

Index

- Accursius, Franciscus, 147
 Alciato, Andrea, 163–4
 Alfonso, Duke of Calabria, 133
 Alfonso V, king of Aragon and Sicily,
 24, 31, 109, 162
 Alitheus, 125
 Almain, Jacques, 180
Ambulate, 16
 Andreas de Isernia, 155
 Angelus de Ubaldis
 emperor could take away subjects'
 property without just cause,
 158
 Anjou, Margaret of, 165
 Appian, 175
 Aquinas, Thomas, 166–7, 170
 Arévalo, Rodrigo Sanchez de, 57
 Arezzo, 98
 Aristides, Aelius, 99
 Aristotle, 6, 45, 70, 89, 96, 99, 121, 125, 137,
 149, 166
 Athens, 104, 130
 Augustine, of Hippo, 6, 17, 62, 75–6
 Augustus, Roman emperor, 112
Authenticum, 147
 authority, 61, 64–6, 89, 150, 156
auctoritas occurred only once in Vulgate,
 61
 based on trust, 66
 construction of from below,
 6, 63, 75, 181
 epistemic and governmental, 62
 epistemic and jurisdictional, 180
 and faith, 14
 and justification of power, 90
 of law, 144
 made coercive through consent, 56
 only the truth has authority,
 62, 64
 rejection of appeal to, 136
 and trust, 182
 and truth and reason, 182
 Avignon, 154
 Baldus de Ubaldis, 96, 113, 145, 147, 157, 165
 application of *de iure-de facto* argument
 to *signori*, 156
 emperor could take away subjects'
 property without just cause, 158
 and hierarchy of sovereignty, 153
 historical sense of, 160
 on internal and external sovereignty, 156
 justification of rule of Giangaleazzo
 Visconti, 156
 on king as instrument of his dignity, 154
 and king's two bodies, 153
 self-preservation argument, 151
 sovereign city in emperor's place, 151
 and sovereignty of kings, 152
 sympathetic to *signori*, 156
 use of Aristotelian notion of natural,
 political man, 152
 use of biological imagery, 151
 use of *ius gentium*, 151–2
 use of non-authority arguments, 152
 use of philosophy, biology and medicine,
 152
 Barbey, Jean, 172
 Baron, Hans, 97, 107
 Bartolus, of Sassoferrato, 96, 113, 135, 145,
 154, 160, 165
 on *civitas sibi princeps*, 151
 definitions of *ius gentium*, 149
 and full legitimacy of *de facto* claims,
 148
 legal humanists' rejection of his *de iure-
 de facto* distinction, 164
 opposed to *signori*, 155
 rejection of his hermeneutic method by
 legal humanists, 164
 on sovereignty of city-republics, 150
 Basel, Council of, 9, 13, 24, 57, 59, 61, 66, 71,
 82, 88, 90
 Benedict XIII, Pope, 16
 Biondo, Flavio, 108
 Black, Antony, 29
 Black, Jane, 158

