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ROBERT THE WISE  
AND HIS HEIRS



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# ROBERT THE WISE

## AND HIS HEIRS

1278—1352

BY

ST. CLAIR BADDELEY

AUTHOR OF

'JOANNA I. QUEEN OF NAPLES' 'CHARLES III. AND URBAN VI.' ETC. ETC.



LONDON

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*TO*  
*MY WIFE*



## ERRATA

### ROBERT THE WISE

Page 4, line 5 from foot, *for* 'Alfonso' *read* 'Alfonso III.'

Page 4, line 19, *for* 'Bagnols' *read* 'Barjolz.'

Page 21, line 6 from foot, *for* 'Wenceslaus III.' *read* 'Wenceslaus V.'

## CORRECTIONS

### CHARLES III. OF NAPLES AND URBAN VI.

Page 28, note, 'Boccaccio himself' *should be* 'Donato himself.'

Page 64, 'elder daughter' (Hedwig) *should be* 'younger daughter.'

Page 66, 'Fiume' *should be* 'Zeng.'

In genealogical chart Charles Martel should be thus :  
died 1295. *m.* Clemenza of Hapsburg.



## P R E F A C E

IT would be unfair to the general reader, and to the subject-matter of this volume, were it not prefaced by an answer to two fundamental questions which arise in connection therewith; namely, under what circumstances, and at what date, did the kingdom of Naples and Sicily become a fief of the Holy See? And, under what conditions did the Angevin hold it?

The claims of the Holy See over those extensive domains, like so many others of her pretensions, were derived from the fictitious 'Donation of Constantine'; but her first attempt to realise them takes us back to the expedition of LEO IX. against the Normans, when, at the battle of Civitella del Tronto, June 18, 1053, that Pontiff became their prisoner. His ignorant and awe-struck captors besought forgiveness and the removal of his Interdict. Taking advantage of the emotions his presence manifestly inspired, Leo raised the Interdict, and, in virtue of their agreeing to hold these conquered territories in fief to the Holy See, conceded them not only the rewards of their victory, but those of any prospective victories they might obtain against the Greeks in Sicily or Calabria.

Nearly eighty years later, in 1130, Antipope ANACLETUS, in order to recompense the faction which supported him, sent a Legate to Palermo, whom he commissioned to elevate the Countship into a Kingdom, by crowning Count Roger Sovereign of Sicily. In return, King Roger materially assisted his benefactor. Upon the death of Anacletus,

INNOCENT II. rashly ventured to encounter the Normans in the field, after the manner of his predecessor, Leo IX. ; but he fared no better. Like him, he was taken prisoner in 1139, and was compelled to come to an agreement by which he confirmed the Norman sovereignty. A real Pope, therefore, countersigned the ruling of an Antipope. Stimulated by profitable results of these diplomatic compromises, certain subsequent Pontiffs aspired to the temporal domination of all Italy; and the story of the long struggle with the Emperor Frederick II., heir to the Hauteville-Normans by his mother, on the part of Gregory IX. and Innocent III. and IV., is too familiar to require further reference here. Southern Italy has been a time-honoured focus of historic ferment, political as well as cosmic.

CLEMENT IV. consolidated Papal suzerainty over the kingdom by granting it under a deed of enfeoffment to CHARLES OF ANJOU,<sup>1</sup> Count of Provence, champion of the Church, and future figure-head of the Guelphic faction. The feudal conditions exacted of the Angevin were carefully framed to preclude his becoming too potent, and they betray apprehensive wariness on the part of the Holy See, perhaps not altogether unjustified, toward her puissant vassal. In any case, the homage prescribed was positively servile, and the infringement of any one of the many conditions appended was to be visited with the Interdict. Of these conditions, further presently.

Within the kingdom of Naples and Sicily, the Holy See reserved to herself exclusive domination over the city and surroundings of BENEVENTO; that is to say, when Anacletus conceded the sovereignty to King Roger, he had excepted all jurisdiction over that city and its confines.<sup>2</sup> The demarca-

<sup>1</sup> June 28, 1265.

<sup>2</sup> His reason for so doing being that it had been granted to Leo IX. (a German Pontiff) by the Emperor Henry III. in exchange for the province of Bamberg and the Abbey of Fulda, in 1051. The line of Lombard Princes of Benevento came to its end actually in 1077; but Leo IX. had dispossessed

tion of the ancient confines, however, had been conveniently forgotten; and this naturally afforded the Holy See opportunities, at a later date, for further exactions from her vassals, especially from Queen Joan I., who, however, made vigorous and eloquent protest, particularly against the pretensions of Innocent VI. On the one hand, it was true that Benevento, as the earliest Lombard Duchy,<sup>1</sup> had included portions of territory which at a later date formed part of the Province of Principato Ultra in the Suabian and Angevin kingdom. On the other hand, tribute of 8000<sup>2</sup> ounces of gold had to be raised from the eleven provinces of that realm, and paid annually to the Holy See by Charles I. and his successors; so that it became a matter of financial importance to the sovereigns of Naples to obtain precise delimitation of the lands which were regarded as pertaining to Benevento. Either the real claim of the Holy See should have been confined to the town and suburbs of Benevento, or else she should not have countenanced the formation of provinces which parcelled out the Duchy surrounding it. The pretensions advanced by Clement VI.<sup>3</sup> and Innocent VI. against Queen Joan had never been advanced against her more powerful ancestors, as she took care to remind those Pontiffs.<sup>4</sup> By a

Landulfus VI. in 1053, and appointed a Pontifical governor. Cf. *Annales Beneventani*, Pertz, *Mon. Germ. Historica*.

<sup>1</sup> A.D. 571.

<sup>2</sup> Occasionally eight, but usually in the fourteenth century, five florins of gold to the ounce.

<sup>3</sup> In the form of homage which Clement prescribed for Queen Joan to take at the hands of his relative the Cardinal-Legate, Aimericus, occur the following terms:—‘Et in predicta Civitate Beneventana, quam hactenus Romana Ecclesia sibi retinuit, et in suum domanium et dominium, cum omnibus juribus suis et pertinentiis, reservavit, et toto tenemento Civitatis ejusdem cum finibus ejus antiquis, quos Romanus Pontifex quandocumque semel tamen sibi placuerit, *bona fide distinguet*, et quæ eidem Ecclesiæ, et in ejus proprietate libere remanebant, &c. . . . Et premitto quod prestabimus, ego et mei hæredes Beneventanam Securitate pro totum Regnum et Terram predictam nisi in Regno et Terra predicta de novo delinquant, propter quod ad nos de jure justicia pertineret.’

<sup>4</sup> ‘Onde conchiude, che spera vantaggi, et non prejudicci dalla Santa Sede, et se tal materia in vita de suoi Progenitori cospicui, et famoso al mondo é stava

bull of May 26, 1351, the former defined and limited the state of Benevento to consist of all territory within twelve miles' radius of the city. That decision, however, did not satisfy his successor, who in 1355 despatched Cardinal-Legates in order to effect further annexations.

Other Angevin domains which must here be adverted to were Piedmontese possessions, which had been acquired by Charles I. from Guelphic allies, who were mindful of his neighbourhood as Hereditary Count of Provence and Forcalquier,—and Albanian, Ionian, and Achaian suzerainties obtained by his treaty with the Emperor Baldwin II. at Viterbo in 1267, as well as by his victory over Manfred at Benevento in the preceding year.

The territories in Piedmont which formed a substantial, if sporadic and uncertain, foothold for the Kings of Naples, included the Marquisates of Saluzzo, Brusca, Carreto, Ceva, and Montferrat, which had more or less voluntarily affiliated themselves. Following their example, several small, and later on some large, Lombard towns, with anti-Ghibelline tendencies, acknowledged the overlordship of the King of Naples, and duly received governors appointed by him, all of whom were to be held referable to his Seneschal of Piedmont. The former group of these North-Italian territories after 1305 being considered as united in one countship, giving the King the title of 'Comes Pedimontis,' Charles II. conferred it upon his son, Raymond Berenger.<sup>1</sup>

The Emperor Baldwin, in the presence of Clement IV. and William Villehardouin, reigning Lord of the Principalities of Achaia and Morea, ceded to Charles I., and invested

addormita, non aparendo mai atto alcuno fatto sopra di ciò, non dovro temere che debbia procedersi contr' una Donna in tempi cosi calamitosi e turbati per lei, a quali spera che debbia rivolger pietoso l' animo La Santita sua e sospender tal negocio.' Fol. 28. Codex Marchese, Bonaito.

<sup>1</sup> After the death of Raymond, the King conferred it upon Robert, then Duke of Calabria, investing him February 17, 1309. On this subject see the able work of C. Merkel of Turin. Cf. M. Camera, *Annali*, vol. i. p. 251.

him with, the suzerainty over that territory as Lord-Paramount, May 27, 1267. Charles betrothed his son Philip to Isabella, the heiress of Villehardouin;<sup>1</sup> but Philip died while yet a child. His son, Charles II., petitioned by Frankish Barons, who were impatient of female government, united Isabella to Florenz of Hainault, an enterprising scion of a foremost Flemish house, and thereafter invested him with the sovereignty in right of his wife. He reserved only the homage due to the crown of Naples; adding a condition that should Isabella again become a widow, no future union on her part, or on the part of any heir-prospective to her dominions, should be considered legitimate unless consent of the King of Naples thereto should be obtained. Isabella and Florenz reigned jointly for five years, but during this period Charles II. transferred suzerainty over their principality to his fourth son, Philip of Taranto, upon the marriage of the latter with Ithamar Comnena (July 12, 1294), daughter of Nicephorus Dukas, Despot of Epirus and Arta, and Anna Cantacuzenos.<sup>2</sup> With this lady he moreover received as her dowry the towns of Naupactos, Angelocastron, Vonitza, and Vrachori. After the death of Florenz, Isabella was married, yet a third time, to Philip of Savoy. She died in 1311, leaving Matilda,<sup>3</sup> her daughter by Florenz, and wife of Guy de la Roche, Duke of Athens, heiress to her dominions. The tragic story of this lady, illustrated by fresh documents, will be found embodied in the ensuing narrative.

These possessions, therefore, added to the Corfiote and Epirote dowerlands seized from Helena,<sup>4</sup> widow of Manfred,

<sup>1</sup> Villehardouin reserved to himself merely the usufruct. He died in 1278, his son-in-law, Philip, preceding him by a year. This left Isabella and her rights entirely under the influence of Charles I. and the Holy See. Cf. Buchon, *Nouvelles Recherches Historiques sur la Principauté Française de Morée*, tom. i. pp. 201-203, 230. Del Giudice, *Cod. Diplom.*, vol. ii. p. 34.

