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Questioning New Perspectives**

by Giovanni Francesco Contel

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**Linguaggi dell'imperialità  
nell'Italia del tardo medioevo**

a cura di Pietro Silanos e Gian Maria Varanini

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## **Shades of Empire in Late Medieval and Renaissance Reichsitalien. Questioning New Perspectives**

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The node centered by the volume deals with the political-cultural ties between the late medieval German emperors and the plural world of the Italian humanists. Particularly, conveying a double and corresponding line of exchanges between North and South of the Alps, the point was re-focused over emperor's presence and their retinues in the peninsula as the fulcrum of this long-term exchange. Thus, new perspectives open up regarding spaces and men involved in this political experience. Regional spaces more in contact than others with the imperial presence and the collection of sources, on the basis of macro-areas in the wake of Peter Moraw's scheme, are very useful tools to adapt our knowledge of the multiple links between emperors and Reichsitalien, not only in the 14<sup>th</sup> century and in the previous two centuries (12<sup>th</sup>-13<sup>th</sup>) but also for the crucial subsequent period (15<sup>th</sup>-16<sup>th</sup>) – considering the entire autumn of the Medieval Empire and, at the same time, the Renaissance – still relatively little focused on by the new research fields. In order to include these centuries as well, Moraw's thesis should be proficiently reconsidered, however, in light of the political-cultural ties with the emperor. Thus, it would broaden the field of research from mere jurisdiction – even this principle remains unaltered still for centuries – to political culture.

Late Middle Ages, Renaissance, 13<sup>th</sup>-16<sup>th</sup> centuries, Germany, Italy, Holy Roman emperors, law, diplomacy, political humanism.

“The tenacious although transformed, pull of traditional historiographical concerns goes far to explain why the remarkable and fruitful efflorescence of studies of the late-medieval *Reich* in the closing decades of the twentieth century found so little space for Italy”.<sup>1</sup> This consideration is undoubtedly correct and could be the cue to move our considerations towards a first, provisional evaluation of some specific historiographical objectives of this volume of collective research. It is not my goal here to analyze why Italy as a political space constitutes the problem of the intersection of the two historiographies mainly interested in the Empire, the German and the Italian one. Neither to reflect on the awareness of the Italian historiographical – but also cultural –

<sup>1</sup> Scales, “Emperors of Rome,” 16-7.

academy on the multiple and centuries-old relations between Italy and the Empire, nor to focus on the specific wider area of the Reichsitalien, which for centuries belonged by right to the Holy Roman Empire.<sup>2</sup> Reading the interesting (and variously diverse) essays in this book, many elements spring to the mind.

As a general premise – which may concern another books as the present one – we must be aware of the significant problem in terminology, very proper to this debate that exists between the words ‘empire’/‘Empire’, ‘Holy Roman Empire’ in a larger written and oral use. In fact, there are as well as the implicit, yet essential, related meanings to their (alleged) correlation with instances of ‘Romanity’, ‘Italianity’, ‘Germanity’ (or Germanism) and ‘Universalism’ of the medieval and modern Empire<sup>3</sup>. The same dialectic on the definitions it can be done with the meanings of Rome, idea of Rome, ancient Rome, etc. especially during the Late Middle Ages and Renaissance. Distinctions very useful (on individual works and individual authors) can be found in many essays. But still this problem remains on the cultural history of the Empire inside the texts, which generally in the synthesis is too often solved not questioning the terminology or not challenging accurately the context of the use of words (where it is possible, not in many cases).

The challenge faced by the authors of this volume in re-evaluating important themes and questions concerning the Empire – shifting between the Holy Roman Empire but also the larger, medieval, idea of Rome and ancient Roman Empire – and Italy in some authors has certainly been won.<sup>4</sup>

### 1. *Keywords and Topics*

Let’s start with a brief note on the keywords used by the authors (4-5 for each essay) to point out specific goals of their articles and so the main topics for the search engines.<sup>5</sup> It seems very interesting and significant that the most recurrent keyword is *humanism* (6 occurrences), but considering all the terms quite synonymous, dealing with humanistic culture or with the (not so wide-sounding, in this case) literarian-philological field – for example the textual genres as *historiography*, *chronicles* or *orations* – they all together could be counted as 15. But even 17 if we also consider *canon law*, *civil law* and *uni-*

<sup>2</sup> Trautz, “Die Reichsgewalt in Italien,” Taddei, Schnettger, Rebitsch, ““Reichsitalien” in Mittelalter und Neuzeit,” Verga, Schnettger, “L’Impero in Italia,” Bellabarba, Merlotti, “Stato sabauda e Sacro Romano Impero.”

