

XXV.

HAWKWOOD MAINTAINS ORDER AND CHECKS THE COMPANY
OF ST. GEORGE. — ENTERS THE PAY OF THE POPE.

[GINO CAPPONI, *History of the Republic of Florence* — *Diary* of the ANONYMOUS FLORENTINE — AMMIRATO, *Storie fiorentine* — SER NADDO DA MONTECATINI, *Fragments of Chronicle* — RICOTTI, *History of the mercenary companies* — *Consulte e pratiche* of the Commune of Florence, and the *Provvisioni*.]

Serious disturbances broke out in Florence, provoked by the rebellion of Giorgio Scali, Scatizza, and their companions. To assist the captain of the people in arresting the rebels, Hawkwood appeared on the Piazza of the Signoria with his ninety lances. The sight of those three hundred veterans on horseback was enough to intimidate the mob.

1382.
January.

January 16.

The tumults were renewed at night; and in the morning, behold Hawkwood fully armed again arrived on the Piazza with a great many soldiers and the seven consuls of the greater "Arti." Unable to maintain order, the captain of the people threw away the *bâton*, and said "he resigned his office;" on which Hawkwood with his men-at-arms "went all round the city shewing themselves" so as to re-establish peace, and if nothing else, he managed to make an end of the excesses of that brutalized mob. He met a brigade who had mortally wounded Simone di Biagio, and with a halter were dragging him to execution and he said: "Lead him away" (*menatelo via*).

The enemy profited by these disorders: the Company of the *Uncino*, commanded by Villanozzo at Roccafranca, which formed the avant-guard to *St. George*, had approached as far as Marcialla, a few miles from the city. It was quickly decided that Hawkwood should defend it if possible; if not, that he should come to terms, taking care not to compromise the State; that he should fight only if he

January 24.

1382. were certain of success, and in any case they would hear
January 26. his opinion before negotiating.

With these instructions, with 800 lances, 200 archers, and 600 infantry, Hawkwood immediately left the city, attempted in vain and with some loss to make himself master of the hill of Marcialla, and encamped at Santa Maria Nuova where he fortified his position and awaited reinforcements. The two camps entrenched and fenced, faced each other as though they would come to action. At the end of three days the Company of the *Uncino* was obliged to commence a retreat, which they continued, masking it by skirmishes of the rearguard. Hawkwood followed them as far as Berardinga where he had orders to retire to Val d' Arno.

The report of Piero Buoninsegni " that Hawkwood had had speech with the corporals of the *Uncino*" does not seem to be justified, neither does that which Marchionne di Coppo Stefani wrote " it was thought he did not do as much as he could in the service of the Republic." On the contrary we have numerous documents, showing his activity in organising and conducting the defence, bringing forward also the Sienese forces, and procuring good soldiers for the united service, and watching that their pay was adequate,* and if the *Uncino* Company was able to retreat with spoil and prisoners, while it seemed to the good Florentine citizens that they had them in a trap, Hawkwood, it must be remembered, had instructions not to run any risk. It was the Signoria who, seeing the internal
February 15. condition of the city, wanted to have him at hand.

In fact, when the burghers and populace again invaded the Piazza, they were once more stopped by the " halt there " of Hawkwood with many soldiers both horse
March 10. and foot. Then at the sound of the hammer-struck bell,

* See Documents XXXIV to XLV.

every man took arms. "Moscone with the other misguided men, ready to do evil," led on by the aristocratic party, "made a rendez-vous at St. George," intending to increase their numbers and fortify themselves on that hill, "but finally Sir John Hawkwood managed to get them into the Piazza." The rebels being thus hunted down, they were soon brought back to their duty. 1382.

These experiences persuaded the Signoria that the stipendiaries might render invaluable service to them in maintaining public peace, and therefore in a contract with two English constables of sixty lances, is this unusual clause inserted: April 12.

"*Item*, if the aforesaid constables or any of their company shall be informed of anything which treats of, or is designed to, the prejudice, injury, or offence of the Commune, or of its peaceful condition, he shall immediately by letter or messenger notify the same in good faith, as soon and as fully as possible, to the Priors and Gonfaloniere etc."

Relative peace being established in the city, the Signoria desired Hawkwood to march into the Arezzo territory with one or two hundred lances; he had also some infantry, but with such poor forces he could accomplish nothing. The "Anonymous Florentine" explains the secret: Hawkwood was only to place himself on guard at the frontier, and the treasurer Spinello went with him to buy the Company of *St. George* if it were possible. April 10.

