

vido Lazzari; *Recupido!* — an ill-omened name for an agent! Nevertheless Lazzari showed himself zealous. Rumours having been circulated that Hawkwood had been murdered in Florence, these feudal estates were without delay assigned to three of the great functionaries of the Kingdom, viz: the *Almirante* (admiral) Giovanni Stendardo, and Giacomo Gaetano. The new lords soon hastened to disturb Lazzaro in possession, and he appealed to the Queen Margherita di Durazzo (King Carlo being deceased, his widow became regent for her son King Ladislao a minor), showing that his master was alive, and declaring him to be always ready for loyal service. The Queen accepted the petition, and ordered that Lazzari should be kept in possession.

1384.

1385.
January 4.

XXVII.

THE CATASTROPHE OF BERNABÒ VISCONTI.

[*Consulte e pratiche* of the Commune of Florence — *Stenese chronicle* in MURATORI [R. I. S.] — RICOTTI, *History of mercenary companies* — GIULINI, *Memorie di Milano* — SER NADDO DA MONTECATINI, *Fragments of a chronicle* — *Diary* of the ANONYMOUS FLORENTINE — OSIO, *Diplomatic documents*, taken from the Milanese Archives — *Annales mediolanenses* in MURATORI [R. I. S.]

The inquietude of the Perugians, on the reappearance of Hawkwood in central Italy, was very great; they invoked the good offices of Florence, and got the Signoria to deliberate on recommending them to his mercy by letter, or, if necessary, by means of an embassy. Nor was the intervention in vain. The Florentines had reason to send and thank him for *his doings towards the Perugians and to Assisi*. In growing older Hawkwood became somewhat more humane and tractable, as about the same time the Florentines dared to excuse themselves for being unable to disburse money, and to neglect to give an answer about some certain places which he had taken, and which he probably offered for sale.

1384.

May 18.

June 1st.

1984. It is nearly certain that this referred to the castle of Montecchio, the fortresses of Migliari in the valley of the Ambra, and of the Abbey at Pino, which we shall see later were possessed and sold by Hawkwood, though there is no documentary evidence of the epoch, or probable occasion of the acquisition.

But if he were tractable towards Florence where he now considered himself almost as a citizen, he was not equally so with others. This time the blows fell on Siena, which refused to pay new extortions, and wanted to hinder him from spoiling the land; Hawkwood reinforced by the Prefetto of Viterbo, and a new band formed by his colleague Giovanni Ubaldini, routed and completely defeated the Sienese troops, taking prisoner the captain *Niccolò di Messer Galeotto* (Malatesta?) whom, to the astonishment of every one, he released a few days afterwards.

On their side the Florentines deliberated to continue the promised payments to Hawkwood, and also to interpose between Sir John, who declared himself creditor, and the Bolognese, who denied the debt, so that they should not come to a rupture.

July 9. He having arrived at Florence, and being well received by the Signoria, they again took up the discussion on the still smouldering question with Astorre Manfredi, procuring
 July 29. a truce for two years and arranging things in his favor, also replying graciously to Bernabò Visconti, who protected Manfredi with the ardor of a father-in-law at discord with his son-in-law.

These councils kept him some time in Florence, whence being pacified towards the Sienese, he wrote to
 Septemb. 3. recommend to them Pietro Boncompagni, doctor of laws and his *protégé*, as candidate for the office of Syndic.*

Then he joined the camp above Cortona, forming

* See Document XLIX.

there together with Richard Romsey, and Giovanni Ubal-
dini, the Company of the *Rose** with the money drawn
from Siena.** 1384.

Septemb. 23.

With this then he must have gone into Romagna,
where, as some historians say, he united with Lucius
Landau, and was able to take Ravenna and put it to the
sack, selling it afterwards to the Malatesta. October.

