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MARCO MERLO, FABIO ROMANONI e PETER SPOSATO



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Stamp of the Teutonic Knights from the 14th century. (“Visitatorum Magister in Allemaniae”). Material: brass Deutschordens-Zentralarchiv, Singerstraße 7, 1010 Vienna, Austria Foto Frank Bayard 2012 Wikimedia Commons CC SA 3.0

Florentine Military Men in the Age of the 1427 Catasto: A Preliminary Examination

by PETER SPOSATO

The Florentine war with Visconti Milan (1423-1428), one in a series of wars starting in 1390 and continuing until 1454, required the city of Florence to maintain a significant number of soldiers under contract and in the field for extended periods of time, as campaigns were fought across central and northern Italy.¹ The significant costs associated with this type of military undertaking necessitated new forms of taxation, including those made possible by the Catasto of 1427-30, a comprehensive assessment of Florentine citizens and their assets and occupations.² While the decision to institute the Catasto was closely connected to the financial exigencies of war, its value as a source for

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- 1 There is a large body of scholarship on the Florentine-Visconti Wars: William Caferro, *John Hawkwood: An English Mercenary in Fourteenth-Century Italy* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press, 2006), 271-309; Gene Brucker, *The Civic World of Early Renaissance Florence* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1977), especially chapters 3, 4, 6-8; John Najemy, *A History of Florence, 1200-1575* (Malden: Blackwell Publishing, 2006), 189-200; Giorgio Chittolini, *La formazione dello Stato regionale e le istituzioni del contado. Secoli XIV e XV* (Torino: Einaudi, 1979); Andrea Zorzi, "The 'Material Constitution' of the Florentine Dominion," in *Florentine Tuscany: Structures and Practices of Power*, eds. W.J. Connell and A. Zorzi (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 6-31; and Antonio Lanza, *Firenze contro Milano: gli intellettuali fiorentini nelle guerre con i Visconti (1390-1440)* (Rome: De Rubéis, 1991).
- 2 David Herlihy and Christiane Klapisch-Zuber, *Tuscans and their Families: A Study of the Florentine Catasto of 1427* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1985) remains the primary study of the Catasto in English. See also Anthony Molho, *Florentine Public Finances in the Early Renaissance, 1400-1433* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1971); Elio Conti, *L'imposta diretta a Firenze nel Quattrocento (1427-1494)* (Roma, 1984); and G. Petralia, "Imposizione diretta e dominio territoriale nella repubblica fiorentina del Quattrocento", in *Società, istituzioni, spiritualità. Studi in onore di Cinzio Violante* (Spoleto, 1994), 639-652.

studying Florentine military men in the first quarter of the fifteenth century is rather less clear.

Indeed, few military historians to date have utilized the rich data contained in the 1427 Catasto. Simone Picchianti's study is one recent exception, examining how periods of intense warfare impacted vectors of social mobility and choice of profession in fifteenth century Florence. By comparing the 1427 Catasto with the *condotte* (contracts) registered in the Florentine cameral budget records in 1430, he revealed that many non-elite Florentines who had declared a variety of different occupations in the Catasto records were, three years later, listed in the budgets as soldiers contracted to serve in the Florentine army.³ Picchianti argues convincingly that this change was opportunistic, as Florentines in comparatively large numbers left their trades to become soldiers, an occupation that offered more lucrative remuneration during the prolonged wars with Visconti Milan.⁴

While Picchianti's study demonstrates the Catasto's utility for examining the activities of non-elite Florentines who subsequently became soldiers in the years following the census, its value is far more limited when used exclusively to identify elite men who performed military service for pay. This includes those who served as captains, corporals or ordinary soldiers in the decades surrounding the Catasto. The reason is that with very few exceptions elite Florentine men who regularly served in a number of different military roles did not claim the occupation of soldier in their Catasto declarations. In fact, most heads of households, as well as all adult men who resided in a relative's household and were counted as dependents (*bocche*), did not provide any occupation data at all. This reflects the fluid nature of the notions of profession/occupation during this period.⁵ In-

3 For a discussion of Florentine infantry captains in the mid-fourteenth century who were not professional soldiers, see Caferro, *Petrarch's War: Florence and the Black Death in Context* (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 2018), 73ff.

4 Simone Picchianti, "L'esercito ordinario fiorentino a inizio Quattrocento. Una prima ricerca", *Nuova Antologia Militare: Rivista interdisciplinare della società italiana di storia militare* 5.17 (February 2024), 511-32, and idem, "Changing Craft in the Early Renaissance: Florentine Citizens and the Profession of Arms (1427-1430)", *Faces of War* 1 (2024), 27-44.

5 Herlihy and Klapisch-Zuber, *Tuscans and Their Families*, 115, 122, 123-24: 43.5% of family heads in Florence did not declare an occupation. That most of these men were actively employed by the Florentine government is clear from Laura De Angelis and Vicki Whittaker, trans., "Florence's Ruling Class at the turn of the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries", *Revue française de science politique* 64.6 (2014): 1123-37, which offers a use-

deed, an investigation of the declarations made by the heads of elite households, specifically lineages that are considered by Anthony Molho to be “high status” for the period, reveals that members of this group in general did not declare an occupation; only 190 heads of the 778 total households did so.⁶ And only five of those 190 heads of household declared soldier as their occupation: Ferretto Giano Albizzi, Rinieri Ridolfo Lotti, Iacopo Giovanni Medici, Nanno di Jacopo Nerli, and Pagolo d’Andrea Rossi.

The current essay argues that far more heads of elite households and dependents within those elite households performed military service for pay than this short list suggests. Indeed, the occupation data recorded in the Catasto obscures the important and continuous role many elite men played in the military affairs of the city of Florence in the early Quattrocento. By focusing on elite Florentine men—specifically men from traditional martial lineages who found themselves increasingly pushed to the margins of the political, social, and economic elite by the early fifteenth century—this study makes an original contribution to a growing body of scholarship that emphasizes the continued presence and importance of a sizeable native element in the Florentine armies of the fourteenth and early fifteenth century.⁷ Like other Italian nobles, members of the traditional martial

ful overview of the varied “professional” activities that elite Florentine men carried out on behalf of the government. As with the occupation of soldier, very few members of the Florentine elite declared government employee as their occupation in the Catasto. For notions of career and professionalism in the military context, see the important discussion in Caferro, *Petrarch’s War* and idem, “Shadow Bureaucrats and Bureaucracy in Trecento Florence,” in S. Bowd, S. Cockram, and J. Gagné, eds., *Shadow Agents of Renaissance War: Suffering, Supporting, and Supplying Conflict in Italy and Beyond* (Amsterdam University Press, 2013), 123–46. See also Paolo Grillo, “Carriere militari e mobilità sociale nel dominio visconteo (1329–1402),” in A. Gamberini, ed., *La mobilità sociale nel Medioevo italiano, II- Stato e istituzioni, secoli XIV–XV* (Rome: Viella, 2017), 237–56; Alessio Fiore, “L’attività militare come vettore di mobilità sociale (1250–1350),” in Sandro Carocci, *La mobilità sociale nel medioevo* (Collection de l’École Française de Rome, 436) (Rome: École Française de Rome, 2010), 381–407; and Suzanne Sutherland, *The Rise of the Military Entrepreneur: War, Diplomacy, and Knowledge in Habsburg Europe* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2022).

6 Anthony Molho, *Marriage Alliance in Late Medieval Florence* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), chapter 5 defines the categories of “high status”, “status”, and “low status”, while Appendix 3 lists the lineages and their status.

7 Peter Sposato has studied this group’s military activities in the period c.1250–1362 in his *Forged in the Shadow of Mars: Chivalry and Violence in Late Medieval Florence* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2022), 143–188. See also C. Klapisch-Zuber, *Ritorno alla politica: I magnati fiorentini, 1340–1440*, trans. Isabelle Chabot and Paolo Pirillo (Rome: Viel-

elite held contracts to command soldiers or served as men-at-arms (mounted or on foot) during this period, selling their specialized labor in a robust market for mercenaries in which Florence was only one of many potential employers.⁸ In some cases, this military service was opportunistic or in response to economic exigencies—it was, as Picchianti observes, a relatively inexpensive and easy task to become a *provvigionato*—but even in these cases it continued martial family traditions dating back to at least the late thirteenth century.⁹

The lineages of the traditional martial elite had their origins either in the consular aristocracy which ruled Florence in the late-twelfth and first half of the thirteenth century or among certain lineages of the *popolo grasso*, coming together in

la, 2009), 377-99. Caferro, “Toward an Understanding of Florentine Infantry in the Age of Companies of Adventure”, *Nuova Antologia Militare* 4.13 (2023): 119-38, especially 126ff, discusses the continued importance of Florentine infantry captains like Giovanni Visdomini; idem, *Petrarch’s War*, in particular 49-83; idem, “Comparative Economy and Martial Corporatism: Toward an Understanding of Florentine City Leagues, 1332-1392”, *Speculum* 97.4 (October 2022), 1073-1100, and idem, “The Florentine Army in the Age of the Companies of Adventure”, *Millars* 43.2 (2017): 129-50, likewise stress the continued importance of a native element in the Florentine armies of the fourteenth century.

- 8 The literature on mercenaries in late medieval Italy is extensive, see in particular Michael Mallett, *Mercenaries and their Masters: Warfare in Renaissance Italy* (South Yorkshire: Pen & Sword Military, 2009); idem, “Preparations for War in Florence et Venice in the Second Half of the Fifteenth Century,” in S. Bertelli, N. Rubinstein, and C.H. Smyth, eds., *Florence et Venice: Comparisons and Relations* (Firenze, La Nuova Italia, 1979), 49- 64; M.N. Covini, “Condottieri ed eserciti permanenti negli stati italiani del XV secolo in alcuni studi recenti”, *Nuova rivista storica* 69 (1985): 329-352; Christine Shaw, *Barons and Castellans: The Military Nobility of Renaissance Italy* (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2015); G.M. Varanini, “Il mercenariato,” in P. Grillo, A.A. Settia, eds., *Guerre ed eserciti nel Medioevo* (Bologna: 2018), 249-82; the essays in Mario Del Treppo, ed., *Condottieri e uomini d’arme nell’Italia del Rinascimento* (Naples, 2002); F. Ansani, “Oltre i signori, dopo i mercenari per una rilettura del rapporto tra istituzioni militari e stato rinascimentale”, *Annali dell’Istituto Italiano per gli Studi Storici* 33 (2021): 29-101; Duccio Balestracci, “The Metamorphosis of the Condottiere: From Brigand to Renaissance Hero,” in *Condottieri: War and Society in Central Italy during the Fourteenth Century*, ed. Stefania Zucchini (Perugia: Uguccione Ranieri di Sorbello Foundation, 2006), 22-39; A.A. Settia, “‘Viriliter et competeter’: l’uomo di guerra,” in *Ceti, modelli, compromenti nella società medievale (secoli XIII-metà XIV)* (Rome: Viella, 2001), 99-122; and the many studies of William Caferro cited throughout this essay.
- 9 Picchianti, “Changing Craft in the Early Renaissance”, 42. For family traditions of military service in the Duecento and first-half of the Trecento, see Sposato, *Forged in the Shadow of Mars*, 143-50. Balestracci, “The Metamorphosis of the Condottiere”, 27 and Shaw, *Barons and Castellans*, 100-47 make similar arguments for the larger Italian context in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.

the late thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries to form what Silvia Diacciati has termed the *milizia*.¹⁰ Recently, Peter Sposato has defined this group as a chivalric elite, a cultural community of elite men and lineages united by a chivalric lifestyle and ethos constituted in large part by the cultivation of the life of arms.¹¹ Although membership in this cultural community fluctuated over time, a core group of lineages remained pillars of the martial lifestyle through our period. This essay will utilize the chivalric elite terminology and will focus on a representative group of these lineages: the Adimari-Cavicciuli, Agli, Bardi, Buondelmonti, Cavalcanti, Donati, Frescobaldi, Galli, Gherardini, Gianfigliuzzi, Nerli, Pazzi, Pigli, Rossi, Soldanieri, Squarcialupi, Tornaquinci, and Della Tosa. The members of these lineages were not homogenous in their martial activity—some regularly went to war, others served occasionally for pay alternating between the sword and accounting book during their careers, others did not serve—nevertheless each lineage included men for whom the life of arms was a constitutive feature of their identity.¹² Importantly, this service is not, for the most part, reflected in the Catasto.

