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PREPARING FOR A VENDETTA FAMILY FEUDS IN MEDIEVAL TUSCANY

Summary. According to contemporary chroniclers, street fights were daily events in medieval Tuscan cities. In an urban environment, mental and tactical preparedness was necessary, although it was also important to know the inner politics of the city. The background of these conflicts was primarily described by the great urban history writers such as Giovanni Villani and Dino Compagni, but there are also special type sources, the so-called *ricordanze*, that show different elements of this micro-warfare phenomenon. These sources, which can be defined as merchant diaries, had a more personal viewpoint than the great chronicles, and as for the studies on the roots of the conflicts, it was more practical. The Velluti-Mannelli vendetta which happened in 1295 – written down by Donato Velluti – tells us about conscious time and place planning. The attacks had to be prepared not just politically and tactically, but from the economical point of view, too – which also transpires from the chronicle of Luca di Firidolfi da Panzano, who wrote about the hunting for his father's murderers. The avengers travelled hundreds of kilometres and used the tools of medieval scouting and spycraft. In this paper, I explain and examine the thoughts of the *ricordanze* authors and conclude my article with a discussion on conflict resolution strategies. Although for medieval writers the most important elements were the fights, based on the parts of the *ricordanze* that mention the background of the feuds and the logical structure of the narratives we can also examine the situations that led to the war. Thus, we can attempt to analyse the families' strategies associated with the preparation for conflict and the orchestrating of the raids and combats.

Keywords: vendetta, Velluti, Mannelli, Panzani, *ricordanze*, game-theory, Italian chronicles, revenge

The vendetta

The Italian vendetta is a special, complex notion. Some of the literature explains it as a blood feud based on a written or unwritten custom law, although – as Trevor Dean explained in several articles – the idea of the vendetta was not

defined in any of the city statutes. The words *vendicare/vendicarsi/vendetta* are used in the chronicles in different situations:¹ in the case of counterattacks on the battlefields, private wars in the countryside, or as a response after personal insults. If we want to specify it for the purposes of this paper, we should proceed with the latter meaning. Thus, the vendetta was an aggressive tool of resolving conflicts, an answer to some kind of offence against an individual or a family. At the level of ordinary citizens, the practice of vendetta was a strategic solution in situations that could not be resolved by the city authorities. In my opinion, we can explain the practice of vendetta in the Italian urban context as a kind of micro-warfare.

The vendetta sometimes formed the city politics.² For example at the end of the 13th century, there was an outbreak of bloody confrontations in Pistoia between the two branches of the Cancellieri family.³ The narrative structure of the standard medieval Italian tales of vendetta can be divided into three

¹ For further explanation about vendetta *vide*: T. DEAN, *Marriage and Mutilation. Vendetta in Late Medieval Italy*, "Past & Present" 1997, no. 157, pp. 10–11; A. ZORZI, *Consigliare alla vendetta, consigliare alla giustizia. Pratiche e culture politiche nell'Italia comunale*, "Archivio Storico Italiano" 2012, vol. 170, no. 2 (632), pp. 279–280; K.L. JANSEN, *Peace and Penance in Late Medieval Italy*, Princeton 2017, p. 141; M.R. GABRIEL, *Private War*, [in:] *The Oxford Encyclopaedia of Medieval Warfare and Military Technology*, vol. 3, ed. C.J. ROGERS, Oxford 2010, pp. 142–144.

² An outstanding example was the famous Buondelmonte murder: in 1215, the young Buondelmonte dei Buondelmonti violated his engagement with a girl from the Amidei family. The legend, which was first mentioned by Pseudo Brunetto Latini, ends with the assassination of Buondelmonte by the members of the [offended?] Amidei and Uberti families. For the text of Pseudo Brunetto Latini *vide*: J.M. NAJEMY, *A History of Florence, 1200–1575*, Malden 2006, pp. 13–16 and E. FAINI, *Il convinto fiorentino del 1216*, [in:] *Conflitti, paci e vendette nell'Italia comunale*, ed. A. ZORZI, Firenze 2009, pp. 111–117; G. VILLANI, *Nuova Cronica*, ed. G. PORTA, Parma 1991, pp. 94–95 (Progetto Manuzio, E text edition, 1997, pp. 6/38). The recent studies on the Buondelmonte murder *vide*: E. FAINI, *op. cit.*; N.P.J. GORDON, *The Murder of Buondelmonte. Contesting Place in Early Fourteenth-century Florentine Chronicles*, "Renaissance Studies" 2006, vol. 4, pp. 459–477. This conflict – according to the later chroniclers – was the cause for the conflicts between the Guelfs and Ghibellines. One of the newest works about Guelfs and Ghibellines was written by Paolo Grillo. P. GRILLO, *La falsa inimicizia. Guelfi e ghibellini nell'Italia del Duecento*, Rome 2018.

