutropius and of Eutropius's faithful copyist Paul the Deacon. John of Salisbury, moreover, declared that despite his virtues Caesar was reputed to be a tyrant "quia rem publicam armis occupaverat." But such blame was often overshadowed, as in John of Salisbury, by praise of his good qualities, and particularly of his clemency.⁶⁰ In the *Multe Ystorie*

⁵⁹ *Storie de Troja et de Roma (Liber ystoriarum Romanorum)*, ed. E. Monaci, *Miscellanea della R. Società romana di storia patria* 5 (Rome, 1920), pp. 108, 220, 248. 140 out of 335 pages of the work (which ends with the defeat of the Persians by Heraclius) deal with the Republic and 37 out of 84 illustrated pages. Of Monaci's introduction, see esp. pp. i-xxiv, xlvi-lvii. A facsimile of the curial manuscript (151 in scrin., Hamburg Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek) together with a volume of codicological and art historical commentary is promised by T. Brandis and O. Pächt in the series *Propyläen Faksimile*.

⁶⁰ John, *Polieraticus* 8:19, ed. C. C. J. Webb, 2 vols. (Oxford, 1909), 2:365. For Caesar's medieval reputation see H. Fichtenau, "Vom Verständnis der römischen Geschichte bei deutschen Chronisten des Mittelalters," *Festschrift Percy Ernst Schramm* (Wiesbaden, 1964), 1:401-419, esp. 407-414, and R. Witt, "The *De Tyranno* and Coluccio Salutati's View of Politics and Roman History," *Nuova Rivista Storica* 53 (1969), 443-450. Witt's especially informative article mentions Cicero, Florus, Lucan, Eutropius, Lactantius, Eusebius, John of Salisbury,

and its vernacular rendering, however, the comparison with Tarquin reveals a strict stylization of his despotic role, strictest of all in the Hamburg manuscript which was apparently produced in the papal curia. When Ptolemy adopted a severe attitude toward Caesar, was he following a current theme of papal propaganda? This is only a supposition, but an intriguing one nevertheless.

If Nicholas did use republican propaganda, however, why have not more explicit traces of it survived? This is an unanswerable question. Perhaps it was not regarded with favor by later governors of Rome. A likelier explanation is that it characterized only the first months of Nicholas's reign. Once Nicholas had consolidated his power he may have been no longer interested in flattering the populace. Moreover, it should be remembered that here he could not, as with his patriotic propaganda about the Roman destiny and the See of Peter, draw on the same sort of old and venerable tradition.

Even the revived Senate in its palmiest twelfth-century days does not seem to have developed any sort of republican ideology. One cannot find it in the volume entitled *Codice diplomatico del senato romano (1144-1262)*, edited by F. Bartoloni.⁶¹ Arnold of Brescia was said by Otto of Freising to have eulogized the ancient Senate, and by John of Salisbury to have accused the pope of wanting to reduce to servitude "Rome, the seat of empire, the fountain of liberty, the mistress of the world." Arnold, however, seems to have directed his appeal mainly to Barbarossa, basing it on the right of the city to be considered the maker of emperors.⁶² Probably the *Mirabilia urbis Romae* were composed about this time, but they are for the most part concerned with imperial and ecclesiastical monuments and have no specifically republican slant, in spite of the fact that they contain a description of the Capitol, "which was the *caput mundi*, where consuls and senators governed the world."⁶³ In 1145 the Senate agreed that it held authority from the pope. Although sometimes it rebelled against him and sometimes invoked the authority of the Emperor, it was by pragmatic tactics and not by theoretical proclamations that it gradually gathered most of the public administration of the city into its hands.⁶⁴ This at least seems to have been true down to the storms of the mid-thirteenth century. Ptolemy, it should be noted, reveals

Aquinas, and Ptolemy as critical of Caesar. John of Salisbury's attitude, however, seems ambiguous.

⁶¹ In *Fonti per la storia d'Italia* 87 (Rome, 1948). The collection was intended to cover the years 1144-1347, but only the first part had appeared by the time of Bartoloni's death.

⁶² Otto of Freising, *Gesta Friderici I. Imperatoris* 2.28-30, ed. G. Waitz, 3rd ed. (Hannover, 1912), pp. 134-139. John of Salisbury, *Historia pontificalis* c. 31, ed. R. L. Poole (Oxford, 1927), pp. 65-66.

⁶³ *Codice topografico della Città di Roma*, 3, ed. R. Valentini and G. Zucchetti (Rome, 1946), *Fonti per la storia d'Italia* 90, c. 23, p. 51.