Military Service: A Preliminary Overview

It is possible to trace the military activities of individual men across this period thanks to detailed records kept by the late medieval Florentine government. Cameral budgets, specifically the expenditures (*uscita*) and stipends (*stipendiari*), document war-time expenses, including *condotte*—contracts with very specific terms of service, including a starting date, duration of service, type of service, unit size, and pay—agreed between the Florentine government and military

10 For the consular aristocracy, see Enrico Faini, *Firenze nell'età romanica (1000-1211): L'espansione urbana, lo sviluppo istituzionale, il rapporto con il territorio* (Florence: L.S. Olschki, 2010); Maria Elena Cortese, *Signori, castelli, città: L'aristocrazia del territorio fiorentino tra X e XII secolo* (Florence: L.S. Olschki, 2007); Jean-Claude Maire Vigueur, *Cavalieri e cittadini: Guerra, conflitti e società nell'Italia comunale* (Bologna: Il Mulino, 2004) offers important general observations about the larger "Italian" knightly class to which the consular aristocracy belonged; and Carol Lansing, *The Florentine Magnates: Lineage and Faction in a Medieval Commune* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1991), 89-93. For the *milizia*, see Silvia Diacciati, *Popolani e magnate. Società e politica nella Firenze del Duecento* (Spoleto: Fondazione Centro Italiano di Studi Sull'Alto Medioevo, 2011), 20.

11 Sposato, *Forged in the Shadow of Mars*, 6-16.

12 Balestracci, "The Metamorphosis of the Condottiere", 24 and Shaw observes similar patterns among the "military nobility" of Renaissance Italy: *Barons and Castellans*, 147.

captains. The voluminous and varied documents produced by the Dieci di Balìa, a semi-permanent council created in 1384 and charged with managing military affairs, record additional contracts with and payments made to military captains, including native Florentines.

These records are particularly rich for the Quattrocento; the documentary basis for this essay alone comprises around 100 volumes. A preliminary examination of the detailed records found in these volumes allows for the identification of over 800 Florentine military men and around 75-100 members of the chivalric lineages in question who performed military service across the first three decades of the fifteenth century, although more examples are likely to emerge after the documentary evidence is examined in its entirety. In general, these men enjoyed contracts ranging in length from one month to one year, with four- and six-month contracts the most common duration of service. The contracts stipulate various kinds of service, including as captains or constables (*connestabili*) and corporals (*caporali*) who led units of various sizes and composition, with some men commanding two or three soldiers and others commanding several hundred.¹³ Others

13 Fabrizio Ansani, "Military Archives of Renaissance Florence: Resolutions and Book-keeping of the Dieci di Balìa and the Otto di Pratica", *European History Quarterly* 48.3 (2018): 409-34, discusses the archival sources and relevant terminology. See also Picchianti, "Changing Craft", 29-30 and idem, "L'esercito ordinario Fiorentino a inizio Quattrocento", 514-16. Mallett, *Mercenaries and their Masters* remains the most comprehensive treatment of warfare in late medieval and Renaissance Italy. William Caferro has published extensively on both the Florentine and the larger Italian contexts: see the works mentioned in previous footnotes, plus "Continuity, Long-Term Service, and Permanent Forces: A Reassessment of the Florentine Army in the Fourteenth Century", *The Journal of Modern History* 80 (June 2008): 219-51. For Visconti Milan, see: Maria Nadia Covini, "Per la storia delle milizie viscontee: i famigliari armigeri di Filippo Maria Visconti," in L. Chiappa Mauri, L. De Angelis Cappabianca, Patrizia Mainoni, eds., *L'età dei Visconti. Il dominio di Milano fra XIII e XV secolo* (Milan: La Storia, 1993), 35-63; Fabio Romanoni, "Balestrieri, pavesari e lance lunghe: la tripartizione funzionale delle cernite di Gian Galeazzo Visconti del 1397," in "*Castrum paene in mundo singulare*". *Scritti per Aldo Settia in occasione del novantesimo compleanno*, eds. Simone Caldano, Gianmarco De Angelis, Cristina La Rocca (Genoa: Sagep Editori, 2023), 214-19; idem, "Familiarità e servizio. I nobiles provixionati viscontei", *Nuova Rivista Storica* 106.3 (September-December 2022): 1155-84; Alessandra Dattero, "Towards a New Social Category: The Military," in Andrea Gamberini, ed., *A Companion to Late Medieval and Early Modern Milan: The Distinctive Features of an Italian State* (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2014), 454-76; Paolo Grillo, "12.000 uomini, di cui 6.000 con lance lunghe e 3.000 con pancere e mannaie'. L'esercito milanese agli inizi del Trecento", *Società e Storia* 116 (2007): 233-53; and relevant essays in Federica Cengarle and Maria Nadia Covini, eds., *Il ducato di Filippo Maria Visconti, 1412-1447. Economia, politica, cultura* (Florence: Firenze University Press, 2015).

served as individual soldiers (*provvigionati*): crossbowmen, shield-bearing soldiers, mounted men-at-arms, and knights.

Captains and Corporals

Several members of the chivalric lineages at the center of this study held contracts to serve as captains or corporals a decade or more before the Florentine-Visconti war that led to the Catasto. For example, Francesco di Filippo Adimari held over the period 1413-1416 contracts ranging in length from six months to one year to command sizeable contingents of soldiers: 20 lances (each lance unit consisted of three men: a man-at-arms supported by a squire and a page, each with his own horse) for one year starting 6 September 1413, fourteen lances for six months starting 26 September 1414, ten lances for six months starting 1 April 1415, and a contract for the same terms beginning 1 Oct. 1415.¹⁴ Months after completing this last contract, Francesco di Filippo took his services to Siena, where in July of 1416 he agreed to a contract to command twenty lances in that city's army for the remainder of the year.¹⁵ Francesco once again appears in the Florentine *cameral* budgets in 1424 where he is listed as commanding fifty-five lances for six months starting on 11 August of that year.¹⁶ These commands are substantial and suggest that Francesco di Filippo was a well-regarded and experienced military man, a "professional" captain, a fact substantiated by the continued role he played in Florentine military affairs well into the 1440s.¹⁷

Piero di Francesco Squarcialupi agreed periodic military contracts to command units of various sizes and compositions across an even greater stretch of time, 1415-1438. In 1415, Piero di Francesco is listed among the Florentine stipendiaries as a corporal commanding one lance for six months starting on April

14 Archivio di Stato di Firenze (ASF), Stipendiati del comune 5, 3r, 23r, 27r, 29v. [NB: All archival sources are from the ASF unless otherwise noted].

15 Archivio di Stato di Siena (ASSi), Biccherna, Condotte 641, 51r.

16 Dieci di Balìa, Deliberazioni, Condotte, e Stanziamenti 13, 131r.

17 Dieci di Balìa, Deliberazioni, Condotte, e Stanziamenti 15, 121r. Tratte 984, 16r: Francesco is listed in the Tratte registers as castellan of Castiglione della Pescaia in September 1445. He held similar offices several times during the 1440s. For discussions of "professional" military captains in the Trecento Florentine context, see Caferro, *Petrarch's War*, 70-3 and the studies listed above.

9 of that year.¹⁸ After more than a decade, Piero di Francesco reappears in the autumn of 1427, this time in command of six infantry, including four crossbowmen, and charged with guarding Pianetto castle (approximately fifty kilometers north-east of Florence) for four months.¹⁹ In March 1428 he agreed a new contract with the same terms for a further four months, followed by an additional six month contract to guard a different fortress, the castle of Montanina (south of Arezzo).²⁰ The cameral budgets for 1437-8 contain Piero di Francesco's final contract, this time to guard the "piazza [sic] di signori" from 16 October 1437 through the end of April 1438.²¹

Zaccaria di Jacopo Frescobaldi entered into contracts with Florence over an even longer period of time, beginning in the late 1390s and then after a prolonged break, starting again in the 1420s. Zaccaria's first contract dates to December 1397, when he secured a four-month contract as a corporal in command of a small force of mixed infantry.²² A similar contract was agreed in December 1398 that kept him in the employ of the Florentine government through April 1399.²³ Zaccaria subsequently disappears from the Florentine records for more than two decades before reappearing in April 1421, when he secured a six-month contract to command a mixed unit of six infantry, including three crossbowmen.²⁴ This was followed in January 1423 by a series of four and six month contracts to command the same number of men that carried through the fall of 1425.²⁵

Although the duration of the military service these men provided was likely exceptional in length, the kinds of service undertaken, specifically leading units of infantry of various sizes and composition, was in line with the contracts for shorter durations held by many other members of the Florentine chivalric elite.

18 Stipendiati del comune 5, 27v

19 Dieci di Balia, Deliberazioni, Condotte, e Stanziamenti 15, 231v, 269v, 273v, 275r; Stipendiati del comune 5, 231r.

20 Stipendiati del comune, 5, 242v; Camera del comune, Scrivano di uscita duplicato 206, 21v and 209, 8r.

21 Scrivano di uscita duplicato 259, 101r.

22 Dieci di Balia, Deliberazioni, Condotte, e Stanziamenti 7, 195v.

23 Camarlinghi Uscita 322, 14v.

24 Stipendiati del comune, 5, 71r.

25 Stipendiati del comune, 5, 77r, 79r, 81r, 89r, 103v, 119r, 133v; Dieci di Balia, Deliberazioni, Condotte, e Stanziamenti 12, 14r & 13, 119v & 14, 41v; Camarlinghi Uscita 379, 83v, 87v, 305r & 381, 83v; Camera del comune, Scrivano di uscita duplicato 189, 34r.