³ Its origin was a rivalry in a tavern, which ended with a serious wound to the offender's arm. After this, the brothers of the injured boy attacked the opponent and cut off his arm. This action was followed by the attacks of the opposite party which, in turn, led to the fights between the so-called Black and White Cancellieri. *Istorie pistolesi*, intr. F. GIUNTI and J. GUINTI, [in:] *Rerum Italicarum Scriptores*, vol. 11, ed. L.A. MURATORIUS, Milan 1728, p. 368; D. HERLIHY, *Medieval and Renaissance Pistoia, The Social History of an Italian Town, 1200–1435*, New Haven 1967, pp. 201–202; G. CHERUBINI, *Storia di Pistoia 2, L'eta del libero comune, Dal inizio del XII alla metà del XIV secolo*, Firenze 1998, p. 60.

parts. Firstly, the chroniclers introduced the protagonist families: we can usually read that both clans were noble and well-known. In the second part, they wrote about the starting insult, which was usually a small thing, spiralling up into a moral offence. Finally, there was the description of the other group's revenge. The chroniclers almost always mentioned that the fights escalated and the outcome had a negative impact not only on the conflicted parties but also the city itself. According to the urban chronicles, the vendetta was preceded by the strategic phase – a council held by the members of the offended families – that took place between the second and the third part of the conflict's narrative (i.e., after the offence was given but before the outbreak of violence), during which the relatives and the friends (*amici*) of the family argued trying to decide between the peaceful reaction and the aggressive answer (*vendetta*). Therefore, at least we can state that the revenge was not a sudden answer but the result of the family council. The great urban history writers, such as Giovanni Villani or Marchionne di Coppo Stefani, used the vendetta phenomena to describe the old city elite (*grandi*) as a social class that followed their own interests that conflicted with the city's best interest, the *pax urbana*.⁴ In the cases cited above – and in several others – we can observe the way conflicts escalated from the personal daily insults to the widespread street fights that [disturbed the peace and] affected the city's politics. At the same time, however, it seems that vendettas remained mostly private affairs and not political matters, with the average insults and feuds being primarily important events only for the families directly involved in the dispute and did not lead to any major fights between political factions. The offenders and the aggressors were usually ordinary citizens: artisans, merchants, bankers, and butchers. Their daily personal conflicts were not mentioned by the great city chroniclers, such as Villani, because they were not important enough to affect the functioning of the city. Thus, since the 'official' records are mostly silent on this matter, how can we examine the preparations that led to a vendetta? To look for possible answers we must turn to different types of narrative sources.

⁴ About the narrative style of Compagni *vide*: G. ARNALDI, *Cronache e cronisti dell'Italia comunale*, Spoleto 2016, pp. 563–565.

For *pax urbana vide*: P. GRILLO, *L'ordine della città. Controllo del territorio e repressione del crimine nell'Italia comunale (secoli XIII–XIV)*, Rome 2017, pp. 57–58.

The sources

The most important type of historical source that I use in this paper is the so-called *ricordanze* (or *ricordi*), which is a special Florentine narrative genre⁵ in the form of diaries or family chronicles written mainly by merchants, focusing primarily on recording genealogical and financial details from the life of their author, intended to be read only by the family members, the author's heirs and sometimes close family friends (*amici*). The author's goal was to record important familiar events, such as weddings, and to write down substantial business information for future reference. From this point of view, as mentioned by Phillip Jones, these records were predecessors of double-entry bookkeeping.⁶ Since they were private documents, family chronicles, we see in them personal diary-like entries and opinions, without the political ideology underlying the great urban chronicles. Through these [and through the eyes of their authors], we can examine the city's micro societies, the micro dimensions of social interactions, and the formation of the family identity. The authors of the *ricordi* also had more direct experience with resolving personal conflicts. This is why vendettas and other similar violent events as described in *ricordanze* allow us to look into the strategic vision of these medieval micro societies and families.