<sup>2</sup> Niece of Emperor Michael VIII.

<sup>3</sup> Mahaut—Matilda—Maud—Maât.

<sup>4</sup> Daughter of Michael Angelo Comnenos. Corfù formed part of her dower. Helena was aunt to Ithamar, above-mentioned.

by Charles I., formed a rich nucleus around which it became the vain ambition of his successors to create a Græco-Latin Empire, combining in themselves both suzerainty and sovereignty. It is by the light of this aspiration that certain episodes in the lives of the Angevin Princes of Taranto must be viewed.

Chief among the conditions exacted by the Holy See from the Angevin rulers of Naples were the following :—

1. If the sovereign leave no direct heir, the crown shall revert freely to the Holy See, to dispose of as she may deem befitting.

2. Both male and female heirs shall be recognised, and the eldest born of either sex shall have precedence, but the male sex over the female.

3. Collateral heirs, as far as the fourth grade of consanguinity, shall be able to claim.

4. If any unmarried female shall succeed, she shall be obliged to take a husband who is competent to govern and defend the realm, and who has obtained consent of the Holy See. She shall take to herself no husband who is not a Catholic and devoted to the Holy See. If she violates this condition, it shall be lawful for the Pontiff to deprive her of the realm without judicial ceremony.

5. No illegitimate offspring shall inherit.

6. Homage for succession shall be rendered to the Pontiff as he may decide; within six months, if he is in Italy: within a year, if he is beyond. Moreover, it shall be rendered afresh to each successive Pontiff.

7. The sovereign shall swear that in nowise will he (or she) procure, directly or indirectly, himself (or herself) to be nominated King or Emperor of the Romans, King of Germany, or Lord of Lombardy; and if such nomination shall occur, the ruler of Naples shall not give his or her assent or effect to it.

8. It shall not be lawful to divide the dominion.

9. A tribute of eight thousand ounces of gold<sup>1</sup> shall be paid to the Sovereign Pontiff annually on the festival of SS. Peter and Paul. If this is not paid fully within two months of the date appointed, the sovereign shall fall under sentence of excommunication. If, however, it be not paid within four months, the kingdom shall be placed under interdict. If, still further, it be not paid within six months, the kingdom shall be forfeited, and shall revert to the Holy See,—the suzerain.

10. Every three years, at the festival of SS. Peter and Paul, the King shall present the Pontiff with a white horse.<sup>2</sup>

11. If war is being carried on in the Ecclesiastical territories, there shall be retained, at the expense of the King of Naples, for three months, three hundred men-at-arms in aid of the Church.

12. Benevento and its territory shall be reserved to the Church, and materials for restoration shall be obtained from the realm at a reasonable price.

13. The ecclesiastical freedom of election, nomination, and dealing with prelaties shall not be interfered with.

14. All laws formulated by Frederick II., Conrad, and Manfred adverse to Ecclesiastical dignity shall be annulled.

15. Neither Charles of Anjou nor his successors shall, under any circumstances, make leagues with Saracens, schismatics, or with Catholics hostile to the Church of Rome.<sup>3</sup>

The title of King of Jerusalem, that Legion of Honour of

<sup>1</sup> In later times this became 7000 ducats of gold, the reduction having been effected by Leo X. For information as to the tribute paid by the Norman and Suabian sovereigns of Naples, *cf.* Raynaldus, A.D. 1139, c. 13.

<sup>2</sup> China. *Comp.* Haquenée, Span. Hacanea. This custom was finally abolished by Ferdinand IV. in 1787.

<sup>3</sup> These conditions, I need scarcely add, are abridged from the originals, drawn

mediæval monarchs, borne by all the Angevin sovereigns of Naples, was acquired by purchase on the part of Charles I. in 1277 from Maria, daughter of Bohemond IV., Prince of Antioch, and Milissenda, (daughter of Amalric de Lusignan and Isabella, Queen of Jerusalem,) of her rights over that realm.<sup>1</sup> For this reason Charles dates his letters by his respective accessions to Naples and Jerusalem thus: 'En l'an de l'incarnation Nostre Seigneur mil deus cens soisante dis e sept, le vint e setieme jour de octobre de la sizieme indicion,<sup>2</sup> l'anné premierainne de nostre roiaume de Jerusalem, et de nostre roiaume de Sécile l'année trezieme.' As a matter of fact, Hugo III., (de Lusignan,) King of Cyprus, claimed and used the title to the prejudice of the 'Demoiselle de Jerusalem,' and in 1272 was summoned by Gregory X. to appear before the Sacred College in order to make good his claim. This Tribunal, needless to say, established the claims of Maria, and the cession of these by her to King Charles transferred at least the arms of the Holy City to the already rich shield of Anjou.

The domain which King Robert, third son of Charles II.,

up in May 1265, and confirmed by the Pope at Perugia in November of that year. Cf. Raynaldus ad ann. 1265, 14-20.

<sup>1</sup> Mart. 18. Ind. V. M. Turri S. Erasmi prope Capuam. Carolus I. Rex Siciliae, Mariæ dictæ Domicellæ Hierosolymitanæ quæ jura sua Regni Hierosolymitani ipsi cesserat, quattuor millia librarum Turonensium annualium confirmat. (Minieri-Riccio, Genealogia di Carlo I. di Angio. Napoli, 1857, p. 142, No. 16, note. Filia quondam Bohemundi. IV. principis Antiochiæ cognata Hugonis III. regis Cypri, cujus post coronationem (September 24, 1269) Tyri factam dicti regni Hierosolymitani coronam sibi deferendam esse in Curia Romana protestata jura sua anno 1277 Carolo I. supradicta cessit. Cf. R. Röhrich, Archives de l'Orient-Latin, 641-642, note 35. De Mas-Latrie, Hist. de l'Île de Cypre, 1, 425, 430, 445, 454-457. Regesta Regni Hierosolymitani, R. Röhrich, 1893.

<sup>2</sup> While the Imperial Indictions commenced on September 24, the Angevins of Naples followed the Byzantine system, and observed Indictions of fifteen-year cycles, commencing on September 1. As a rule, also, their documents are not dated, as are Pontifical ones, by the Roman style of Kalends, Ides, and Nones. Cf. Les Archives Angevines de Naples, Paul Durrieu, tom. i. p. 201, and Trésor de Chronologie, p. De Mas-Latrie.

ruled was not confined then by the ports or passes of Abruzzi or Apulia : hence the wide political expanse involved in treating of his reign. The materials likewise are voluminous; and definitiveness cannot here be attempted. Whether in the following outlines I have in any sense even adequately suggested my ground will be for critics to determine; at any rate, I am not unconscious of my shortcomings, and there is no likelihood of their inability to correct errors. But perhaps it will be borne in mind that even Italian literature so far possesses no work of the kind here attempted upon this subject, but merely fragmentary instalments contributed at various dates by many hands. Although not a few of these are of scarcely appreciable worth, many are of enduring value, and the ensuing pages will reveal themselves their debtors. But I am reminded that my debts are not limited to Italian, Hungarian, and French authors or archivists. I take this occasion to thank the learned Monsignore Franz Ehrle, now the enlightened Director of the Vatican Library, and Monsignore Peter Wenzel, 'Primo Custode' of the Vatican Archives, for affording me every assistance; and with their names I desire to couple that of my kind and patient friend, Mr. W. Bliss, to whom every contemporary English-speaking student whose prospecting lies among the unpublished riches of the Pontifical Registers<sup>1</sup> has owed, and, I trust, paid, grateful tribute. My thanks

<sup>1</sup> It speaks for the interest taken in the subject and period (at least, of Queen Joan I.) that since two years ago, when the writer acquainted one of the more eminent contributors to the 'Archivio Storico per le Province Napoletane' with the fact that he had made copies of a large number of letters relating to her in the Vatican Archives, another energetic contributor to it has likewise obtained access to them, and is now carefully printing them in that journal. But whereas Signor Cerasoli has almost confined himself to letters actually addressed to that Queen, I have extended my attention to the not less important letters addressed to Legates and officials environing her, as well as those to King Philip VI. of France, her uncle, and especially those to Catherine of Taranto and Agnes of Durazzo, to which I venture to recommend attention, which has hitherto been denied them, in view of the parts played by those ladies in the events which culminated in the tragedy at Aversa.

are likewise due to Canon Camera, of Amalfi, for the access granted to a precious codex in his possession, containing many of the Letters of Queen Joan.

It is further only necessary to mention that this work, though a portion of it covers some of the ground touched on by the author in a former rough outline of the long and eventful career of Joanna I. of Naples, is entirely a new one, and does not incorporate former writing.

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ROBERT THE WISE



# ROBERT THE WISE

## CHAPTER I

### NAPLES, SICILY, AND HUNGARY

CHARLES OF ANJOU,<sup>1</sup> whom Pope Clement IV. had invested with the sovereignty of Naples and Sicily as vassal to the Holy See, had married Beatrice Berenger, Countess of Provence, sister to the Queens of England and France. Thus Naples, Sicily, and Provence became united under one ruler.

In the sixteenth year of his reign Charles lost Sicily through the outburst known to history as the Sicilian Vespers, and the calling in on the part of the Sicilians of the Aragonese dynasty. In the following year, while himself absent in France, his son, Charles the Lamé, was captured in a sea-fight by Ruggiero di Loria, the Calabrian Admiral in command of the Aragonese fleet, and was carried captive to Sicily, and thence to Spain. The King died<sup>2</sup> at the commencement of 1285, leaving his not-intact dominions to his imprisoned heir, in whose enforced absence, however, affairs of the realm had to be administered by a Papal Legate and Robert, Count of Artois, in the name of the captive monarch's eldest son, Charles Martel. The latter was but fourteen years of age.<sup>3</sup>

Charles II., whose reign began under these inauspicious circumstances, was the consort of Mary, at once daughter of Stephen V. and sister of the reigning Ladislaus of Hungary. By her he had issue eight sons and five daughters, namely,

<sup>1</sup> Brother of Louis IX. of France.

<sup>2</sup> At Foggia.

<sup>3</sup> Born 1271.