What a quantity of florins had by this time passed by means of Spinello, from the pockets of the Florentines, into the hands of the mercenaries! Stefani exclaimed with reason: "This is the blessing of Florence, the money of the Florentines is so sweet that everybody wants it."

St. George wanted too much of it, so Hawkwood and Spinello returned to Florence without having concluded April 15.

1382. anything, and now the Florentines burned with unusual ardor and wanted to make every effort at the frontier. If Hawkwood felt secure in doing so, he might exterminate the Company without coming to any terms; 1500 lances were to be put together against it, and if Hawkwood
 May 2 and 4. approved, he could also attack Wilhelm Filibach, a German, who among the many mercenaries, had made himself a nest at Arezzo.

And in fact from his camp at Civitella, Hawkwood anxiously asked the Sienese to join him in the attack on their common enemy, and to send all their troops to Lucignano, where he would meet them and thus attempt some decisive action.* But the warlike fit was of short duration, even a few hours sufficed to change the wind,
 May 5. and then the Signoria wrote to Hawkwood to do nothing fresh, nor to take the field, but limit himself to resisting if Filibach attacked him; finally they adopted a middle
 May 8. course, and gave him faculty to make an attack, informing him of the enemy's numbers.

Amidst these uncertainties, an event happened which carried the war elsewhere. Louis duc d'Anjou, a formidable rival to Carlo Durazzo, came down into Italy, with doubtful claims but strong forces, to wrest from him the crown of Naples. Hence all the troops which were warring in Tuscany for Durazzo, were recalled to the defence of the Kingdom of Naples, — the Tuscan cities could breathe again, and Hawkwood might sheath his sword.

But new openings for war were offered to the Condottiere, this time by the Pope, who, as High Sovereign, had espoused the cause of Durazzo regarding the crown of Naples.

The Florentines were informed that Urban VI intended to ask for their captain and his soldiers, and they had

* See Document XLVI.

some trouble in deciding whether to let him go: they were so well satisfied with Hawkwood that they had accorded him the benefit of "ten dead lances," *dieci lance morte* (i. e. pay in the same proportion as though they were effective lances), for as long as the price of the house which he desired, — and which had been promised him in Florence, — remained unpaid; but on the other hand they did not want to offend the Duke of Anjou; they would, if possible, only have given leave to Hawkwood when the Duke had passed Romagna on his march towards the Kingdom of Naples, and then on condition of his promising to return in case of need.

1382.

Meanwhile they consulted on the eternal dispute with Manfredi, endeavouring to make an end of it once for all, and to induce Hawkwood to purchase a certain bastion which was the cause of the litigation (probably that Sezada which he had kept back in the cession to the d'Estes). They even offered him 4000 florins if he would leave it to Astorre, who would in return guarantee to furnish the Commune with 1000 moggia of corn.

July 23
and 31.
August 28.

The uncertainty lasted till the middle of August. In the Councils they wanted first to know whether the Pope were in Rome, and if the Romans would give a good reception to Hawkwood. There were some who maintained that to dismiss him would prove *the destruction of Florence*: in any case such a grave affair as this ought not to be discussed except in a full Council, at which all the Consuls of the Arts and many citizens and artisans would intervene, forming almost an universal suffrage.

August 13
and 14.

At length the ambassadors arrived from Rome bringing the following brief from Pope Urban VI:

August 20.

July 31.

"For a long time we have desired that our beloved son the noble John Hawkwood knight should with six hundred lances militate in the service of ourselves and of the Roman Church. And inasmuch as it conduces no less

1382. to our benefit, honor, state and well-being than to that of your city, whether the said knight fights in your service or in ours, we pray most urgently, that as soon as the time shall come to prove the sincerity of your devotion and to display it in your deeds, you will efficaciously and without delay arrange that he shall enter our service, and every thing which you shall pay as stipend to him shall be deducted from the debt which you owe to us and the Church."

The war of the " Eight Saints " being ended, the Pope had remained creditor of the Florentines for an indemnity, and thus suggested to them the mode of paying the debt, for which they were still under an interdict.

August 22
and 23.

There were great discussions in the Councils, and seeing there was not money enough to pay the Pope, the general opinion was that his request should be granted.

There were besides a great many merchants decidedly partial to entering into a league with King Carlo Duzazzo, but they wished to do so in a manner not to compromise themselves with the Duke of Anjou, *ita honeste quod nemini displiceatur*.