⁶⁴ L. Halphen, *Études sur l'administration de Rome au moyen âge* (Paris, 1907). Halphen says (p. 77): "L'histoire intérieure de Rome depuis la révolution communale (1144) jusqu'au milieu du xiii^e siècle n'est, en effet, que l'histoire de l'accaparement progressif par le sénat de toute l'administration publique, jusqu'alors confiée au pape seul." This jurisdiction included criminal justice and foreign and commercial policy.

only a perfunctory interest in the contemporary Roman Senate (which had long since changed from an assembly into a kind of consulate).⁶⁵ It was the cardinals whom he regarded, quoting the Donation of Constantine, as the true successors of the august ancient assembly.⁶⁶

If there was no previous secular tradition of republican theory, it is hardly strange that there was no previous ecclesiastical one either. The Church might be identified frequently with the *respublica Romanorum* (and later with the *imperium Romanum*)⁶⁷ but such terminology was merely designed to represent the Church as the commonwealth of the Christian people, of which the pope was both monarch and servant. It is true that the clergy adapted to its own purposes the old Roman view that nobility came from virtue rather than birth, but this was not so much anti-regal as anti-aristocratic. So Pope Leo I asserted that clerical nobility was based on grace: "not by the line of birth, . . . without regard to the privilege of paternity and succession by inheritance, those men are received by the Church as its rulers whom the Holy Ghost prepares: so that in the people of God's adoption, the whole body of which is priestly and royal, it is not the prerogative of earthly origin which obtains the unction, but the condescension of Divine grace. . . ."⁶⁸ Gregory VII extended the concept to the Romans as precursors of this clerical aristocracy. In 1081 he urged Alphonse VI of Castile not to oppose a prelate of humble blood, but to remember that the *Romana res publica* both in pagan and Christian times had extended itself so greatly by prizing not nobility of birth and origin but force of soul and body.⁶⁹ Gregory also granted often that privilege called suggestively *libertas romana*, which gave the ecclesiastical foundation that received it the freedom to be directly subordinated to the Roman pope.⁷⁰ On one occasion at least, Gregory used the terms liberty and nobility not in an ecclesiastical but in a Roman sense. On 9 June 1077 he wrote a letter to Silvius the doge of Venice and to the Venetian people. He said that he had been solicitous of Venetian interests because he rejoiced both in the devotion that the Venetians had shown to the "universal mother of all the faithful" (the Roman Church) and "in the liberty which you conserve, having received it from the ancient root of Roman

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 66–71. Until 1191 the Senate was an elected assembly, only invested by the pope, and with a fairly large membership. In 1151 Eugenius III speaks of a group of 2000 electors who have to choose 100 senators. In 1191–1193 there was one senator, in 1194 and 1203 there were fifty-six. After this there were never more than two, and sometimes only one.

⁶⁶ See above, note 48.

⁶⁷ See Kampers, "Roma"; J. Sägmüller, "Die Idee von der Kirche als imperium Romanum im kanonischen Recht," *Theologische Quartalschrift* 80 (1898), 50–80.

⁶⁸ *Sermo* III, c. 1, trans. C. L. Feltoe, A Select Library of the Nicene and Post Nicene Fathers 12 (repr. Grand Rapids, 1956), p. 116, discussed by E. Caspar, *Geschichte des Papsttums*, 2 vols. (Tübingen, 1930), 1:431–432.

⁶⁹ Gregory VII, *Reg.* IX, 2, MGH *Epistolae selectae* 2, 2:571.

⁷⁰ See P. Fabre, *Étude sur le Liber censuum* (Paris, 1892), pp. 76–113; E. Bernheim, *Mittelalterliche Zeitanschauungen in ihrem Einfluss auf Politik und Geschichtsschreibung* (Tübingen, 1918), p. 200 ff.

nobility."⁷¹ Such scattered quotations, however, though they may have a republican flavor, hardly constitute a republican theory. If Nicholas had wished to adumbrate one, he would have found few materials at hand in the medieval traditions either of clerical or of secular Rome. At the same time, by his actions and words he was repudiating the rule of kings and princes over the city, and the illustrated copy of the *Liber Ystoriarum Romanorum*, which evokes the ancient republican past and the Christian hierocratic present and is written in chancery script, may indicate the direction of papal propaganda.