196 INDEX

- Bodin, Jean, 165
 body, mystical
 kingdom as, 176
 polity as, 168
 Bologna
 Concordat of, 177
 Bourges, Pragmatic Sanction of, 177
 Bracciolini, Poggio, 135
 Brandolini, Aurelio Lippo
 on *accoppiatori*, 127
 attacked Florentine republicanism, 127
 compared republics and monarchies, 128
 on corruptions of commerce, 128
 monarchy natural government in human history, 128
 on republican liberty as servitude, 127
 republics few and transitory, 128
 on superiority of monarchy, 126
 use of Socratic dialogue form, 126
 Bruni, Leonardo, 96, 170
 on democracy, 107
 on equality of citizens, 103
 epideictic praise of republican Florence, 103
 on fame and glory, 106
 Florence heir of republican Rome, 101
 Florence a republic with a mixed form of government, 108
 on Florentine constitution, 102
 Florentine constitution mixture of aristocracy and democracy, 109
 justification of Florentine republic, 110–12
 on liberty, 100
 liberty and equality under republic, 104
 on monarchy as legitimate form of government, 108
 on republican liberty, 111
 Roman Republic directly relevant to Florence, 98
 on rule of law, 101
 saw ancient world as present, 98
 use of Aristotelian political categories, 106
 Budé, Guillaume, 163
 Burgundy
 dukes of, 158
 Burns, James H., 81, 168, 172
 Canon law, 144–65
 Carrara, Francesco il Vecchio da, 104
 Carthage, 112
 Castile, 153
 Catania, 24
 Catiline, 99
 Catina, Gregory of, 162
 Cavalcanti, Otto, 104
 Cesarini, 71
 Charles IV, Roman emperor, 162
 Charles VI, king of France, 171
 Charles VII, king of France, 171
 Cheneval, Francis, 81, 87
 Chrysoloras, Manuel, 95, 99
 church
 distinction between clergy and laity, 90
 general council identified with, 36
 and infallibility, 52
 keys given to Peter as its representative, 33
 ministerial rulership in, 55
 a monarchy, 72
 as mystical and spiritual body, 67–8
 nature of, 66
 Peter chosen by Christ as head because not a virgin, 54
 and Petrine commission, 75
 possessed power of binding and loosing, 49
 reception of doctrine by, 60
 representation in, 52
 represented by general council, 17
 role of secular rulers in, 60
 senses of, 8
 Cicero, 45, 96, 99, 113–14, 137
 Cincinnatus, 140
 city-republics
 and active citizenship, 115
 and faction, 114, 141
 sovereignty of, 152
civitas sibi princeps, 151
 conciliar ideas
 clerical in nature, 90, 180
 as ecclesiological theory, 89
 evaluation of, 91
 general council identified with church, 36
 limited response to problems of church, 180
 not democratic, 90
 not very radical, 91
 orthodoxy of, 12

- political, 78
 - and political thought, 16, 70, 89–91
 - and representation, 13
 - representation weak point, 75
- Conciliar Movement, 8, 10
- Conrad of Gelnhausen, 28
- consent, 41–4, 181
- consilia*, 156
- Constance, Council of, 9, 13, 17, 58, 88
- Constantine, Roman emperor, 161
- Constantinople, 58
- Corpus iuris canonici*, 144, 146
- Corpus iuris civilis*, 144, 146, 148, 160
- Corvinus, Mattias, king of Hungary, 126
- council, general
 - cannot err, 36
 - derived authority from pope, 74
 - human institution, 72
 - and infallibility, 52
 - infallibility of, 14
 - lay involvement in, 37
 - and pope, 9
 - and reform of church, 180
 - represented church, 17
 - on role of, 18
 - self-substantiating, 69
- Council of, 16
- Council, Second Vatican, 180
- Cunctos populos*, 150
- Dante, Alighieri, 81, 87
 - atonement argument, 87
- Decembrio, Pier Candido, 132
- Decembrio, Uberto, 132
- Decius, Philip, 157–8
- democracy, 107
- Deus novit*, 82
- dialogue
 - Ciceronian and Socratic forms, 95
- dictatores*, 99
- dignitas*, 153
- Diodorus Siculus, 175
- Dominic, St, 140
- dominium*, 6, 66
 - applied to jurisdiction and property by
 - Giles of Rome, 167
 - grace-founded, 66, 72, 80, 167
 - grace-founded, as pro-papal and anti-papal argument, 167
 - limited to property by jurists, 167
 - as ownership of property, 167
 - as rulership, 167
- dominium naturale*, 157
- Donation of Constantine, 46, 161–2
 - validity and authenticity, 162
- Eckermann, Karla, 81
- Edward IV, king of England, 165–6
- Edward, prince of Wales, 165
- emperor, Roman
 - absolute power of, 85
 - as Adam's successor, 87
 - could take away subjects' property without cause, 158
- epieikeia*, 57
- equality, 103
- Erasmus, Desiderius, 181
- Etaples, Jacques Lefèvre d', 181
- Etruscans, 111
- Eugenius IV, Pope, 24, 31, 56–7, 71, 82, 89, 108, 162
- Execrabilis*, 25, 180
- fame and glory, 139
- Felix V, Pope, 25, 60
- Ferrante, king of Naples, 133
- Ferrara, 25, 57, 103
- Ficino, Marsilio, 96
- Figgis, John Neville, 89
- Fitzralph, Richard, 167
- Florence, 95, 99–100, 102–3, 124–5, 127–8, 141
 - as city of sin, 140
 - heir of republican Rome, 101
 - mixed form of government, 108–9
- Florence, Council of, 44, 58, 109
- Fortescue, Sir John, 168–9
 - and *dominium politicum et regale*, 167
 - and idealised version of English kingship, 166
 - knowledge of Italian city-republics, 170
 - law bound body politic together, 168
 - law made by will of king and assent of subjects, 168
 - office of king a form of inheritance, 168
 - on royal prerogative, 169
 - on subjects' obligation to obey law, 169
 - teleological justification of kingship, 169
 - use of *dominium*, 167
 - use of notion of mystical body, 169