One of the most important authors of this genre was Donato Velluti (1313–1370). Although Velluti was born into a Florentine merchant family from the so-called *mezzanta gente* who were ordinary citizens, he held important political positions in medieval Florence: he was *gonfaloniere di giustizia* for several semesters and one of the four *priors* of the city.⁷ His work, *Cronica domestica*, which will be discussed in this paper, was written between 1368 and 1370.⁸ Its main subject is the family's genealogy from the ancient times to the chronicler's times. The key motivation of Velluti's historical writing was to demonstrate that although the Velluti were at that time counted among the middle ranks of society,

⁵ G. CIAPPELLI, *Memory, Family and Self: Tuscan Family Books and Other European Egodocuments (14th–18th Century)*, Leiden–Boston 2014, pp. 13–29.

⁶ P.J. JONES, *Florentine Families and Florentine Diaries in the Fourteenth Century*, “Studies in Italian Medieval History” 1956, vol. 24, pp. 183–205.

⁷ K.L. JANSEN, *op. cit.*, p. 135.

⁸ C.M. DE LA RONCIÈRE, *Une famille florentine au XIV^e siècle: les Velluti*, [in:] *Famille et parenté dans l'Occident médiéval. Actes du colloque de Paris (6–8 juin 1974)*, Rome 1977, pp. 227–248.

they had noble ancestry⁹ – this is why he stated that his family came both from the *popolo minuto* and the *grandi*.¹⁰ For Donato Velluti, the family relations had the same importance as the business records. We can say that these were the family's assets – both commercial and social – as in *Cronica domestica* Velluti recorded weddings, newborns, godfathers, and conflicts with other families – things that helped to define the Velluti family's social and financial position. As a matter of fact, Donato Velluti also wrote about vendettas, which will be a highly important point for us, as in the next part of the paper I will introduce the Velluti – Mannelli vendetta.

The Velluti-Mannelli vendetta

In 1267, a member of the Mannelli family killed Ghino di Donato Velluti on the Ponte Vecchio bridge in Florence.¹¹ According to *Cronica domestica*, after the murder the Velluti family took revenge, but only in 1295 – so they waited 28 years for it.¹² In that year, on the day of San Giovanni (Saint John) the revenge was completed. We can read that Lippo di Simone de' Mannelli walked to the festival organised in the centre of Florence (Saint John was the patron of the city). The chronicler precisely described the route taken by Lippo. First, he headed through Ponte Vecchio, then he walked near the Arno river and went to the Popolo di Santo Stefano, where he was attacked by the Velluti and their friends.¹³ We could suppose that

⁹ *La cronica domestica di Messer Donato Velluti con le addizioni di Paolo Velluti* (hereinafter: Velluti), eds I. DEL LUNGO, G. VOLPI, Firenze 1914, pp. 2–3.

¹⁰ J.F. NAJEMY, *op. cit.*, pp. 11–12.

¹¹ Velluti, p. 10.

¹² “Il detto Ghino di Donato mostra che fussi morto, secondo che trovo scritto, per imo tratto di bando, da Mannello, vocato Mannellino, de' Mannelli, che fu figliuolo di Masino de' Mannelli dal Ponte Vecchio, nel 1267, di settembre o vero ottobre, essendo allora vicario messer Amelio da Curbano per lo Serenissimo Re Carlo. Della nostra parte, non sifece vendetta infino al dì di San Giovanni 1295, del mese di giugno,” Velluti, p. 10. Trevor Dean questioned the link between the two events, although Francesco Bruni did not agree with this opinion. T. DEAN, *op. cit.*, pp. 19–20; F. BRUNI, *La città divisa. Le parti e il bene comune da Dante a Guicciardini*, Bologna 2003, pp. 68–69.

¹³ “Et dì di San Giovanni, di giugno secondo che trovo per certi fogli di bambagia, che furono di Velluto, della detta vendetta, vegnendo Lippa di Simone de' Mannelli da vedere correre il palio di San Giovanni, ed essendo presso al Ponte Vecchio meno di 40 braccia dal lato di là nel Popolo di Santo Stefano, credo lungarno, uscendo sotto le volte, Gino Dietisalvi, il quale era imo bello uomo del corpo,