Charles Martel; Louis (later Bishop of Toulouse);<sup>1</sup> Robert the Wise; <sup>2</sup> Philip, Prince of Taranto (2); Raimond Berenger, Count of Andria; Tristan; <sup>3</sup> John, Count of Gravina (later Prince of Achaia, and finally Duke of Durazzo); and Peter, Count of Eboli. The daughters were Maria, Bianca, Margaret, Beatrice, and Leonora.

Charles Martel, the first-born, after long-protracted negotiations, was united in 1287 to Clemenza, daughter of Rudolph of Hapsburg, King of the Romans, he being then but sixteen years of age.<sup>4</sup> In 1288 was born to them Carobert, or Charles Robert, taking the name of Robert from his kinsman, the Viceroy, Robert II., Count of Artois. The freedom of King Charles was obtained in November of the same year, under Pope Nicholas IV., by the treaty of Campo-Franco.<sup>5</sup> Until all the conditions of the said treaty should be fulfilled, however, Alfonso of Aragon exacted of Charles that in his stead should be handed over to him his three sons, Charles Martel, Louis, and Robert, together with seventy knights. The two latter sons being then at Bagnols in Provence, were accordingly delivered to Alfonso two days after the liberation of their father. The first-born and heir to the crown of Naples was to be handed over within ten months. As his substitute, however, another son, Raymond Berenger, was surrendered later on.

James, King of Sicily, brother of Alfonso, King of Aragon, was roused to fury on learning of the liberation of their prisoner, and at once, and upon his own account, re-opened war upon Naples. Guelphic Lucca and Florence, on the other hand, manifested their satisfaction by receiving King

<sup>1</sup> Canonised 1317, by John XXII.

<sup>2</sup> Born 1278 (April?), at Torre di S. Erasmo, near Capua.

<sup>3</sup> 'Tristan fino la soa vita nel anno vii. de soa eta.' MS. Cron. D. Acciajuoli.

<sup>4</sup> Married during the captivity of his father.

<sup>5</sup> 28th October 1288. By this treaty he was bound to procure a three years' truce between Aragon and France. Charles of Valois was to renounce his investiture to the former kingdom by Martin IV. He was to pay 30,000 marks of silver to the King of Aragon, and if those conditions were not fulfilled, Charles was sworn to return to captivity in a year's date.

Charles with state feasts and tournaments and the giving of gifts. On the 5th of May 1289, after a brief stay in the latter city, the King journeyed to Rieti, where the Pope then was, in order to persuade him, according to agreements in the treaty, to make peace with James and Alfonso, and to procure from him his own coronation, together with that of his Queen.

Nicholas received Charles with due honour, but peremptorily declared the treaty to be null and void, impious and invalid, forasmuch as the kingdom of Naples and Sicily being vassal to the Holy See, Charles was not empowered to alienate any portion of it. He therefore interdicted the King from fulfilling any of the conditions or surrendering his eldest son. He made him take oath of fealty for the entire dominions of the House of Naples. Further, he menaced Edward of England, as the guarantee of an invalid treaty, with his interdict if he should maintain any of the financial forfeitures contained in it. 'This decree was the most monstrous exercise of the absolving power which had ever been advanced in the face of Christendom; it struck at the root of all chivalrous honour, at the faith of all treaties. It declared, in fact, that no treaty was to be maintained with any one engaged in what the Holy See might pronounce an unjust war,—that is, a war contrary to her interests.'<sup>1</sup> On the Day of Pentecost the Pope crowned Charles King of Jerusalem and Sicily.<sup>2</sup> In July the latter entered Naples, knighted his son Charles Martel, assembled Parliament, and in August moved at the head of his army toward Gaeta, which was then being blockaded by James of Sicily. Thence, after establishing a truce of two years' duration with his foe, he returned early in September to his capital, where he invested Charles Martel with the principality of Salerno and the Honour of Monte St. Angelo, entirely dismissing the idea of placing him in the hands of the King of Aragon. His younger sons, nevertheless, remained prisoners at Sara-

<sup>1</sup> Milman, *Latin Christ.*, vol. vi. p. 449.

<sup>2</sup> June 19, 1289. M. Amari, *La Guerra del Vespro Siciliano*, vol. ii. ad. an.

gossa.<sup>1</sup> Alfonso presently died, and James of Sicily succeeded him on the throne of Aragon, leaving in turn a younger brother, Frederick, as his Viceroy in Sicily.

Failing to procure from France the desired renunciation of the Spanish investiture of Charles of Valois, as hopes were there entertained of some day enforcing possession by arms, King Charles returned toward Spain in order to re-surrender himself. No one, however, appearing at the stipulated frontier post to represent the King of Aragon, he withdrew (Oct. 12, 1289),<sup>2</sup> a free man.

A little later, as a bribe to Charles of Valois to renounce his Spanish claims, the King gave him his daughter **Clemenza** in marriage, with Anjou and Maine for her dower.<sup>3</sup>

Here it is necessary to make what, at first sight, must seem an abrupt transition, and turn to the affairs of Hungary, seeing they are of great and immediate moment to all the personages of the ensuing narrative.

It has already been shown that the two reigning dynasties of Naples and Hungary were united by the marriage of Maria, sister of King Ladislaus, with Charles II. In 1290 Ladislaus paid the penalty for his many crimes, being assassinated by the leaders of a Cumanian horde at Körösszeg.<sup>4</sup> He left no children, and three days after his death his cousin Andrew, son of Stephen (the second son of Andrew II.<sup>5</sup>) and Tommasina Morosini, was crowned as the nearest male representative of the race of Arpad.

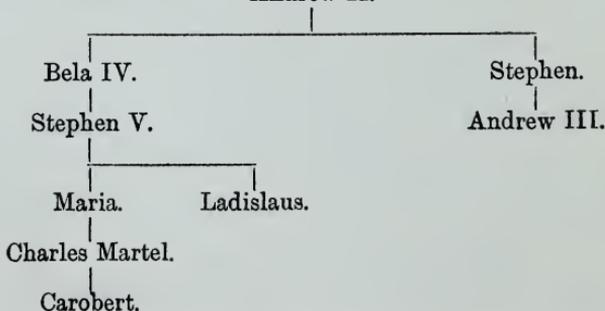
<sup>1</sup> Cf. Rymer, i. 3, 31, 33.

<sup>2</sup> Lünig, Codex Diplom., tom. ii. 1035.

<sup>3</sup> Lünig, op. cit., tom. ii. 1042.

<sup>4</sup> July 16, 1290.

<sup>5</sup> Andrew II.



If, however, descent in the female line had been taken account of, not only would Charles Martel, as the son of Maria, have claimed his uncle's crown, but Wenceslaus, King of Bohemia, as descendant of Andrew I., might likewise have demanded it. In face of these critical circumstances, and far-fallen from her previous prosperity by reason of the evil reign of Ladislaus, it was manifest Hungary was entering upon a period of civil strife; although the prince, in Carobert of Naples-Anjou, was already born who was destined to restore her original brightness. Nevertheless, whatever pretensions might be put forward by actual kinsfolk, or whoever, by force of fortune, might succeed in substantiating a claim to the throne, it was soon perceived that the question opened yet another avenue for contest between the Empire and the Holy See. Rudolph of Hapsburg advanced an imperial right to the throne of Hungary,<sup>1</sup> on the ground of an agreement made between Bela IV. and the Emperor Frederick II.; while, on the other hand, Pope Nicholas maintained that the true sovereign of the realm could be none other than the Holy See.<sup>2</sup> Rudolph despatched his son Albert to invade Hungary and drive out Andrew, conferring on him at the same time the title of King of Hungary. From France and Rome the rights of Maria and her son Charles Martel were promptly advertised. It was manifest the Pope would support the Angevin cause. As, however, Charles Martel had espoused Rudolph's daughter Clemenza, a compromise in her favour was suggested, in order to satisfy both parties. In any case, both were opposed to Andrew.

Nicholas IV. now sent legates to Hungary<sup>3</sup> to report upon the state of the realm, as well as to Rudolph, in order

<sup>1</sup> Cf. A. Theiner, *Veter. Monum. Hungar.*, i. 590, 593-598.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Pray, *Annal.*, 330, 359. 'Stephanus Rex Hungariæ ab ipsa sede accipit humiliter coronam et regnum.' *Epist. Bonif. VIII.* Theiner, *Vet. Mon. Hungar. Hist.*, i. 599. Gregory VII. claimed Hungary as a fief of the Holy See.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. *Genealogia di Carlo II.*, p. 22. Minieri-Riccio. *Monum. Hungar., Acta extera.*, i. n. 96, p. 78.

to remonstrate with him. Charles II. at the same time despatched three bishops and several jurists across the Adriatic, in order to proclaim the rights of his queen, Maria, to receive oaths of homage from the magnates of the kingdom, and to assume the administration in her name.

Meanwhile Andrew had not been idle. At the head of a formidable army he not only defeated the forces of Albert of Hapsburg, but crossing the Leitha, he entered Austria, and drove his enemy to the very gates of Vienna and Neustadt. In the turmoil of these events Rudolph died, and the King of Servia, taking advantage of the intrigues of the Holy See, invaded Bosnia and asked for the Papal benediction. The majority of the Hungarians, however, recognised Andrew, and rejoiced in his warlike successes. Peace between Austria and Hungary was patched up by the Archbishop of Gran.

Beyond the adherence of certain Dalmatian magnates and the stirring up of intrigues against Andrew, the Angevins made but little progress in their cause until 1292,<sup>1</sup> when Maria, while at Aix in Provence, issued a proclamation solemnly surrendering her entire rights to the Hungarian crown in favour of her son. The regal insignia were forwarded to the latter at Naples, where he was still fulfilling the duties of Viceroy. He despatched envoys to Dalmatia conveying this news, and begging full recognition of his dignity. Charles II. likewise addressed letters<sup>2</sup> to all the prelates of Hungary, informing them of the said cession, and promising special favours to Hungarian commerce with Naples.

As yet, however, these efforts met with but slender reward. Andrew wedded the daughter of his former foe, Albert of Austria, and gained further advantages by the death of the Pope,<sup>3</sup> and the interregnum of two years which

<sup>1</sup> January 6, 1292. Fejér, *Cod. Dipl.*, vi. 1, 191. *Monum. Hungar., Acta externa*, i. n. 100, p. 82.

<sup>2</sup> *Cf. Minieri-Riccio*, op. cit., p. 23.

