**Guelphs and Ghibellines**

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| **Wars of the Guelphs and Ghibellines** |
| Part of the [Investiture Controversy](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Investiture_Controversy) |
| [Communal fight in Bologna (Sercambi).jpg](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:Communal_fight_in_Bologna_(Sercambi).jpg) A 14th century conflict between the militias of the Guelph and Ghibelline factions in the comune of [Bologna](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Bologna), from the *Croniche* of Giovanni Sercambi of Lucca |

**Origins**

*Guelph* (often spelled *Guelf*; in Italian *Guelfo*, plural *Guelfi*) is an [Italian](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Italian_language) form of the name of the [House of Welf](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/House_of_Welf), the family of the dukes of [Bavaria](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Bavaria) (including the namesake [Welf II, Duke of Bavaria](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Welf_II,_Duke_of_Bavaria), as well as [Henry the Lion](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Henry_the_Lion)). The Welfs were said to have used the name as a rallying cry during the [Siege of Weinsberg](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Siege_of_Weinsberg) in 1140, in which the rival [Hohenstaufens](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Hohenstaufen) of [Swabia](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Swabia) (led by [Conrad III of Germany](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Conrad_III_of_Germany)) used "Wibellingen", the name of a castle today known as [Waiblingen](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Waiblingen), as their cry; "Wibellingen" subsequently became *Ghibellino* in Italian.[[4]](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Guelphs_and_Ghibellines#cite_note-EB1911-4)

The names were likely introduced to Italy during the reign of [Frederick Barbarossa](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Frederick_I,_Holy_Roman_Emperor). When Frederick conducted military campaigns in Italy to expand imperial power there, his supporters became known as Ghibellines (*Ghibellini*). The [Lombard League](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Lombard_League) and its allies were defending the liberties of the [urban communes](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Medieval_commune) against the Emperor's encroachments and became known as Guelphs (*Guelfi*).

The Ghibellines were thus the [imperial](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Holy_Roman_Emperor) party, while the Guelphs supported the [Pope](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Pope). Broadly speaking, Guelphs tended to come from wealthy mercantile families, whereas Ghibellines were predominantly those whose wealth was based on agricultural estates. Guelph cities tended to be in areas where the Emperor was more of a threat to local interests than the Pope, and Ghibelline cities tended to be in areas where the enlargement of the [Papal States](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Papal_States) was the more immediate threat. The Lombard League defeated Frederick at the [Battle of Legnano](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Battle_of_Legnano) in 1176. Frederick recognized the full autonomy of the cities of the Lombard League under his nominal [suzerainty](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Suzerainty).

The division developed its own dynamic in the politics of medieval Italy, and it persisted long after the direct confrontation between Emperor and Pope had ceased. Smaller cities tended to be Ghibelline if the larger city nearby was Guelph, as Guelph [Republic of Florence](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Republic_of_Florence) and Ghibelline [Republic of Siena](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Republic_of_Siena) faced off at the [Battle of Montaperti](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Battle_of_Montaperti), 1260. [Pisa](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Pisa) maintained a staunch Ghibelline stance against her fiercest rivals, the Guelph [Republic of Genoa](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Republic_of_Genoa) and Florence. Adherence to one of the parties could therefore be motivated by local or regional political reasons. Within cities, party allegiances differed from [guild](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Guild) to guild, [*rione*](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Rione) to *rione*, and a city could easily change party after internal upheaval. Moreover, sometimes traditionally Ghibelline cities allied with the Papacy, while Guelph cities were even punished with [interdict](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Interdict).

Contemporaries did not use the terms Guelph and Ghibellines much until about 1250, and then only in [Tuscany](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Tuscany) (where they originated), with the names "church party" and "imperial party" preferred in some areas.

**13th–14th centuries**

Further information: [Interregnum (Holy Roman Empire)](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Interregnum_(Holy_Roman_Empire))

At the beginning of the 13th century, [Philip of Swabia](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Philip_of_Swabia), a Hohenstaufen, and his son-in-law [Otto of Brunswick](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Otto_IV,_Holy_Roman_Emperor), a Welf, were rivals for the imperial throne. Philip was supported by the Ghibellines as a relative of Frederick I, while Otto was supported by the Guelphs. Philip's heir, [Frederick II, Holy Roman Emperor](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Frederick_II,_Holy_Roman_Emperor), was an enemy of both Otto and the Papacy, and during Frederick's reign the Guelphs became more strictly associated with the Papacy while the Ghibellines became supporters of the Empire, and of Frederick in particular. Frederick II also introduced this division to the [Crusader states](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Crusader_states) in the [Levant](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Levant) during the [Sixth Crusade](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Sixth_Crusade).