But the Florentines did not lose sight of him; indeed
they thought of hiring him together with Romsey, and
before negotiating with others, they wanted his advice,
and asked him to give information about the men-at-arms,
trusting entirely in his judgment; they acquiesced in his
counsels, and begged him to come soon. Moreover they
dreamed of stipulating a league between Hawkwood, Flo-
rence and Perugia, thus considering him almost as a po-
tentate.***

Meanwhile a very serious event took place in Tuscany;
the Sire de Coucy, that French adventurer and great ba-
ron**** whom we have already seen fighting with Hawk-
wood for the Church, had returned to Italy for the Anjouvine
wars, and had taken Arezzo. It was a case for action on
the part of Florence: a number of men-at-arms were imme-
diately engaged, and Hawkwood, though still receiving his
pay, being employed beyond the Apennines, Giovanni degli
Septemb. 28.

* This title of "the Rose" appears several times in the mercenary
companies: there was one in Provence in 1357; another of 300 lances, lasted
from 1398 to 1410, it extorted money from Siena in 1404, and is cited as the
last company which had a name of its own, not taken from its captain.

** See Document L.

*** A note from the Signoria to Donato Acciaiuoli, Bartolommeo Ridolfi,
and Jacopo de' Medici, ambassadors, perhaps refers to this. See Document LI.

**** The castle of Coucy still exists in French Flanders (near St. Gobain),
and among the noble armorial ensigns, similar to that noted in Rohan, is
recorded

*Roi ne suis
Prince ni comte aussi
Je suis le Sire de Coucy.*

1385. Obizi was taken as captain of war. But as Coucy let himself be persuaded to sell Arezzo to the Florentines for "ready money," the worst was over; — all that remained was to assure their possession of the new territories, to wrest from the Signori Tarlati the places they held on the confines between Arezzo and Florence, for which slight duty it did not seem necessary to take a captain of such valour and expense as Hawkwood.

Between
January
and May.

The Florentines contented themselves with his counsels, and confided the execution thereof to Giovanni degli Obizi and Vanni di Michele di Vanni.

On the other hand the fall of Arezzo left Hawkwood undisputed Lord of Montecchio and other towns recently occupied by him in the Aretian territory, of which the Florentines did not even dream of contesting his possession. He had a little leisure to see to his own affairs, to liquidate his debts and credits* and he was reposing in the bosom of his family, in Florence, when there reached him the most astounding news, which was of the greatest importance to him, his family and also to Florence. This was, that Gian Galeazzo Visconti, the Conte di Virtù, nephew of Bernabò, had disloyally overcome his uncle and ruling lord, and shut him up in the castle of Trezzo, and was now over-running Milan on his own account, usurping the lordship** without opposition, and that one of Bernabò's sons, the young Carlo Visconti, had fled to Crema and thence to Cremona. The other young men and Donnina Perro (just now married or about to be married to Bernabò, whose wife Regina Scaliger had died a year before) shared the prison with their father and consort.

May 9.

Together with this serious intelligence Hawkwood received entreaties to assist his father, mother, and brothers-

* See Document LII.

** The official announcement of this dynastic coup d'état was received by the Signoria in a letter from Gian Galeazzo on May 13.

in-law in this catastrophe. Among the brothers-in-law, Carlo especially wrote that he held the citadel of Crema in his own hands, as well as the fortress of Porta Romana at Milan, and was ready to pay him well, beseeching him to come in person as soon as possible, with as many men-at-arms as he could collect.* 1385.

In this urgent case it is easy to conceive that Hawkwood's wife Donnina exerted herself warmly to send her husband to the succour of her relatives, but nothing prevailed, and Bernabò very soon died at Trezzo of rage or poison, while no one dared move a finger to help him.

In the first place Hawkwood, as we know, was in absolute discord with his father-in-law; next, although a brave soldier and a famous condottiere, he never could have held his own against the new Lord of Milan; and finally, we must allow, that besides resentment and caution, the very vulgar reasons of self-interest appeared to rule his mind.

