

command to Hawkwood, and went over to the Church * not returning to his alliance with Florence till after the death of his rival. In any case half Italy was tributary to Hawkwood, and it being an affair of gold, Florence paid for everybody; it was a lucky day for him when he arrived at Bologna to assume the baton of command.

1377.

May 1st.

Together with his magnificent pay Bernabò Visconti had adopted another means of seduction; and to make sure of his brave captain, he gave him one of his daughters in marriage — it is true she was illegitimate, but in those times, even the bastard child of the lord of Milan was considered an honorable match for the son of the modest landowner and tanner of Sible Hedingham.

A famous Condottiere, rich in pay, lord of feudal estates, and now become also the son-in-law of the most potent of Italian princes, Sir John Hawkwood here reached the climax of his fortunate career.

XVIII.

MARRIAGE TO DONNINA VISCONTI. IN THE ROMAGNA AGAINST THE BRETONS.

[Suit entered by GALEAZZO Conte di Virtù to the memory of Bernabò Visconti in the *Annales mediolanenses* — LITTA, *Famiglie celebri*. Visconti — BALDUZZI, *Bagnacavallo e Giovanni Hawkwood* in the *Documents and Memorials for the state history of the provinces of the Romagna*, 3rd series, v. II, p. I — MORANT'S *History of Essex* — BRAYLEY and BRITTON'S *Beauties of England and Wales* — WRIGHT'S *History of Essex* — OSIO, *Diplomatic documents of the Milanese Archives* — RAWDON BROWN, *Venetian Calendar*, etc., *Letters of Hawkwood to Gonzaga* lord of Mantua — SALUTATI *Epistolæ* — Carteggio of the Florentine Signory, *Missive*.]

Bernabò Visconti's prolificacy was proportionate to his extremely energetic temperament. His wife Beatrice Scali-

* On account of the defection of Rodolfo, the Florentines deprived him of the citizenship, and in several places painted infamous effigies of him with a mitre of devils and with figures of the vices on his face. They sent Count Landau to fight him, but Hawkwood did not go with him, as Litta asserts in his *Famiglie celebri*.

1377. ger, called Regina, bore him fourteen sons, and he had many others by less legitimate mothers, amongst which his favorite was "Donnina," daughter of Leone Porro, a lawyer and Milanese noble.

Quadam vice numerati fuerunt Bernabovi quod habebat 36 filios vivos et 18 mulieres pregnantes. — Quum esset in senili etate constitutus, ut notorium est, tenebat duodenarium vel vicensarium numerum meretricum, inter quas erat una DEAMORIS, videlicet Donnina, quam una cum sorore sua et ambas sorores in concubinas publice et notorie detinebat.

This favorite "Donnina" had by him two sons, Lancelotto and Palamede (who is indicated as a counsellor); her daughters were Ginevra and Soprana, who were unmarried at their father's death, and Donnina who espoused Hawkwood, and who by the error of some genealogist has been named as daughter of Montanaria Lazzari, another of Bernabo's "favorites."

1376. That Hawkwood's mother-in-law was the favorite of Bernabò, is proved by his donation of towns and castles to her, and we shall find other proofs to follow; but, however this be, the wife of the Condottiere was only a natural child. It would appear that Hawkwood was at the time a widower; as from the manner in which the chroniclers speak of his two sons at Bologna, it would seem they were legitimate; —
1379. there is besides a document in which he himself speaks of a "son-in-law" * hardly two years after his marriage with Visconti's daughter; and some memorial, relating to his monument in England (now destroyed),** shews that he was there represented in effigy with his two wives. Still we cannot absolutely affirm that those sons may not have been less lawfully born in the course of camp life, and the more so that there is no mention of such offspring after his marriage with the Visconti. The only mention of children

* See Chapter XXI.

** See last Chapter.

is in the deeds of the Brandolini family at Bagnacavallo, where *the heirs of the late John Hawkwood* are cited: he had perhaps, on his legal marriage, made provisions for his sons whether natural, or born of more humble wedlock.