Lippo di Simeone started his route at the Mannelli tower located in the Oltrarno district of Florence.¹⁴ Interestingly, the Velluti house was in the same territory. From this, we could conclude that the two families knew each other well. Maybe because of this, Donato Velluti so precisely recorded the route taken by the Mannelli family member. A friend of the Velluti, Cino Dietisalvi, who stayed in the house of the Guelphs in Via Maggio, caught sight of Lippo. He immediately ran and alarmed the Velluti. Cino, Lapo di Donato Velluti, Gherardino di Donato Velluti, and Lamberto Velluti hurried to the place and killed Lippo gibing him twenty wounds. The detailed description of the events of the day recorded by Donato Velluti does not end with the murder. From the *Cronica domestica* we also learn that after the attack, the Velluti and Cino ran from the crime scene towards the Borgo Santi Apostoli, to the Buondelmonti house.¹⁵ The Buondelmonti family was one of the most important historical families in Florence, the leader of the Florentine Guelphs for several decades.¹⁶ The Mannelli supported the opposite side¹⁷ – they were well-known Ghibellines and relatives of the famous Uberti family, leaders of the Ghibelline party in the first half of the 13th century, and enemies of the Buondelmonti.¹⁸ Thus, the Buondelmonti could be the natural allies of the Velluti.

We can ask why the Velluti waited for 28 years to avenge the death of Ghino di Donato Velluti. I think we should look into the political background of these events. As already mentioned, the Mannelli were a well-known Ghibelline family. The Ghibellines ruled Florence for two short periods,¹⁹ but they

e grande ricco uomo, e tutto di que' di casa e nostro vicino, e del quale fumo le case della Parte, di Via Maggio, dirimpetto a noi, insieme con Lapo e Gherardino di Donato, e Berto vacato Lamberto mio padre, arditamente Vassalroio: e detti Lapo e Berto si strinsono a lui, ed innanzi si partissino, il trasono a fine ed ticcisono, essendoferito di venti ferite più," Velluti, p. 10.

¹⁴ L. MACCI, V. ORGERA, *Architettura e civiltà delle torri: torri e famiglie nella Firenze medievale*, Firenze 1994, pp. 40, 181.

¹⁵ "e poi si fuggirno per Borgo Sant'Apostolo da casa e' Buondelmonti," Velluti, p. 11.

¹⁶ J.F. NAJEMY, *op. cit.*, pp. 11–12, 77–78.

¹⁷ *Ibidem*.

¹⁸ For the power of the Uberti and the antagonism between Buondelmonti and Uberti *vide*: G. VILLANI, *op. cit.*, pp. 94–95 (6/38), 116–117 (7/39).

¹⁹ First between 1248 and 1250, than from 1260 to 1267. J.F. NAJEMY, *op. cit.*, pp. 66–68; L. BATKIN, *Gulfek és ghibellinek Firenzében*, [in:] *Az ókori és középkori társadalomtörténet kérdései*, Budapest 1965, pp. 284–285.

were finally defeated in 1267 and banned from Florence.²⁰ At the end of the 13th century, in 1280, the papal peace-making movement reached the city, and Cardinal Latino orchestrated the return of the exiled families to the city, with the proclamation of general peace between the prominent parties.²¹ However, after the return of the old Ghibelline clans, their power weakened. The greater and lesser guilds (*arti maggiori* and *arti minori*) progressively formed an artisan-based government.²² This movement reached its highest point after 1292, when on 18 January 1293 the guilds led by Giano della Bella declared the *Ordinamenti di giustizia* (*Ordinances of Justice*) – laws directed against the aristocratic families that significantly restricted the political influence of the *grandi*, both the Guelfs and Ghibellines.²³ In 1295, when the *Ordinamenti* were amended, the *popolo* government strongly penalised the violent actions of the *grandi*, especially offences against the *popolo*. As already mentioned, the Velluti were not members of the city elite but the Mannelli family were among the *grandi* whose power was severely restricted by the *Ordinamenti*. According to Kathrine Jansen, in this situation, the Mannelli did not have any possibility to vindicate the death of their relatives,²⁴ especially since they were banished from Florence during the conflict between the Guelph and Ghibelline factions and had just been allowed to return to the city with other Ghibelline families. Furthermore, the murder of Ghino di Donato Velluti was still linked to their name. Thus, from the new city leaders' perspective, they weren't harmless but potential troublemakers.²⁵ I think that the Velluti's delayed

²⁰ J.F. NAJEMY, *op. cit.*, pp. 66–68; L. BATKIN, *op. cit.*, pp. 284–285.

²¹ J.F. NAJEMY, *op. cit.*, p. 11.

²² *Ibidem*, p. 85.