After the [Sixth Crusade](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Sixth_Crusade), Frederick II quelled a rebellion led by his son [Henry](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Henry_(VII)_of_Germany) in Germany and soon invaded [Lombardy](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Lombardy) with a large Army. [Pope Gregory IX](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Pope_Gregory_IX) attempted to stop the invasion with diplomacy but failed. Frederick defeated the Lombard League in the [Battle of Cortenuova](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Battle_of_Cortenuova) and refused any Peace treaty with any of the Guelph States. He then laid [siege to Brescia](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Siege_of_Brescia) but was forced to lift it. He was then excommunicated by the Pope, and in response expelled the friars from Lombardy and placed his son [Enzo](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Enzo_of_Sardinia) as Imperial vicar in Italy; he quickly annexed [Romagna](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Romagna), [Marche](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Marche), the [Duchy of Spoleto](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Duchy_of_Spoleto), and part of the [Papal States](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Papal_States). In the meantime Frederick marched through Tuscany hoping to capture [Rome](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Rome), however he was forced to retreat, sacking the city of [Benevento](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Benevento). Soon however the Ghibelline city of [Ferrara](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ferrara) fell and Frederick once more marched into Italy capturing [Ravenna](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ravenna) and [Faenza](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Siege_of_Faenza). The Pope called a council but an Imperial-Pisan fleet defeated a Papal fleet carrying Cardinals and prelates from Genoa in the [Battle of Giglio](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Battle_of_Giglio_(1241)) and then Frederick continued marching towards Rome. However Pope Gregory soon died and Frederick, seeing the war being directed against the Church and not the Pope, withdrew his forces, releasing two cardinals from Capua, although Frederick did again march against Rome over and over throughout 1242 and 1243.

A new Pope - [Innocent IV](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Innocent_IV) - was elected. At first Frederick was content with the election since Innocent had relatives in the Imperial camp. However the new Pope immediately turned against Frederick. When the City of [Viterbo](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Viterbo) rebelled, the Pope backed the Guelphs. Frederick immediately marched to Italy and besieged [Viterbo](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Siege_of_Viterbo). The Pope signed a Peace treaty with the Emperor, relieving the city. However, after the Emperor left the Cardinal [Raniero Capocci](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Raniero_Capocci), as the leader of Viterbo, had the garrison massacred. The Pope made another treaty but he immediately broke it and continued to back the Guelphs, supporting [Henry Raspe, Landgrave of Thuringia](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Henry_Raspe,_Landgrave_of_Thuringia) as King of the Romans and soon plotted to have Frederick killed. When the attempt failed the Pope fled to [Liguria](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Liguria). Soon the tide turned against the imperial party as the Lombard city of Parma rebelled and Enzo - who had not been present - asked his father for help. Frederick and [Ezzelino III da Romano](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ezzelino_III_da_Romano), the Tyrant of Verona, besieged the city. However the imperial camp was ambushed by the Guelphs and in the ensuing [Battle of Parma](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Battle_of_Parma) the imperial party was routed, losing much of their treasury. Frederick retreated and gathered another army but the resistance of Parma encouraged other cities to rebel and Frederick was powerless to do anything. Things became worse for the imperial party as the Ghibellines were defeated in the [Battle of Fossalta](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Battle_of_Fossalta) by the Bolognese, at which Enzo was captured and imprisoned until his death. Although the Ghibellines did start recovering, defeating the Guelphs in the [Battle of Cingoli](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Battle_of_Cingoli), Frederick by then was ill. Before he died much of his territory was recovered by his son [Conrad, King of the Romans](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Conrad_IV_of_Germany), thus leaving Italy at peace for a very few years.

After the death of Frederick II in 1250 the Ghibellines were supported by [Conrad IV of Germany](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Conrad_IV_of_Germany) and later [Manfred, King of Sicily](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Manfred,_King_of_Sicily), while the Guelphs were supported by [Charles I of Naples](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Charles_I_of_Naples).[[4]](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Guelphs_and_Ghibellines#cite_note-EB1911-4) The [Sienese](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Republic_of_Siena) Ghibellines inflicted a noteworthy defeat on Florentine Guelphs at the [Battle of Montaperti](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Battle_of_Montaperti) (1260). After the Hohenstaufen dynasty lost the Empire when Charles I executed [Conradin](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Conradin) in 1268, the terms Guelph and Ghibelline became associated with individual families and cities, rather than the struggle between empire and papacy. In that period the stronghold of Italian Ghibellines was the city of [Forlì](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Forl%C3%AC), in [Romagna](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Romagna). That city remained with the Ghibelline factions, partly as a means of preserving its independence, rather than out of loyalty to the temporal power, as [Forlì](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Forl%C3%AC#Middle_Age) was nominally in the Papal States. Over the centuries, the papacy tried several times to regain control of Forlì, sometimes by violence or by allurements.

The division between Guelphs and Ghibellines was especially important in [Florence](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Florence), although the two sides frequently rebelled one against the other and struggled for power in many of the other northern Italian cities as well. Essentially the two sides were now fighting either against German influence (in the case of the Guelphs), or against the temporal power of the Pope (in the case of the Ghibellines).[[4]](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Guelphs_and_Ghibellines#cite_note-EB1911-4) In Florence and elsewhere the Guelphs usually included merchants and burghers, while the Ghibellines tended to be noblemen. They also adopted peculiar customs such as wearing a feather on a particular side of their hats, or cutting fruit a particular way, according to their affiliation.