<sup>3</sup> April 4, 1292.

followed. Nevertheless, after the death of Rudolph in 1291, the force of ecclesiastical intrigue had made itself more and more ominously felt in Hungary. The Angevin, weakened by his struggle with Aragon and Sicily, did not actually take the field, and Charles II. at this moment was compelled by treaty to live outside his rightful dominions, still leaving Charles Martel his substitute at Naples. His other sons, Louis, Robert, and Raymond Berenger, remained hostages in Spain.

The time was approaching, however, when modifications effected in the treaty with Aragon would permit the King's free return to his realm. The first deed in which Charles Martel takes to himself the title of King of Hungary belongs to June 12, 1292, after which date various purchases of jewels and conferments of property point to the assumption by him and his Queen Clemenza of a state befitting their new dignity. We then find him bribing the Venetian Republic by granting its commerce marked favours to disturb Andrew. He created the King of Servia's son Ladislaus, Duke of Slavonia, and gave liberal concessions of Hungarian territory to his declared friends. Hungarians now began to frequent the court of Naples more freely. Meanwhile, Charles Martel, finding it difficult to raise money sufficient for war, sought to obtain a loan from the Florentine Republic. But the Signoria, though replying courteously, declined to lend, ostensibly on account of its own necessities at the moment, but, doubtless, with shrewd regard to the financial embarrassments of his father, King Charles II.

The Cardinals having failed in electing a successor to Nicholas IV., were occupied for two years with quarrels among themselves, the Conclave including six Romans (among them two Colonna and one Orsini), four Italians, and two Frenchmen. Foremost among the Italians was Benedetto Gaetani,<sup>1</sup> famous later on as Pope Boniface VIII. Cardinal Orsini and his colleagues, influenced by Robert,

<sup>1</sup> He figures in the accounts of the Royal household at Naples as far back as 1278.

Count of Artois, and Bartolommeo da Capua, were bent upon electing a pontiff who would efficiently support the Angevin. The Colonnese, on the other hand, were bent upon acquiring the supreme dignity for their family.<sup>1</sup>

Toward the close of 1293, Charles II. came to an agreement with James of Aragon,<sup>2</sup> and notified to his son in Naples that his permanent return to the realm was at hand, commanding him at the same time to meet him at Florence. Accordingly, in February following, Charles Martel set out by way of Capua, San Germano, and Ceprano, and reached Siena on March 2nd.<sup>3</sup> There he was welcomed by a numerous and honourable company of Florentines, among whom we know Dante, then twenty-nine years of age (or six years the senior of Charles Martel), was present. It is possible that among the pleasures he enjoyed at Siena, the King of Hungary may have especially prized that of having listened to the illustrious poet.<sup>4</sup>

Charles II. with Maria, quitting the Riviera, descended, *via* Lucca, to the City of Lilies,<sup>5</sup> where they were splendidly received and entertained for four days, in company with the King of Hungary. Thence they passed on to Perugia, where the Conclave had again assembled, though apparently in vain. On the announcement of the approach of the royal party, two Cardinals went forth of the gate of the city to conduct them in state to the Duomo, where they were welcomed, and presently embraced by the rest of the Sacred College. The two kings remained at Perugia for nine days. Impatient of their continued disagreements, Charles, prior to his departure, ventured to address the Cardinals on the subject of their differences. To this, although the Latin Cardinal replied mildly, Cardinal Gaetani returned bitter

<sup>1</sup> G. Villani, viii. v. 346.

<sup>2</sup> They met and came to terms near Tunquera in November. Zurita, *Annales*, lib. v. c. 8.

<sup>3</sup> 1294.

<sup>4</sup> Parad., viii. v. 34-37, 55-57.

<sup>5</sup> Charles was in Florence on March 11 : at Siena on the 15th : at Perugia from the 21st to the 29th.

and haughty words. The two sovereigns then quitted Perugia, and entering the kingdom by way of Aquila and Sulmona, reached the capital on April 11.

The King now lost no time in throwing his energies into the cause of Charles Martel. Letters were despatched informing Croatian magnates that until his return with his Queen to Naples had been effected, he had been unable to equip an expedition under a trustworthy captain in his son's interests; but that now he was returned for good, the action of his Parliament had determined him to take befitting measures for that purpose.

In the following month (July 5, 1294), while at Melfi, Charles received the news of the extraordinary election of Pietro Morrone, the hermit of Monte Majella, near Sulmona, to the Pontificate, as Celestine V. Upon this, leaving Naples to the care of Philip of Taranto, his fourth son, and accompanied by Charles Martel and a noble retinue, he journeyed to Sulmona. Thither, likewise, the Archbishop of Lyons, with two Bishops, had been despatched in order to inform the happy anchorite of his bewildering honours. With difficulty, it may be imagined, these prelates climbed the rocks leading to the old man's cave. How he received them, protested his unfitness for the supreme dignity, tried to elude these episcopal envoys, was recaptured by them, and conveyed down to the plain, was there menaced with divine vengeance by Cardinal Malebranca if he should persist in opposing the evident will of Heaven, may be read in the metrical account of Cardinal Jacobo in the collection of Muratori.<sup>1</sup>

On the 25th July the quasi-imbecile Pontiff was robed in full pontifical splendour, placed upon an ass, and surrounded by chanting choirs and a multitude of clerics and monks. Accompanied by the two kings and their magnificent cortège of nobles and magnates, he left Sulmona, and passed along her spacious valley to Aquila. On

<sup>1</sup> S. R. I. Muratori, tom. v. p. 616.

the 27th the entire population of the latter town came out to receive the saintly Pope, who entered their city riding upon an ass: King Charles, their sovereign, holding one rein, and Charles Martel, titular King of Hungary, the other. Successfully pleading against the arduous journey to Perugia, Celestine was permitted to remain at Aquila, where the other Cardinals were duly collected. On August 27, he was led to his coronation at Sta. Maria di Collemaggio, just without the city, where the jewelled mitre was placed upon his head by Matteo Rosso, Cardinal of Sta. Maria-in-Portico, and he was anointed by the French Cardinal of Sta. Sabina, taking the style of Celestine V.

The importance of this event to the King of Naples could not be underrated. He made full use of it. At his dictation it was established that the new Pontiff should reside at Naples, and forthwith apartments were made ready for him in the Castello Nuovo, whither he repaired in October following. Twelve new Cardinals were created, seven of whom were French and three Neapolitans. The final settlement of the treaty between Naples and Aragon promptly received the Papal sanction. Celestine made himself a sort of dungeon-cell in the castle, but presently proclaimed his intention of resigning his pontifical functions. He obeyed all the wishes of the King: he sanctioned the union of Ithamar Comnena<sup>1</sup> with Philip of Taranto, and conferred the Archbishopric of Lyons upon Louis, the King's second son. Meanwhile, King Andrew further bespoke the favour of his Magyar subjects, who above all things prized the exercise of their choice in the selection of their rulers, by refusing to beg his coronation from the Holy See.

On December 13, 1294, Cardinal Gaetani succeeded in effecting the deposition of the lawfully-elected Pope; and Celestine, restored to his hair-shirt, discrowned and de-

<sup>1</sup> Daughter of Nicephoras Ducas, despot of Arta and Acarnania, and Anna Cantacuzenos.

throned, was handed over to the custody of the Abbot of Monte Cassino,<sup>1</sup> whose brethren (seeing that Celestine had compelled them to adopt the grey Celestine habit and lay aside their time-honoured black<sup>2</sup>) probably entertained little good-will toward their captive.

Having taken to himself the style of Boniface VIII., Gaetani now sent the Abbot of Monte Cassino to the island of Martana, in the lake of Bolsena, where he shortly died — ‘col pane della tribulazione, e coll acqua dell’ amarezza.’<sup>3</sup>

In January 1295, leaving Philip of Taranto once more Viceroy, the two kings<sup>4</sup> journeyed to Rome in company with Gaetani, whose coronation as Pope was appointed to take place with surpassing splendour of ceremony, and in which both (to Dante’s righteous, if severe, distaste) were once again to perform menial functions. In Boniface, who had rebuked him at Perugia, Charles recognised his master, to whom it behoved him to be subservient. In the King’s cousin, Philip le Bel of France, however, Boniface himself was destined to find his own high-handed antagonist.

But I remind myself that this is not a history of the kings of France, but, so far, merely a condensed exposition of the more salient circumstances antecedent to the separation of the Angevin crowns of Hungary and Naples, that separation so fraught with tragic moment to both kingdoms.

Villani tells us of the procedure which the adroit Gaetani adopted in order to gain to his own election the influence of the King of Naples. ‘King Charles, your Pope Celestine both wished and possessed the means to serve you, but he knew not how. Wherefore, if you will influence the Cardinals in my behalf, you will find that I not only possess the power and the will, but the understanding

<sup>1</sup> Angelario, a Celestine, who had just been appointed by the Pope.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Luigi Tosti, *Storie della Badia di Monte Cassino*, iii. 36–37.

<sup>3</sup> Benvenuto da Imola, *Antiq. Medioevi*. Muratori, tom. i. 1248.

<sup>4</sup> During the absence of Carlo Martello and Clemenza at Rome, their children were left to the care of Nicolas Drugeth.

how to use them.'<sup>1</sup> The Conclave had sat in the royal palace at Naples, and the result of the voting placed upon the throne of St. Peter the most superb autocrat the Holy See has ever known. The Colonna Cardinals, who were professing Ghibellines, were deeply displeased, and Boniface did not forget to take ample note of their ill-will. He did not intend to be the creature of the Angevin. He had the passion and the ability to dominate.

Nevertheless, it was not the turbulent Roman nobles, so much dreaded by former pontiffs, or the armed monarchs of France and England, now at quarrel, who gave Boniface cause of uneasiness. It was the squalid half-imbecile Celestine, whose person in the hands of his enemies might seriously weaken his deposer's position. It is probable the aforesaid Abbot of Monte Cassino was sent to his death for conniving at the flight of Celestine from the monastery back to Sulmona. The agents of Boniface were now upon the track of the miserable fugitive. He and his brethren made vain attempts to conceal themselves. In April 1295 he had reached the coast of the Adriatic with the intention of hiding in Dalmatia. But a storm at Viesti prevented his embarking. The emissaries of King Charles there overtook him, and being charged to bring him back to Capua, they presently despatched him thence to Boniface at Anagni. The latter is said to have used him harshly. He was kept captive in a cell in Castel Fumone, where he died in May 1296.