For example, Lupo di Squarcia Squarcialupi, Piero di Francesco's kinsman, held multiple contracts in the second half of the 1420s. In late May 1425 he was in the employ of the Florentine government on a four-month contract to command twelve crossbowmen stationed at the fortress of Montevecchio.²⁶ Additional four-month contracts with Lupo in command of the same number of men followed: 31 December 1425-April 1426, 30 April-August, 31 August-December 1426.²⁷ A one-month contract beginning 31 December to serve as a captain ("conestabole") in the same fortress meant that this service continued into 1427.²⁸ Gino di Marente Buondelmonti, whose lineage was among the most ancient and militaristic, likewise held a series of four-month contracts to serve as captain of sixteen crossbowmen which kept him continuously in the employ of the Florentine government during the period 1424-1426: 30 November 1424-30 March 1425, 9 April-8 August 1425, 8 August-8 December 1425, and 8 December 1425-8 April 1426.²⁹

Sinibaldo di Sinibaldo Donati entered into comparable contracts, beginning in March 1425 when he was captain of a band of nine crossbowmen for four months at the castle of Piancaldoli (located about 50km northeast of Florence).³⁰ This was followed by consecutive four-month contracts with the same terms lasting until March 1426.³¹ He reappears in September 1430 in the registers of soldiers and other military officials kept by the treasury officials where he is listed as a captain ("chonestabile") but the entry does not specify the terms or duration of the service and a related contract does not appear in contemporary budget records.³²

Andrea di Soldo Nerli likewise was contracted to command infantry in the service of the Florentine government almost continuously from March 1424 to March 1426. His first contract dates to 7 March 1424 when he is listed in the

26 Dieci di Balia, Deliberazioni, Condotte, e Stanziamenti 15, 37r; Stipendiati del comune 5, 165r.

27 Stipendiati del comune 5, 191r, 196v, 206r.

28 Dieci di Balia, Ricordanze 4, 11v.

29 Dieci di Balia, Deliberazioni, Condotte, e Stanziamenti 15, 2v, 22r, 42v, 57v; Stipendiati del comune 5, 142v, 155v, 168v, 177v, 201v. His monthly salary fluctuated between 13-15 florins across all of these contracts, suggesting he was a captain, although this is not made explicit in the records.

30 Stipendiati del comune 5, 155v.

31 Stipendiati del comune 5, 171v, 177v; Dieci di Balia, Deliberazioni, Condotte, e Stanziamenti 15, 22r, 47v.

32 Camera del comune, Provveditori e ufficiali di Banco, spese per condotte 41, 202v.

register of stipendiaries as a corporal in command of fourteen crossbowmen for four months.³³ The number of crossbowmen increased to twenty in the subsequent four month contract, which began on 27 July 1424.³⁴ On 23 January 1425 he appears under contract as captain (“chonestabole”) of an even larger force of fifty crossbowmen for four months, although the number of soldiers was reduced a week later to ten (six crossbowmen and four shield-bearing soldiers).³⁵ Andrea began a new four month contract in July 1425, once again serving as captain of thirty crossbowmen.³⁶ A final four month contract with similar terms dates to 9 November 1425, meaning that he remained employed by the Florentine government until at least March 1426.³⁷ Much like Andrea di Soldo, Baldassare d’Aparido Donati seems to have advanced within the hierarchy of Florentine infantry during the 1420s. He first appears as *provvigionato* in the citadel of Pisa in 1424 where he served for four months.³⁸ His next contract, which began in August 1427, lists him as a captain of five mixed infantry, including three crossbowmen, for six months.³⁹ His kinsman, Donato di Giovanni Donati, in contrast, moved in the opposite direction in the hierarchy. Donato’s first contract listed him as a corporal in command of eight infantry for four months from July-October 1424 and then again from May-August 1426.⁴⁰ A decade later, he appears as a crossbowman serving a six month contract in Livorno in 1437-38.⁴¹ In this way Andrea, Baldassare, and Donato align with the observations Caferro made about the fluid hierarchy and room for advancement within the Florentine infantry in the Trecento.⁴²

Rosso del Boneca Rossi ostensibly began serving the Florentine government

33 Stipendiati del comune 5, 106v: his monthly salary of four florins suggests he was a corporal, not a captain.

34 Stipendiati del comune 5, 123r.

35 Dieci di Balìa, Deliberazioni, Condotte, e Stanziamenti 15, 12r, 14r; Stipendiati del comune 5, 149r, 150r; Scrivano di uscita duplicato 187, 79v.

36 Stipendiati del comune 5, 167r; Dieci di Balìa, Deliberazioni, Condotte, e Stanziamenti 15, 40r, 42r: The details of this particular contract seem to have changed a week later when the thirty crossbowmen became twenty-nine crossbowmen and one horse.

37 Stipendiati del comune 5, 177r.

38 Stipendiati del comune 5, 126r.

39 Camarlinghi Uscita 381 ters., 21r.

40 Stipendiati del comune 5, 123r, 200r.

41 Scrivano di uscita duplicato 259, 44v.

42 Caferro, *Petrarch’s War*, 73.

in September 1424 with a four-month contract to captain one lance and fifty-five infantry.⁴³ Two consecutive four-month contracts with the same terms followed: 22 January-22 May 1425 and 23 May-22 September.⁴⁴ Rosso continued to hold four-month contracts but the composition of the band he captained changed with each new contract: the first, 23 September 1425-22 January 1426, stipulated that Rosso captain twenty infantry, including thirteen crossbowmen; the second, 23 January-22 May 1426, recorded a significant increase to one lance and 100 infantry, including sixty-six crossbowmen; and the third, 23 May-22 September, reduced the number of infantry to eighty.⁴⁵ Although the subsequent four-month contract (23 September 1426-22 January 1427) retained these terms, the one that followed (27 February-26 June 1427) involved further changes to the band; this time Rosso captained one lance and fifty-five infantry, including thirty-three crossbowmen.⁴⁶ After several years of loyal service to the Florentine government, however, Rosso met an ignominious end. Giovanni Cavalcanti recounts in his *Istorie fiorentine* that Rosso turned rebel in 1431, handing over to the mercenary captain Niccolò Piccinino several Pisan castles in his charge. Cavalcanti describes Rosso as a “spiteful and bestial man” (“uomo dispettoso e bestiale”) who betrayed Florence out of “bestial enmity” (“bestiale nimistà”), resulting in the imprisonment of his young family and his eventual death at the hands of his nephews.⁴⁷

For other members of the chivalric elite, military service as captains and corporals began years before the Catasto and continued into the 1430s. Illustrative of this are Carlo d’Agnolo Rossi’s contracts, which record his captaincy of comparatively large bands of soldiers. Carlo’s first contract began in late December 1423 and stipulates that he was to captain a band of 100 soldiers, including sixty-six crossbowmen, for four months.⁴⁸ The terms of Carlo’s second contract, 27 May-27 September 1424, include the addition of three lances to the aforementioned

43 Deliberazioni, Condotte, e Stanziamenti 13, 139r; Stipendiati del comune 5, 132r.

44 Stipendiati del comune 5, 149r, 163v.

45 Stipendiati del comune 5, 176v, 185v, 198v.

46 Stipendiati del comune 5, 207v, 216v.

47 Giovanni Cavalcanti, *Istorie fiorentine*, vol. 1 (Florence, 1838), 425-26.

48 Stipendiati del comune 5, 95v; Camarlinghi Uscita 380, 58v; Scrivano di uscita duplicato 187, 92r.

band of 100 soldiers.⁴⁹ Carlo continued to captain fairly large bands in the years after the Catasto, as when he held a contract to lead forty-four crossbowmen for four months beginning in November 1431.⁵⁰

The captains and corporals discussed above confirm the continuity of military service among members of the chivalric elite into the early Quattrocento, traditions which stretched back for some lineages to the mid-Duecento. Table 1, which lists the captains and corporals for whom contracts and other evidence of military service survives, suggests that they were not exceptional in their cultivation of the life of arms but rather were joined by many of their kinsmen. There is a remarkable consistency in the duration of the contracts listed in the table, with most set at four to six months. Likewise, most of the captains and corporals led small bands of crossbowmen or mixed infantry (crossbowmen and shield-bearing soldiers); only a few commanded large bands of lances or infantry.

SEE TABLE 1 1 *Captains and Corporals*

Men from chivalric lineages continued to serve as captains and corporals into the 1430s and 1440s. As table 2 below makes clear, the contracts show a certain stability across the two periods, both in terms of the composition of the units and the duration of contracts. For example, they continued to lead relatively small bands of infantry, mostly crossbowmen, with a few listed as captains of large forces: Ranieri di Giovanni Montebuoni (Buondelmonti) captained 100 lances and sixty-six infantry and Carlo d'Agnolo Rossi led three lances and 100 infantry.⁵¹ They also continued to hold contracts that were four and six months in length. Evidence of fluidity within the hierarchy appears in this period as well with Bartolomeo Donati serving first as a crossbowman in the citadel of Pisa in 1431 before holding contracts as a captain of between six and nine infantry in 1437 and 1438.⁵²

SEE TABLE 2 *Captains and Corporals with contracts in the 1430s and 1440s*

49 Stipendiati del comune 5, 113r; Camarlinghi Uscita 380, 63r; Scrivano di uscita duplicato 187, 102r.

50 Deliberazioni, Condotte, e Stanziamenti 16, 20r.

51 Deliberazioni, Condotte, e Stanziamenti 16, 101v. For Carlo's earlier contracts, see footnotes 48-50 above.

52 Camarlinghi Uscita 382, 38v; Scrivano di Uscita Duplicato 259, 98v & 266, 13r.

Provvigionati

Other members of the chivalric lineages in question held contracts to serve as ordinary soldiers (*provvigionati*), usually crossbowmen (*balestrieri*) or shield-bearing soldiers (*palvesari*).⁵³ The choice to serve as an ordinary crossbowman or shield-bearing soldier might, at first glance, seem beneath the dignity of the scion of a chivalric lineage. However, this practice turns out to be relatively common and can likely be explained by financial exigency or by the limited opportunities open to the younger sons of elite households.⁵⁴ Occasionally an individual served as a mounted man-at-arms or a cavalryman, as was the case with Niccolò d'Antonio Cavalcanti.⁵⁵

The most common length for the contracts *provvigionati* held during this period was six months, with the occasional shorter contract appearing in the records. Most held consecutive contracts lasting over several years, confirming a pattern that emerged during the examination of the captains and corporals above. For example, Nanni di Jacopo Nerli initially enjoyed a series of four- and six-month contracts to command Florentine crossbowmen in the territory and fortresses of Pisa from the summer of 1423 to 1425 and again in 1428.⁵⁶ This service was followed by contracts to serve as a crossbowman for six months in Pisa (July-December 1434) and then possibly six months in Arezzo (May-October 1436).⁵⁷ His kinsman, Nanni di Nerlo Nerli, was similarly a crossbowman employed by the Florentine government in a series of contracts stipulating he serve in various parts of the Florentine *distretto*: March-August 1422, November 1423 (Pisa), 21 December 1423-20 June 1424 (Livorno), 21 June-20 December 1424 (Livorno).⁵⁸

53 For an overview of the scholarship on Florentine and "Italian" infantry during this period, see Caferro, "Toward an Understanding of Florentine Infantry" and the studies cited therein.

54 Lansing, *The Florentine Magnates*, 21, 45, 161-63. Caferro, *Petarch's War* offers an extensive discussion of the intersection of war and the economy in late medieval Italy. See also Sposato, *Forged in the Shadow of Mars*, 143-50, and Picchianti, "L'esercito ordinario Fiorentino a inizio Quattrocento", 511-32, and idem, "Changing Craft in the Early Renaissance", 27-44, which explore economic exigency and military service among ordinary Florentines during the early Quattrocento.

