

tributes from Lucca and Siena; the agreement with Lucca amounted to six thousand florins, against the usual promises to treat the Lucchese territory in a friendly manner.* We cannot give the exact cipher of the contract with Siena, but it cannot have been less than fifty thousand florins.

Anyhow, between Florence, Pisa, Lucca, and Arezzo, the English Company had obtained in little more than three months 174,800 florins in gold, which with those of Siena would amount to nearly two millions and a half of francs, — an enormous sum for those times, — without counting the annuity of 1200 florins, assured to Hawkwood.

Perhaps the latter was persuaded that he had drained Tuscany quite dry, and therefore he decided to treat with the Church.

XIV.

A CARDINAL AS HOSTAGE. HAWKWOOD AS LANDED PROPRIETOR.

[GHERARDI, *La guerra degli otto santi* — PIERO BUONINSEGNI, *Cronaca* — *Chronicles of Gubbio* — *Chronicles of Rimini* — Poem in the *Chronicle* of the ANONYMOUS FLORENTINE — *Archivio storico italiano*, 1st series, v. XVI, part 2nd. Inventory of the goods restored to the Abbot of Montemaggiore.]

The Florentine Signoria finding that the greater part of the English remained with Hawkwood in the service of the Church, hastened, by calling on the troops of Bernabò Visconti, to put the Genoese, Pisans, and Lucchese on the defence against the probable movements of the Company. Septemb. 25.

But the latter marched on Siena instead, and Florence was warned directly, for Ruggiero Cane and Spinello Al-

* See Document XXIV.

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Thus the Sieneſe received certain intelligence that Hawkwood had concentrated his forces at Montepulciano, intending to poſſeſs himſelf of that town, and they placed a garrison there, paying 200 florins to him who had revealed the deſign.

The Florentines ſtill preſerved ſome hope of ſeducing Hawkwood, for they had ſecret aſſurances that the Condottiere reſigned himſelf unwillingly “to the deceit and treachery which he found in the prieſts;” and their agents at the camp received theſe inſtructions: “If we cannot by any means obtain the ſervice of Hawkwood with one of his brigades, and if he wiſhes to ſtay with the Church, do not bring us any of the Engliſh, — but let the Church bear the whole burden.” They calculated that the Church was not in a condition to pay the ſtipendiaries, in which caſe this would have created great embarraſſment. They did not know, as we ſhall ſoon ſee, that Hawkwood had already provided himſelf a recompence for the lacking ſtipends.

October 18. Alberti returned to Florence with the news that the Church had engaged the Engliſh for 30,000 florins a month, the pay to begin from the middle of October, beſides two loans and pay in anticipation, and that they were to be enrolled in November.

November 6. Great was the conſternation, — ſo great that Florence haſtened the march of Bernabò's men-at-arms, who had already arrived at Sarzana; although the faithful Ruggiero

October 31. Cane had forewarned them that in eight days Hawkwood intended to paſs into the Papal ſtates, whereas if Bernabò's troops ſhould come into Tuscany he would ſtop to fight them.

But in the meanwhile nearly all the towns dependent on the Church rebelled, invoking by their deeds that *Libertas* which they inſcribed on their ſtandards. It was ne-

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cessary for the Legate to employ all his forces to repress the rebellion, and leave Tuscany in peace. Consequently no worse tribulations awaited her than the violence perpetrated by some sanguinary spirits, who on the occasion of the English invasion had seized the opportunity to join with a number of bandits from the various cities.

The Cardinal Legate had caused the English to encamp in haste under Perugia, sending a detachment to garrison Città di Castello, — but even this town rose in insurrection; November 7. about fifty of the English were killed, while the rest were blockaded on the piazza and scarcely succeeded in getting off with their arms and baggage.

The Cardinal immediately sent Hawkwood with all his Company against Città di Castello, but in those days a resolute defence sufficed for a walled town even with inferior force; Hawkwood could do nothing; on the contrary, two of his outworks were assaulted and taken before his eyes. Meanwhile, profiting by his withdrawal, the Perugians also rebelled, and constrained their diabolical governor the Abbot to shut himself up in the castle where they held him in a state of siege.

The English being again recalled, encamped under Perugia, but as to any decisive action, they did not even attempt it; and as the rebellion spread over all the Papal states, they were next sent to the succour of the citadel of Viterbo. Decemb. 5. Here the people and militia fairly opposed them in open fight, the attempts of the English were vain, and, leaving many dead and wounded in the ditches and trenches, they were obliged to return to Perugia.

The affairs of the Church were going so badly, and the temporal power was so shaken, that the *Otto di balia* (the Council of eight) of the Florentines were enabled to write to Bernabò Visconti: "If they have the strength Decemb. 10. to hold out the campaign for a month, the domination of the French and other foreigners in Italy will be made an

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end of for ever." Moreover they were still afraid that the English not being able to do anything on the Papal territory should again turn against Tuscany.

But if the English could not attack Perugia, neither could the Perugians succeed in their assaults on the castle; and so they had to treat openly with the besieged Abbot, taking Hawkwood as mediator. They tacitly established a species of armistice till the end of December, during which time the English frequented the city, and the Perugians risked themselves in the camp.

In vain the *Otto* warned the Perugians that "the foreigners could not possibly be on the side of liberty," and advised them rather to bargain that Hawkwood should go away, or at least cease from hostilities.