In his *Determinatio* Ptolemy obviously tried to sweeten the gall of controversy with the honey of themes that would be popular in the contemporary curia. This does not mean that he was merely a flatterer, trying to please both Lucca and the pope. The beginning of the impressive though brief reign of Nicholas III was well suited to kindle his historical imagination, bringing as it did at least a temporary cessation of foreign influence in Rome and showing how an able pope could sit in the center of the spiderweb of Italian and Mediterranean diplomatic relations and manipulate them to his advantage. Nicholas was also the heir and continuer of larger papal policies, particularly of the statesmanship that had produced the great ecumenical success of the Council of Lyons: the reunion of the eastern and western churches. Nicholas maintained relatively good diplomatic relations with the eastern emperor Michael Palaeologus despite the intrigues of the insatiably ambitious Charles of Anjou.⁷² Not, for obvious reasons, in the *Determinatio* (for at the time it was written Charles of Anjou was still vicar of Tuscany), but in the *Annals* and the *New Ecclesiastical History* written about a quarter-century later, Ptolemy depicted him as a tyrant, and an opponent of the best interests of the papacy. For example, he said Charles caused scandal and disaster in the church by persuading Nicholas's successor, Martin IV, to excommunicate the Emperor Michael.⁷³ But Nicholas, Ptolemy appears to have thought, was Charles's match.

The impact of Nicholas's pontificate on contemporary opinion is attested by Saba Malaspina. He paints Nicholas as a patriot who realized how dangerous it was to have powerful foreigners as senators of Rome and

⁷¹ Gregory VII, *Reg.* IV, 27, MGH *Epistolae selectae* 2, 2:342.

⁷² See on relations between Nicholas, Michael, and Peter III of Aragon, H. Wieruszowski, "Politische Verschwörungen und Bündnisse König Peters von Aragon gegen Karl von Anjou am Vorabend der Sizilianischen Vesper," *Politics and Culture in Medieval Spain and Italy* (Rome, 1971), pp. 237-240 and D. J. Geanakoplos, *The Emperor Michael Palaeologus and the West* (Cambridge, Mass., 1959), pp. 309-325, 344-358.

⁷³ *Annales*, pp. 186-192, 197-198; *Ecclesiastica historia* 22.26. One reason Louis IX wanted to get Charles out of France was for the "quies sui Regni, quod perturbabat Carolus in torneamentis et aliis" (22.26). He says Clement IV "ipsum (Charles) saepius de malo regimine reprehendit" (22.34). He mentions Charles's atrocities "quod Papae Clementi non placuit" (22.38). He asserts that the Regnum was badly ruled after the death of Charles's first wife (23.19). He also deplores Charles's success in persuading Martin IV to excommunicate Michael Palaeologus, an act that he says proved a source of scandal and ruin (24.3).

therefore removed Charles and gave the regimen of the city *antiquo more* to two Roman citizens. Greater peace had not existed in the world, and especially not in Italy, affirmed Malaspina, under Alexander or Caesar (Augustus?) than under Nicholas.⁷⁴

Ptolemy's remarks about Nicholas in the *Annals* and the *New Ecclesiastical History*, written long after the pontiff's death, are balanced between respect and detachment, and lack this effusive tone. Ptolemy said he was famous for prudence and upright morals even though too eager to secure the advancement of his family. In the *Historia* Ptolemy devoted a disproportionately large number of chapters to his brief pontificate, spoke at length of his activities as a beautifier of Rome, and attributed to him far-reaching political designs, including the splitting up of the Empire.⁷⁵ Yet he was not overawed by papal majesty. In his *Annals* he told the amusing story of how the Lucchesi maneuvered Nicholas into a position where his papal ambition conflicted with his family pride. Nicholas, attempting to substitute his jurisdiction in Tuscany for the emperor's, demanded from Lucca certain imperial lands that the city had taken into its custody. Lucca then named relatives of the Pope to serve as *podestà* of the city and to administer those lands. Vanquished by Luccan "*curialitas*," Nicholas withdrew.⁷⁶

About relations between Boniface VIII and Lucca Ptolemy told a story that was less good-humored. In 1296 the emperor-elect Adolf tried to impose an imperial vicar on Tuscany and the Tuscan cities appealed to Boniface as a mediator, making available to him 80,000 florins in an attempt to buy out imperial rights in the region. Of this grand total Lucca, according to Ptolemy, paid almost a fourth. But he observed sourly that this was wasted money. Adolf had not been confirmed as emperor and so had no right to exercise authority in Tuscany. Nevertheless Boniface took advantage of the situation by sending Adolf's vicar packing and then by pocketing the money himself, "in this fashion wishing to demonstrate that the lordship of the pope was preferred to the lordship of the emperor."⁷⁷

Does his account of this episode give us a clue as to what Ptolemy thought of Boniface? He may have aroused mixed feelings in Ptolemy. Himself no Roman, though supported by Cardinal Matteo Rosso Orsini, Nicholas's brother and leader of the "Roman" party in the Curia, Boniface was less of a diplomat and more of a blusterer than Nicholas, and his signorial ambitions were even more blatant.⁷⁸ What Ptolemy thought of these ambitions we do

⁷⁴ Saba Malaspina, *Rerum Sicularum Historia* 6.12, 13, ed. G. Del Re, *Cronisti e Scrittori Sincroni Napoletani*, 2 (Naples, 1868), 316-17.