For this delivery Boniface could be grateful to Charles II. as well as for his own election. He repaid the benefits in an opportune manner by completing the treaty between Naples and Aragon. Celestine had granted dispensations for the union of James of Aragon with Bianca, daughter of the King of Naples, and that of Robert, the latter's third son, with Violante, the sister of James. Boniface gave effect to them, and to that of Margaret, third daughter of Charles II., with her cousin Charles of Valois (brother of Philip le Bel), who was

<sup>1</sup> G. Villani, lib. viii. cap. 6.

now persuaded to renounce his Navarrese claim. This batch of conventions was at the same time augmented by Charles Martel making formal surrender of the Countship of Anjou and Maine, in order to form the dowry of his sister Margaret.

In July 1295 King Charles conducted Bianca, his second daughter, to her future husband's dominions in Spain, there to receive back his hostages in the persons of his sons Louis and Robert and their companions. On St. John's Day Boniface issued a bull threatening with excommunication any who should disturb the established peace. On November 2, Louis, Robert, and Raimond Berenger were released.

In August, however, while the King of Naples was still absent in Spain, Charles Martel and his Queen Clemenza died, it is believed, of the plague. Their three children, Carobert, Clemenza, and Beatrice, now passed to the guardianship of their Hungarian grandmother, Queen Maria. It is not certain that their mother died of the epidemic, or that she died on the same day as her husband; but as she was devoted to him, neither supposition is improbable. Both were buried in the Cathedral of San Gennaro, and the burden of their affairs fell upon Maria, whose administration thereof was ratified by the Pontiff.

The island of Sicily, now under the governance of Frederick, the youngest brother of the King of Aragon, had not, however, been frightened or deluded into any real surrender. To effect this, Boniface adroitly proposed that Frederick should espouse Catherine Courtenay, granddaughter and heiress of the dethroned Emperor Baldwin II., whom he described as Empress of Constantinople, and promised that the Western powers should unite to realise his claims. He likewise urged her to marry Frederick. But her title and empire were of too phantasmal a nature to satisfy the advisers of Frederick. Nor would the lady herself, guided doubtless by Philip le Bel, accede to the Pope's proposition. Hatred to the French continued to animate the Sicilians, and alluring promises of immunities and

exemptions failed to relax their allegiance to the Spaniard of their own choosing. Frederick and Boniface soon came into collision, with result that the Papal Legate quitted Messina in terror. Frederick caused himself to be crowned at Palermo in March 1296, and on Ascension Day following he and his island-realm were held up to the execration of a not altogether unanimous Christendom. The war which ensued lasted throughout the pontificate of Boniface, but did not subdue the sea-girt Aragonese and his faithful Sicilian subjects.

The death of Charles Martel proved to be an event of far-reaching importance. Personally he was lamented as a prince of real promise, whose influence upon Italian affairs was looked upon as fraught with good hope. Beyond this consideration, however, by the death of his first-born, King Charles found himself confronted with the question of the succession to the throne of Hungary. The son of Charles Martel, Carobert, was but seven years old, and was presumptive heir to the crown of Naples as well as to that of Hungary.

Charles lost no time in stimulating his Dalmatian partisans in favour of Carobert, and Andrew III., who had cause to rejoice at the decease of his Angevin rival, soon discovered that the Holy See and the Court of Naples harboured no intention of relaxing their efforts against him.

Now, however, there came upon the scene the third son of King Charles, namely Robert, freed from his long captivity in Spain, seventeen years of age, a soldier, and ambitious. Louis, his elder brother, probably influenced by Arnaldo da Villanova, had embraced the religious life, and had already been created an Archbishop by Celestine, and renounced political affairs. Whether the unfitness of the youthful Carobert for the government of the two realms, to which in case of his grandfather's death he would assuredly succeed, suggested itself first to Charles or to Boniface, is perhaps not possible to determine. While his

claim to the throne of Hungary could not be resigned, his claim to that of Naples could not yet arise. The extension of Angevin domination must not be curtailed. On the other hand, Robert was of an age and demeanour which made him a promising instrument for strengthening the exhausted kingdom, for battling with the fragmentary Ghibelline powers, and for carrying on the inevitable war for the recovery of Sicily. Furthermore, for spending six years in captivity as hostage for his father, the latter had reason to be grateful and to favour him. It is certain that King Charles held a grand council<sup>1</sup> at Naples, the result of which was that Robert, within six months of his eldest brother's death, was knighted, created Duke of Calabria, and finally conceded the right of primogeniture.<sup>2</sup> Envoys were then sent to Boniface from each of the universities of the realm in order to obtain his countenance. Boniface took time to consider the whole question of the succession to the vassal kingdom, and finally decided that he should be successor and heir to King Charles II. who of his sons should, at the King's demise, have attained his majority.<sup>3</sup>

Robert, now named Vicar-General of the kingdom, was the individual so favourably pointed to by the decision. His marriage with Violante of Aragon was now celebrated with much splendour at Rome, in the presence of the Pontiff, King Charles II., and James, King of Aragon.<sup>4</sup> This being

<sup>1</sup> February 13, 1296.

<sup>2</sup> February 2, 1297.

<sup>3</sup> February 24, 1297. Concerning the legality of this declaration by Boniface, cf. Luigi da Piacenza, 'Történelmi Tár,' vol. xxiii., L. Óváry. This preference of an uncle to a grandson in the matter of royal succession did not spring upon Christendom for the first time on this occasion. Sancho IV. of Castile had asserted his right to the throne against his nephews, the grandsons of Alfonso X. His claim was ratified by a Cortes against the Will of Alfonso. This led to war between that King's grandsons, Ferdinand IV. and Alfonso XI. on the one hand, and Sancho on the other. In fact, the cases were somewhat similar, although war did not ensue upon King Robert succeeding to Charles, owing presumably, to the circumstances retaining Carobert in Hungary, and the latter's youthfulness.

<sup>4</sup> April 1297.

determined, the Holy See felt bound to give fresh impulse to the Hungarian claims of Carobert. Queen Maria left nothing undone that could forward her grandson's claims. At her instance the Pope created a bishopric of Sebenico. He likewise despatched legates into Dalmatia armed with powers to push the Angevin cause to a satisfactory conclusion. It is from this moment that the vigour of real life was infused into the hitherto desultory conduct of that cause. Although the Hungarians did not desire an Italian-French importation, far less a creature of the Holy See, in a little boy of twelve years, to be their ruler, the nation was by no means well at unity. The quarrels of the magnates, and of the various races that composed it, over-crowded even the resolution of Andrew. He held an important conference at Pesth, which was attended by both magnates and clergy. From this, however, the Archbishop of Gran, Primate of Hungary, absented himself, as also did the powerful Counts Brebir. Nevertheless, a fresh declaration of confidence in Andrew was passed, and those assembled swore to honour him as their legitimate monarch.

On the other hand, the Archbishop of Gran now offered plenary indulgence of a year and forty days to all who should obey the ruling of the Holy See. Hungary, therefore, found herself beset on all sides, from without as well as from within. Andrew's matrimonial alliance with the Hapsburg had gained him nothing. The pretensions of the future King of the Romans to the crown of Hungary, though he was worsted in the field, were not by any means extinguished. Nothing to augment Andrew's difficulties was now required but excommunication, and this was presently launched at him and his subjects, with malediction surpassing in awfulness even that hurled by Clement IV. at Conradin.

By birth a Ghibelline, Boniface had become transformed through his elevation to the pontificate into a Guelph. The Orsini were Guelphs, and they had supported him in the

Conclave against the Colonnese, who, of course, were Ghibellines. He was now determined to abase still further the eviscerated Empire by humiliating the chief among her Roman supporters. In 1298 the King of the Romans, Adolph of Nassau, who had been declared deposed by the electors, encountered his rival, Albert of Austria, in the field, at Gellheim, near Worms, and was slain. On the head of Albert now fell the Papal interdict, but, in order to gain strength for his cause in the quarrel which broke out between himself and the King of France, the Pope soon withdrew it, and permitted the usurper to establish his claims, in order to offer him the French throne, which he pronounced to be vacant. The Empire so called had thus become the puppet of the Papacy. Before the close of the same year the Pope launched his imperious bull against the Colonna family, depriving the two Cardinals Jacopo and Pietro of their hats, and confiscating the entire property of the various branches of the family. A crusade against them was proclaimed, and an army led by Guido da Montefeltro and Cardinal Acqua-Sparta was ordered to besiege them in their fortresses. How Palestrina surrendered and was razed to the ground; the manner of the flight of the family to France and Sicily; the sympathy manifested by Philip le Bel for them during his own quarrel with Boniface, and the adroit use made of it by him; together with the final and terrible revenge of Sciarra Colonna upon the family foe, need merely be called to mind.

By the year 1300 the Angevin cause in Hungary had made considerable progress. Carobert had reached the age of twelve years, and it was determined to despatch him to Hungary.<sup>1</sup> The Pope, however, did not favour the idea. His uncle, Robert, Duke of Calabria, who was at the time acting as Vicar-General for King Charles, encouraged the plan, and Count George Brebir conveyed the youthful

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Monum. Hungar. Acta extera, i. n. 174, 401. Pray, Annal., 365, 367.

sovereign to Spalatro in August of that year. Agram was reached in October, where the Archbishop of Gran solemnly crowned him. This ceremony, carried out upon Croatian soil, betokened an unmistakable advance upon the former coronation of his father, Charles Martel, who had never set actual foot in his nominal kingdom. Nevertheless, the coronation of a Hungarian monarch, which no Hungarian-born prelate honoured by his assisting presence, which did not take place at time-honoured Alba Regalis,<sup>1</sup> and at which the sacred diadem of King Stephen did not figure, could hardly be regarded by the Magyars as anything but an ineffectual farce.

Andrew now reversed his policy, and made some futile efforts to gain the goodwill of Boniface. Month by month he found himself less able to cope with the irreconcilable factions within his dominions, until, worn out with grief and chagrin, he breathed his last in January 1301. His daughter Agnes wisely resigned all claim to his throne, and thus the sovereignty of the dynasty of Arpad came to its end.

By the demise of Andrew, and with the continued assistance of the Holy See, it might be expected that Carobert's prospects would flourish, and that his chance of being accepted by the nation would brighten. His adherents certainly multiplied, and the bold and practised hand of Boniface was more and more submitted to, even while it was feared and hated.<sup>2</sup> It was precisely at this moment that, having been called in as a mediator in the civil strife of the Bianchi and Neri at Florence, the Pope was endeavouring to subject wealthy Tuscany to the jurisdiction of the Holy See. In fact, he wrote, in May 1300, to the Elector of Saxony to use his influence with Albert, King of the Romans, to bring this

<sup>1</sup> Stuhlweissenburg.