²³ A. ZORZI, *Politica e giustizia a Firenze al tempo degli Ordinamenti antimagnatizi*, [in:] *Ordinamenti di giustizia fiorentini. Studi in occasione del VII centenario*, ed. V. ARRIGHI, Firenze 1995, p. 137; C.L. LANSING, *Magnate Violence Revisited*, [in:] *Communes and Despots in Medieval and Renaissance Italy*, eds J.E. LAW, B. PATON, London 2016, pp. 37–38.

²⁴ K.L. JANSEN, *op. cit.*, p. 135.

Bartlett also recognised that the vendetta was a turning point in the two family's relationship. B. BARTLETT, "Mortal Enmities". *The Legal Aspect of Hostility in the Middle Ages*, [in:] *Feud, Violence and Practice, Essays of Medieval Studies in Honor of Stephen D. White*, eds B.S. TUTEN, T.L. BILLADO, Burlington 2010, pp. 197–212, 202.

Eckstein observed that the Mannelli got weaker during the rule of the *popolo* but their tower was still in the family's possession after the 15th century. N.A. ECKSTEIN, *The District of the Green Dragon. Neighbourhood Life and Social Change in Renaissance Florence*, Firenze 1995, p. 10.

²⁵ K.L. JANSEN, *op. cit.*, p. 135.

vendetta was a conscious action: the avengers planned for the political annihilation of their rivals in the event the Mannelli tried to retaliate, thus breaking the new laws. The members of the Velluti correctly assessed the situation and the possible consequences because Lippo's murder was not followed by the Mannelli clan's revenge.

Different times, different strategies

As we can read on the pages of the *Cronica domestica*, another murder took place in 1310. A Velluti relative was killed by a man from the Berginalle family. However, unlike in the case of Ghino di Donato Velluti's murder and the events of 1295, this time the Velluti soon dropped the vendetta and even participated in the official peace-making trial.²⁶ At the same time, the head of the family Lamberto Velluti strictly ordered his son that they should refrain from any notions of aggression.²⁷

Thus, in *Cronica domestica* we see two different strategies of the Velluti family in dealing with serious conflicts. In the first case, the family waited 28 years to take revenge for the events of 1267. In a tactical sense, their attack was perfectly planned. The murder was succeeded, Velluti members run away, and later the Mannelli could not retaliate. In the Berginalle-case, the murder of the family member was not followed by a vendetta and the dispute was settled peacefully in the court of law.

We can make further observations using the game theory. The basic model of revenge is the so-called '*hawk versus pigeon*' dilemma. The 'hawk' strategy signs aggressive thinking about conflict resolution: the 'hawk-style' player attacks in all cases. This participant uses violence to achieve his goals. The gain is subjective: it could be political odds or somehow symbolic or moral advantage. The 'pigeon-style' player acts according to peaceful strategies: never attacks but uses a powerful defence. So when an aggressive player attacks a 'pigeon-style' player, the 'hawk' can achieve some profits but some suffer losses, because of the

²⁶ VELLUTI, pp. 62–63.

²⁷ "(Lamberto) sempre comandando a noi suoi figliuoli che di ciò non ci impacciassimo, lascian-doci la sua maladizione a chi il contrario facesse," VELLUTI, pp. 62–63. In later notes, chronicler Donato Velluti gave explanations for Lamberto's words. After the 1295 murder, the family was under observation as well-known vendetta participants and potential offenders. VELLUTI, pp. 65–66.

‘pigeon’s’ counterattacks. In social science, the ‘pigeon-style’ player symbolises the avenger, who finally uses vendetta against the offender.²⁸

In the first conflict described above (the 1267 murder), the Mannelli family used the hawk strategy. Later this attitude was not accepted by the city, and in 1295 the Velluti could take revenge like a ‘pigeon-like player’ without any legal sanctions. However, after the vendetta against the Mannelli, the Velluti themselves were branded as ‘hawks.’ The family recognised this, and adapted their strategy accordingly – in 1310, they refrained from violent actions and resolved the dispute using official legal means. This adaptation tells us that they had an advanced tactical vision that took into consideration the city’s politics, legal and factual circumstances, and the current status of the family.

The Panzani’s *Ricordi*

We find further information about the preparations for vendetta in other merchants’ *ricordi*. One such example is the *Ricordi* of Luca di Firidolfi da Panzano (1393–1461), a Florentine nobleman and chronicler similar to Donato Velluti. Da Panzano also held several offices in the city administration, including the post of a *podestà* in a town governed by the Florentines,²⁹ where as *podestà* he was the head of the town’s security forces and probably had experience in using weapons and urban warfare strategies. On the pages of Da Panzano’s *Ricordi* we find two cases of vendetta – from 1350 and 1421, which we will examine briefly looking into the Panzani family’s strategy of dealing with conflicts.