The following wary subtilty was suggested by Simone Peruzzi — that they should give the Pope's envoys a written reply, refusing the dismissal of Hawkwood requested of them, but if Hawkwood himself should demand it, in another written document, alleging the contracts of the *condotta* (which in fact did not exist), the resignation should be accepted. When once Hawkwood was placed in a condition to act as he chose, and to go where he pleased, who could blame the Florentines if he passed into the service of the Pope ?

It was so decided, and Bernabò Visconti, as soon as he heard a rumour of the affair, wrote protesting against the Condottiere hired by the Florentines, passing into the service of an enemy to himself — their ally; they answered

him immediately that on their own account they had repeatedly refused Hawkwood to the Pope and the King of Naples, but that according to the contract he had a right to go. And when Bernabò again attempted to raise the same objection, he received the same answer.

1382.
August 30.

The affair being arranged, Urban VI authorised Cosimo Gentili, clerk of the chambers, to give the Florentines a receipt for the sum which they would in succession pay to Hawkwood, up to the amount of the 40,000 florins, they owed.

1383.
February 13.
1382.
September 6.

But before leaving for the camp Hawkwood wished to arrange his affairs in Florence and settle his wife there.

October 2.

Such was the devotion of himself and Donnina his consort to the Commune, that they intended to reside in the city and its neighbourhood, and to possess property there, which they could leave to their heirs, demanding as foreigners the necessary privileges, and subjecting themselves to the taxes on the contract they were about to make.

The Englishman Richard Romsey (hired together with Tyliman and 333 lances) made the same petition, alleging that he had contracted marriage in Florence, although with an Englishwoman, and that he wished to collocate there the greater part of his property.

The general Council of the Captain and People consented with 211 affirmative notes against a minority of only 12. Hawkwood requested a loan of money on interest, from the Commune, but it was not granted, nevertheless it is probable that the purchase of the houses outside Port'al Prato may be dated at this time.

October 3.

Everything being in order, he took the road to Rome with 2200 horsemen, stopping a moment at the Abbey of Isola to demand from the Sienese 14,000 florins, of which he declared himself their creditor from the preceding

October 22.

1382. year, when in league with the Ban of Hungary.* The Sieneſe complained to Florence, but they ought to have applied to the Pope by whom he was now engaged.

XXVI.

DEEDS AND AFFAIRS OF HAWKWOOD IN THE KINGDOM OF NAPLES.

[*Chronicon siculum vaticanum* — *Diurnali* of the DUKE OF MONTELEONE in MURATORI [*R. I. S.*] — CAPPONI, *History of the Republic of Florence* — BONINCONTI, *Annali* — *Historical Archives for the Neapolitan provinces*, 12th year, extracts from the *Anjou Registers of the Chancellor's office* — D. M. MANNI, *Life of Hawkwood* in MURATORI [*R. I. S.*], v. II, Appendix — *Consulte e pratiche* of the Commune of Florence — SUMMONTE, *History of the city and kingdom of Naples* — MARCHIONNE STEFANI, *Chronicle*.]

October. With a rapid march Hawkwood, accompanied by Carluccio Brancaccio and Andrea Carafa, arrived at Naples,** bringing a brief from Urban VI to the archbishops of Naples and Capua which presented *dilectum filium nobilem virum Joanni Agut militem Anglicanum*, as condottiere in the pay of the Church.

His intervention in the war seemed of such serious injury to the French Anjou party, that the Duke of Anjou,

* See Document XXXIII.

** In fact the Florentine chronicler Marchionne Stefani says that Hawkwood stayed in Rome some days, that the Pope gave signs of going to the crusade of Naples with him, or of returning to Corneto, for greater security from the Duke of Anjou: that then the Roman populace went to the house of "Mesſer Giovanni Acuto" and because he was taking away the Pope, they threatened him that if he did not go away at once, they would do him some injury. So on the 6th of November Sir John Hawkwood left Rome and went to Naples.

But the authority of the chronicler loses much of its value by treating of things which happened so far from his own sight, and it would seem wiser to believe rather the Neapolitan Diarist, the Duke of Monteleone, who determines the date and the company of Hawkwood on his arrival at Naples. This would exclude the possibility of his stay in Rome, and the hostility of the people there, which Stefani was willing to believe, as he was of the opposite opinion when the Council discussed the question of favouring the Pope and King Carlo, by giving the leave to Hawkwood.