55 Entrata e uscita 3, 2r, 51v, 52v, 67v.

56 Camarlinghi Uscita 379, 156r, 216r, 219r & 380, 30r, 67v & 381, 63v & 381-bis, 43r, 90r; Scrivano di Uscita Duplicato 184, 75v & 187, 49r.

57 Camarlinghi Uscita 386, 18v; Scrivano di Uscita Duplicato 252, 49v.

58 Stipendiati del comune 5, 68r; Scrivano di Uscita Duplicato 172, 71v & 184, 43v, 72v, 78r;

Piero di Lapo Pigli secured a series of two and six month contracts to serve as a shield-bearing soldier in the citadel of Pisa almost continuously from 1425 through mid-1428: two six-month contracts in 1425 (29 January to 20 June and 21 June to 21 December);⁵⁹ two-month contracts to perform the same service from 21 April-21 June 1426 and 17 October-20 December 1426; six-month contracts on the same terms lasting from 21 December 1426 to June 1427,⁶⁰ June to December 1427, and finally December 1427 until June 1428.⁶¹ Stefano di Niccolò Rossi, kinsman of the previously discussed Rossi men, entered Florentine service in the early 1420s. His first contract stipulated that he serve as a crossbowman from 8 February through the end of April 1422.⁶² This was followed by a contract to perform the same service in the citadel of Pisa for six months beginning 1 June 1423.⁶³ Continuous six-month contracts followed to perform the same service through June 1428.⁶⁴ After a nearly three-year absence, Stefano agreed two consecutive six-month contracts on the same terms beginning 1 January 1431 which kept him in the employ of the Florentine government until 1432.⁶⁵

Four Frescobaldi brothers—Albano, Bardo, Jacopo, and Lamberto—also served in the Florentine infantry during this period. The sons of Tommaso di Messer Castellano Frescobaldi, the head of the Medici bank in Naples who had died in 1400, lived together in Florence at the time of the Catasto. Their presence in the Florentine army two decades after their father's death reinforces recent scholarship on the significant circulation of military men across the Italian peninsula during this century. Albano held consecutive six-month contracts to serve as a crossbowman in the citadel of Pisa from June 1424-December 1425 and June 1426-June 1428.⁶⁶ Bardo, Jacopo, and Lamberto served in the same location

187, 65r bis & 187, 114r.

59 Camarlinghi Uscita 381, 84v, 86r, 108v & 381 bis, 65r, 87v; Scrivano di Uscita Duplicato 189, 35r, 38r & 190, 35v.

60 Scrivano di Uscita Duplicato 194, 35r & 200, 53r & 205, 27v.

61 Stipendiati del comune 8, 75v, 190r; Camarlinghi Uscita 381 ters., 109v.

62 Scrivano di Uscita Duplicato 172, 58v.

63 Camarlinghi Uscita 379, 156r.

64 Camarlinghi Uscita 379, 162r, 215v, 219r & 380, 30r, 67v & 381, 56v; Scrivano di Uscita Duplicato 184, 73r, 75v & 187, 49r, 58v, 109r & 192, 46r & 195, 53r & 198, 40r; Stipendiati del comune 8, 44r, 160r.

65 Camarlinghi Uscita 384, 6v.

66 Camarlinghi Uscita 380, 20r & 381-ters, 195v, 196r; Scrivano di Uscita Duplicato 187, 37r, 73r & 192, 46r & 193, 60r & 199, 29v & 203, 23r; Stipendiati del comune 8, 2v, 116v.

and capacity: Bardo held contracts covering March-December 1424 and December 1425-December 1427, Jacopo's contracts spanned March-December 1424 and July 1427-January 1428, and Lamberto's from June-December 1424 and June-December 1425.⁶⁷ Three Pazzi brothers—Benedetto, Bernardo, and Pazzino di Messer Uberto—likewise served six-month contracts as crossbowmen and shield-bearing soldiers in the Citadel of Pisa in 1427-28.⁶⁸

A few changed roles during the course of their service, suggesting a similar fluidity among the *provvigionati* as with the captains and corporals. For example, Stagio di Piero Rossi's contracts reveal a change in role during his more than four years in the Florentine army. He first appears in the Florentine records in February 1422 on a three-month contract to serve as a crossbowman in the citadel of Pisa.⁶⁹ Stagio remained in Florentine employment on a series of six-month contracts serving in the same location from June 1423-December 1426, during which the nature of his service changed to that of a shield-bearing soldier.⁷⁰ Panocchia di Luca Buondelmonti also enjoyed six-month contracts, spanning the period February 1424-April 1426, to serve first as a shield-bearing soldier and then as a crossbowman in Cortona.⁷¹

An analysis of this military service confirms that *provvigionati* contracts were largely consistent both in terms of the length and nature of the service. This consistency is reinforced by the additional examples that appear in table 3 below, which also suggest that *provvigionati*, like the captains and corporals discussed previously, continued to serve into the 1430s.

SEE TABLE 3 *Provvigionati*

The *provvigionati* discussed above and featured in Table 3 confirm many of Caferro's findings about Florentine infantry in the previous century, namely con-

67 Camarlinghi Uscita 379, 237v & 380, 30v, 42v & 381-bis, 65r & 381-ters, 97r, 113r; Scrivano di Uscita Duplicato 187, 40v, 59v, 60v, 73r & 192, 37v & 193, 60v & 199, 29v & 205, 31r; Stipendiati del comune 8, 7v, 25v.

68 Stipendiati del comune 8, 56v, 76r, 170v, 190v; Camarlinghi Uscita 380 ters., 97v, 98r, 194r, 196v, 197r; Scrivano di Uscita Duplicato 187, 65r bis & 207, 75v & 208, 51v, 52r.

69 Scrivano di Uscita Duplicato 172, 53v.

70 Scrivano di Uscita Duplicato 183, 47r & 184, 73v & 187, 48r & 195, 59v; Camarlinghi Uscita 379, 140v, 160r, 217v, 221r, 286v & 380, 26v & 381-bis, 13v & 381-tres, 117r.

71 Camarlinghi Uscita 379, 168r, 200v, 297r & 380, 16v, 24r & 381, 37r & 381 bis, 56v; Scrivano di Uscita Duplicato 184, 54v, 58v & 185, 42r & 187, 32r & 190, 40v & 193, 40v.

sistent employment over multiple years and in strategically important areas of the Florentine *distretto*, suggesting a level of professionalism that challenges traditional views on infantry in late medieval Italy.⁷² Unlike in the Trecento, however, when elite men like Giovanni Visdomini were remarkable because they served as captains of infantry, the evidence suggests that in the Quattrocento elite men regularly served as crossbowmen and shield-bearing soldiers. Somewhat surprisingly given the nature of service by earlier generations of military men from these chivalric lineages, only one was a cavalryman or mounted man-at-arms.

Other Military Men: Avenues for Future Research

Given the inconsistent and often incomplete manner with which names were recorded in the cameral budgets and related records—the author’s database contains over 800 Florentine military men for whom only given names and patronyms are provided, some of whom have been subsequently identified as belonging to elite lineages—there is a high probability not only that the men discussed in this essay performed additional military service but also that a greater number of men from these elite lineages served in the Florentine wars with Visconti Milan. The total number increases if consideration is given to civilian officials who were embedded in armies as commissaries (*commissarii*).⁷³

The commissary was a much-maligned figure in the late Trecento, as exemplified in novella forty-one of Franco Sacchetti’s *Trecentonovelle* (c.1390), which supplies a satirical vignette about the interaction between two Florentine commissaries and a famous mercenary captain. In this novella, Sacchetti recounts how two cloth merchants were sent by the Florentine government to advise Messer Ridolfo da Camerino, the commander of the city’s army during its war with Pisa in 1362. When the Florentine wool merchants questioned the position of the military camp, Messer Ridolfo responded with derision: “Go, go, go to your shops and sell cloth!”⁷⁴ Sacchetti seems to conclude that if the story is true Messer Ridolfo acted wisely because “it must be plain to every man how little trade

72 Caferro, “Toward an Understanding of Florentine Infantry” and idem, *Petrarch’s War*, 65-73, offer an important discussion of the topic.

73 W.J. Connell, “Il ‘Commissario’ e lo stato territoriale fiorentino”, *Ricerche storiche* 18 (1988): 591-617; Caferro, *John Hawkwood*, 80-6.

74 Franco Sacchetti, *Il Trecentonovelle*, ed. E. Faccioli (Torino: Einaudi, 1970), 88: “Iate, iate, iate sì alle beotteghe a vennere i panni”.

or merchandise have to do with the business of war".⁷⁵ In other words, the Florentine commissary was an interloper on battlefields and in military camps alike.

This view is challenged, however, by the examples of Tommaso di Lionardo Frescobaldi, Lorenzo di Pigello Adimari, Ludovico di Niccolò Rossi, Francesco Tornabuoni, and Piero di Cavalcante Cavalcanti, which confirm that at least some of these civilian officials had martial bona fides. Tommaso's service began more than two decades before the Catasto when he served in the Florentine army that besieged Pisa in 1405.⁷⁶ After two decades during which he held various political offices and participated in the diplomatic affairs of the Florentine state, Tommaso was elected in early 1426 as commissary and sent to the castle of Caprese in the Valle del Sigerna (near Arezzo), which was threatened by the Visconti mercenary captains Guido Torello and Angolo della Pergola.⁷⁷ Although his vigorous efforts to defend the Florentine position in the Aretine brought him into conflict with members of the Dieci di Balìa, he was entrusted in early 1427 with leadership of the Florentine supported efforts of Genoese exiles to overthrow Visconti rule in Genoa.⁷⁸ Giovanni Cavalcanti makes clear that this was a military command and that Tommaso led troops into battle on several occasions in 1427, albeit not successfully. He was eventually captured in late 1427 while besieging the city of Genoa and died in early 1428 after being imprisoned and tortured.⁷⁹ In recognition of Tommaso's service and sacrifice the Florentine government gave his daughter 400 *fiorini* to use for her dowry.⁸⁰

While Tommaso's experiences are almost certainly exceptional as far as commissaries are concerned, the other examples confirm that many commissaries were military men. Giovanni Cavalcanti likewise recognizes the military prowess of commissaries Ludovico di Niccolò Rossi, who successfully defended the for-

75 *Il Trecentonovelle*, 88: "Se dicea il vero ogni uomo il pensi, quello che ha a fare la mercanzia o l'arte meccanica con la industria militare".

76 For an overview of Tommaso's life, see Gabriella Bartolini, "Frescobaldi, Tommaso," in *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani* 50 (Rome: Istituto dell'Enciclopedia Italiana, 1998) ([http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/tommaso-frescobaldi_\(Dizionario-Biografico\)](http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/tommaso-frescobaldi_(Dizionario-Biografico))).

77 Cavalcanti, *Istorie fiorentine*, vol. 1, 169-72; Camera del comune, Provveditori e ufficiali di Banco, spese per condotte 21, 180r, 254v, 255r.

78 For the dispute, see Cavalcanti, *Istorie fiorentine*, vol. 1, 170-72. Cavalcanti discusses the appointment at 175-76.