Following this wedding, we hear of several matrimonial alliances with the Visconti which served to insure to the interest of that family the most famous condottieri. Filippo Maria Visconti married Beatrice di Tenda, widow of Facino Cane, so as to get her men-at-arms under his banner, and he gave his relative Antonietta Visconti to the Conte di Carmagnola; Bianca Visconti espoused Francesco Sforza: but Bernabò, reserving his legal daughters for princes, made bargains for the others with the condottieri: thus he gave Riccarda to Bertrand de la Sale, one of the leaders of the "ferocious Bretons;" Enrica to Franchino Rusca da Como, Isotta to Carlo son of Guidosavina of Fogliano, and Elisabeth to Count Lucius Landau.

According to the *Annali Milanese*, the last mentioned marriage was contemporaneous with that of Donnina to Hawkwood.

Bernabos comiti Lucio Lando theutonico Elisabetham et domino Johanni Aguto anglico capitaneo anglicorum aliam, ambas ejus filias naturales pulcherrimas, tradidit in uxores in civitate Mediolani. Fortunately Hawkwood obtained a most beautiful woman for his wife. Some English authors call her *Domitia*, and want to specify even her *dote*, which they give as an annual income of 10,000 florins. The extreme improbability of this cipher, enormous for those times, releases us from the necessity of seeking the origin of information so evidently unfounded. In his will, Bernabò left 6000 florins to his unmarried daughters by Beltramola de' Grassi, and 20,000 to those by Donnina Porro. To Elizabeth, who married Count Lucius Landau, he gave a *dote* of 12,000 florins and many *jocalia* (bride's dress). We may then argue that the wedd-

1377.
May.

1377. ing portion and trousseau of Donnina would have been equal, or not much superior to those of the last mentioned.

As to the marriage, the following letter from the ambassador of Lodovico Gonzaga at Milan, gives us plenty of information :

" Last Sunday, Sir John Hawkwood conducted a bride with all honors to the house where he was living, that is to say to the house once belonging to Gasparo del Conte, in which the late bishop of Parma lived, and the wedding was honored by the presence of the lady Duchess, and all the daughters of Signor Bernabò. After the dinner the said lord Signor Bernabò with his Porina* went to the house of Sir John, where there was jousting going on all day. They tell me that after dinner the lady Regina** made a present to the bride of a thousand gold ducats in a vase. The Signor Marco gave her a *zardino* of pearls, worth three hundred ducats, and the Signor Luigi,*** a gift of pearls of the same value, and in like manner did many of the nobles. So much silver was offered in *largesse* to the Englishmen, that it is estimated at the value of a thousand ducats. They had no dancing, in respect for the late lady Taddea.**** I have heard that Sir John was near Parma on Thursday, and according to what Signor Bernabò told me amongst other things, he will soon be starting towards Modena with his English soldiers; and when I was in Cremona, there came some *provisionati* (country militia) from Signor Bernabò's towns, who they say are

* Donnina Porro, the mother of the bride.

** The legitimate wife of Bernabò had enough superiority of mind to treat the children of her rivals well; this might contribute to explain the great ascendancy she always maintained over that terrible man.

*** Marco and Luigi (or Lodovico) were two of the legitimate sons of Bernabò; at that epoch they held Parma as an appanage, in common with their brothers, Rodolfo and Carlo.

**** We do not know what Taddea this can refer to, unless it be that daughter of Bernabò's, who married Stephen duke of Bavaria: if this is the case, Litta erroneously assigns her death to the year 1381.

to be quartered there in place of those who were ordered off. I also understood that they were preparing a great many projectiles and gunpowder (*pulvis a sclopis*).” 1377.

Other sources also confirm the fact that Hawkwood passed his honeymoon at Cremona, where, besides being occupied by his bride, he was making preparations for war.

He had for instance to provide for the defence of his possessions, in Romagna, now that he had broken with the Church. For this purpose he asked Lodovico Gonzaga to grant a pass free of tolls through the Mantuan territory, as he had to send by way of the Po a quantity of battle axes, crossbows, and many other things necessary to garrison his castle at Bagnacavallo. May 7.

He also prepared to resume his place at the head of the troops, and therefore requested the same privilege of a free pass for his secretary of war, Giovanni da Cingoli, who brought his servant Giovanni da Napoli, with his attendants and furniture from Ferrara. May 26.