198 INDEX

- Foscari, Doge Francesco, 82
 France, 171
 king of, 158
 Francis I, king of France, 175, 178
 Francis of Assisi, St, 140
 Frankfurt, 24, 56, 171
 Frederick II, Roman emperor, 110
 Frederick III, Roman emperor, 82
- Geneva, 171
 Gentili, Alberico, 164
 Gerson, Jean, 15–24, 180
 denied that powers of jurisdiction and
 orders distinct, 20
 on executive role of pope, 18
 on general council as representing
 church, 16
 and Jean Petit, 15
 opposition to ideas of Wyclif, 23
 on plenitude of power in the church, 19,
 22
 on *politia ecclesiastica and politia
 saecularis*, 20
 synodal ideas of, 16
 Gieseey, Ralph E., 171
 Gilbert, Felix, 168
 Giles of Rome (Aegidius Romanus), 11, 166–7
 pope identified with church, 37
glossa ordinaria
 of Accursius, 147
 Goldast, Melchior, 82
 Gonzaga, Federigo, 123
 Gratian, 11, 29, 162
 Great Schism, 8, 88, 90
 Grotius, Hugo, 165
- Haec sancta*, 17
 Hankins, James, 93, 118, 126
 Henry VII, Roman emperor, 154
 Hotman, François, 164, 171
 humanism
 as allowing more direct access to ancient
 world, 98
 biblical, 181
 civic, 97
 as education in virtue, 133
 and equation of nobility with virtue, 94
 legal, 160, 163–5
 legal, scholastic method survived beside,
 165
 and moral education, 93
 rhetorical, 93
 as socially revolutionary, 94
 and training in virtue, 93
 humanists
 apologists for any form of government, 96
 argued for republican and signorial
 regimes, 132–5
 concerned with good life in civil polity,
 179
 concerned with presentation of power, 95
 equated nobility with virtue not birth,
 135
 exercise of virtue justified rule, 134
 and mixed constitution, 131
 and notion of human flourishing, 181
 and philology, 163
 rejection of scholastic Latin and dialectic,
 94
 and republican ideas, 97
 and support for signorial or princely
 regimes, 97, 135
 under signorial or princely regimes better
 support for men of talent than under
 republics, 133
 use of Ciceronian dialogue form, 126
 use of virtue argument, 135
 and *vita civile*, 96
 Hus, John, 12, 72, 167
 Hussites, 66
 Hutten, Ulrich von, 163
- infallibility, 29
 of general councils, 14, 52
 papal, 13
 Innocent III, Pope, 19, 84
 international law
 contribution of Roman and canon law
 jurists, 158
 private, 159
ius commune, 144, 159, 170
ius divinum, 159
ius gentium, 145–6, 149, 151, 154, 159, 169
ius inter gentes, 159
- Jerusalem, Council of, 32
 John of Segovia, 67–8
 on *auctoritas*, 61
 auctoritas only appears once in Vulgate,
 61