79 Cavalcanti, *Istorie fiorentine*, vol. 1, 176-78; vol. 2, 476-79.

80 Bartolini, "Frescobaldi, Tommaso".

tress of Mucciano in 1426, and Francesco Tornabuoni, who fought in the Florentine defeat at the battle of Zagonara, where he was captured.⁸¹ Lorenzo di Pigello, meanwhile, first appears in the records as a commissary sent to Castiglione and the Garfagnana region in July and August of 1431, where he likely stayed until at least 1432.⁸² He then held several six-month contracts to serve as a captain of twenty infantry in 1434 and 1435.⁸³ Piero di Cavalcante Cavalcanti likewise was a commissary who commanded seventeen lances in 1423.⁸⁴ These examples make clear that not all commissaries were trespassers in the community of military men who served in Florence's wars against the Visconti during this period.

Finally, the military activities of Chirico di Piero Tornaquinci, Brunellescho d'Alderotto Brunelleschi, and Giovanni Donati, all of whom took up military service in the pay of other cities, suggest that many more elite Florentine men may have performed military service during this period than appear in the Florentine sources. The activities of these men begin to come into focus upon preliminary examination of the significant body of documentary evidence that survives for the cities of Siena and Bologna. Chirico, for example, served as a mounted man-at-arms in the Siennese army in August 1427.⁸⁵ Brunellescho served Siena in the same capacity and at the same time as Chirico, appearing in a *mostra* of the Siennese army in September 1427.⁸⁶ Giovanni (Nanni) Donati meanwhile served in the Bolognese army in 1419, appearing in the records of the Ufficio per la condotta degli stipendiari, the office charged with negotiating military contracts.⁸⁷ He subsequently served the city of Siena as a mounted man-at-arms beginning in the summer of 1426 through at least early 1428.⁸⁸ It is clear based on these examples that Florentine elite men served in the armies of other cities, but much work remains to be done on the topic.

81 For Francesco, see Scrivano di Uscita Duplicato 184, 61r, 71v and Cavalcanti, *Istorie fiorentine*, vol. 1, 459-60 mentions Francesco's honorable conduct during battle. Cavalcanti, *Istorie fiorentine*, vol. 2, 68-70 discusses Ludovico's defense of Mucciano.

82 Dieci di Balìa, Entrata e Uscita 2, 60v & 4, 16r, 18r, 53r, 53v, 55v;

83 Scrivano di Uscita Duplicato 253, 92r.

84 Camarlinghi Uscita 380, 4r.

85 ASSi, Biccherna, Condotte 614, 36r, 63v, 64v.

86 Biccherna, Condotte 614, 38r.

87 ASBo (Bologna), Ufficio per la condotta degli stipendiari, Libri Defectum, B2 (Mazzo 1) (1419), 48v.

88 Biccherna, Condotte 613, 107r, 140v, 155r & 614, 91r & 615, 20v: Nanni is described as a "homo juvenis magne stature" (613, 107r).

The Catasto as a Source for Military History

There can be little doubt, based on the number and duration of these contracts and the nature of the service stipulated in them, that most of these men were not casual or amateur soldiers. Many of the men whose careers began during the Florentine-Visconti war immediately preceding the imposition of the Catasto dedicated entire years without interruption to military service. Thus, when the Catasto was instituted in 1427 and officials came to collect demographic, economic, and occupation data from the households belonging to these lineages many of the declarers and adult male dependents were at that time or had recently been military men, commanding soldiers or serving as individual soldiers on the battlefields of late medieval Italy. As mentioned earlier, this service is not reflected in the occupation data recorded by the clerks of the 1427 Catasto.

This is particularly true of the declarations made by the military men discussed thus far. As Table 4 makes clear only five of the identifiable twenty-four heads of household declared an occupation and of the four, only two claimed to be a soldier: Nanni di Jacopo Nerli and Pagolo d'Andrea Rossi. The rest of the heads of household did not declare an occupation and the clerks of the Catasto did not record any occupation data for dependents (*bocche*). In addition, twenty-seven of the men listed in the table below could not be connected to a Catasto declaration because of insufficient information in the extant records or because the volume which contains their declaration is not digitized.

SEE TABLE 4 Captains, Corporals, and *Provvigionati* with 1427 Catasto Data

For the men who can be definitively identified in the 1427 Catasto as the head of their household, the census provides important data that shines light on two aspects of the lives of Florentine military men generally: their overall personal wealth and their investments. This economic data (presented in Table 4 above) makes it possible to determine if Florentine soldiers continued to invest in the Monte and thus in Florence's wars, as Caferro observed for the Trecento.⁸⁹ An analysis of the data suggests only a limited connection between levels of wealth and the nature of the service undertaken by declarers: wealthier men served as

⁸⁹ Caferro, *Petrarch's War*, 71ff and idem, "Warfare and Economy in Renaissance Italy, 1350-1450", *Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 39.2 (Autumn 2008): 167-209, at 205-6.

captains and corporals, as well as *provvigionati*. The wealthiest *provvigionati* for whom there is data were the Frescobaldi brothers (Albano, Bardo, Jacopo, Lamberto), whose total and taxable wealth is recorded in the Catasto as 1322 total wealth/977 taxable wealth (in florins), while the wealthiest individual *provvigionato* was Alberto d'Antonio Bardi, at 1066/1011 florins. Jacobo di Giovanni Gianfigliuzzi (883/563 florins) and Benedetto di Lorenzo Gherardini (670/360 florins) also boasted a degree of wealth that matched and even eclipsed some of those who served as captains and corporals. The total wealth of the rest of the *provvigionati* fell somewhere between 261 and 64 florins.

SEE TABLE 5 Wealth of the *Provvigionati*

Excluding Francesco d'Alessandro Nerli, the wealthiest man by far (26939/26939), the economic data for the men who served as captains and corporals indicates a range of total wealth from 445 florins (Aparido d'Aparido Donati) to 3642 florins (Beltrame di Niccolò Della Tosa). The data also suggests a minimal correlation between an individual's wealth and the size of the band that served under his command. For example, Gino di Manente Buondelmonti (2424/1737 florins) and the aforementioned Beltrame di Niccolò Della Tosa (3642/2660 florins), among the wealthier men on the list, commanded small units: sixteen and three crossbowmen, respectively. In contrast, the two Rossi men, Rosso (3019/2107 florins) and Carlo (2074/1415 florins), whose wealth was comparable to that of Gino and Beltrame, commanded much larger units: Rosso's bands ranged from twenty crossbowmen to one lance and 100 mixed infantry, while Carlo's ranged from forty-four crossbowmen to three lances and 100 mixed infantry. The size and composition of the bands differed among captains with more modest levels of wealth as well. For example, Zanobio di Cocco Donati (1016/934 florins) was far wealthier than Antonio di Ballerino Nerli (483/333 florins), but the latter commanded a significantly larger band: Zanobio's band consisted of six mixed infantry, while Antonio's band numbered thirty crossbowmen.

SEE TABLE 6 *Wealth of the Captains and Corporals*

The data provided by the Catasto suggests that Florentine military men, at least members of the chivalric lineages examined in this paper, did not widely or heavily invest in the Monte. Francesco d'Alessandro Nerli (26939 florins) not surprisingly invested the most (2637 florins) in the Monte and thus the city's war

efforts. The next largest investment belonged to Beltrame di Niccolò Della Tosa, who invested only nineteen florins despite his considerable wealth (3642 florins). Neither of the two remaining investments exceed twenty florins. Although this suggests a change in investment strategy on the part of Florentine soldiers, such an interpretation should be qualified by the fact that members of chivalric lineages were not representative of Florentine soldiers generally and some elite Florentines utilized clever strategies to disguise their wealth and thus limit their tax liabilities.⁹⁰

SEE TABLE 7 Investment in the Monte

Declared Occupation vs Identity

Given the discrepancy between the extensive military service performed by Florentine men from chivalric lineages and the occupations they claimed, or didn't claim, in their declarations to the 1427 Catasto, there seems to be little connection between the stated occupation of soldier and the martial identity these men cultivated. Despite this apparent disconnect, most of the elite men who served in the Florentine army on a contract basis—in particular the captains and corporals discussed above—were professional soldiers, not ad-hoc groups of amateur soldiers who came together *only* to exploit the economic opportunities introduced by periods of intense warfare.⁹¹ And while professionalization in the military sphere did not prohibit these men from engaging in other economic activities, the life of arms continued to be important to chivalric lineages in particular.⁹² Whether or not they claimed soldier as their occupation was beside the point, particularly because the notion of an occupation continued to be fluid in the Quattrocento.

As a result, it seems more appropriate to consider the military service per-

90 Caferro, "The silk business of Tommaso Spinelli, fifteenth-century Florentine merchant and papal banker", *Renaissance Studies* 10.4 (1996): 417-39 and idem, "Tommaso Spinelli: The Soul of a Banker", *The Journal of the Historical Society* 8.2 (June 2008): 303-22.

91 See Caferro's studies referenced throughout the study.

92 Caferro's discussion of Niccolò Acciaiuoli is particularly relevant here: "Niccolò Acciaiuoli and the Certosa at the Intersection of Faith, Politics, Economy and Warfare in Trecento Italy," in *Niccolò Acciaiuoli, Boccaccio e la Certosa del Galluzzo. Politica, religione ed economia nell'Italia del Trecento*, eds. A. Andreini, S. Barsella, E. Filosa, J. Houston, and S. Tognetti (Rome: Viella, 2020), 11-36. See also the general discussion in Sposato, *Forged in the Shadow of Mars*, particularly the introduction and chapters 3-5.

formed by members of the Florentine chivalric elite in terms of a cultivated martial identity and the function traditionally associated by contemporaries with that identity rather than assessing how many claimed the occupation of soldier in the Catasto. In the case of the members of chivalric lineages, the life of arms had long been the main function associated in late medieval Florence with their brand of elite identity, and this continued to be true in the early Quattrocento. For these men, military service provided not only economic returns but also reinforced their continued claims to social superiority—even if these were disputed on economic or political grounds—and engaged them in the honorable and ennobling business of war, perpetuating venerable family traditions. In this way, members of chivalric lineages who habitually performed military service reinforced connections to the pan-European chivalric community—nobles, knights, and other elite men—who were definitively professional warriors and distinguished themselves from the artisans-turned-soldiers whom Picchianti studied, men who sought to maximize the compensation they received for their labor.

Conclusion

This essay is a preliminary assessment of the continuous military service performed in the first half of the Quattrocento by men belonging to Florentine chivalric lineages. By tracing military contracts and other forms of evidence in the cameral budgets and Dieci di Balìa records, this study demonstrates that members of this elite group—whether serving as captains, corporals, or ordinary *provigionati*—were, in fact, professional soldiers who often dedicated entire years without interruption to the life of arms. In other words, war remained a constitutive feature, an ennobling and honorable function, of their traditional brand of elite identity.

The evidence of their extensive service highlights a secondary, but important finding of this study: the 1427 Catasto is a problematic source for identifying professional military men among the Florentine elite. With very few exceptions, the heads of elite households who performed military service consistently did not declare an occupation, and the clerks of the Catasto did not record occupation data for adult male dependents (*bocche*) who were also serving. Despite these limitations, the 1427 Catasto does provide important economic data that allows for a more nuanced understanding of these men, including total and taxable wealth

and investments in the Monte. This economic data reveals that individual wealth did not always determine the nature of the service performed, although greater wealth usually corresponded with a larger band size. The data also suggests that Florentine soldiers, at least members of chivalric lineages, did not invest in the Monte in the same way as did their predecessors in the Trecento.