Everything spoke of an imminent renewal of hostilities. The Florentines reinforced themselves by hiring the English constable Philip *Puer* (Power) with a hundred and two lances and thirty nine archers, the German Heinrich Paer with seventy five lances, and several other German and English captains of ten and thirty lances, and some Italian *caporali* with two or four lances; in fact they took anybody, in spite of the trouble they had in getting their allies to refund the part which they had advanced* towards the Englishmen's stipends.

Although the Bolognese had profited the most by the agreement with Hawkwood — seeing that after the slaughters of Faenza and Cesena, both the English and Bretons were menacing them more than Tuscany — they yet re-

* Amongst the others, the Sienese and the Perugians were in arrears. SALUTATI *Epistles*, July 31 and August 6 1377 and June 2 1378.

1377. fused assistance on the ground that Hawkwood had only been engaged in the name of Bernabò Visconti. At this "the Florentines* marvelled and Visconti was indignant."
- June 19. But he soon found a remedy for it by signifying to the Bolognese that they must contribute 30,000 florins or give Hawkwood's Company passage and provisions. In fact the English did pass through that friendly country, committing serious injuries which the two Florentine ambassadors at the English camp were quite unable to prevent. Such was the oppression of the country that the Signoria of Florence wrote to Hawkwood, begging him "for pity's sake to have some compassion on the poor Bolognese, who had been so illtreated the previous year, and that he would at least leave the Bolognese territory as soon as possible, and pass into the Romagna against the enemy."
- July 12.

The letter arrived too late; on that very day Hawkwood left the neighborhood of Bologna, and encamped that night at Faenza. Here he helped Astorre Manfredi to recover the dominion of his hereditary city (the English thus wresting from the Marquis of Este the pledge consigned to him). The following day he constrained the Bretons, who wanted to enter Faenza, to retire towards Cesena; he was then reinforced by the Company of Astorre Manfredi, and by some infantry from Forlì, and finally to

August 25. deprive the Bretons of their provisions, he rode towards the rich salt-springs of Cervia.

There the territory of Ravenna had to suffer. Guido da Polenta complained to Florence very resentfully, and the Florentines answered him that "they had recommended all respect to his land, writing with as much earnestness as though Guido himself held the pen, and not content with writing they added the authority of Bernabò, by sending his kinsman Ruggiero Cane."

* Letters of 2 and 4 of July 1377. *Sign. Cart. Miss. XVII*, State Archives of Florence.

Remonstrances were of little importance to Hawkwood who fulfilled his intentions in spite of them; the Bretons were compelled to evacuate the Romagna and pass into Umbria; Hawkwood surrounded them, and wrote to Florence demanding archers, because being only four miles behind the enemy he had stopped them from crossing the Tiber, and intended to fight them if they came near him: but instead of archers Florence sent advice. 1377.
Septemb. 9.

It is the celebrated Coluccio Salutati, chancellor of the Commune, *cor et mens curia*, who in his almost Ciceronian letters shows himself the guiding genius of the war against the Church.* He, writing to Hawkwood in the name of the Signoria, prays him to avoid fighting, so as not to give the enemy a chance of victory, — "curb the generous impatience of your men, so near the discouraged enemy, who being already reduced and enraged might fight desperately, — wait till they are more demoralised, or till they rashly risk themselves in an insecure position. — For the rest we trust in your prudence and well-known capacity." Septemb. 11.

In the postscript he adds:

"If you see that the enemy turns towards our territory, then at once with all your energy take the surest and shortest paths as may seem most convenient, and make every effort to precede them."

These suggestions were reasonable enough, for Hawkwood did not disdain them as he did those of the *escrivans* of Bianca Visconti at Alexandria, nor did he reply as he once did to Andrea Vettori: "Go you and weave your cloth and leave me to guide soldiers." In fact for that time he evaded a battle.

* The Italian Historical Institute promises at length a complete edition of Salutati's "Epistolary," and the programme which Signor Novati has announced in the "Bulletin" of the Institute (n° 6) assures us that the undertaking will prove worthy of that learned man, and confer great benefit on literature and history.