The struggle between Guelphs and Ghibellines was also noticeable in the [Republic of Genoa](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Republic_of_Genoa), where the former were called "*rampini*" (lit.: "grappling hooks") and the latter "*mascherati*" (lit.: "masked"), although there is no clear etymology for these names.[[5]](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Guelphs_and_Ghibellines#cite_note-5) Genoese families like [Fieschi](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Fieschi_family) and [Grimaldi](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/House_of_Grimaldi) conventionally sided with the Guelph party, in contrast with the [Doria](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Doria_(family)) and some branches of the [Spinola](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/House_of_Spinola) families. While [Genoa](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Genoa) was often under Guelph rule in the early years of the 13th century, in 1270, Ghibellines [Oberto Spinola](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Oberto_Spinola) and [Oberto Doria](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Oberto_Doria) managed to revolt against Guelphs and started a dual government which lasted a couple of decades. In the meanwhile, Guelph families fled to their strongholds east (Fieschi) and west (Grimaldi), but were forced to cease their resistance with several military campaigns, which ended with their readmission to the Genoese political life, after paying war expenses.

**White and Black Guelphs**

After the Tuscan Guelphs finally defeated the Ghibellines in 1289 at the [Battle of Campaldino](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Battle_of_Campaldino) and at [Vicopisano](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Vicopisano), the Guelphs began infighting. By 1300 the Florentine Guelphs had divided into the Black and White Guelphs. The Blacks continued to support the Papacy, while the Whites were opposed to Papal influence, specifically the influence of [Pope Boniface VIII](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Pope_Boniface_VIII). [Dante](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Dante_Alighieri) was among the supporters of the White Guelphs, and in 1302 was exiled when the Black Guelphs took control of Florence.[[6]](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Guelphs_and_Ghibellines#cite_note-6) Those who were not connected to either side, or who had no connections to either Guelphs or Ghibellines, considered both factions unworthy of support but were still affected by changes of power in their respective cities. Emperor [Henry VII](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Henry_VII,_Holy_Roman_Emperor) was disgusted by supporters of both sides when he visited Italy in 1310. In 1325, the city-states of Guelph [Bologna](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Bologna) and Ghibelline [Modena](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Modena), clashed in the [War of the Bucket](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/War_of_the_Bucket), resulting in Modena's victory at the [Battle of Zappolino](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Battle_of_Zappolino), which led to a resurgence of Ghibelline fortunes. In 1334 [Pope Benedict XII](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Pope_Benedict_XII) threatened people who used either the Guelph or Ghibelline name with [excommunication](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Excommunication).

**Later history**

The term Ghibelline continued to indicate attachment to the declining Imperial authority in Italy, and saw a brief resurgence during the Italian campaigns of Emperors [Henry VII](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Henry_VII,_Holy_Roman_Emperor) (1310) and [Louis IV](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Louis_IV,_Holy_Roman_Emperor) (1327).[[7]](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Guelphs_and_Ghibellines#cite_note-7)

[Pope John XXII](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Pope_John_XXII) was under French control through the [Avignon Papacy](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Avignon_Papacy) and therefore aligned with the French-allied House of Luxembourg against the German King Louis IV. The Pope accordingly threatened heresy charges against the Ghibellines and excommunicated Louis IV in 1324. The Ghibellines then supported Louis' invasion of Italy and coronation as King of Italy and Holy Roman Emperor.[[8]](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Guelphs_and_Ghibellines#cite_note-8)

In [Milan](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Duchy_of_Milan), the Guelphs and Ghibellines cooperated in the creation of the [Golden Ambrosian Republic](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Golden_Ambrosian_Republic) in 1447, but over the next few years engaged in some intense disputes. After the initial leadership of the Ghibellines, the Guelphs seized power at the election of the Captains and Defenders of the Liberty of Milan. The Guelphic government became increasingly autocratic, leading to a Ghibelline conspiracy led by Giorgio Lampugnino and Teodoro Bossi. It failed, and many Ghibellines were massacred in 1449, while others fled, including the prominent Ghibelline [Vitaliano I Borromeo](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Vitaliano_I_Borromeo), who was sheltered in his [County of Arona](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/House_of_Borromeo). Public opinion turned against the Guelphs, and in the next elections the Ghibellines were briefly victorious, but deposed after imprisoning Guelph leaders Giovanni Appiani and Giovanni Ossona.[[9]](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Guelphs_and_Ghibellines#cite_note-9) After [Francesco I Sforza](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Francesco_I_Sforza) was made Duke by Milan's senate in 1450, many Ghibellines who had fled such as Filippo Borromeo and Luisino Bossi were restored to positions of prominence in Milan.[[10]](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Guelphs_and_Ghibellines#cite_note-Storiadimilano-10)

In the 15th century, the Guelphs supported [Charles VIII of France](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Charles_VIII_of_France) during his invasion of Italy at the start of the [Italian Wars](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Italian_Wars), while the Ghibellines were supporters of emperor [Maximilian I, Holy Roman Emperor](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Maximilian_I,_Holy_Roman_Emperor). Cities and families used the names until [Charles V, Holy Roman Emperor](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Charles_V,_Holy_Roman_Emperor), firmly established imperial power in Italy in 1529.