As a consolation for the siege, the Abbot of Montemaggiore received on his birthday a fine present from his kinsman the Pope, — no less than a cardinal's hat, and the grade of pontifical Legate! his exemplary virtues could merit no less! but this did not suffice to raise the siege, nor was it enough to provision the three thousand men shut up in the castle with him.

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On new year's day he was constrained to surrender himself to the Perugians, with the understanding that he was to be permitted to retire to Hawkwood's camp. But as soon as he entered, Hawkwood courteously placed a guard over him as a prisoner, saying, "We want our pay."

Avendo Gianni Aguto dal suo lato
L' Abate e altri ched eron nella rete,
Disse: Signor, s' i' non son pagato,
Giammai da me voi non vi partirete;
Ch' io debbo aver del tempo valicato
Cento migliaia o più, e voi il sapete.

(John Hawkwood had within his net one day
The Abbot, with some others he had caught,
And said: "Sir, if you do not quickly pay

My dues, then you and I shall never part.
 For all my time and labour lost you owe
 A hundred thousand florins, as you know.")

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Moreover his unlucky reverence lost a great many of his belongings, — according to the treaty, his own baggage with that of his soldiers had been retained by the Perugians, who after ten days consigned them to the Englishmen. The deed of consignment was made in the cloister of San Martino where Hawkwood had his camp, and there the delegates of Perugia met Marshal John Thornbury, the agent of Hawkwood. An incomplete inventory was hastily made, while Thornbury restored the goods to their owners, taking a note of them. "And also a great number of things were without written formalities restored to divers persons and men to whom they were said to belong, which things they were not able to describe by reason of the great haste and eagerness," which is to say that anyone who chose, took the goods. Although incomplete, the inventory is very interesting: we see for example how the mercenaries were clad, for there was returned to an Englishman "a Milanese *barbuta* (helmet) with its nose-piece, and another with three silver *cannonibus* and a steel neck-piece; also an old red doublet, with white and green fringes." The list of objects given back to the Cardinal is most edifying, there were many sumptuous things, several women's gowns(!) and the episcopal mitre and rosary, thrust into the same valise as his shoes and hose; the only books were a breviary and a little volume of songs.

The hurry of this operation is accounted for, by the fact that Hawkwood was hastening to raise the camp, taking the Cardinal with him as hostage for the arrears of pay. January 21.
 Having reached Rimini, Hawkwood on proceeding to Cesena, left the Cardinal under the efficient guardianship of Galeotto January 22.
 Malatesta, who conceded to the prisoner the use of the palace garden (*Orto dei Signori*), but he kept him in good

1376. custody, having promised Hawkwood to restore him on demand, under pain of a fine of 130,000 ducats (probably the amount of pay for which his reverence was hostage). And Hawkwood was a man to whom one could not lightly make promises without keeping them.

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October 3.

He had indeed received enough promises in lieu of money from the Cardinal Legate of Bologna, to whom Thornbury wrote that his captain hesitated to resume the service of the Church "on account of that castle which had been promised him." But now that Hawkwood had another Cardinal in his hands, and he a kinsman of the Pope, the Church was obliged to maintain its promises, and so gave the Condottiere the lordship of Bagnacavallo, of Cotignola, and of the village of Conselice, contiguous estates in the neighbourhood of Lugo in Romagna; important enough to constitute almost a little principality, a gift which though it did not entirely balance the credit, yet constituted a large sum on account.*

Many incorrect assertions have been made respecting this domain of Hawkwood's. Domenico Maria Manni would not admit its existence, saying that "adventurers were paid in money and not in lands." Ricotti in one place speaks of Bagnacavallo and Cotignola, and in another of Bagnacavallo and Castrocaro. Some constantly substitute Castrocaro for Cotignola, others discuss the nature of the dominion, holding that Hawkwood was only the Governor of these places, which he held for the Church, all of which are uncertainties dependent on the various versions of the chroniclers.

Without staying to argue the point, it will suffice to make everything clear if we give the historical succession of

* The precise date of this event is not given; it was certainly before the 13th of July 1376, on which day the Cardinal left Rimini, liberated after his confinement. It probably took place in the early months of the year.

facts and documents; and meanwhile we will note that there is nothing to confirm the supposition of Fra Bonoli author of a History of Cotignola, according to which the Pope had conceded those places to Hawkwood as Gonfaloniere of the Holy Church (!!) with the condition of not alienating them to any one except to Niccolò II, Marquis of Ferrara.

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It would seem that Bagnacavallo was consigned, as soon as the English shewed that if they were not paid, they were determined to pay themselves, by infesting several places in the Romagna, taking Castrocaro, and putting it to the sack, by way of restoring it to its rightful lord Astorre Manfredi.

February.

These events put Bologna, where Hawkwood and his men were quartered, in a ferment. The Cardinal made the mistake of not giving heed to them, and sent Hawkwood to take the fortress of Granarolo, occupied by Manfredi. The Bolognese wished nothing better, and openly rebelled against the Church for the cause of *Liberty*, aided by a thousand infantry under Count Antonio da Bruscoli, sent to them by Florence.

Nor did the English succeed in their enterprise at Granarolo; the same luck fell to their share as at Perugia, and Città di Castello,—they were obliged to encamp between Granarolo and Bagnacavallo, both their captain and themselves being, as may be imagined, greatly irritated, the more so because some of them remained shut up in Bologna in the hands of the citizens; altogether they were but too ready for the worst excesses, and even decided on a reign of terror.

March 20.