<sup>3</sup> For a general insight of these multiple questions see Gilli, ““Imperium” et Italie,” Gilli, “Empire et italianité,” Quaglioni, “Empire et monarchie,” Pio, “Il bene comune e l’Impero,” Elze, “L’idea imperiale,” Bussi, “Lo studio del Sacro Romano Impero.” Not too much considered in Wilson, “The Holy Roman Empire.”

<sup>4</sup> Hujbers, “Introduction,” 1-10.

<sup>5</sup> I underline now that it is not my main purpose here to build scheduled statistics of the keywords, so not all of them will be properly discussed. The keywords will appear in italics.

versity, which all three, quoted singularly, deal with the same contribution.<sup>6</sup> Maybe obviously, the second most present keyword is *Holy Roman Empire* or *empire*, including also in the imperial semantics expressions like *imperial ideology* and *imperial project* (5+2 occurrences). There is a lack of the word ‘emperor’ – only one occurrence in the joined keyword *emperor-pope chronicles*, and only another one with *papacy* – but four names of sovereign are present as keywords (*Henry VII*, *Ludwig of Bavaria*, *Sigismund of Luxembourg*, *Frederick III*).<sup>7</sup> So, there are three other names of authors, political and literarian characters of Late Medieval Age: two italians (*Albertino Mussato* and *Cola di Rienzo*) and one german (*Martin von Troppau*). It is so excluded for this little insight *Cicero*, who has been characterized as an ancient author, and here concerned moreover as an object of interest or a ‘matter of study’ (political, historical, rhetoric, linguistic, etc.) than as a real person.

Moving from names to spaces, *Rome* has three occurrences and *Italy* only one. Interpreting the spatial gap of meaning, where Italy consists certainly in the main political reference of the *Reichsitalien* relative to the Italian policies of the emperor, Rome is more important as a fundamental concept of wider significance for the medieval Empire. Therefore, it is also the direct, obvious link to the idea of ancient Rome, which strongly resides in the backyard of people’s minds during the Late Middle Ages and the Renaissance. The rest of the keywords are more isolated in their own meaning, more peculiar but very important for the history of the Empire in Italy or for the medieval imperial concerns in politics and culture: *ritual*, *councils*, *Ghibellism*, *res publica* and *political thought*, which all together point out to the long-time persistence between Christianity, Italy, Rome, and the idea of Empire during medieval and early modern Europe. Nevertheless, these are very interesting, moreover if we find them as instruments focusing the main topics of the essays in this volume. Especially *ritual* has a powerful importance, because of the fruitful, recurring waves of cultural historical studies during the last decades, also including the anthropological meaning in the ritual performance, the public space, the interpreting characters, the ‘intellectual’ minds who thought and studied the solutions before the acting event, etc.

*Councils* may be another complex keyword, because it can refer both to the papal side as to the imperial one. In fact, the great councils of the Latin Church were the main see for all their suzerain powers such as popes and emperors. But the councils represented a very wide political space and more-

<sup>6</sup> Rando, “La forza vitale di un’idea.”

<sup>7</sup> The recover of centrality played by the single imperial sovereigns – in a general return of crowned rulers on the historical research scene – is also signalled here, by an increasing use in the keywords, but, maybe, it could also depend on the recent – in the last two-three decades – important biographic-centered prose or collective works written by various scholars on these emperors. Franke, Heidemann, (Henry VII), Godthardt and Seibert (Ludwig IV), Widder, Kubínová (Charles IV), Proske (Sigismund), Heinig and Koller (Friedrich III). Undoubtedly, we can also join to this series Rapp (Maximilian I).

over in the Late Middle Ages<sup>8</sup> as if mainly ecclesiastical reunion they included indirectly also the instances of kings, princes, cities, and other kinds of european powers. From the other side, a word like *Ghibellism* is still today such problematic historical phenomenon among italian scholars' historiographical debate, moreover when it concerns Late Middle Ages.<sup>9</sup> In this case, may it be necessary to precise this now, this word is used in a larger meaning sense referring to the more general political culture of an author partisan of the emperor, Fazio degli Uberti.<sup>10</sup> Since the XIII century, his family built a clear ghibelline identity, but this does not necessarily or directly deal with Fazio's own political profile in Italy during the last tier of XIV century.