In the course of the Italian Wars of 1494 to 1559, the political landscape changed so much that the former division between Guelphs and Ghibellines became obsolete. This is evident with the election of [Pope Paul V](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Pope_Paul_V) (1605), the first to bear the "Ghibelline" [Reichsadler](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Reichsadler) in [*chief*](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Chief_(heraldry)) on his [Papal coat of arms](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Papal_coats_of_arms).

**Modern aftermath**

On 25 March 2015, the *Parte Guelfa* was reconstituted as Christian order and [archconfraternity](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Archconfraternity) to serve the [Catholic Church](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Catholic_Church) and the Catholic Archdiocese of Florence, guided by the Captain General Andrea Claudio Galluzzo under the custody of Consul Luciano Artusi. The Mayor of [Florence](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Florence) established the headquarters of the reborn Guelph Party in the historic [Palazzo di Parte Guelfa](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Palazzo_di_Parte_Guelfa) in the city.

**Allegiance of the main Italian cities**

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| **Main Ghibelline cities** | **Main Guelph cities** | **Cities of variable allegiance** |
| * [Arezzo](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Arezzo) * [Assisi](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Assisi) * [Como](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Como) * [Fabriano](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Fabriano) * [Foligno](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Foligno) * [Forlì](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Forl%C3%AC) * [Grosseto](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Grosseto) * [Mantua](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Mantua) * [Modena](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Modena) * [Pavia](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Pavia) * [Pisa](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Pisa) * [Pistoia](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Pistoia) * [Spoleto](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Spoleto) * [Terni](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Terni) * [Urbino](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Urbino) | * [Alessandria](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Alessandria) * [Ancona](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ancona) * [Aquila](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/L%27Aquila) * [Bologna](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Bologna) * [Brescia](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Brescia) * [Crema](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Crema,_Lombardy) * [Cremona](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Cremona) * [Faenza](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Faenza) * [Florence](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Florence) * [Lecco](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Lecco) * [Milan](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Milan) * [Orvieto](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Orvieto) * [Perugia](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Perugia) | * [Asti](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Asti) * [Bergamo](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Bergamo) * [Ferrara](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ferrara) * [Genoa](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Genoa) * [Gubbio](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Gubbio) * [Lodi](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Lodi,_Lombardy) * [Lucca](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Lucca) * [Padua](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Padua) * [Parma](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Parma) * [Piacenza](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Piacenza) * [Prato](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Prato) * [Siena](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Siena) * [Treviso](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Treviso) * [Verona](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Verona) * [Vicenza](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Vicenza) |

**In heraldry**

During the 12th and 13th centuries, armies of the Ghibelline communes usually adopted the [war banner of the Holy Roman Empire](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Flags_of_the_Holy_Roman_Empire#War_flag) —white cross on a red field—as their own. Guelph armies usually reversed the colors—red cross on white. These two schemes are prevalent in the civic heraldry of northern Italian towns and remain a revealing indicator of their past factional leanings. Traditionally Ghibelline towns like [Pavia](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Pavia), [Novara](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Novara), [Como](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Como), [Treviso](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Treviso) and [Asti](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Asti), continue to sport the Ghibelline cross. The Guelph cross can be found on the civic arms of traditionally Guelph towns like [Milan](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Milan), [Vercelli](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Vercelli), [Alessandria](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Alessandria), [Padua](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Padua), [Reggio](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Reggio_Emilia) and [Bologna](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Bologna).

Some individuals and families indicated their faction affiliation in their [coats of arms](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Coat_of_arms) by including an appropriate [heraldic "chief"](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Chief_(heraldry)) (a horizontal band at the top of the shield). Guelphs had a *capo d'Angio* or "chief of Anjou", containing [yellow fleurs-de-lys on a blue field, with a red heraldic "label"](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:Image-Blason_Sicile_P%C3%A9ninsulaire.svg), while Ghibellines had a *capo dell'impero* or "chief of the empire", with a form of the [black German imperial eagle on a golden background](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:Flag_Germany_Emperors_Banner.svg).[[11]](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Guelphs_and_Ghibellines#cite_note-11)

Families also distinguished their factional allegiance by the architecture of their palaces, towers and fortresses. Ghibelline structures had "swallow-tailed" crenellations, while those of the Guelphs were square.[[12]](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Guelphs_and_Ghibellines#cite_note-12)

* [](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:Coa_gaioli_boidi.svg)

Coat of arms of an Italian family with Ghibelline (Imperial) style heraldic chief at top

* [](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:Coa_fam_ITA_roberti.jpg)

Coat of arms of the Roberti family of [Reggio](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Reggio_Emilia), with Guelph (Anjou) style heraldic chief at top

* [](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:Casa_di_Romeo_(Verona).jpg)

Ghibelline swallow-tailed [merlons](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Merlon) of the "Casa di Romeo", of the Montecchi family of [Verona](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Verona).