<sup>2</sup> In 1298 Boniface endeavoured to organise the Inquisition in Slavonia, from south of the Danube to Macedonia, by means of the Franciscan Order. The Archbishop of Kalocsa was commissioned to preach a crusade. The effort, however, was a vain one. Lea, *Hist. Inquisition*, vol. ii. p. 299.

to pass.<sup>1</sup> But, as the event proved, the 'Fifth Element,' as he had flatteringly nicknamed the Florentines, proved too much for even the 'Prince of the Pharisees,' as Dante in turn dubbed him. Charles of Valois (who has been called the evil genius of his brother Philip) was invited to Florence by Boniface<sup>2</sup> to make peace between the two factions, and to stir up war farther south that should end by crushing Sicily and the Aragonese. Charles of Valois had himself now wedded as his second wife the same Catherine Courtenay, titular Empress, whose hand had been proffered as a lure to distract James of Sicily; and he was aspiring to make good Catherine's claims to the Latin Empire. Instead of fulfilling his prescribed mission, he broke his oath to Florence, and in 1302 signed a treaty of peace between Naples and Sicily. Boniface, who was professedly as much the ally of Charles as he was the enemy of Philip, now began to perceive in the former a man almost as ambitious as himself. The conduct of Charles with regard to the internal affairs of Italy proved disastrous to the pontifical policy, which projected nothing less than the extermination of Ghibellinism. The Ghibellines, however, were now on their guard.

While this policy was developing in Italy, a fresh competitor to the throne of Hungary defied Boniface, and entered the field against Carobert, in the person of Wenceslaus III., son of the King of Bohemia.<sup>3</sup> The Pope now put forth the full pretensions of the Holy See, and openly denied the proud right of the Hungarians to choose their own sovereign. He declared Hungary to have been obtained in fief from the Holy See by Stephen I., and asserted the right of females to occupy the throne. Consequently, the

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Guido Levi, Bonifazio VIII. e sue relazioni col Comune di Firenze. 1882. Doc. II. iv. 43, 48, 50.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Giov. Villani, lib. viii. 50; Dino Compagni, lib. ii.; Raynaldus, sub anno.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Bonfinius, Dec. II. lib. ix. p. 314; Thúrocz, c. 84.

right of Maria of Naples and her descendants was paramount. These arrogant decisions, overriding privileges dear to a mettlesome people, rendered sacred to them, moreover, by traditional observance, and now announced to them by the Cardinal of Ostia, evoked general indignation. Once again Carobert was crowned by the Archbishop of Gran, this time at the seat of his diocese, and according to the accustomed rite. Nevertheless, the crown used was not that of Stephen, and the rite was regarded as of little significance. Meanwhile, the son of the King of Bohemia, whose substitution for his father had been accepted by the anti-Angevin party, entered Hungary with an army, and in August was crowned at Stuhlweissenburg with King Stephen's crown by the Archbishop of Kalocza. At the same time he gratified the people by assuming the name of Ladislaus.

Boniface, however, peremptorily commanded the King of Bohemia to recall his son, and ordered him to abstain from meddling in Hungarian affairs, adding that if he entertained any claim, he must duly lay it before the Curia, and abide entirely by its decision. Other envoys and bulls attempted to reiterate to the people the claims of the Holy See; but the people rose upon the Legate, drove him from Ofen to Vienna, and forthwith the united clergy and citizens of Ofen formulated and pronounced a collective interdict against Boniface, the Legate, King Carobert, and their following.

The quarrel between Boniface and Philip le Bel was now rapidly maturing, and Philip, it appeared, was not likely to be at a loss for allies. King Wenceslaus accepted the invitation of Boniface, and despatched a Canon of Prague to Anagni in order to press his family claims to the crown of Hungary; but the wily pontiff informed the King that, though his claim as descendant of Andrew I. might merit respect, Maria, Queen of Naples, had claimed the crown of Hungary for her grandson, and the Holy See had already sanctioned her doing so by causing Carobert to be crowned. He stated further,

that he had perceived with astonishment that the King of Bohemia had also assumed the style and title of King of Poland, thus infringing other rights pertaining to the Holy See. These dignities Wenceslaus must forthwith renounce utterly, or send duly qualified representatives to Anagni to explain and justify himself. Wenceslaus therefore turned to Philip le Bel, and signed a treaty of alliance with him.

Following these affairs came forth the famous 'Unam Sanctam' bull (1302) deposing the King of France, and definitely declaring the full—in fact, illimitable—powers claimed by the Holy See over all sovereigns whatsoever, including the Emperor, and even the Greeks. Philip made peace with England. Boniface befriended Albert of Austria, who acknowledged the favour with degrading subservience, admitting that the temporal sword owed its power entirely to the oath of allegiance to the Holy See. He swore that the Pope's enemies should be his enemies, whatever their rank or dignity, kings or emperors. In this manner the Emperor-elect, therefore, forswore his former alliance with the King of France.

The ensuing year witnessed the downfall and tragic end of Boniface and the violent victory of Philip of France. It also witnessed the elevation to the pontificate as Benedict XI. of the Cardinal Niccolo Boccasino of Ostia, the same who had been employed at his peril to push the cause of Carobert in Hungary. This tactful, but short-lived, Pontiff showed far more consideration for the Hungarians by his temperate conduct of affairs than Boniface. Personal experience of their mettle doubtless guided him.

By the treaty of Caltabellota, signed in 1302 by Charles of Valois, the throne of Sicily was to be recognised as separate and independent from that of Naples during the lifetime of Frederick only, who was henceforth to be entitled King of Trinacria. At his decease the crown was to revert to the lawful Angevin King of Naples. Benedict commenced his pontificate by rebuking Frederick for dating his acts, not

from the date of the treaty, but from the date of his illegal coronation at Palermo.<sup>1</sup> He likewise issued a bull excommunicating the assailants of Boniface and the plunderers of his palace. This act, it is possible, curtailed his own life. 'No one thought that a death so seasonable to one party, so unseasonable to another, could be in the course of nature.'<sup>2</sup>

Ladislaus, who had not obeyed Boniface by leaving Hungary, was, however, ruining his cause with his subjects by developing into a debauchee, and otherwise showing himself to be unworthy of their confidence. By reason of this, and the support of Benedict, Carobert now greatly advantaged himself. His cousin Albert, the Emperor-elect, was at war with Wenceslaus of Bohemia, and Carobert assisted him. Nevertheless, in consequence of this, yet one more pretender to the crown of Hungary appeared upon the scene. Otho,<sup>3</sup> of Lower Bavaria, was encouraged by Wenceslaus to set himself up in place of his son Ladislaus, on the ground of his being a nephew of Stephen V. To him Ladislaus secretly conveyed the sacred crown of Stephen, and with it he was crowned at Stuhlweissenburg at the close of 1305. It may be imagined that by this time Hungary was far plunged into anarchy. Carobert retained his hold upon the Adriatic provinces, though his cause made but little advance in the central and northern ones, owing probably to the stronger Magyar element there, and the resolution not to be dominated by a creature of the Holy See.

Meanwhile, Carobert had been losing still further his hereditary rights in the kingdom of Naples. His uncle Robert had been allowed in 1304 to take possession of the principality of Salerno,<sup>4</sup> and the Honour of Monte St.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Bull in Raynaldus, ad annum.

<sup>2</sup> Latin Christianity, Milman, vol. vii. p. 165.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Theiner, op. cit., 621, 640. Thúrocz, ch. 85, 87.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Le Consuetudini inedite di Salerno. Abignente, 1888. Minieri-Riccio, Genealogia di Carlo II., in Archivio Storico Napol., vii. 210. Hist. de l'Abbaye de la Cava, par M. L'Abbé Paul Guillaume, 1877.

Angelo, which had pertained to Charles Martel. We shall see the appropriation of these two minor titles terribly visited later on. This act seems to make it certain that Charles II. and Boniface had resolved entirely to separate the possessions of the crowns of Hungary and Naples. Robert's increasing importance now began to be advertised through his appointment by the Signoria of Florence to be Captain-General of the 'Taglia' or League between their city, Lucca, and Siena. In April 1305 he arrived in Tuscany in command of three hundred Catalan and Provençal mercenaries, whom he presently led to what became known as the ferocious siege of Pistoia, the stronghold of the Bianchi faction.<sup>1</sup> Benedict now died, and was succeeded in June by Clement V., a Gascon Pope, whose elevation had been dexterously manœuvred by Philip le Bel, thereby to transport the Holy See from Rome to Avignon, in the county of Provence, over which his kinsfolk, the Kings of Naples, were hereditary lords, albeit in nominal vassalage to the Empire as representing the imperial fief of the ancient kingdom of Arles.

Clement substantially confirmed, as required, the ruling of Boniface VIII. in regard to the claims of Carobert, and commanded the Hungarians to sever their adherence to Otho of Bavaria, citing all the prelates who had taken part in the coronation of the latter prince to appear before him at Avignon. He remitted the enormous arrears of annual tribute due to the Holy See from the King of Naples, amounting, it was said, to 360,000 ounces of gold.<sup>2</sup> Albert of Austria presently did Clement and Carobert the service of treacherously capturing the person of Otho and consigning him to a dungeon at Weissemburg.

Having no influence whereby to re-obtain his freedom, the Hungarians now began seriously to consider whether

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Dino Compagni, lib. i. pp. 24-25.

<sup>2</sup> An ounce at this moment equalled eight fiorini. Therefore the sum may have amounted to 2,880,000 fiorini. Cf. Baluzius, Vita Clem. V. Villani, Stor. Fior., c. vi. 3. Vettori, Il Fiorino d'Oro. Orsini, Stor. delle Monete.

Carobert, who was in his twentieth year, might not after all be worthy of their acceptance. Personally there was nothing to advance against him. His one defect as an aspirant had been that he was the instrument of the Holy See. Deep-rooted as was this objection, and worn out as the country was by anarchy, it still had the wisdom to perceive that its hope of release from a most desperate state of affairs must lie in the full acceptance of Carobert. Having with much difficulty and further delay come to this conclusion, Carobert was once more solemnly crowned at Ofen on 15th June 1309, and took the oath, as required by the tradition of the Magyars, before the Magnates.

Meanwhile Albert of Austria had died, and Charles of Valois, aided by his brother Philip le Bel, had been eagerly endeavouring to realise an ambition Boniface had once paraded before the eyes of France, namely, that of becoming Emperor of the West, whereby the Houses of Anjou and Valois would have practically parcelled out Europe between them. To this attention will be given later on.