The Ghibellism in this case must be viewed like a political opinion or instance which is not sustained by weapons on a real battlefield or between the town streets. Nevertheless, the political role of those texts – not questioning here the difference of genres, which would be important in describing different contexts of targets, public and transmission – is truly relevant, often more than the literian value of poems conceived during social and political troubles, where there was no space for refined intellectual-poets or tractatists. Obviously, if it was true for Mussato, really the plea on behalf of the Empire was strong for Petrarch, who undoubtedly had been (after Dante) the most important italian author able to argue on italian troubles in the seek for peace and devoting this holy mission to the emperor.<sup>11</sup> In a wider perspective of study on the connections between Italy and Empire, the ghibellism should be finally studied focusely as a value and as an instrument of the imperial policies in the peninsula. In my opinion, the unrest prosecution of studying guelph and ghibelline together as phenomenon of double-face political coinage (moreover for XII-early XIV century), mainly correct, has therefore avoided to explore specific links inside the ghibelline galaxy in the late medieval and early modern centuries.<sup>12</sup>

Therefore, to conclude these first considerations, in our case there is no sudden shift between those keywords evidently selected with web search engines in mind, and others attributable to the need and the opportunity to describe the topics of each individual item in a natural and effective way.

<sup>8</sup> Hardy, "Tage (Courts, Councils and Diets)," Hardy, "Associative Political Culture."

<sup>9</sup> On post-Frederick II' age see Grillo, "La falsa inimicizia," Canaccini, "Restano i termini, mutano i significati," Canaccini, "Essere (filoimperiali) o non essere?," Tabacco, "Ghibellinismo e lotte di partito." For Renaissance (15<sup>th</sup> - early 16<sup>th</sup> century) see Gentile, "Factions and parties," Gentile, "Guefeli e ghibellini nell'Italia del Rinascimento," VII-XXV.

<sup>10</sup> D'Amico, "Fazio degli Uberti."

<sup>11</sup> Cappelli, "Italia est tota plena tyrannis," Geri, "Petarca cortigiano." See now Varanini, "La prima spedizione di Carlo IV," 411-4.

<sup>12</sup> Instead, for the Renaissance guelph's political world see the relatively recent Serena Ferente's works, Ferente, "Guelphs!"

## 2. *Main Historiographical Goals*

The presence of the emperor – or, better, of the Empire and of the (german) emperors – real or imagined is the key to have a better comprehension of this complex of socio-political phenomena north and south to the Alps, as, for example, Mierau's essay described in a very interesting way.<sup>13</sup> The focus over the italian policies of the emperors can open a new way to consider their images, so those ones of Rome and of Empire, printed by the imperial activities in Italy into the minds and the texts of humanistic authors, so as for the masterpieces of the artists. A sort of pattern has been individuated for Henri VII who left a strong memory both for the italian purposes of the Empire and moreover for the aims related to a specific part of the italians. As just recently pointed out by Pietro Silanos, also for king John of Bohemia it is recognizable a project over italian lands of the Reich on his father Henry VII's footsteps. This plan quickly increased John's experimental policies addressed to the italian elites, among the communal cities and the aristocracies, (more or less) devoted to Luxembourg's imperial memory, which not so gradually brought the Luxembourg in the hostility of emperor Ludwig the Bavarian.<sup>14</sup> It has also been registred that the first experience dealing with the italian powers – the dissimulation of their diplomatic policies – was acquired by the young John during Henry's expedition. So, quite the same happened in the following decades with his son Charles, who was active in John's italian projects and gave his contribution until the final awareness of the failure before getting back north to the Alps.

Even it is not possible to find a real continuity, it has begun to recover the importance of imperial dinasties young heirs' apprenticeship related to over the italian political and military chessboard has been aroused in the recent researchs for the Trecento. But the same historical operation could find evidence still in the Quattrocento – excepting, for example, Albert II of Habsburg never followed in Italy his father-in-law Sigismund – until Maximilian with his father Frederick III. More generally, it would be necessary to enlarge this point of view for the german nobility who moved and acted for many generations crossing the Alps with the emperors and gave this opportunity to their young members to be baptized warriors also in the italian battlefields.<sup>15</sup> Even in time of (relative) peace, the passage through italian lands was necessary to reach Rome as pilgrims and then the Holy Land, in the same way, as for the increasing students exchange who moved from north to the south to the italian universities in the Late Middle Ages.<sup>16</sup>

<sup>13</sup> Mierau, "Kaiser und Kaiserreich."