**In art**

* Wall [mural](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Mural) in [Grossi Florentino](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Grossi_Florentino), executed by students of [Napier Waller](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Napier_Waller) under supervision

**See also**

* [Royal Guelphic Order](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Royal_Guelphic_Order)

**References**

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  [Faini 2006](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Guelphs_and_Ghibellines#CITEREFFaini2006), pp. 7-36

  *Jacques, Tony (2007). Greenwood Publishing Group (ed.).* [*Dictionary of Battles and Sieges: A-E*](https://books.google.com/books?id=3amnMPTPP5MC)*. Enciclopedia dei Ragazzi. p. 209.* [*ISBN*](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/ISBN_(identifier))[*9780313335372*](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Special:BookSources/9780313335372)*.*

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* [https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/thumb/4/4c/Wikisource-logo.svg/12px-Wikisource-logo.svg.png](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:Wikisource-logo.svg) This article incorporates text from a publication now in the [public domain](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Public_domain): *Gardner, Edmund Garratt (1910). "*[*Guelphs and Ghibellines*](https://en.wikisource.org/wiki/Catholic_Encyclopedia_(1913)/Guelphs_and_Ghibellines)*". In Herbermann, Charles (ed.).* [*Catholic Encyclopedia*](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Catholic_Encyclopedia)*.* ***7****. New York: Robert Appleton Company.*

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**Pope John XXII**

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See also: [Pope John (numbering)](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Pope_John_(numbering))

|  |  |
| --- | --- |
| Pope  **John XXII** | |
| [*Bishop of Rome*](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Bishop_of_Rome) | |
| [Stato della chiesa, carlino di giovanni XXII, 1316-1334.JPG](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:Stato_della_chiesa,_carlino_di_giovanni_XXII,_1316-1334.JPG)  Coin of John XXII | |
| **Papacy began** | 7 August 1316 |
| **Papacy ended** | 4 December 1334 |
| **Predecessor** | [Clement V](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Clement_V) |
| **Successor** | [Benedict XII](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Benedict_XII) |
| **Orders** | |
| **Created cardinal** | 23 December 1312 by [Clement V](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Clement_V) |
| **Personal details** | |
| **Birth name** | Jacques Duèze or d'Euse |
| **Born** | c. 1244 [Cahors](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Cahors), [Kingdom of France](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/France_in_the_Middle_Ages) |
| **Died** | 4 December 1334 (aged 89–90) [Avignon](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Avignon), [Comtat Venaissin](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Comtat_Venaissin), [County of Provence](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/County_of_Provence) |
| [Other popes named John](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Pope_John_(disambiguation)) | |

**Pope John XXII** ([Latin](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Latin_language): *Ioannes XXII*; 1244[[1]](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Pope_John_XXII#cite_note-1) – 4 December 1334), born **Jacques Duèze** (or **d'Euse**), was head of the [Catholic Church](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Catholic_Church) from 7 August 1316 to his death in 1334.

He was the second and longest-reigning [Avignon Pope](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Avignon_Papacy), elected by the [Conclave](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Papal_conclave) of Cardinals, which was assembled in [Lyon](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Lyon) through the work of [King Louis X's](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Louis_X_of_France) brother Philip, the Count of Poitiers, later King [Philip V of France](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Philip_V_of_France). Like his predecessor, [Clement V](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Pope_Clement_V), Pope John centralized power and income in the Papacy and lived a princely life in [Avignon](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Avignon).[[2]](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Pope_John_XXII#cite_note-cathenc-2) He opposed the political policies of [Louis IV of Bavaria](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Louis_IV,_Holy_Roman_Emperor) as [Holy Roman Emperor](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Holy_Roman_Emperor), which prompted Louis to invade Italy and set up an antipope, [Nicholas V](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Antipope_Nicholas_V).

Pope John XXII faced controversy in theology involving his views on the [Beatific Vision](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Beatific_Vision), and he opposed the Franciscan understanding of the poverty of Christ and his apostles, famously leading [William of Ockham](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/William_of_Ockham) to write against unlimited papal power.[[3]](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Pope_John_XXII#cite_note-3) He canonized [St. Thomas Aquinas](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Thomas_Aquinas).