Papers will speak! from the contracts stipulated at Villa di Cavazzo near Modena, in the house where Hawkwood was then residing, we find that he had before that time promised and sworn fidelity and homage to Gian Galeazzo for 1000 florins! July 1st.

Now that shameful contract was to be improved upon, and Hawkwood *recognising his oath already sworn* and qualifying himself as *the most beloved kinsman of the illustrious lord Signor Galeazzo Visconti, with solemn oath on the holy Gospels, corporeally touching the holy scriptures with his hand* promised and agreed:

"That if the Count should request his personal service, he would hold himself obliged to go to him, excepting that he should be in the pay of any other Commune, lord or

* See Document LIII.

1385. prince, to whom he were so bound that he could not with honor leave his service; but as soon as the time for this contract should be completed, he would feel himself bound to personally serve the Count whensoever he pleased.

" The Count on his side should give him a salary of 300 florins a month, and the faculty of leading 30 lances, to which the Count should give the same stipend as his other lances.

" By order of the Count, Hawkwood might also conduct a greater number of lances, who in that case would be paid, and bound like the others who were in the Count's pay.

" If Hawkwood — his service being required and he being free of other engagements — should not present himself for the Count's active service within four months, the Count shall not be obliged to pay the 1000 florins offered by his procurator in the preceding act of fidelity...."

The accessories in this contract are very interesting: for example, among the usual concluding formulæ, the following is noteworthy: " the tenor of the clauses written herein has been read and vulgarized in the common tongue, to the full understanding of Sir John." He therefore knew no latin, but could speak italian perfectly. Besides this the act was not only written by Martino, *quondam* Giacomo de Robbis di Città di Castello, Hawkwood's notary and secretary, but also signed by the same notary at the request and order of Hawkwood, whose usual seal was appended to the deed — a sign that Sir John Hawkwood did not know how to write.

But it is the subject of such a stipulation that most astonishes us. It seems impossible that Hawkwood, who was accustomed to put quite a different price on his sword, should needlessly and for mediocre gain sell himself to one who so seriously compromised his own interests, and even his family peace, since Gian Galeazzo, to justify his usurpation, made a kind of legal process *de vita et moribus*,

and sent out into the world a formal act of accusation against Bernabò, alleging in it a curious species of *incesto concubinario*, pretending that the marriage of Bernabò and Donnina de' Porri was null and void:

Cognovit carnaliter Donninam de Porros et Johannam ejus Donnine sororem; de qua Donnina plures habuit natos: postea ipsam Donninam desponsavit que nihilominus non potest esse uxor sua.

Thus the legitimacy of Hawkwood's wife, ensured by subsequent marriage, became impugned. It might be that Hawkwood, being a most astute man, wished in this surrender to lull the natural suspicions of Gian Galeazzo, reserving to himself to act as an enemy against him on a better occasion; and the fact remains that he never was in the effective service of Gian Galeazzo, and it was against him that he schemed so long and, as we shall see, conducted the last and most brilliant of all his campaigns.

XXVIII.

WAR BETWEEN THE CARRARAS OF PADUA AND THE SCALIGERS OF VERONA.

[*Provisioni* of the Commune of Florence — RAWDON BROWN, *Venetian Calendars of State papers* — *Paduan chronicles* by GALEAZZO and ANDREA GATARO in MURATORI [R. I. S.] — *Diary* of the ANONYMOUS FLORENTINE edited by ALESSANDRO GHERARDI — *Deliberations and Condotte* of the Commune of Florence — *Chronicon Estense* in MURATORI [R. I. S.] — MINERBETTI, *Chronicle* — VERCI, *Storia della Marca Trevigiana*.]

In the spring the Florentines, having ensured the acquisition of Arezzo, were undecided whether or not, to hire their favorite captain (so that in the summer he began negotiations with Siena*); but in the autumn they adopted

* See Document LIV.