<sup>14</sup> Silanos, "Alter Ascanius," 62.

<sup>15</sup> Varanini, "Mercenari tedeschi in Italia nel Trecento," Favreau-Lilie, "Die Heerfolgepflicht im Regnum Italiae," and the classic Schäfer, "Deutsche Ritter und Edelknechte in Italien."

<sup>16</sup> For a general reference see de Rachewiltz, Riedmann, "Kommunikation und Mobilität im Mittelalter."

### 3. *New Perspectives: Crossing the Perspectives? (Back to Peter Moraw)*

Along the line of the entire volume, Len Scales' very useful fresco over the late medieval emperors' *Italienzüge* or *Romzüge* can also be intended as a proposal to overview in a different way the imperial presence in specific part of Italy.<sup>17</sup> These may be studied as a field of action of the emperor in a more natural configuration, if we make a broader view over zone of the Empire where, on one hand, emperors never went, went only for a few times or only transiting. On the other hand, many areas within the peninsula where emperors passed many times but were also included in their political projects, even only in diplomacy and not only in war periods. In a certain way, this platform opened to recollect some various connections between german and italian worlds under the vessel of the Empire and to spread in the witness' consciousness-building by a lot of authors, could also be the opportunity to make a renewal of Peter Moraw's theory. As noted by Len Scales in his article, Moraw's proposal was to build a scheme whereas can be inserted the different areas of Empire, accordingly to their proximity to the king/emperor who is on the throne in a certain moment o during a specific period.<sup>18</sup> So, a sort of zonal pattern could show us in a very simple way if there were bonds between the sovereign and this or that area – theoretically, considering not only effective jurisdiction, but various ways of hegemony – this or that principality, this or that single bishopric or monastery, etc. By the way, Scales argued how this proposal was truly conceived thinking only to the german lands of the Empire, so interpreting and balancing some differencies between the north and the south, the east and the west, but (totally?) excluding a role of *Reichsitalien* and the opportunity to enlarge the questions. Today, for example, the new setting of german historical most ancient and noble research networks concerning the imperial sources – the *Monumenta Germaniae Historica*, *Constitutiones* and the *Regesta Imperii*, have given a tot heir joined effort platform, the *Italienprojekt*. Instead, now the recollect of source depends on spatial/regional research teams to be more effective and proceed speedly in the first phases, so determining a precious information exchange.<sup>19</sup>

On the contrary, Scales' own proposal concerning the overlapping three circles derived from the historiography over Byzantine Empire is undoubtedly fascinating, but still – literally – 'a-morphous', devoid of arguments capable

<sup>17</sup> See also the not too old and clever considerations regarding the same elements by Ernst Voltmer: Voltmer, "Sovrani tedeschi in Italia," 38-47, Pauler, "Die deutschen Könige und Italien." On german-italian encounters in chronicles, ending 12<sup>th</sup>-13<sup>th</sup> centuries see Zug Tucci, "Dalla polemica antimperiale alla polemica antitedesca". On 15<sup>th</sup> century *Italienzüge* see now *Römische historische Mitteilungen* 63 (2021), mon. issue over Frederick III's first *Romzug*, ed. by Andreas Gottsmann (a next one is forthcoming on the second *Romzug* of 1469).

<sup>18</sup> Scales, "Emperors of Rome," 16-1, Scales, "The shaping of german identity," 82. The thesis dates to 1985 ca., see Moraw, "Von offener Verfassung," 175.

<sup>19</sup> Spano, "L'Italienprojekt," 389-90, Spano, "Carlo IV e i *Regesta Imperii*," 30, 34, Menzel, "*Monumenta Germaniae Historica*," 27, Rando, "La ricerca sulle fonti e le sue sfide," 451-9.

to broaden the perspective, at least for now.<sup>20</sup> To make a comparison with categories more arguably designed on imperial history, the premises are maybe too different, but sort of similar imagine of the different, shifting levels – the Empire itself, the Austrian dominions, the Habsburg whole dynasty, and the person of the single emperor – interpreting the policies related to the Holy Roman Empire during Habsburg's hegemony on the imperial throne overall Late Middle Ages and Early Modern Age had been done by Giuseppe Galasso.<sup>21</sup>