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* [2 Papacy](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Pope_John_XXII#Papacy)
  + [2.1 Conflict with Louis IV](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Pope_John_XXII#Conflict_with_Louis_IV)
  + [2.2 Franciscan poverty](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Pope_John_XXII#Franciscan_poverty)
  + [2.3 Beatific vision controversy](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Pope_John_XXII#Beatific_vision_controversy)
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* [3 In fiction](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Pope_John_XXII#In_fiction)
* [4 See also](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Pope_John_XXII#See_also)
* [5 References](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Pope_John_XXII#References)
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**Early life and election**

Scion of an important merchant and banking family in [Cahors](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Cahors), Jacques Duèze studied medicine in [Montpellier](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/University_of_Montpellier) and law in [Paris](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/University_of_Paris), yet could not read a regal letter written to him in French.[[4]](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Pope_John_XXII#cite_note-4)

Duèze taught both [canon](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Canon_law) and civil law at [Toulouse](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Toulouse) and Cahors. On the recommendation of [Charles II of Naples](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Charles_II_of_Naples) he was made Bishop of [Fréjus](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Fr%C3%A9jus) in 1300. In 1309 he was appointed chancellor of Charles II, and in 1310 he was transferred to Avignon. He delivered legal opinions favorable to the suppression of the [Templars](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Knights_Templar), but he also defended Boniface VIII and the Bull *Unam Sanctam*. On 23 December 1312, Clement V made him Cardinal-Bishop of [Porto-Santa Rufina](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Suburbicarian_Diocese_of_Porto_e_Santa_Rufina).[[2]](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Pope_John_XXII#cite_note-cathenc-2)

The death of Pope Clement V in 1314 was followed by an [interregnum](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Interregnum) of two years due to disagreements between the [cardinals](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Cardinal_(Catholicism)), who were split into two factions. After two years, [Philip](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Philip_V_of_France), in 1316, finally managed to arrange a [papal conclave](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Papal_conclave,_1314-1316) of twenty-three cardinals in Lyon. This conclave elected Duèze, who took the name John XXII and was crowned in Lyon. He set up his residence in Avignon rather than Rome, continuing the [Avignon Papacy](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Avignon_Papacy) of his predecessor.[[2]](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Pope_John_XXII#cite_note-cathenc-2)

John XXII involved himself in the politics and religious movements of many European countries in order to advance the interests of the Church. His close links with the French crown created widespread distrust of the papacy.[[2]](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Pope_John_XXII#cite_note-cathenc-2)

**Papacy**

[](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:Bulle_pontificale_de_Jean_XXII.jpg)

[Papal bulla](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Papal_bulla) of John XXII

Pope John XXII was an excellent administrator and efficient at reorganizing the Church. He had sent a letter of thanks to the Muslim ruler [Uzbeg Khan](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Uzbeg_Khan), who was very tolerant of Christians and treated Christians kindly.[[5]](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Pope_John_XXII#cite_note-5)

John XXII has traditionally been credited with having composed the prayer "[Anima Christi](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Anima_Christi)", which has become the English "Soul of Christ, sanctify me ..." and the basis for the hymn *Soul of Christ, Sanctify My Breast".*

On 27 March 1329, John XXII condemned many writings of [Meister Eckhart](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Meister_Eckhart) as heretical in his papal bull *In Agro Dominico*.[[6]](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Pope_John_XXII#cite_note-6)

**Conflict with Louis IV**

Prior to John XXII's election, a contest had begun for the Holy Roman Empire's crown between Louis IV of Bavaria and [Frederick I of Austria](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Frederick_I_of_Austria_(Habsburg)). John XXII was neutral at first, but in 1323, when Louis IV became [Holy Roman Emperor](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Holy_Roman_Emperor), the [Guelph](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Guelphs_and_Ghibellines) (papal) party and the [Ghibelline](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ghibelline) (imperial) party quarreled, which was partly provoked by John XXII's extreme claims of authority over the empire and partly by Louis IV's support of the spiritual [Franciscans](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Franciscans), whom John XXII condemned in the [Papal bull](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Papal_bull) *Quorumdam exigit*.[[7]](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Pope_John_XXII#cite_note-7) Louis IV was assisted in his doctrinal dispute with the papacy by [Marsilius of Padua](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Marsilius_of_Padua) and later by the English Franciscan friar and scholar [William of Ockham](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/William_of_Ockham). Louis IV invaded Italy, entered Rome and set up Pietro Rainalducci as [Antipope Nicholas V](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Antipope_Nicholas_V) in 1328. The project was a fiasco. Guelphic predominance at Rome was later restored, and Pope John excommunicated William of Ockham. However, Louis IV had silenced the papal claims and John XXII stayed the rest of his life in Avignon.

**Franciscan poverty**

See also: [Absolute Poverty of Christ](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Absolute_Poverty_of_Christ) and [Apostolic Poverty](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Apostolic_Poverty)