- authority constructed from below, 63
 - on church as mystical and political body, 67–8
 - general council self-substantiating, 69
 - link between epistemic and governmental authority, 62
 - only the truth has authority, 62
 - self-preservation argument, 68
 - on trust, 66, 181
 - use of Aristotle, 70
 - valid authority adhered to truth and reason, 182
- John of Turrecremata, 40, 75–6
 - on argument from self-preservation, 79
 - Christ established monarchy in church, 72
 - conciliar position political, 78
 - enthusiastic denigrator of status of lay men and women, 73
 - exclusion of lay men and women from jurisdiction in church, 72
 - general council derived authority from pope, 74
 - general councils human institutions, 72
 - Mary mother of God but only a woman in terms of jurisdiction, 80
 - monarchy best form of government, 78
 - pro-papal position, 71
 - rejected grace-founded *dominium*, 80
 - on representation in church, 75–6
 - some acceptance of construction of authority from below, 75
- John, the Fearless, 15
- John XXIII, Pope, 16
- jurisdictio*, 5
- Justin, 175
- Justinian, Roman emperor, 146
- king
 - divinely sanctioned with natural aim of common good, 122
 - as instrument of his dignity, 154
 - limited absolute power of, 175
 - office of a form of inheritance, 168
 - and royal prerogative, 169
 - sovereignty of, 152
- Kristeller, Paul Oskar, 92
- Languedoc, 171
- lex regia*, 84
- liberty, 100
 - and equality under republic, 104
 - republican, 111
 - republican as servitude, 127
- Libri feudorum*, 147, 175
- Livy, 131
- Lockwood, Shelley, 167
- Lollardy, 66
- Louis XII, king of France, 171
- Louis XIV, king of France, 176
- Lucan, 99
- Luther, Martin, 163, 180
- Machiavelli, Niccolò, 136–44, 179
 - on change, 141
 - on citizen militia, 143
 - consequentialist view of morals, 139
 - on cycle of political growth and decay, 141
 - defence of republican government, 136–44
 - did not think that power had to be justified, 137
 - discord constructive in republican Rome, 140
 - on evils of wealth, 140
 - faction destructive in republics of his own day, 141
 - on fortune, 138, 141
 - on French monarchy, 142
 - government according to laws, 141
 - his notion of virtue, 138
 - on preserving ruler's state, 139
 - on reformation, 142
 - rejected appeal to authority, 136
 - view of Christianity, 139
- maiestas*, 6, 153
 - laesa maiestas*, 6
- Maino, Jason de, 157, 171
 - on plenitude of power of duke of Milan, 158
- Mainz, 56
- Maio, Iuniano, 133
- Mair, John, 180
- Mantua, 123
- Marinus da Caramanico, 155
- Marshall, William, 163
- Marsilius of Padua, 12, 34, 45
 - definition of church, 67

200 INDEX

- Mary
 at foot of cross argument, 23, 28, 80
 mother of God but only a woman in terms of jurisdiction, 80
- Medici, 137
- Medici, Cardinal Giovanni de', 126
- Medici, Cosimo de', 124
- Medici, Lorenzo de', 123, 125–6
- Messina, 24
- Milan, 112, 132, 156, 158, 177
 dukedom of, 156
- monarchy
 best form of government, 78
 defence of, 121
 as legitimate form of government, 108
 natural government in human history, 128
 superior, 126
- Montpellier, 171
- mos gallicus*, 165
- Moses, 21
- Naples, 154
- natural law, 35, 169
- Nicholas de Clémanges, 28
- Nicholas of Cusa, 25, 31, 50–2
 argument from consent, 50–2
 and change of mind, 40
 consent of faithful guaranteed
 infallibility of decrees of general councils, 50–2
 consent made authority coercive, 56
 consent not content-free, 50–2
 and Donation of Constantine, 46
 and learned ignorance, 58
 and negative theology, 58
 Peter chosen by Christ as head of church
 because not a virgin, 54
 on pope as *princeps*, 59
 power of binding and loosing lay with church, 49
 on reception of doctrine by church, 60
 representation in church, 50–2
 on role of secular rulers in church, 60
 rulership in church ministerial, 55
 rulership of Peter and subsequent popes
 rested on consent of church, 54
 shift to pro-papal position, 56
 sliding scale from fallibility to infallibility, 50–2
- use of Marsilius of Padua, 45
 use of Marsilius of Padua's biological argument, 50–2
- Nîmes, 171
- Nörr, Knut Wolfgang, 29
- Novels*, of Justinian, 147
- office
 and man distinction, 11, 23, 29, 65, 67
 royal, quasi-hereditary, 172
- Oldradus da Ponte, 154, 157
- Orleans, Louis of, 15
- Otto III, Roman emperor, 162
- Padua, 82, 104, 154, 158
- Palermo, 24
- Palmieri, Matteo, 117
 on active citizenship, 115
 on faction, 114
 on glory in war, 115
 mass of citizens could know better than rulers, 116
 on republic as school of virtue, 113
 on service to republic, 114
 on *vita civile* and human flourishing, 112
- Panormitanus (Nicholas de Tudeschis), 37–40, 145
 changes of mind of, 25
 on faith and jurisdiction, 37–40
 on faith remaining in Mary alone, 30
 general council cannot err, 36
 on infallibility, 29
 on jurisdiction and faith, 37–40
 on keys given to Peter as church's representative, 32
 on lay involvement in general councils, 37
 on pope as political head of church, 36
 plenitude of power possessed by church as represented by general council, 37–40
 shift to conciliarist position, 31
 use of argument from necessity, 39
 use of natural law arguments, 35
 use of secular examples, 35
 works contain pro-papal and conciliarist views, 37–40
- papacy
 argument that conciliarism a political theory, 90
 success of diplomacy, 90
 use of political categories by, 22