This preliminary sketch of the manner by which the direct eldest male representative of Charles of Anjou ultimately possessed himself of the throne of Hungary has seemed necessary in order to render clear to the reader both the remarkable return to power of the House of Naples after the loss of Sicily, and the tragical complications which resulted, in consequence of Carobert's successful achievement, from the judgment pronounced by Pope Boniface.

That the question of the succession was one difficult to decide, must be admitted. Had Charles Martel been the father of two sons, decision would have been easy. A crown might have gone to each of them. But Carobert was his only son, and only to him could the crown of Hungary belong. The unwisdom of permitting the crowns of two far-separated realms to devolve on a single head, and that a youthful one, in such a period, would have been patent to the people of both countries. King Charles II. evidently per-

ceived this for himself. He died<sup>1</sup> six weeks before Carobert's final coronation, and his will, in following the lines of the pontifical decisions, probably surprised none.

On the death, therefore, of his father, in May 1309, Robert, Duke of Calabria, hastened to Avignon, leaving his son, Charles of Calabria, Vicar-General at Naples. Carobert was far too much occupied at the moment with realising his new supremacy in far-off Hungary to permit him to proceed thither likewise. The position of things, however, was subjected to consistorial examination before Clement V. The cause of Carobert was defended vigorously by his own advocates against Niccolo Ruffolo and the well-practised Bartolommeo of Capua,<sup>2</sup> the friends and advocates of his uncle. But on the side of the latter were arrayed his father's will,<sup>3</sup> proclaiming him heir to all his dominions; the policy of King Philip to strengthen the Neapolitan branch of his house; the interests of the bankers of Florence, who sought above all things to invigorate the Guelphic cause; the Pontiff's own desire to check both Ghibellinism and the Florentine Commune,—the former of which, in spite of the absence of the Emperor, was able to maintain a menacing attitude. Still more was the cause of Robert assisted by his actual presence at Avignon. In Charles of Anjou the Holy See had created a temporal champion; in Robert it seemed to find ready for use a deputy or political arm, of which itself was to be the directing force. It will be seen later on that by continuous use this arm gradually acquired a somewhat independent volition. In

<sup>1</sup> ~~March 16, 1308.~~ 'Carlo fo uno poco storto de lo corpo, ma diretto: de mente gratioso et largo, and pieno de infinite virtute nel tempo del qual non se trova niuno piu largo.' MS. Cron., Donato Acciajuoli. Charles died May 5, 1309, and Clement V. offered twenty days' indulgence to all who should pray for his soul during five years. Giov. Villani, veritably a fretful porcupine toward the Angevin, and not without reason, may be consulted (lib. viii. 108) as to his vices.

<sup>2</sup> Grand Protonotarius of the kingdom from 1283 onwards. Died 1328.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Leibnitz, Codex Tur. Gent., tom. i. 31. Raynaldus, sub ann. 18, 22. Gio. Villani, lib. viii. cap. 108, 112. Archivio Storico Napol. 1877, p. 138. Történelmi Tár., vol. xxiii.

it, at any rate, the Guelphic faction looked for and found a sword-bearer.

It may, therefore, be concluded that a feeling of general expediency, not unaccentuated by private and personal reasons, determined the Holy See to override the usual order of inheritance, and by confirming the previous ruling of Boniface, to enact that which afterwards was revenged as a flagrant injustice.<sup>1</sup> According to usage Carobert should have succeeded to the entire dominions of his grandfather; therefore Robert, although favoured by the Papacy, was, in the eyes of many, the usurper Dante considered him to be. But Dante spoke as a Ghibelline, and as the personal admirer of the lamented Charles Martel. Cino da Pistoia, however, likewise a Ghibelline, moreover a lawyer, favoured the Papal decision. Robert took the oath of homage to the Holy See as a vassal to his liege, and was duly crowned King of Jerusalem and Sicily on September 8, 1309, only eleven weeks after his nephew's coronation at Buda.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Bartolus and Afflitto, both celebrated jurists of the fourteenth century, upheld the Papal decision. *Cf.* De Blasiis, Cino da Pistoia nell' Università di Napoli. *Arch. Stor. Napol.* vol. ii. 107, and xi. 139. Leopoldo Óváry in *Történelmi Tár.*, l.c., and *Arch. Stor. Napol.*, ii. 137. A. Theiner, *op. cit.*, vol. i. 665-66. Grotius, *De Jure Belli et Pacis*, lib. ii. cap. 7. Baldus cries out, 'Solvat Apollo!'

<sup>2</sup> *Cf.* Fejér, *Codex Dipl.* viii. vol. i. 144.

## CHAPTER II

### TUSCAN INFLUENCES

BEFORE continuing the narrative of events from this point, it will be necessary to notice some of the underlying forces which in this virile period were influential, not merely in moving or keeping at a standstill the various monarchs of Christendom, but in accomplishing the general emancipation from feudal subservience, both of the body, as toward material rulers, and of the mind, as toward the obstructive Church. The first of these forces was the stimulus given to labour and capital in the industrious Guelphic centres of Italy generated by the downfall of the Feudal Empire. The second arose out of the first: it was the vigorous emphasis thus imparted to that revival of learning which had been so methodically inaugurated by the Norman kings of Sicily, so sanely developed and heightened by their great heirs, the Emperors Frederick II. and Manfred. Both these forces had been nourished, sustained, and extended in spite of every hindrance, by the increasingly rapid corruption of the Church, ensuing upon her assumption and arbitrary exercise of temporal power. A third force proceeded from the second and the first, namely, the development of Civil Jurisprudence as a rival to Canon Law, to the tyranny of the Decretals.

The most robust of Guelphic centres was Florence. Her bent was industrial and intellectual. In the middle of the thirteenth century her civic magnates included both Ghibellines and Guelphs. The overthrow of Manfred on the field of Benevento had been the signal for a revolution in her labour-market. The Ghibelline bankers accordingly suffered. Two years previously Urban IV. had forbidden

the citizens to trade with enemies of the Church under pain of interdict, while the Holy See freely borrowed monies from Guelphic bankers in order to carry on the war conducted by Charles of Anjou against their rivals. Not only did that monarch himself receive loans from Florentines before he quitted France on his great enterprise, and many other large sums after his arrival in Italy, but four hundred exiled Guelphs of Florence contributed not a little to his military victory.<sup>1</sup> For these material benefits received, he conceded ampler and more valuable facilities to their merchants for trading and travelling throughout Apulia and Sicily than perhaps any but the astute receivers themselves could realise. Gold poured into Florence. He likewise despatched thither Guy de Montfort with a force of Provençal soldiery, in order to maintain the political advantages gained by the revolution consequent upon that victory. In a short space of time there is evidence that his chief notaries, his envoys, his justiciaries, one at least of his physicians, some of the transcribers of his Arabic and Hebrew books, as well as his armourers, were citizens of Florence, or at least Tuscans. In this way was knit the long-enduring and far-reaching, but intermitting, amity between the Tuscan commune and the Angevin vassal of the Holy See.

But while Charles was looking through victorious eyes to extending his realm both in Italy and across the Adriatic, in Ionia, in Achaia, and toward Constantinople, his deeply interested financial ally was careful to hedge her own quasi-dependence on him with conditions which might still permit her developing some sort of supremacy in Tuscany.

The future wars of Florence, therefore, were of two kinds. Either they were direct conflicts with Ghibelline forces, or they were conflicts with communes which jealously resented her territorial encroachments. She had thus two distinct foes; but her friends, the Pope and the King of Naples, were the more powerful. Charles further was stimulated in

<sup>1</sup> G. Villani, lib. viii. cap. 8.

her interests to hunt out of his realm all Ghibelline-Tuscan traders ; and although Florence lived in continual fear of his ambition, he was kept busily and satisfactorily employed by the hostility of Pisa, of Siena, and Arezzo ; so that his attention could at no time become too exclusively centred upon her.

The Holy See also soon began to perceive that the ambition of her champion, if not moderated, might become almost as formidable to her as had been the imperial power over which, at such great cost, she had triumphed.

Now Florence had not been slow to recognise the advantages of her proximity to Rome. The revenues of the churches, the contributions of pilgrims, the fortunes of local Cardinals, the tributes of vassal kingdoms, the plunder of Jews and heretics, all flowed into the pontifical coffers. It was naturally an object of the commercial genius of Florence to obtain the financial handling of some at least of this vast floating capital. As travelling agents of the banking firms of the Val d'Arno had constituted, even thirty years before the coming of Charles of Anjou, the chief means of transferring foreign remittances to Rome, the step to a higher position was not a great or a very difficult one. Siena stood jealously in the path, but her opposition was overcome by force of arms. In the course of the latter half of the thirteenth century, Florence may be said to have acquired a monopoly in farming the Papal revenues, and by far the largest share in the great cereal trade of Naples. The old doctrine of the Church in respect of usury had been practically abandoned. Louis IX., the pious brother of Charles, had strictly condemned it, so had Thomas Aquinas. Charles paid it to his Florentine financiers, although he refused to pay it to his own subjects. The rate of interest varied between 5 and 40 per cent. To quote a great living historian—'The creation of guilds and corporations of the different trades consolidated the advantages that had been gained. Commerce under their guidance became a great power. A new and secular civilisation was called

into being, which gradually encroached upon the ascendancy of theological ideas and introduced a new phase in the development of Europe.'<sup>1</sup> When in 1305 the Papacy was transplanted from Rome to Avignon, there naturally ensued an immense displacement of capital, and the business connected with it passed through the hands and ledgers of the Guild of Money Changers in the City of Lilies. But Avignon also pertained to the King of Naples: his bankers and those of the Holy See equally were the Bardi, Peruzzi, Spini, and others.

It must not, however, be supposed that the path was entirely a smooth and easy one for Florence. In 1291 the rapacious Philip le Bel, in whose realm the farming of taxes was likewise mainly entrusted to Florentines, whose rivals were Lombard Jews and Caorsini, suddenly turned upon Tuscan Christians as ferocious an attitude as upon their alien competitors, and threatening them in prison with extreme torments, exacted from them vast ransoms. Villani says scornfully that from this time the kingdom of France continually declined.<sup>2</sup> The main charge preferred against them was one of transgressing the laws concerning usury. There is no doubt, however, that these measures resulted from the treachery of two of their own envious compatriots, who possessed the confidence of the King. The manœuvre was repeated advantageously by Philip more than once.