Nevertheless, there are other research fields less considered in classical perspectives which we can include to build new trails. For example, not too many links have been explored after a few studies on the political, social, and cultural role of the ghibellines in the 'old' *regnum Arelatensis*,<sup>22</sup> and so on generally concerning the few studied question of the retreating jurisdiction-'border' (or frontier) between Holy Roman Empire and the 'new' strong kingdom of France. Even these territories, although traditionally underestimated for the general evaluation of imperial politics, which had been forever lost within and indefinite period during the long XIII century,<sup>23</sup> it would make sense to consider them in the complex of Moraw's thesis even if for a restricted stage. On one hand, lies the problem of the imperial frontiers, how they changed and according to which kind of problems or opportunities. On the other hand, it is the opportunity for political and military intervention in lands more connected in a certain period to the empire, and how interact emperors with political and social powers in a regional or sub-regional level.<sup>24</sup>

In this direction, should also be explored the parallelism of growing political cultures in the great european areas, which intertwined each other in the late medieval and early modern centuries, although without a real and demonstrable tradition of continuity. For example, the question of the emergence of political elites inside courts and chanceries, the relational webs among them and the exchange of political (and juridical) cultures, could be know a renewal of studies by comparison,<sup>25</sup> or also through the imperial perspective, where plural political and cultural areas stood for centuries. During the emperor's *Italienzüge* this phenomenon is truly clear. It could be quite the same as that concerning the courtly itineraries overall the imperial lands northern to the

<sup>20</sup> Scales, "Emperors of Rome", 34-5, and see Shepard, "Byzantium's overlapping circles," 15-6, 53-5.

<sup>21</sup> Galasso, "Austria e Asburgo," but also Moeglin, "Corps de l'Empire et corps de l'Empereur."

<sup>22</sup> Aurell, "Chanson et propagande politique," Chiffolleau, "Les gibelins du Royaume d'Arles," Chiffolleau, "I ghibellini del regno di Arles."

<sup>23</sup> See Balossino, "Guerra, conflitti e inchieste giudiziarie," Moeglin, "L'Empire et le Royaume."

<sup>24</sup> Cortese, "L'Impero e la Toscana," Tanzini, "Cambiare imperatore," Rubinstein, "The Place of the Empire," Rubinstein, "Firenze e il problema della politica imperiale," Cipriani, "L'Impero e la cultura politica italiana." Undoubtedly, Tuscany is the most studied 'region' for Late Middle Ages and Renaissance until 16<sup>th</sup> century, although certainly in this age it is not the major area for a general pro-imperial cultural tradition or for Empire's political penetration.

<sup>25</sup> See for this enormous debate Lazzarini, "Communication and conflict," then now Lazzarini, "L'ordine delle scritture."



Alps, wherein usually the sovereign meet and interact with jurists and orators of various cities, princes, bishops, and electors. The recruitment of clever and performing personnel for chancery and court, determined a long *durée* question for the emperors, always demanding for jurists and ambassadors. Very often in these circumstances emperors know and select (sometimes personally) their future closest collaborators.<sup>26</sup>

The circularity of political personnel has been studied as a peculiar spin-off of the ‘state’ european season of study and demonstrated how the borders were more open than close between different kinds of power (civic governments or principalities, of any level), because of the general cultural circulation of the men who make politics.<sup>27</sup> Relating to the Empire, particularly in its long relationship with italian world, for the Luxembourg age recent studies have pointed out this perspicuous role of secretaries, chancellors, vicars, ambassadors, even military rulers with significative political value in the Reichsitalien, where strong resisted for centuries the emperor’s power to elevate and certificate as the political status of a city as the one of a single person or of an entire family.<sup>28</sup>

Old and new researches over the italian participation in the imperial policies towards Italy – but also other nationalities inside the imperial ability to plan an european view of the Empire – are increasing step by step our knowledge of those mechanisms which strengthened the bonds between Italy and Empire still in so late age, wherein emperors do not appear as winning rulers. In fact, they had been represented too much as leader not dealing with the present of their years. In a larger part of the narrative (italian) sources – but it would be questioned who and where these had been produced case by case – they look like relicts of a most glorious past. Nevertheless, their own abilities to reshape the imperial bonds with people were still active and they would have stood for centuries.