Pope John XXII was determined to suppress what he considered to be the excesses of the Spirituals, who contended eagerly for the view that Christ and his apostles had possessed absolutely nothing, citing [Pope Nicholas III](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Pope_Nicholas_III)'s bull *Exiit qui seminat* in support of their view.[[8]](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Pope_John_XXII#cite_note-Kleinhenz-8) In 1317, John XXII formally condemned the group of them known as the Fraticelli.[[9]](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Pope_John_XXII#cite_note-History-9) On 26 March 1322, with *Quia nonnunquam*, he removed the ban on discussion of *Exiit qui seminat*[[10]](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Pope_John_XXII#cite_note-10) and commissioned experts to examine the idea of poverty based on belief that Christ and the apostles owned nothing. The experts disagreed among themselves, but the majority condemned the idea on the grounds that it would condemn the Church's right to have possessions.[[9]](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Pope_John_XXII#cite_note-History-9) The Franciscan chapter held in [Perugia](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Perugia) in May 1322 declared on the contrary: "To say or assert that Christ, in showing the way of perfection, and the Apostles, in following that way and setting an example to others who wished to lead the perfect life, possessed nothing either severally or in common, either by right of ownership and *dominium* or by personal right, we corporately and unanimously declare to be not heretical, but true and catholic."[[9]](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Pope_John_XXII#cite_note-History-9) By the bull *Ad conditorem canonum* of 8 December 1322,[[11]](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Pope_John_XXII#cite_note-11) John XXII declared it ridiculous to pretend that every scrap of food given to the friars and eaten by them belonged to the pope, refused to accept ownership over the goods of the Franciscans in future and granted them exemption from the rule that absolutely forbade ownership of anything even in common, thus forcing them to accept ownership. On 12 November 1323, he issued the bull *Quum inter nonnullos*,[[12]](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Pope_John_XXII#cite_note-12) which declared "erroneous and heretical" the doctrine that Christ and his apostles had no possessions whatever.[[8]](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Pope_John_XXII#cite_note-Kleinhenz-8)[[13]](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Pope_John_XXII#cite_note-Schatz-13)[[14]](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Pope_John_XXII#cite_note-14)

[](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:Tombeau_de_Jean_XXII.jpg)

Tomb of John XXII in the Treasury room of the [Cathédrale Notre-Dame des Doms d'Avignon](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Cath%C3%A9drale_Notre-Dame_des_Doms_d%27Avignon)

Influential members of the order protested, such as the minister general [Michael of Cesena](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Michael_of_Cesena), the English provincial [William of Ockham](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/William_of_Ockham), and [Bonagratia of Bergamo](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Bonagratia_of_Bergamo). In 1324, [Louis the Bavarian](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Louis_IV,_Holy_Roman_Emperor) sided with the Spirituals and accused the Pope of heresy. In reply to the argument of his opponents that Nicholas III's bull *Exiit qui seminat* was fixed and irrevocable, John XXII issued the bull *Quia quorundam* on 10 November 1324,[[15]](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Pope_John_XXII#cite_note-15) in which he declared that it cannot be inferred from the words of the 1279 bull that Christ and the apostles had nothing, adding: "Indeed, it can be inferred rather that the Gospel life lived by Christ and the Apostles did not exclude some possessions in common, since living 'without property' does not require that those living thus should have nothing in common."

In 1328 Michael of Cesena was summoned to Avignon to explain the Order's intransigence in refusing the Pope's orders and its complicity with Louis of Bavaria. Michael was imprisoned in Avignon, together with Francesco d'Ascoli, Bonagratia and William of Ockham. In January of that year Louis entered Rome and had himself crowned Holy Roman Emperor. Three months later, he declared John XXII deposed and installed the Spiritual Franciscan [Pietro Rainalducci](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Antipope_Nicholas_V) as Pope Nicholas V. The Franciscan chapter that opened in [Bologna](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Bologna) on 28 May reelected Michael of Cesena, who two days before had escaped with his companions from Avignon. In August Louis the Bavarian and his pope had to flee Rome before an attack by [Robert, King of Naples](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Robert,_King_of_Naples). Only a small part of the Franciscan Order joined the opponents of John XXII, and at a general chapter held in [Paris](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Paris) in 1329 the majority of all the houses declared their submission to the Pope. With the bull *Quia vir reprobus* of 16 November 1329,[[16]](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Pope_John_XXII#cite_note-16) John XXII replied to Michael of Cesena's attacks on *Ad conditorem canonum*, *Quum inter nonnullos*, and *Quia quorundam*. In 1330, Antipope Nicholas V submitted, followed later by the ex-general Michael, and finally, just before the Pope's death, by Ockham.[[9]](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Pope_John_XXII#cite_note-History-9) John XXII died in Avignon in 1334 (aged 89/90), probably of stomach cancer.[[*citation needed*](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Wikipedia:Citation_needed)]

**Beatific vision controversy**

Pope John XXII was involved in a theological controversy concerning the [beatific vision](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Beatific_vision). Even before he was pope, John XXII argued that those who died in the faith did not see the presence of God until the [Last Judgment](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Last_Judgment). He continued this argument for a time in sermons while he was pope, although he never taught it in official documents. He eventually backed down from his position, and agreed that those who died in grace do indeed immediately enjoy the beatific vision.[[17]](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Pope_John_XXII#cite_note-17)

Despite holding for many years a view widely held to be heretical, John XXII is not considered a heretic because the doctrine he had contradicted had not been formally defined by the Church until his successor, [Benedict XII](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Pope_Benedict_XII), addressed it by the encyclical [*Benedictus Deus*](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Benedictus_Deus_(Benedict_XII)),[[18]](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Pope_John_XXII#cite_note-18) which formally defined this doctrine as contrary to Church teaching.