²⁸ I. MORRIS, *Háború! A civilizáció folyamata és ellentmondásai a főemlősöktől a robotokig*, trans. P. BOJTÁR, Budapest 2020, pp. 365–366; T.I. JÁNOS, *Játékelmélet és társadalom*, Szeged 1997, pp. 111–120; S. PINKER, *Az erőszak alkonya. Hogyan szelídült meg az emberiség*, trans. V. GYÁRFÁS, Budapest 2018, p. 599. About further observations in the topic of revenge *vide*: D.C. NORTH, J.J. WALLIS, B.R. WEINGAST, *Violence and Social Orders. A Conceptual Framework for Interpreting Recorded Human History*, Cambridge 2009, p. 173; S.S. SHERGILL, P.M. BAYS, C.D. FRITH, D.M. WOLPERT, *Two Eyes for an Eye. The Neuroscience of Force Escalation*, “Science” 2003, vol. 301 (5630), p. 187.

²⁹ P.J. JONES, *op. cit.*, p. 192; A. MOLHO, *Profilo biografico*, [in:] “*Brighe, affarri, volgimenti di Stato*”. *Le Ricordanze Quattrocentesche di Luca di Matteo di Messer Luca dei Firidolfi da Panzano* (hereinafter: *Firidolfi da Panzano*), eds A. MOLHO, F. SZNURA, Firenze 2010, pp. 15–30.

The vendettas of the Panzani

The first case of vendetta described in Luca di Firidolfi da Panzano's *Ricordi* concerns the death of Antonio di Totto Rinaldo in 1350. This member of the Panzani family was killed by three Gherardini brothers: Piovani, Charllo, and Charsilio. The aggressors wounded Antonio with a spear, which caused his death after six days. The Florentine *podestà* immediately enforced the ordinances 'Chi ofende popolani' ('who harms a *popolano*'). The houses of the three Gherardini were destroyed and their other relatives had to pay a fine of 6000 lire.³⁰ Nevertheless, this was not the end of the conflict. The author of the *Ricordi* wrote that the Gherardini brothers escaped to Naples and the Panzani sent after them a trustful friend, Naccio Lapo Soldani, to follow the Gherardini and inform the family about their whereabouts. In 1347, Naccio died, and the Panzani immediately hurried to Naples to take revenge.³¹ However, before they reached the city, their rivals left for Prato. Naturally, the Panzani followed them but failed again. In 1350, there was a sudden twist of events: the Panzani were informed that Charllo Gherardini returned to Florence and was hiding in Santa Margharita church. The Panzani went to the church where they fought against Charllo and one other Gherardini boy in the campanile. After a short combat, the *podestà* and his men arrived and killed Charllo Gherardini. It's important to note that the *podestà* did not harm the

³⁰ "Antonio di Totto di Rinaldo di messer Cianpolo di messer Ridolfo de' Firidolfi da Panzano fedito fu a morte d'una lancia, solo jo cholpo nella tenpia, dal Piovano ea da Charllo di Baldovinetto e Charsilio tutti de' Gherardini, ma chi gli dié il colpof u Charllo e Chasilio era anche co llui insieme a ffare il fatto, e ffu a dí xxviiiio di novembre 1346 e fu in mercholedí sera all'avemaria di lá dal luogho di Donato Peruzi in su la strada, luogho detto la Chasa dell'Abate. Morí poi lunedì a terza a dí iiiio di dicembre 1346 e riposesi il chorpo ne la chiesa di San Nicholó di Firençe. E seghí che messer Ghuido da Montone allora Podestà di Firençe dié loro bando del chapo a' sopradetti, e piú fu quasto tutti loro chase e beni insino ne' fondamenti. E piú si furono condanati per l'ordine de la giustizia che Chi ofende popolani et cetera, Baldovinetto de messer lo Piovano e Charsilio de Baldovinetto e Arigho del Piovano Gherardini fanciullo in fasscie e Vanni di messer lo Piovano ciaschuno in tutto in L. semila piccoli, e Baldovinetto era in prigione inanzi al chaso d'Antonio detto per alchuna altra chosa, e funne rifermo per l. 6000 dela condanagione," *Firidolfi da Panzano*, pp. 467–468 (A dí 25 di febraio 1420).