⁷⁵ *Ecclesiastica Historia* 23.26-34. See also *Annales*, pp. 185-187, 189-192.

⁷⁶ *Annales*, pp. 190-191.

⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 231-232.

⁷⁸ On Boniface's territorial greed see G. Falco, "Sulla formazione e la costituzione della signoria dei Caetani," *Rivista storia italiana*, N.S. 5 (1928), 225-278. Boniface's Tuscan ambitions must have been known to Ptolemy, and also his propensity for stirring up wars between the factions, whereas Nicholas through the mission of Cardinal Latino had at least tried to reconcile them.

not know. The last part of his *Annals* (which goes down to 1303) is not very forthcoming in this regard, and whether he carried the *New Ecclesiastical History* beyond 1294 is doubtful. Ptolemy's continuation of the *De regimine principum*, probably written in 1301–1302, is not a work of history, and at that point it might have seemed highly imprudent to make direct comments on Boniface's policies. But perhaps the treatise contains oblique ones that may shed light on Ptolemy's motivations for writing it. In it his theoretical enthusiasm for the papal monarchy is undiminished, but his interest in republicanism becomes contemporary and political as well as historical. Much of the difference in emphasis between *Determinatio* and Ptolemy's continuation of the *De regimine* can be explained by their difference in theme. At the same time it is curious that we first find in the latter work an explicitly republican political theory combined with an explicitly Italian patriotism.

The most obvious reason for this might seem to be that in the years between 1278 and 1302 the situation of Italian republics had become precarious. In 1278 republican regimes were still the rule in Italy; by 1302 it was apparent that they would soon be exceptional.⁷⁹ It is unlikely that Ptolemy welcomed the arrival of a second foreign Charles, Charles of Valois, in Tuscany in 1301. In his *Annals* Ptolemy said that this arrival was heralded by a comet in the sign of Scorpio, the home of Mars. He observed that Charles had been named peacemaker in Tuscany by the pope, but that after his visit to Florence there was greater devastation in that city than in the time of the wars between the Guelfs and Ghibellines.⁸⁰

Ptolemy also painted a vivid picture of the factional struggles in Pistoia, Lucca, and Florence. The situation in Lucca in 1301 was especially gloomy.⁸¹ Although he did not say so directly, Ptolemy may well have thought that in such Tuscan cities the combination of factional tyranny and foreign intervention had destroyed constitutional government (*principatus politicus*). Is this the reason for his curious omission of Tuscany from his list in the *De regimine* of Italian regions especially suited to republican rule?⁸²

⁷⁹ See the excellent brief survey of political thought and conditions in Italy in the late 13th century (with frequent references to Ptolemy) in J. H. Mundy, *Europe in the High Middle Ages* (New York, 1973), pp. 400–402, 410–415, 436–459.

⁸⁰ *Annales*, pp. 237–238.

⁸¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 236–238. Cf. Davidsohn, *Geschichte*, 3:142–185.

⁸² Perhaps, however, he did not consciously exclude Tuscany. In *De regimine* 2.8 he says that political regimes exist when a *regio* or *provincia* or *civitas* or *castrum* "regitur secundum ipsorum statuta, ut in regionibus contingit Italiae et praecipue Romae, ut per senatores et consules pro maiori parte ab urbe condita," and that the *regiones Romanorum* are located under Mars and are therefore difficult to subject. In 3.22 he says that Sardinia, Corsica and some Greek islands like Cyprus are ruled by nobles in a despotic fashion and Sicily is notorious as the nurse of tyrants, but in Italy even counts and princes have to rule in a political way, unless they tyrannize by sheer force. In 4.8 he again mentions Sicily, Sardinia, and Corsica as subject to tyrants, but says: "In partibus autem Liguria, Aemiliae et Flaminiae, quae hodie Lombardia vocatur, nullus principatum habere potest perpetuum, nisi per viam tyrannicam, duce Venetiarum excepto, qui tamen temperatum habet regimen: unde principatus ad tempus melius sustinetur in regionibus

Why, then, did he include Rome, and indeed say "especially Rome"? In the last quarter of the thirteenth century that city had hardly been one of the more notable republics of Italy. Perhaps he was looking to the past and the future more than to the present. He said that Boniface nominated Charles not only peacemaker in Tuscany but also count of the Romagna and captain of the march of Ancona and of the papal patrimony.⁸³ Perhaps in remarking that the Romans had always loved liberty and that the regions where they lived had always been "impatient under foreign sway," he was expressing the hope that Rome would resist any attempt by Charles to tyrannize over her as he had done over Florence. But here one is only guessing.