- Paris, 158, 180
 Parlement, of Paris, 175
 Parliament, English, 169
 Patrizi, Francesco, 121–3, 137
 on advantages and disadvantages of republics, 121
 argued for republican and signorial regimes, 117
 debt to Plato in defence of monarchy, 121
 defence of monarchy, 121–3
 and equality under the law, 119
 favoured republican government in peacetime but monarchy in wartime, 123
 king like a theatrical show, 123
 kingship divinely sanctioned with natural aim of common good, 122
 on power of state, 120
 rule of king like that of God, 122
 use of ideal type, 121
 Paul, St, 168
 Paulus de Castro, 157
 Pavia, 158, 171
 Pazzi conspiracy, 125
 Peloponnesian War, 104
 Pericles, 104
 Petrarch, Francesco, 92
 Piccolomini, Aeneas Sylvius, 25
 Pisa, 112, 158
 Pisa-Milan, Council of, 9, 180
 Pius II, Pope, 25, 180
 Platina, Bartolomeo, 137
 advice for a prince and for Lorenzo de' Medici as citizen, 124
 Plato, 45, 96, 118, 121, 124, 132
 plenitude of power, 5, 18, 22, 72, 156
 of duke of Milan, 158
 Plutarch, 175
 Polybius, 142
 Pontano, Giovanni, 133, 137
 pope
 absolute power of, 85
 claim to sovereignty of, 14
 executive role of, 18
 and general council, 9
 governmental claims of, 10
 heretical, 88
 infallibility of, 14
 political head of church, 36
 as *princeps*, 59, 85
 rulership of rested on consent of church, 53
popolo, 111
populi extranei, 152
populus liber, 151
potestas, 5
 use in Vulgate, 62
 power, 89, 137
 absolute and limited, 175
 did not have to be justified, 137
 its presentation and defence by humanists, 95
princeps, 148
Prosperum iter faciat nobis, 16
 Pseudo-Dionysius, 76
 Ptolemy, of Lucca, 96, 114, 166
 Punic Wars, 112
 Quintilian, 113
 Quirini, Lauro
 on mixed constitution, 131
 on republic and democracy, 130
 Remigio de' Girolami, 96, 113
 representation, 13
 weak point in conciliarist position, 75
 republics
 few and transitory, 128
respublica, 153
 generic word for state, 132
 regni, 153
rex in regno suo est imperator regni sui, 151
 rhetoric
 epideictic, 99, 104
 Rinuccini, Alamanno
 support for Florentine republicanism, 124
 Robert, king of Naples, 154
 Roman emperor, 146, 158
 Roman Empire, 168
 Roman law, 137, 144–65
 argument from *ius gentium* that emperor not lord of world, 154
 Commentators on, 146
 Commentators' use of *de iure-de facto* distinction, 159
 and Neapolitan school of jurists, 154
 Roman people, 33
 Roman Principate, 132