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Table 1 *Captains and Corporals*

NAME	TYPE OF SERVICE	DATES OF SERVICE	BAND SIZE & COMPOSITION	DURATION OF CONTRACTS	SOURCES
Francesco di Filippo Adimari	captain	1413-16, 1424-25	10-55 lances	6 months, 1 year	ASF: ST 5, 3r, 23r, 27r, 29v; DCS, 13, 131r ASSI: BC 641, 54r
Piero d'Adovardo Agli	captain	1427-28	9 crossbowmen	4 months	ASF: ST 5, 213v; RI 3, 54r
Benedetto di Niccolò Bardi	captain	1425	9 crossbowmen	4 months	ASF: DCS 15, 24r; ST 5, 157r
Michele di Niccolò Bardi	not specified	1427	6 mixed infantry	6 months	ASF: DCS 15, 286r
Gino di Manente Buondelmonti	captain	1424-26	16 crossbowmen	4 months	ASF: DCS 2v, 22r, 42v, 57v; ST 5, 142v, 155v, 168v, 177v, 201v
Niccolò di Manente Buondelmonti	captain	1424	not specified	6 months	ASF: SUD 189, 32r
Zenobio di Cocchi Donati	captain	1425-26	6 crossbowmen	6 months	ASF: DCS 15, 30v; ST 5, 161r, 185v, 194v; SPC 21, 139r, 153v, 154r, 243v, 250v; CU 381-bis, 69v
Aparto d'Aparto Donati	captain	1426	9 crossbowmen	4 months	ASF: ST 5, 191r; SPC 21, 139r, 152v
Baldassare d'Aparto Donati	crossbowman, captain	1424, 1427	5 mixed infantry	4 months	ASF: ST 5, 126r; CU 381 ters., 21r.
Donato di Giovanni Donati	corporal, crossbowman	1424, 1426, 1437-38	8 mixed infantry	4, 6 months	ASF: ST 5, 123r, 200r; SUD 259, 44v
Jacopo Donati	captain	1425, 1427	4 mixed infantry, 9 crossbowmen	4, 6 months	ASF: CU 381, 81r; ST 5, 238v
Sinibaldo di Sinibaldo Donati	captain	1424-26, 1430	9 crossbowmen	4 months	ASF: ST 5, 155v, 171v, 177v; DCS 15, 22r, 47v; SPC 41, 202v
Zaccaria di Jacopo Frescobaldi	corporal	1397-99, 1421, 1423-25	6 mixed infantry	4, 6 months	ASF: ST 5, 71r, 77r, 79r, 81r, 89r, 103v, 119r, 133v; DCS 7, 195v & 12, 14r & 13, 119v & 14, 41v; CU 189, 34r & 322, 14v & 379, 83v, 87v, 305r & 381, 83v
Antonio Galli	corporal	1424-25	7 mixed infantry	4 months	ASF: ST 5, 143r

Jacopo di Gallo Galli	corporal	1427, 1432	8 mixed infantry-12 crossbowmen	4 months	ASF: SPC 21, 139v; ST 5, 214r, 221v; DCS 15, 294r; MRP 120.12, 207v
Broccardio Gherardini	captain	1426	14 lances	6 months	ASF: DCS 15, 20v
Giovanni di Luigi Gherardini	captain	1429-30	12 mixed infantry	4 months	ASF: SPC 41, 84v, 85r; EU 2, 30v, 96v
Romolo di Lorenzo Gherardini	captain	1424	7 crossbowmen	4 months	ASF: DCS 13, 125v; ST 5, 123r
Andrea di Soldo Nerli	corporal, captain	1424-26	10-50 crossbowmen	4 months	ASF: ST 5, 106v, 123r, 149r, 150r, 167r, 177r; DCS 15, 12r, 14r, 40r, 42r; SUD 187, 79v
Antonio di Bandino Nerli	captain	1425	30 crossbowmen	4 months	ASF: DCS 15, 12r, 14r; ST 5, 149r, 150r
Carlo d'Agnolo Rossi	captain	1423-25, 1431-32	44 crossbowmen-3 lances & 100 mixed infantry	4 months	ASF: ST 5, 95v, 113r; CU 380, 58v, 63r; SUD 187, 92r, 102r; DCS 16, 20r
Rosso del Boneca Rossi	captain	1424-25	20 mixed infantry-1 lance & 100 mixed infantry	4 months	ASF: DCS 13, 139r; ST 5, 132r, 149r, 163v, 176v, 185v, 198v, 207v, 216v
Francesco di Gabriele Soldanieri	captain	1425	2 lances & 55 mixed infantry	4 months	ASF: DCS 15, 37r; ST 5, 181v
Lupo di Squarcia Squarcialupi	captain	1425-27	12 crossbowmen	1, 4 months	ASF: DCS 15, 37r; ST 5, 165r, 191r, 196v, 206r; RI 4, 11v
Piero di Francesco Squarcialupi	corporal	1415, 1427-29, 1437-38	1 lance; 6 mixed infantry	4, 6 months	ASF: ST 5, 27v, 231r, 242v; DCS 15, 231v, 269v, 273v, 275r; SUD 206, 21v & 209, 8r & 259, 101r

Key to Source Abbreviations: ASF (Florence)- ST = Stipendiati del comune / CU = Camarlinghi Uscita / EU = Dieci di Balia, Entrata e Uscita / DCS = Dieci di Balia, Deliberazioni, Condotte, e Stanziamenti / SUD = Scrivano di Uscita Duplicato / RI = Dieci di Balia, Ricordanze / SPC = Camera del Comune, Provveditori e ufficiali di Banco, Spese per condotte / MRP = Miscellanea Repubblicana; ASSi (Siena)- BC = Biccherna, Condotta

Table 2 *Captains and Corporals with contracts in the 1430s and 1440s*

NAME	TYPE OF SERVICE	DATES OF SERVICE	BAND SIZE & COMPOSITION	DURATION OF CONTRACTS	SOURCES
Jacopo di Luigi Adimari	captain	1440-41	4 crossbowmen	6 months	ASF: DCS 18, 26r, 43r, 53r, 59r; SUD 279, 20v
Lorenzo di Piggello Adimari	commissary, captain	1431-32, 1434-35	20 mixed infantry	4, 6 months	ASF: EU 2, 60v, 67r & 4, 16r, 18r, 53r, 53v, 55v; SPC 31, 170r-v; SUD 253, 92r
Luigi di Jacopo Adimari	captain	1440-42	8-12 crossbowmen	4, 6 months	ASF: DCS 18, 40r, 53r, 59r
Bernardo di Cipriano Bardi	captain ^a	1433	not specified	not specified	ASF: EU 3, 68v
Gherardo di Gherardo Buondelmonti	captain	1435, 1436	40 mixed infantry	6 months	ASF: SUD 253, 92v
Rainieri di Giovanni Montebuoni ^b	captain	1430	100 lances & 66 mixed infantry	not specified	ASF: DCS 16, 101v
Giannozzo di Giovanni Cavalcanti	captain	1431-32	12 crossbowmen	4 months	ASF: DCS 16, 15v; EU 2, 25r
Guasparre di Giovanni Cocchi Donati	captain	1440-42	8-12 crossbowmen	4, 6 months	ASF: SUD 253, 96r & 254, 86v & 255, 87v; DCS 18, 40r, 53r, 59r
Bartolomeo Donati	crossbowman, captain	1431, 1437, 1438	6-9 mixed infantry	4, 6 months	ASF: CU 382, 38v; SUD 259, 98v & 266, 13r
Donato di Giovanni Donati	corporal, crossbowman	1424, 1426, 1437-38	8 mixed infantry	4, 6 months	ASF: ST 5, 123r, 200r; SUD 259, 44v
Sinibaldo di Sinibaldo Donati	captain	1424-26, 1430	9 crossbowmen	4 months	ASF: ST 5, 155v, 171v, 177v; DCS 15, 22r, 47v; SPC 41, 202v
Jacopo di Gallo Galli	corporal	1427, 1432	8 mixed infantry- 12 crossbowmen	4 months	ASF: SPC 21, 139v; ST 5, 214r, 221v; DCS 15, 294r; MRP 120.12, 207v

Gherardino d'Andrea Gherardini	captain	1431	11 crossbowmen	4 months	ASF: DCS 16, 15v
Giovanni di Luigi Gherardini	captain	1429-30	12 mixed infantry	4 months	ASF: SPC 41, 84v, 85r; EU 2, 30v, 96v
Francesco d'Alessandro Nerli	captain	1430	not specified	not specified	ASF: SPC 41, 190v
Carlo d'Agnolo Rossi	captain	1423-25, 1431-32	44 crossbowmen-3 lances & 100 mixed infantry	4 months	ASF: ST 5, 95v, 113r; CU 380, 58v, 63r; SUD 187, 92r, 102r; DCS 16, 20r
Piero di Francesco Squarcialupi	corporal	1415, 1427-29, 1437-38	1 lance; 6 mixed infantry	4, 6 months	ASF: ST 5, 27v, 231r, 242v; DCS 15, 231v, 269v, 273v, 275r; SUD 206, 21v & 209, 8r & 259, 101r
Beltramone di Niccolò Della Tosa	not specified	1436-37	3 infantry	6 months	ASF: SUD 259, 92r

^a elected captain of the “destroyers” (“ghuastare”) near Lucca / ^bMontebuoni is a branch of the Buondelmonti lineage

Key to Source Abbreviations: ASF (Florence)- ST = Stipendiati del comune / CU = Camarlinghi Uscita / EU = Dieci di Balìa, Entrata e Uscita / DCS = Dieci di Balìa, Deliberazioni, Condotte, e Stanziamenti / SUD = Scrivano di Uscita Duplicato / RI = Dieci di Balìa, Ricordanze / SPC = Camera del Comune, Provveditori e ufficiali di Banco, Spese per condotte / MRP = Miscellanea Repubblicana; ASSi (Siena)- BC = Biccherna, Condotta