³¹ "Il Piovano e Charllo Gherardini andarono a Napoli di dicembre 1346, e Matteo e Lucha di Totto da Panzano mandarono Naccio di Lapo Soldani loro fedele amicho per eser avisati di loro andamenti. Morí il detto Naccio d' aghosto 1347 a Napoli," *Firidolfi da Panzano*, p. 468 (A dí 25 di febraio 1420).

Panzani,³² probably because the Gherardini brothers, banished from Florence, became outlaws. Thus, when Charllo returned to the city without permission, the *podestà* executed the legal judgement.

Similar events happened in 1421. The event that caused vendetta was the death of Matteo Firidolfi, who was killed in 1399 by a man named Giovanni Ciecie. Luca di Firidolfi da Panzano described him as a ‘traitor and assassin’ without any employment. This derogatory description was presumably added by the author because Matteo Firidolfi was his father. It is obvious – as stated by Franek Sznura – that this event must have affected Da Panzano’s words since in 1399 he was only a small child.³³ In 1421, after 22 years, the Panzani family learnt that Ciecie was living in Naples. Then, events similar to those in the Gherardini case followed; the Panzani men hurried to Naples to take revenge the death of Matteo. They stayed there for a month and lived through a lot of troubles – which I will not describe in detail now – and finally, the vendetta was completed, although Luca di Firidolfi did not write about the Ciecie’s killing itself.

Panzani family’s strategy differed from that of the Velluti. They used a similar tactic in 1350 and in 1421. They did everything to finish their family’s vendettas. They used their men as spies (see Naccio Lapo Soldani), and they didn’t spare money and time to hunt for the killers for months or even years. We can assume that in 1421, the Panzani were able to take revenge on Giovanni Ciecie because of his status of a ‘traitor and assassin.’ The Panzani could avenge Matteo Firidolfi because Ciecie was an outsider, probably an outlaw, like the Gherardini brothers. Thus, they found a loophole that gave them the opportunity for seeking revenge.

³² “A dí 13 di giugno 1350 che ffu domenicha in sulla nona settimo come Charllo di Baldovinetto Gherardini ere ochultamente in Santa Margherita a Montisci, e ivi Lucha di Totto da Pançano, chef u poi kavaliere, andó lá com Tommasino d’Antonio suo nipote a chui detto Charllo avea morto il padre e fuvì molti amici, e l’detto Carlo entró nel chanpanile e fé grande difesa, e trassevi a rumore piú conestaboli del Podestá e ’Sevitore e ’lBargiello, in modo l’amazarno a presença del mio nipote Tommasino a chui detto Charllo tolseil padre, e perché piccolo fusse el fanciullo, pure vollemo vi si ritrovasse. E piú presono Lullo suo compagno e jo fanciullo d’anni 14 ch’aveva nome Charsilio di Baldovinetto Gherardini, di che Charllo cosí morto fu dato a la famiglia del Podestá di Firenze e Lullo vivo, e furon Carlo cosí morto e Lullo vivo istrascinati per Firenze a dí 14 di giugno 1350 e impicchati in sulle forche,” *Firidolfi da Panzano*, p. 469 (A dí 25 di febraio 1420).

³³ F. SZNURA, *Luca Firidolfi da Panzano e i suoi ricordi*, [in:] *Firidolfi da Panzano*, pp. 31–98.

Conclusions

In my current studies, I tried to answer the question concerning the potential preparatory steps for a vendetta in the medieval urban context. As demonstrated in this paper, this is like doing a puzzle with the pieces of information hidden, among other things, on the pages of the *ricordi* – private diaries and chronicles – that show individuals' perspectives on the events that directly affected them and their families. According to these records, the micro-scale preparation should start with the tactical assessment of the offender's political and social status. The Velluti planned not just the attack but also the escape route. They exactly knew that the Buondelmonte house would be a safe place for them to hide after Lippo di Simeone's murder. In the case of the Panzani, in both situations, we find some additional information and circumstances. Not only we see the lower social status of the offenders, which allowed the family to start actions aimed at completing their vendetta, but a pattern in the family's behaviour – they used the same methods in 1350 and in 1421. The role of Naccio Lapo Soldani could be similar to the role of Cino Dietisalvi. Although perhaps Naccio's role was closer to being a spy, both cases show us the value of gathering tactical information before taking any violent actions: the families planning their vendettas knew exactly the high importance of accurate intelligence.