**Role in witchcraft suppression**

Although, according to Alan C. Kors, Pope John XXII was a "brilliant organizer and administrator" and the thought of witchcraft seemed to be in its early stages at this point, Kors states the pope had a personal reason for setting out to stop witchcraft. Kors points to the fact that Pope John had been the victim of an assassination attempt via poisoning and sorcery.[[19]](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Pope_John_XXII#cite_note-Witch-19) As such, Pope John's involvement with witchcraft persecution can be officially traced to his 1326 Papal Bull *Super illius specula* in which he laid out a description of those who engage in witchcraft. Pope John also warned people against not only learning magic or teaching it but against the more “execrable” act of performing magic. Pope John stated that anyone who did not heed his “most charitable” warning would be excommunicated.[[20]](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Pope_John_XXII#cite_note-20) Pope John officially declared witchcraft to be heresy, and thus it could be tried under the Inquisition. Although this was the official ruling for the Church, Pope John's first order dealing with magic being tried by the Inquisition was in a letter written in 1320 by Cardinal William of Santa Sabina.[[19]](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Pope_John_XXII#cite_note-Witch-19) The letter was addressed to the Inquisitors of Carcassonne and Toulouse. In the letter Cardinal William states that with the authority of Pope John the Inquisitors there were to investigate witches by “whatever means available” as if witches were any other heretic. The letter went on to describe the actions of those who would be seen as witches and extended power to the Inquisition for the prosecution of any and all cases that fit any part of the description laid out in the letter.[[21]](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Pope_John_XXII#cite_note-21)

**In fiction**

[](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:Papa_Ioannes_Vicesimus_Secundus.jpg)

Portrait by [Henri Auguste César Serrur](https://en.wikipedia.org/w/index.php?title=Henri_Auguste_C%C3%A9sar_Serrur&action=edit&redlink=1) (1794–1865)

*The Royal Succession* (French: *La Loi des mâles*), the 1957 fourth novel in [Maurice Druon](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Maurice_Druon)'s [*Les Rois maudits*](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Les_Rois_maudits) historical novel series, features Duèze's rise from cardinal to pope as one of its plotlines. He was portrayed by [Henri Virlogeux](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Henri_Virlogeux) in the 1972 [French miniseries adaptation](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Les_Rois_maudits_(miniseries)) of the series, and by [Claude Rich](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Claude_Rich) in the 2005 adaptation.[[22]](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Pope_John_XXII#cite_note-Rois_2005_AlloCiné-22)

The papacy of John XXII—the conflict with Louis of Bavaria and the condemnation of the Franciscans over the poverty of Christ—is the central backdrop of [Umberto Eco](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Umberto_Eco)'s historical [murder mystery](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Murder_mystery) [*The Name of the Rose*](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/The_Name_of_the_Rose), which is set in 1327.

**See also**

* [Bernard Jarre](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Bernard_Jarre)
* [*Spondent Pariter*](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Spondent_Pariter) - a papal [decretal](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Decretal) issued by Pope John XXII forbidding fraudulent [alchemy](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Alchemy).

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 Weakland, p. 161.

  *Kirsch, Johann Peter (1910).* [*"Pope John XXII"*](http://www.newadvent.org/cathen/08431a.htm)*.* [*Catholic Encyclopedia Vol. 8*](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Catholic_Encyclopedia)*. New York: Robert Appleton Company.*

  A Short Discourse on Tyrannical Government

  *Sumption, Jonathan (1990).* [*Trial by Battle:The Hundred Years War*](https://books.google.com/books?id=TdO710XXpnEC)*. Faber and Faber. p. 33.* [*ISBN*](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/ISBN_(identifier))[*9780571266586*](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Special:BookSources/9780571266586)*.*

  *Arnold, Thomas Walker (1896).* [*The preaching of Islam: a history of the propagation of the Muslim faith*](https://archive.org/details/preachingislama00arnogoog)*. A. Constable and Company. pp.*[*200*](https://archive.org/details/preachingislama00arnogoog/page/n226)*–201.*

  *Eckhart (1981).* [*Edmund Colledge*](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Edmund_Colledge)*;* [*Bernard McGinn*](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Bernard_McGinn_(theologian)) *(eds.).* [*Meister Eckhart, the Essential Sermons, Commentaries, Treatises, and Defense: The Essential Sermons, Commentaries, Treatises, and Defense*](https://books.google.com/books?id=YAYxzu8zqK8C)*. Paulist Press. p. 77.* [*ISBN*](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/ISBN_(identifier))[*9780809123704*](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Special:BookSources/9780809123704)*.*

  *Lambert, Malcolm (1992).* [*Medieval Heresy: Popular Movements from the Gregorian Reform to the Reformation*](https://books.google.com/books/about/Medieval_Heresy.html?id=m76JkwMZjgcC)*. Blackwell Publishing. p. 209.* [*ISBN*](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/ISBN_(identifier))[*978-0-631-17431-8*](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Special:BookSources/978-0-631-17431-8)*.*

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