Table 3 *Provvigionati*

NAME	TYPE OF SERVICE	DATES OF SERVICE	LOCATION OF SERVICE	DURATION OF CONTRACTS	SOURCES
Jacopo di Chiaro Adimari	crossbowman	1422	Citadel of Pisa	3 months	ASF: SUD 172, 54r
Giovanni di Bindo Aleis	crossbowman	1426-27	Citadel of Pisa	6 months	ASF: CU 381-bis, 43v; SUD 198, 52r
Alberto d'Antonio Bardi	crossbowman	1423-25	Citadel of Pisa, Livorno	6 months	ASF: SUD 184, 78r; CU 380, 29v, 70r
Andrea Bardi	shield-bearing soldier	1425	Citadel of Pisa	3 months	ASF: CU 381-bis, 87r, 90v
Attaviano di Michele Bardi	shield-bearing soldier	1423-24	Citadel of Pisa	3 months	ASF: SUD 184, 54r
Panocchia di Luca Buondelmonti	shield-bearing soldier, crossbowman	1424-26	Cortona	6 months	ASF: CU 379, 168r, 200v, 297r & 380, 16v, 24r & 381, 37r & 381-bis, 56v; SUD 184, 54v, 58v & 185, 42r & 187, 32r & 190, 40v & 193, 40v
Niccolò d'Antonio Cavalcanti	cavalryman	1433	not specified	not specified	ASF: EU 3, 2r, 51v, 52v, 67v
Baldassare d'Apardo Donati	crossbowman, captain	1424, 1427	Citadel of Pisa	4 months	ASF: ST 5, 126r; SPC 21, 139r, 152v; CU 381-ter, 21r
Piero Donati	crossbowman	1426	Citadel of Pisa	3 months	ASF: CU 381-bis, 35r, 82v
Albano, Bardo, Jacopo, & Lamberto di Tommaso di M. Castellano Frescobaldi	crossbowmen	1424-28	Citadel of Pisa	6 months	ASF: CU 379, 237v & 380, 20r, 30v, 42v & 381-ter, 97r, 113r, 195v, 196r; ST 8, 2v, 25v, 116v, 140r; SUD 187, 37r, 40v, 59v, 60v, 73r, 111v & 199, 29v & 203, 23r; SPC 21, 180r, 254v, 255r
Bartolo di Jacopo Galli	crossbowman	1426-27	towers of Porto Pisano	6 months	ASF: CU 380, 24v, 26v & 381-bis, 53r-53v & 381-ter, 143r; ST 8, 88r, 203r; SUD 195, 61v & 199, 30r
Antonio di Piero Gherardini	crossbowman	1422	Citadel of Pisa	3 months	ASF: SUD 172, 51v
Benedetto di Laurentio Gherardini	crossbowman	1424	Cortona	6 months	ASF: CU 379, 73v

Bindo di Lorenzo Gherardini	crossbowman	1422-26	Cortona	6 months	ASF: CU 379, 155r, 209v, 249v, 256v, 257r & 380, 17v, 20r & 381, 37v, 111v & 381-bis, 57r; SUD 184, 64r & 187, 33r, 37r & 190, 40r & 193, 40r, 66v
Niccolò Gherardini	crossbowman	1424-25	Citadel of Pisa	3, 6 months	ASF: CU 380, 50r, 63r & 381-bis, 76v
Antonio di Tommaso Gianfigliuzzi	crossbowman	1422-26	Citadel of Pisa	6 months	ASF: CU 379, 156r, 162r, 197v, 218v & 380, 26v, 28r, 29v, 67r & 381, 56r & 381-bis, 77v; SUD 172, 51v & 187, 48r, 58r, 108v & 195, 53r, 59v
Jacobo di Giovanni Gianfigliuzzi	crossbowman, commissary	1424-29, 1436-37	Citadel of Pisa, Livorno, Cortona	6 months	ASF: CU 380, 27v; SUD 195, 59v & 198, 39v & 208, 34v, 43v & 252, 52r & 254, 33r; ST 8, 24r
Bartolomeo Nerli	crossbowman, shield-bearing soldier	1423-24	Citadel of Pisa	6 months	ASF: SUD 183, 40v & 187, 50v
Nanni di Jacopo Nerli	crossbowman, shield-bearing soldier	1422-25, 1428, 1434-36	Citadel of Pisa, Livorno, Arezzo	4, 6 months	ASF: ST 5, 68r & 8, 151r; CU 379, 156r, 216r, 219r & 380, 29r, 30r, 35v, 67v, 70r & 381, 63r, 63v & 381-bis, 43r, 88v, 90r & 386, 18v; SUD 184, 75v & 187, 49r & 192, 51v & 193, 64v
Nanni di Nerlo Nerli	crossbowman	1422-24	Citadel of Pisa, Livorno	6 months	ASF: ST 5, 68r; SUD 172, 71v & 184, 43v, 72v, 78r & 187, 114r
Benedetto, Bernardo, & Pazzino di Messer Uberto Pazzi	crossbowmen, shield-bearing soldiers	1427-28	Citadel of Pisa	6 months	ASF: CU 381-ter, 97v, 98r, 194r, 196v, 197r; ST 8, 56v, 76r, 190v, 170v; SUD 187, 65r-bis, 207, 75v & 208, 51v, 52r
Marco di Domenico Pigli	not specified	1429	towers of Porto Pisano	3 months	ASF: SUD 208, 67v

Piero di Lapo Pigli	shield-bearing soldier	1425-28	Citadel of Pisa	3, 6 months	ASF: CU 381, 84v, 86r, 108v & 381-bis, 65r, 87v & 381-ter, 41r, 109v, 179v, 180r, 202v; ST 8, 75v, 190r; EU 2, 24v; SUD 189, 35r, 38r & 190, 3
Bartolomeo di Francisco Rossi	crossbowman	1424	Citadel of Pisa	6 months	ASF: CU 380, 47r
Pagolo d'Andrea Rossi	shield-bearing soldier	1422-23	Citadel of Pisa	3, 6 months	ASF: SUD 172, 62r; CU 379, 25v
Stagio di Piero Rossi	crossbowman, shield-bearing soldier	1422-26	Citadel of Pisa	6 months	ASF: SUD 172, 53v & 183, 47r & 184, 73v, 76v & 187, 48r; CU 379, 140v, 160v, 217v, 221r, 245r, 286v & 380, 26v, 69v & 381-bis, 13v & 381-ter, 117r
Stefano di Niccolò Rossi	crossbowman	1423-28, 1431-32	Citadel of Pisa	6 months	ASF: CU 379, 156r, 162r, 216v, 219r & 380, 30r, 67v & 381, 56v & 381-bis, 35r & 384, 6v, 39v; ST 8, 44r, 160r; SUD 172, 58v & 184, 73r, 75v & 185, 73r & 187, 49r, 58v, 109r & 192, 46r & 195, 53r, 59v & 198, 40r

Key to Source Abbreviations: ASF (Florence)- ST = Stipendiati del comune / CU = Camarlinghi Uscita / EU = Dieci di Balìa, Entrata e Uscita / DCS = Dieci di Balìa, Deliberazioni, Condotte, e Stanziamenti / SUD = Scrivano di Uscita Duplicato / RI = Dieci di Balìa, Ricordanze / SPC = Camera del Comune, Provveditori e ufficiali di Banco, Spese per condotte / MRP = Miscellanea Repubblicana; ASSi (Siena)- BC = Biccherina, Condotta

Table 4 Captains, Corporals, and *Provvisionati* with 1427 Catasto Data

NAME	TYPE OF SERVICE	DATES OF SERVICE	BAND SIZE & COMPOSITION/ LOCATION OF SERVICE	DURATION OF CONTRACTS	WEALTH (Total, Taxable, Investment in Monte in florins) & OCCUPATION ^a	SOURCES (Catasto)
Francesco di Filippo Adimari	captain	1413-16, 1424-25	10-55 lances	6 months, 1 year	N/A ^f	-
Jacopo di Chiaro Adimari	crossbowman	1422	Citadel of Pisa	3 months	N/A ^f	-
Jacopo di Luigi Adimari	captain	1440-41	4 crossbowmen	6 months	474/384/0; no occupation	v.80, 405
Lorenzo di Pigello Adimari	commissary, captain	1431-32, 1434-35	20 mixed infantry	4, 6 months	1532/1298/8; no occupation	v.81, 473
Luigi di Jacopo Adimari	captain	1440-42	8-12 crossbowmen	4, 6 months	<i>bocca</i>	v.80, 405
Giovanni di Bindo Agli (Aleis)	crossbowman	1426-27	Citadel of Pisa	6 months	N/A ^f	-
Piero d'Adovardo Agli	captain	1427-28	9 crossbowmen	4 months	598/400/0; no occupation	v.69, 408
Alberto d'Antonio Bardi	crossbowman	1423-25	Citadel of Pisa, Livorno	6 months	1066/1011/0; no occupation	v.64, 278
Andrea Bardi	shield-bearing soldier	1425	Citadel of Pisa	3 months	N/A ^f	-
Attaviano di Michele Bardi	shield-bearing soldier	1423-24	Citadel of Pisa	3 months	N/A ^f	-
Benedetto di Niccolò Bardi	captain	1425	9 crossbowmen	4 months	N/A ^f	-
Bernardo di Ciriaco Bardi	captain ^d	1433	not specified	not specified	884/498/0; goldsmith	v.64, 58
Michele di Niccolò Bardi	not specified	1427	6 mixed infantry	6 months	N/A ^f	-
Gherardo di Gherardo Buondelmonti	captain	1435, 1436	40 mixed infantry	6 months	<i>bocca</i>	v.74, 63
Gino di Manente Buondelmonti	captain	1424-26	16 crossbowmen	4 months	2424/1737/0; no occupation	v.80, 174
Niccolò di Manente Buondelmonti	captain	1424	not specified	6 months	N/A ^f	-
Panocchia di Luca Buondelmonti	shield-bearing soldier, crossbowman	1424-26	Cortona	6 months	N/A ^f	-
Rainieri di Giovanni Buondelmonti ^b	captain	1430	100 lances & 66 mixed infantry	not specified	N/A ^f	-

Giannozzo di Vanni Cavalcanti	captain	1431-32	12 crossbowmen	4 months	1264/1151/0; no occupation	v.68, 214
Niccolò d'Antonio Cavalcanti	cavalryman	1433	not specified	not specified	N/A ^f	-
Guasparre di Giovanni Cocchi Donati	captain	1440-42	8-12 crossbowmen	4, 6 months	N/A ^f	-
Zanobio di Cocchi Donati	captain	1425-26	6 crossbowmen	6 months	1016/934/0; no occupation	v.69, 455
Aparido d'Aparido Donati	captain	1426	9 crossbowmen	4 months	445/287/0; no occupation	v.80, 231
Baldassare d'Aparido Donati	crossbowman, captain	1424, 1427	5 mixed infantry	4 months	<i>bocca</i>	v.80, 231
Bartolomeo Donati	crossbowman, captain	1431, 1437, 1438	6-9 mixed infantry	4, 6 months	N/A ^f	-
Donato di Giovanni Donati	corporal, crossbowman	1424, 1426, 1437-38	8 mixed infantry	4, 6 months	N/A ^f	-
Jacopo Donati	captain	1425, 1427	4 mixed infantry, 9 crossbowmen	4, 6 months	N/A ^f	-
Piero Donati	crossbowman	1426	Citadel of Pisa	3 months	N/A ^f	-
Sinibaldo di Sinibaldo Donati	captain	1424-26, 1430	9 crossbowmen	4 months	524/355/0; no occupation	v.80, 528
Albano, Bardo, Jacopo, & Lamberto di Tommaso di Castellano Frescobaldi ^c	crossbowmen	1424-28	Citadel of Pisa	6 months	1322/977/0; no occupations	v.76, 259
Zaccaria di Jacopo Frescobaldi	corporal	1397-99, 1421, 1423-25	6 mixed infantry	4, 6 months	594/514/0; no occupation	v.65, 457
Antonio Galli	corporal	1424-25	7 mixed infantry	4 months	N/A ^f	-
Bartolo di Jacopo Galli	crossbowman	1426-27	towers of Porto Pisano	6 months	N/A ^f	-
Jacopo di Gallo Galli	corporal	1427, 1432	8 mixed infantry-12 crossbowmen	4 months	589/367/0; carpenter	v.79, 485
Antonio di Piero Gherardini	crossbowman	1422	Citadel of Pisa	3 months	<i>bocca</i>	v.68, 58
Benedetto di Lorenzo Gherardini	crossbowman	1424	Cortona	6 months	670/360/0; no occupation ^g	v.68, 301
Bindo di Lorenzo Gherardini	crossbowman	1422-26	Cortona	6 months	<i>bocca</i>	v.68, 301
Broccardio Gherardini	captain	1426	14 lances	6 months	N/A ^f	-
Giovanni di Luigi Gherardini	captain	1429-30	12 mixed infantry	4 months	N/A ^f	-