202 INDEX

- Roman Republic, 98, 111, 130, 139, 153
 discord constructive in, 140
 unique virtue of, 141
- Rome, 158
- Roselli, Antonio de'
 absolute power of emperor and pope, 85
 argument from necessity, 88
 argument from self-authentication, 89
 Christ did not have temporal power, 84
 difficult to fit into conciliarist and
 papalist categories, 81
 distinction between powers of emperor
 and pope, 83–5
 elections of pope and emperor
 declaratory, 84
 hierarchical view, 85
 influenced by poverty movements, 83
 overall pro-papal, 88
 pope and emperor derived powers from
 God, 85
 on pope as *princeps*, 88
 rejected papal right to create emperor, 84
 some support for general councils, 88
 use of Aristotle, 86
 use of Dante's argument concerning
 possible intellect, 87
 use of Dante's atonement argument, 87
 use of neo-Platonic terms, 86
- Roses, Wars of, 165
- Salic law, 176
- Sallust, 99, 140
- Salutati, Coluccio, 92
 Florence founded by Sulla, 98
- Savonarola, Girolamo, 140
- Savoy
 dukes of, 158, 171
- Schüssler, Hermann, 29
- Scotland, 166
- Second Sophistic, 100
- self-authentication, 89, 149, 151
- self-preservation
 arguments from, 15, 68, 79
- Seneca, 96, 132, 135, 137
- Seventy, Council of, 125
- Seyssel, Claude de, 178
 advocated social mobility, 176
 aim to justify French monarchy and show
 its limits, 175
 on counsel, 177
- hereditary monarchy more secure than
 elective, 177
 his treatment of church, 177
 idealised French monarchy, 175
 on kingdom as mystical body, 176
 on limited absolute power of monarch,
 175
 on Parlement, 175
 and three bridles, religion, justice and *la
 police*, 175
 on three estates, 176
- Sforza, Francesco, 158
- Sicily, 154
- Siena, 25, 30, 158
- Sigismund, Roman emperor-elect,
 16, 82, 107
- Sigmund, Paul, 41
- signori*, 135, 155
- Signoria
 of Florence, 110
- Socinus, Bartholomaeus, 157
- sortition, 110
- sovereignty, 150, 152, 156
 hierarchy of, 153
 papal, 14
 synonymous with supreme
 jurisdiction, 6
 universal and territorial, 146
- Stacey, Peter, 132
- state, territorial, 159
- Strozzi, Nanni, 103, 105
- Suárez, Francisco, 165
- Sulla, 110
- Swiss, 142
- Sylvester, Pope, 161
- Tacitus, 96, 100
- Tartagnus, Alexander, 157
- terrae ecclesiae*, 156
- terrae imperii*, 155
- Terrevermeille, Jean de
 constitutionalist and monarchical
 interpretations of, 174
 divine sanction of French monarchy,
 172
 notion of mystical body, 174
 royal office quasi-hereditary, 172
- Tewkesbury, 165
- Thucydides, 104, 175
- Tierney, Brian, 12

- Tortelli, Giovanni, 162
 Towton, 165
 Trent, Council of, 180
 trust, 66
 Turin, 171
 Tuscany, 111
- Valence, 158
 Valla, Lorenzo
 demonstration that Donation of
 Constantine not authentic, 46, 163
Venerabilem, 84
 Venice, 33, 82, 128–9
 Vergerio, Pier Paolo, 104, 106, 129
 vicariates, imperial, 155–6
 Virgil, 6
 virtue, 118, 133–6, 138
 as basis for legitimate government, 93
 justified rule, 134
 and nobility, 94
- Visconti, Giangaleazzo, Duke of Milan, 97,
 99, 106, 110, 112, 156
 as promoting liberty, 132
vita civile, 96, 112
 Vulgate, 61
- Waldensians, 23
 Weitz Thomas A., 81
 Wenceslas, king of the Romans, 156
 William of Ockham, 28, 95
 denied infallibility of general councils of
 church, 14
- women
 citizen status of, 159
 position of in church, 73
- Wyclif, John, 12, 23, 66, 72, 167
- Xenophon, 123, 175
- Zasius, Ulrich, 163