But there are many other situations, even in the last medieval period. The studies of Daniel Luger over XV century Trieste,<sup>29</sup> a city commune (often neglected) which was both a land of Empire and under Habsburg government, can ‘stress’ the Moraw’s theory as for the Gian Maria Varanini’s researches on

<sup>26</sup> Salemme, “Simone da Marville,” Lecuppre, “Henri VII et les humanistes italiens,” Pichiorri, “Die Rekrutierung,” Pichiorri, “La fidelité à la maison de Luxembourg,” Pichiorri, “Les relations de l’empereur Charles IV.” Still “old but gold” is Beinhoff, “Die Italiener am Hof Kaiser Sigismunds,” then Heinig, “How large was the Court,” Noflatscher, “Räte und Herrscher.”

<sup>27</sup> For the previous age, on socio-political webs in Staufens Reichsitalien see now Spataro, “I giudici al servizio della corte imperiale.”

<sup>28</sup> Selected cases in Proske, “Pro duobus magnis luminaris mundi,” *passim*, Pallotti, “Federico III,” 165, 168, Lee, “Ludwig IV of Bavaria,” 316-7. See also Heckmann, “Stellvertreter, Mit- und Ersatzherrscher,” Favreau-Lilie, “Reichsherrschaft im spätmittelalterlichen Italien,” Rill, “Reichsvikar und Kommissar,” Tabacco, “Lo Stato sabauda.”

<sup>29</sup> Luger, “L’imperatore lontano?” On the pactual starting of Austrian government in 1382 see Cammarosano, “Trieste nell’Italia delle città.”

Verona during the first part of the Italian Wars.<sup>30</sup> Giving the title ‘L'imperatore lontano’ to his article the author has directly pointed out to the Moraw's thesis, underlining how a little city of frontier became more important dealing with the Habsburg as mainlords, then also as emperors. The migration of the centre of interest of the Empire with the imperial dynasties to the east began with the Luxembourg and from the same Sigismund the Habsburgs inherited opportunities and troubles of his experimentation policies, both relating to Italy and to East Europe. It is also still questionable – if it had ever been really questioned in the past – if the Moraw's thesis on the various zonal configuration of the German part of the Empire could be applied over *Reichsitalien*. In the recent years few researches have tried to do so. For example, see in the last years the works of Daniel Luger over Trieste, which for a long time had been not considered part of the Italian cities world because of its ancient political and socio-economic bonds with the south-eastern part of the Empire and then under the Habsburgs control for many centuries.

#### 4. *Conclusions. A Hope in the New Perspectives*

These wider-opening and multiple windows regarding the connection Empire-Italy has been obtained by an enlargement of topics, sources, characters, spaces, and perspectives, concerning the Imperial Discourse overall the Late Medieval Period.<sup>31</sup> Much remains still to be explored between the late XIV - early XVI century, above all by reconsidering the continuities of imperial policies planned for Italy, from Sigismund's age to Maximilian I's one (but also Charles V), finally trespassing the long and complex reign of Frederick III, which today is fortunately less neglected by European historians than in the (even recent) past.<sup>32</sup>

Nevertheless, too many investigations still must be done, keeping hope for the next future. For example, in the volume there is the legitimate, substantial absence of the theme of *reformatio imperii* and of some of the major authors, including Italians, who focused on this aspect or who connoted their intentions by considering this important instance of their era. In other words, the theme of *reformatio imperii*, as well as connected to the *reformatio ecclesiae*, therefore to the heavy and serious schismatic and conciliarist season, has long influenced the mentality of German and non-German imperial authors, inside the imperial court, above all in the interchange with the apostolic curia

<sup>30</sup> Varanini, “Verona e Massimiliano I d'Asburgo,” and Varanini, “Massimiliano I. e la crisi dello stato veneziano,” 34-40, on Habsburg's rule over Verona (1509-17). In both cases the emperor's dominion was as direct and dynastic, but this configuration played a role step by step and other case studies deserve historians' attention in this sense.

<sup>31</sup> Varanini, “Enrico VII e il governo delle città italiane,” Cariboni, “Dissenso e Crimen laese maiestatis.” See now Rando, Schlottheuber, “Carlo IV e l'Italia.”

<sup>32</sup> In this sense, I agree the synthesis between conclusions and perspectives in Märkl, “Das spätmittelalterliche Kaisertum und Italien.”

(ambassadors, jurists, great prelates).<sup>33</sup> The strand of *reformatio imperii* is probably one of the most 14<sup>th</sup> century results towards the following Renaissance era.

<sup>33</sup> Moreover, in the period after the Golden Bull (1356) – see Hohensee, “Die Goldene Bulle” – still recently viewed as the unic, real ‘constitutional’ affirmation in Lee, “Humanism and Empire,” 272-82, 360-3, 368-9, 387.

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