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Zoltán Szolnoki

PRZYGOTOWANIE DO WENDETY. WAŚNIE RODZINNE W ŚREDNIOWIECZNEJ TOSKANII

Streszczenie. Według ówczesnych kronikarzy bójki uliczne były codziennością średniowiecznych miast tokańskich. W środowisku miejskim trzeba było zachować gotowość psychiczną i taktyczną do walki, a także wykazywać się znajomością powiązań politycznych funkcjonujących w miastach. Chociaż tło tych konfliktów opisywali przede wszystkim wielcy twórcy historii miejskiej, tacy jak Giovanni Villani i Dino Compagni, istnieją również szczególne źródła, tzw. *ricordanze*, które ukazują różne mniej znane elementy tych „wojen w skali mikro”. Wspomniane źródła, które można określić mianem pamiętników kupieckich, prezentowały bardziej osobisty punkt widzenia niż wielkie kroniki, a w odniesieniu do badań nad źródłami konfliktów miały bardziej praktyczny charakter. Wendeta Vellutich–Mannellich, która trwała w 1295 r. i została opisana przez Donato Vellutiego, uzmysławia nam, że czas i miejsce zdarzeń były świadomie planowane. Ataki przygotowywano nie tylko od strony politycznej i taktycznej, ale też od strony ekonomicznej – co wynika także z kroniki Luca di Firidolfi da Panzano, który opisał polowanie na morderców swojego ojca (mściciele przemierzali setki kilometrów i wykorzystywali narzędzia średniowiecznego zwiadu i sztuki szpiegowskiej). W artykule autor wyjaśnia i analizuje myśli osób spisujących *ricordanze*, kończąc swój wywód dyskusją na temat strategii rozwiązywania konfliktów. Chociaż dla średniowiecznych pisarzy najważniejszymi elementami były same walki,

to na podstawie tych części *ricordanze*, które wspominają o tle konfliktów, oraz logicznej struktury narracji możemy również prześledzić sytuacje, jakie doprowadziły do wojny, i podjąć próbę analizy strategii przyjętych przez zwaśnione rodziny w zakresie przygotowań do wendety oraz planowania ataków i potyczek.

Słowa kluczowe: vendetta, wendeta, Velluti, Mannelli, Panzani, *ricordanze*, teoria gier, kroniki włoskie, zemsta, Toskania

Золтан Сольноки

ПОДГОТОВКА К ВЕНДЕТТЕ. СЕМЕЙНЫЕ РАСПРИ В СРЕДНЕВЕКОВОЙ ТОСКАНЕ

Аннотация. Согласно хроникам того времени, уличные бои были обычным явлением в средневековых тосканских городах. В городской среде необходимо было постоянно поддерживать психологическую и тактическую готовность, а также демонстрировать знание функционирующих в городах политических связей. Хотя фон этих конфликтов был описан в основном великими историками города, такими как Джованни Виллани и Дино Компани, существуют и конкретные источники, так называемые *ricordanze*, которые раскрывают различные менее известные элементы этих «микровойн». Эти источники, которые можно охарактеризовать как купеческие дневники, представляли собой более личную точку зрения, чем великие хроники, а в отношении исследования источников конфликтов носили более практический характер. Вендетта Веллутти-Маннелли, которая произошла в 1295 г. и была описана Донато Веллутти, заставляет нас осознать, что время и место событий были запланированы сознательно. Атаки готовились не только с политической и тактической точек зрения, но и с экономической, что видно и из хроники Луки ди Фиридольфи да Панцано, описавшего охоту на убийц своего отца – мстители прошли сотни километров и использовали инструменты средневековой разведки и искусства шпионажа. В статье автор объясняет и анализирует мышление людей, пишущих *ricordanze*, заканчивая свою аргументацию обсуждением стратегий разрешения конфликтов. Хотя для средневековых писателей наиболее важными элементами были сами бои, из тех частей *ricordanze*, которые упоминают предысторию конфликтов и благодаря их логической повествовательной структуре, мы также можем проследить ситуации, которые привели к войне. В то же время можно попытаться проанализировать стратегии, принятые враждующими семьями при подготовке к вендетте и планировании нападений и стычек.

Ключевые слова: вендетта, Веллутти, Маннелли, Панцани, *ricordanze*, теория игр, итальянские хроники, месть, Тоскана