What general conclusion can we draw about the motivations behind the writing of the *Determinatio* and the continuation of the *De regimine*? It seems evident that Ptolemy was both a hierocrat and an Italian patriot. His romantic vision of the papal Fifth Monarchy was complemented by his Tuscan common sense (for obviously he regarded a rich Italian pope as a more suitable overlord for Tuscany, if overlord there had to be, than an impoverished and therefore avid German emperor-elect). Probably he wrote the *Determinatio* in order to urge Nicholas not to grant Rudolf jurisdiction over Tuscany. But its purpose was wider than this: nothing less than to outline (which he did most rigorously and efficiently) the whole theoretical basis and extent of the papal *imperium*. The *De regimine* reiterated his high papalism. It also revealed for the first time the full strength of his republicanism and his Italian pride. But the latter qualities were already implicit in his eloquent eulogy of Roman patriotism, justice, piety, and modesty in the *Determinatio*.

Ptolemy's outlook was not narrowly provincial. Nowhere did he eulogize Tuscan commercial or political success. Probably he thought that this turbulent region was becoming the abode of tyranny, not only "di signore" but also "di parte": could not a faction exercise as sinister a lordship as a despot? Yet his Luccan heritage was probably at the root of his republicanism. The ancient Roman form it took and the combining of it with an intransigent high papalism may have owed a great deal to the "Rome for the Romans" program of Nicholas III. Nicholas's propaganda may have encouraged Ptolemy to express his pro-Roman sentiment in uncompromising terms

supradictis." The first passage shows that Ptolemy's republican conception is centered on Rome (and evidently on modern as well as ancient Rome if he believes that she has been ruled by senators and consuls for the greater part of her history). But it is not geographically confined to the city and covers a vague area indicated by the terms *regiones Italiae* or *Romanorum*. The second passage is geographically even vaguer. The third passage is, however, very specific, and the enumeration of Liguria, Emilia, and Flaminia seems to exclude Tuscany. Perhaps Ptolemy omitted Tuscany merely because there were no important local princes there, and the republicanism of the region could be assumed. But it is nevertheless odd that nowhere in the *De regimine* is Lucca or Tuscany specifically mentioned in connection with *regimen politicum*.

⁸³ *Annales*, p. 238. Cf. *Codex diplomaticus domini temporalis S. Sedis*, 1, ed. A. Theiner (Rome, 1861), n. 553, p. 376; n. 554, pp. 377-378.

(thereby reversing Augustine's judgment on the city) and to present her republican virtues as harbingers of the Christian dispensation. The passionate care with which he developed and expanded this theme, and his use of it almost a quarter-century later in the *De regimine* as a standard against which to measure contemporary governments, indicates the genuineness of his ideal, however politic in origin its first formulation may have been.

This ideal inspired Ptolemy to formulate a justification of rule by law rather than by men more explicit than anything propounded by a medieval publicist before Marsilius of Padua. It is likely that Ptolemy influenced Marsilius, despite the diversity of their attitudes toward the church.⁸⁴ Certainly he influenced Savonarola.⁸⁵ Perhaps other Renaissance republicans owed him similar debts. At the same time he served as a fertile source of arguments for pro-papal pamphleteers.

The most interesting thing about Ptolemy, however, is the diversity and originality of his political and historical ideas and the unique synthesis into which he managed to fit them. This synthesis was made possible by his patriotism, a patriotism that was personal but at the same time partly shaped by immediate political and ecclesiastical concerns. It had several dimensions, Roman, Italian, and Luccan, and reflected faith in the superiority of republican government, at least for the more advanced regions of Italy. Ptolemy obviously believed that such government was more likely to be threatened by a German emperor or a French prince than by an Italian pope. Only through the pope and only if the pope were unwise could the emperor exercise jurisdiction in Italy. He had no jurisdiction of his own; the only legitimate monarchy in Italy was the only world-wide monarchy, the papacy. Of that monarchy Christ was the creator but the Roman Republic was the immediate predecessor, and, because of its virtue and power, the proper model. Ptolemy thought that the true, though preparatory, *imperium* of the republican heroes and not the false *imperium* of Caesar had prepared the way for the final empire of Christ.

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⁸⁴ I hope to discuss this subject at a later time.

⁸⁵ See D. Weinstein, *Savonarola and Florence* (Princeton, 1970), pp. 290-293, 309.