Niccolò Gherardini	crossbowman	1424-25	Citadel of Pisa	3, 6 months	N/A ^f	-
Romolo di Lorenzo Gherardini	captain	1424	7 crossbowmen	4 months	<i>bocca</i>	v.68, 301
Antonio di Tommaso Gianfigliuzzi	crossbowman	1422-26	Citadel of Pisa	6 months	126/76/0; no occupation	v.75, 2
Jacobo di Giovanni Gianfigliuzzi	crossbowman, commissary	1424-29, 1436-37	Citadel of Pisa, Livorno, Cortona	6 months	883/563/347; no occupation ^e	v.75, 111
Andrea di Soldo Nerli	corporal, captain	1424-26	10-50 crossbowmen	4 months	996/900/0; no occupation	v.78, 234
Antonio di Ballerino Nerli	captain	1425	30 crossbowmen	4 months	483/333/0; govt. official	v.67, 492
Bartolomeo Nerli	crossbowman, shield-bearing soldier	1423-24	Citadel of Pisa	6 months	dead	-
Francesco d'Alessandro Nerli	captain	1430	not specified	not specified	26939/26939/2637; no occupation	v.65, 477
Nanni di Jacopo Nerli	crossbowman, shield-bearing soldier	1422-25, 1428, 1434-36	Citadel of Pisa, Livorno, Arezzo	4, 6 months	163/145/0; soldier ^e	v.76, 328
Nanni di Nerlo Nerli	crossbowman	1422-24	Citadel of Pisa, Livorno	6 months	N/A ^f	-
Benedetto, Bernardo, & Pazzino di Messer Uberto Pazzi	crossbowmen, shield-bearing soldiers	1427-28	Citadel of Pisa	6 months	N/A ^f	-
Marco di Domenico Pigli	not specified	1429	towers of Porto Pisano	3 months	N/A ^f	-
Piero di Lapo Pigli	shield-bearing soldier	1425-28	Citadel of Pisa	3, 6 months	64/44/0; no occupation	v.76, 365
Bartolomeo di Francisco Rossi	crossbowman	1424	Citadel of Pisa	6 months	N/A ^f	-
Carlo d'Agnolo Rossi	captain	1423-25, 1431-32	44 crossbowmen-3 lances & 100 mixed infantry	4 months	2074/1415/0; no occupation	v.65, 308
Pagolo d'Andrea Rossi	shield-bearing soldier	1422-23	Citadel of Pisa	3, 6 months	144/117/0; soldier	v.72, 386
Rosso del Boneca Rossi	captain	1424-25	20 mixed infantry-1 lance & 100 mixed infantry	4 months	3019/2107/0; no occupation	v.65, 235
Stefano di Niccolò Rossi	crossbowman	1423-28, 1431-32	Citadel of Pisa	6 months	261/218/0; no occupation	v.65, 493

Stagio di Piero Rossi	crossbowman, shield-bearing soldier	1422-26	Citadel of Pisa	6 months	N/A ^f	-
Francesco di Gabriello Soldanieri	captain	1425	2 lances & 55 mixed infantry	4 months	N/A ^f	-
Lupo di Squarcia Squarcialupi	captain	1425-27	12 crossbowmen	1, 4 months	646/565/0; no occupation	v.65, 380
Piero di Francesco Squarcialupi	corporal	1415, 1427-29, 1437-38	1 lance; 6 mixed infantry	4, 6 months	593/593/0; no occupation	v.311, 172
Beltramone di Niccolò Della Tosa	not specified	1436-37	3 infantry	6 months	3642/2660/19; no occupation	v.79, 170

Key

^a total wealth/taxable wealth; dependents (*bocche*) did not declare their occupation or wealth; ^b Montebuoni; ^c joint declaration; ^d elected captain of the “destroyers” (“ghuastare”) near Lucca; ^e the identification of the individual with this declaration is not definitive; ^f insufficient information to identify the individual or the individual cannot be located in the Catasto or the individual appears in a volume that has not yet been digitized; ^g part of a joint declaration

Table 5 Wealth of the *Provvigionati*

NAME	TYPE OF SERVICE	TOTAL WEALTH (in Florins)	TAXABLE WEALTH (in Florins)
Albano, Bardo, Jacopo, & Lamberto di Tommaso di M. Castellano Frescobaldi	crossbowmen	1322	977
Alberto d'Antonio Bardi	crossbowman	1066	1011
Jacobo di Giovanni Gianfigliuzzi	crossbowman, commissary	883	563
Benedetto di Laurentio Gherardini	crossbowman	670	360
Stefano di Niccolò Rossi	crossbowman	261	218
Nanni di Jacopo Nerli	crossbowman, shield-bearing soldier	163	145
Pagolo d'Andrea Rossi	shield-bearing soldier	144	117
Antonio di Tommaso Gianfigliuzzi	crossbowman	126	76
Piero di Lapo Pigi	shield-bearing soldier	64	44
Baldassare d'Apardo Donati	crossbowman, captain	<i>bocca</i>	<i>bocca</i>
Antonio di Piero Gherardini	crossbowman	<i>bocca</i>	<i>bocca</i>
Bindo di Lorenzo Gherardini	crossbowman	<i>bocca</i>	<i>bocca</i>
Jacopo di Chiaro Adimari	crossbowman	N/A	N/A
Giovanni di Bindo Aleis	crossbowman	N/A	N/A
Andrea Bardi	shield-bearing soldier	N/A	N/A
Attaviano di Michele Bardi	shield-bearing soldier	N/A	N/A
Panocchia di Luca Buondelmonti	shield-bearing soldier, crossbowman	N/A	N/A
Niccolò d'Antonio Cavalcanti	cavalryman	N/A	N/A
Piero Donati	crossbowman	N/A	N/A
Bartolo di Jacopo Galli	crossbowman	N/A	N/A
Niccolò Gherardini	crossbowman	N/A	N/A
Nanni di Nerlo Nerli	crossbowman	N/A	N/A
Benedetto, Bernardo, & Pazzino di Messer Uberto Pazzi	crossbowmen, shield-bearing soldiers	N/A	N/A
Marco di Domenico Pigi	not specified	N/A	N/A
Bartolomeo di Francisco Rossi	crossbowman	N/A	N/A
Stagio di Piero Rossi	crossbowman, shield-bearing soldier	N/A	N/A
Bartolomeo Nerli	crossbowman, shield-bearing soldier	dead	dead

Table 6 *Wealth of the Captains and Corporals*

NAME	TYPE OF SERVICE	BAND SIZE & COMPOSITION	TOTAL WEALTH (in Florins)	TAXABLE WEALTH (in Florins)
Francesco d' Alessandro Nerli	captain	not specified	26939	26939
Beltramone di Niccolò Della Tosa	not specified	3 infantry	3642	2660
Rosso del Boneca Rossi	captain	20 mixed infantry-1 lance & 100 mixed infantry	3019	2107
Gino di Manente Buondelmonti	captain	16 crossbowmen	2424	1737
Carlo d' Agnolo Rossi	captain	44 crossbowmen-3 lances & 100 mixed infantry	2074	1415
Lorenzo di Pigello Adimari	commissary, captain	20 mixed infantry	1532	1298
Giannozzo di Vanni Cavalcanti	captain	12 crossbowmen	1264	1151
Zanobio di Cocchi Donati	captain	6 crossbowmen	1016	934
Andrea di Soldo Nerli	corporal, captain	10-50 crossbowmen	996	900
Bernardo di Cipriano Bardi	captain	not specified	884	498
Lupo di Squarcia Squarcialupi	captain	12 crossbowmen	646	565
Piero d' Aduardo Agli	captain	9 crossbowmen	598	400
Zaccaria di Jacopo Frescobaldi	corporal	6 mixed infantry	594	514
Piero di Francesco Squarcialupi	corporal	1 lance; 6 mixed infantry	593	593
Jacopo di Gallo Galli	corporal	8 mixed infantry-12 crossbowmen	589	367
Sinibaldo di Sinibaldo Donati	captain	9 crossbowmen	524	355
Jacopo di Luigi Adimari	captain	4 crossbowmen	474	384
Antonio di Ballerino Nerli	captain	30 crossbowmen	483	333
Apardo d' Apardo Donati	captain	9 crossbowmen	445	287
Stefano di Niccolò Rossi	crossbowman	Citadel of Pisa	261	218
Luigi di Jacopo Adimari	captain	8-12 crossbowmen	<i>bocca</i>	<i>bocca</i>
Gherardo di Gherardo Buondelmonti	captain	40 mixed infantry	<i>bocca</i>	<i>bocca</i>
Baldassare d' Apardo Donati	crossbowman, captain	5 mixed infantry	<i>bocca</i>	<i>bocca</i>
Romolo di Lorenzo Gherardini	captain	7 crossbowmen	<i>bocca</i>	<i>bocca</i>
Francesco di Filippo Adimari	captain	10-55 lances	N/A	N/A

Benedetto di Niccolò Bardi	captain	9 crossbowmen	N/A	N/A
Michele di Niccolò Bardi	not specified	6 mixed infantry	N/A	N/A
Niccolò di Manente Buondelmonti	captain	not specified	N/A	N/A
Rainieri di Giovanni Buondelmonti ^b	captain	100 lances & 66 mixed infantry	N/A	N/A
Niccolò d'Antonio Cavalcanti	cavalryman	not specified	N/A	N/A
Guasparre di Giovanni Cocchi Donati	captain	8-12 crossbowmen	N/A	N/A
Bartolomeo Donati	crossbowman, captain	6-9 mixed infantry	N/A	N/A
Donato di Giovanni Donati	corporal, crossbowman	8 mixed infantry	N/A	N/A
Jacopo Donati	captain	4 mixed infantry, 9 crossbowmen	N/A	N/A
Antonio Galli	corporal	7 mixed infantry	N/A	N/A
Broccardio Gherardini	captain	14 lances	N/A	N/A
Giovanni di Luigi Gherardini	captain	12 mixed infantry	N/A	N/A
Francesco di Gabriello Soldanieri	captain	2 lances & 55 mixed infantry	N/A	N/A

Table 7 Investment in the Monte

NAME	TYPE OF SERVICE	TOTAL/TAXABLE WEALTH (in Florins)	INVESTMENT IN THE MONTE (in Florins)
Francesco d' Alessandro Nerli	captain	26939/26939	2637
Jacobo di Giovanni Gianfigliuzzi	crossbowman, commissary	883/563	347
Beltramone di Niccolò Della Tosa	not specified	3642/2660	19
Lorenzo di Pigello Adimari	commissary, captain	1532/1298	8



Pietro l'Eremita predica la prima crociata, dal codice occitano *Abreujamen de las estorias* (epitome storica), Avignone ca 1321 (BL, Egerton MS 1500, f. 45 v)

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