From the foregoing it may be deduced that whatever might arise to check the ambition of the Valois, which did not dangerously reinvigorate Ghibellinism, would advantage Florence. The Sicilian Vespers, the subsequent capture of King Charles II. (then heir-apparent), the extraordinary number of brief pontificates, the loans necessary to help that monarch and his sons out of their many difficulties (against some of which loans, it has

<sup>1</sup> History of Rationalism in Europe, vol. ii. p. 249. W. E. H. Lecky.

<sup>2</sup> Lib. vii. cap. 146.



A RUINED AND REPAINTED FRESCO SUPPOSED TO HAVE ONCE REPRESENTED BONIFACE VIII.  
 CONSECRATING LOUIS BISHOP OF TOULOUSE (ANJOU).

*By Roberto di Oderisio (?) in S. M. l'Incoronata, Naples.*

Profile Portrait of King Robert holding an Angevin liliated standard behind SS. Peter and Paul (?), showing the same Dantesque face represented in Simone Memmi's picture of him in San Lorenzo Maggiore at Naples. Joan appears at extreme right behind him.

*To face p. 32.*



been mentioned, Dante gave his vote <sup>1</sup>), the actual necessities of the various princes of his house, and the monarchs to whom some of his many daughters were united, contributed to advance the power and prosperity of all-supplying Florence, and to win for her from Boniface the flattering sobriquet that her citizens constituted 'the Fifth Element' in the world.<sup>2</sup>

In the kingdom of Naples, however, the Bardi and Peruzzi, but later the Acciajuoli, obtained the lion's share of actual trade, and their business as exporters of wine and cereals presently assumed large dimensions. During the attempted realisation of the Hungarian claims of Charles Martel in Dalmatia and Slavonia, these companies had exported provisions to various strongholds in those countries. They likewise obtained license to ship corn, wine, and oil from Manfredonia and Ravenna to Cyprus; moreover, they contracted to supply grain for the Morean dominions of the Prince of Taranto. Giovanni Villani himself became a member of the Society of the Peruzzi, as well as of that of the Bardi.<sup>3</sup> The father of Boccaccio, in the employ of the Bardi, became a dealer in Apulian corn at a later period.<sup>4</sup> The Acciajuoli, in spite of acute disaster, and owing to peculiar good-fortune, eventually out-rivalled their fellows.

With multiplying concessions to these Tuscan traders, the commerce of Naples and Florence rapidly increased. This, moreover, was at the expense of Pisa, Genoa, and Venice, whose merchants lodged bitter complaints with the Angevin monarch for his preferences.

It is to be remarked that this quickened advance of the Mercantile spirit immediately upon the decline of the Crusades, contributed to spread civilisation, both by stimulating various branches of secular knowledge, and by cheapening foreign

<sup>1</sup> Despite his expressed affection for Charles Martel. *Cf.* Parad. viii. 49-55; ix. 1.

<sup>2</sup> At the Jubilee celebrated by Boniface in 1300, no less than twelve of the royal ambassadors from the nations of Europe were Florentines. *Cf.* *Ritratti d'Uomini Illustri Toscani*, 1766.

<sup>3</sup> 1300-1308.

<sup>4</sup> 1322.

commodities, thus giving rise to new wants and luxuries.<sup>1</sup> It was opposed by its very nature to the feudal spirit; for it grew by what it fed on, namely, the privileges and concessions which tended to foster independence. Where Trade flourished the lamp of Learning also was necessarily well-trimmed, and the fuel which fed it was becoming cheaper and more abundant. The same motive-power impelled both, namely, enterprise.

The force Florentine gold thus acquired became a fairly reliable political factor in the affairs not only of Naples, but of entire Italy; while the influence of Florentine intellectual genius, lubricated by advancing independence and inspired by the ferment of commercial prosperity, affected the whole of Christendom. That Florentine liberty did not keep pace with the prosperity of her children was due to causes with which these pages have nothing to do: that her theoretical notions of liberty, however, have often received unmerited idealisation cannot be denied.

It is obvious that responsibility cannot attach to mercantile Florence, the leader of civilised communities, for the increasing corruption and consequent decay of the Church, although the Papal coffers were gorged with Florentine gold. If the Church was infected with the lust of lucre, if the Temple of Christ was become a veritable den of thieves, and a triumphant stronghold of the vices, was this not owing to her insatiable thirst for temporal power, and her inability to retain her balance when she acquired it? It has been written that a kingdom divided against itself cannot stand. Well might it have been had the Church laid to heart the words of the Founder of Christianity. Theology and politics, inherently different and divergent in their nature, were pronounced to be so by the verdict of all sane men. An infallible Papacy, however, ruled otherwise,

<sup>1</sup> Both in France, Florence, and Naples, at the close of the thirteenth century, edicts and sumptuary laws were promulgated in order to restrain the luxury of attire and jewellery. Cf. Blanqui, i. 250.

and, blinded with arrogance, declared their perfect union in herself.

It is, nevertheless, a remarkable testimony to the strong individuality of Boniface that certain of the shrewd citizens of Florence (the more fervid Guelphs) should have allowed themselves to be taken off their guard and persuaded by him that a mild imperial feudalism, if obtainable, would be far more tolerable to them than a pontifical despotism endorsed by the King of Naples. It was such a conviction, acting upon the fervent temperament of Dante, which sublimated in him the enthusiasm for an ideal Cæsar, and presently transformed him into a sort of political Dervish in the cause of Henry of Luxemburg. That was one effect resulting from the sending of Charles of Valois to Italy in order to subjugate Tuscany to the Holy See. At any rate, all this development of commercial intensity, with its increased inter-communication, tended to expand and enlarge civic and national life, to enhance the importance of the laws relating to it, and, above all, to push to the front fresh blood stirring with enterprise. At Naples, with her great University, and at neighbouring Salerno, with her ancient School of Medicine, the renewed activity especially made itself conspicuous.

Nor must it be overlooked that in Naples the effect of the Sicilian Vespers was now operating not unbeneficially. As it was universally recognised that the revolt resulting in the loss of the neighbouring island had been brought about by the severity of the Angevin administration, and that the popularity of the Aragonese monarch, to whom the people had turned, was mainly due to the contrasting mildness of his rule, Charles II. saw fit to inaugurate a policy of marked clemency toward his subjects of the mainland; and such privileges and immunities as he granted he solemnly promised should be observed both by himself and his heirs. Among other conciliatory measures he remitted all arrears of taxes due to the crown from special

cities or provinces. It need scarcely be added that the breach rather than the observance of such promises may have been the more honoured. Nevertheless, to have merely recorded such a resolution marked an advance, though it was but the shadow of a coming event.

Again, while only Prince of Salerno in 1283, Charles turned to the Florentines, who had set the example to Europe in the quality of their mint, and whose fiorini were current in every market of the Levant as well as in England and Belgium, and his various silver and gold coins were chiefly minted by Florentines, and it was enacted that the standard should remain fixed.<sup>1</sup> Among other noticeable statutes Charles ordained that nothing should be paid for the seal of the Chief Justice, nor for the signing of sentences pronounced by the High Court or any other tribunal: that the generality should not be bound to make good losses due to individual robbers; that the people should not be burdened with providing supplies for the King's officers when making their circuits; that the wives of those banished the kingdom should nowise be vexed in the matter of their portions: that none should be bound to repair the royal fleet at a fixed arbitrary cost, &c., &c.

When the King returned finally and assumed the Sovereignty, he not only confirmed most of his former enactments, but, with the assistance of learned men, both native and foreign, framed others equally efficacious in tendency to repress abuses. For instance, he ordained that the Grand Justiciary, with the judges of the High Court, should be bound to make an annual tour of six weeks' duration through the seven provinces of Abruzzo, Terra di Lavoro, Capitanata, Principato, Basilicata, Terra di Bari, and Terra di Otranto, where, besides dealing with crime, they were especially

<sup>1</sup> For the coinage of the Angevins at Naples, *cf.* Muratori, *Antiquit. Italicæ*. Dissert. xxvii. Camera. *Annali*. vol. i. 258, 335; vol. ii. 44, 166, 169, 265, 484. *Archiv. Storico. Napol.* xviii. 364. Minieri-Riccio. *Il Regno di Carlo*. i., Anno. 1276. Maggio. 29, 1280. Sept. 12. P. Durrieu. *Les Arch. Angevines*, tom. i. 102.

directed to curb official irregularities. The general drift of his legislation, therefore, tended to the abolition of unjust exactions. The laws or Constitutions were for the most part drawn up and framed by Bartolommeo da Capua, who continued Grand Protonotary of the kingdom during the first nineteen years of the subsequent reign of King Robert, whose mentor and mainstay in more senses than one he proved to be.

If we turn from the clarification of the laws<sup>1</sup> at Naples under Charles II. (in 1289-90) to the 'Ordini di Giustizia' enacted at Florence but a few years later for the professed purpose of liberal self-government, it becomes evident that a more humane code of justice prevailed in the former city. It is, moreover, certain that such scenes of cold-blooded massacre as were common on the Lung' Arno were but rarely enacted in Naples under her second and third Angevin kings. And yet we know that this sanguinary time was an epoch of great prosperity to Florence, and must suppose that her crimes of violence were merely one manifestation of her exuberant vitality, from which much was immediately to flow for the general benefit.

Again, with regard to the great advances in learning and civilisation made at Naples at this time, which have given her pre-eminence in the revival of letters, it must not be imagined that she only imitated her Tuscan ally, and by so doing picked up a modicum of culture, which was complacently advertised as original by her Angevin monarchs. The superior influence of Florentine Art in Naples, it is true, became indelibly marked, especially after the first ten years of the fourteenth century. There was no native originality to meet it half-way; but Angevin Naples had received her initiative in learning, not from Florence, nor from Paris, but

<sup>1</sup> It will be recollected that both Lombard, Byzantine, and Roman law obtained in various parts of the kingdom; and Andrea d'Isernia (1) tells us that in Salerno, in King Robert's own time, "quidam vivunt jure Romano et Aliqui jure Longobardo." Cf. In Constit. Sic. i. 63.

from the studies patronised and stimulated earlier in the thirteenth century by Frederick II. and Manfred, and by the Normans and Lombards before them. It was a wholesome ambition in the Angevins to emulate the Suabian renown in this direction in order to maintain for Naples her foremost rank as a centre of various learning. On the contrary, then, it is certain that Central-Italian universities received most beneficial impulses from the patronage of the first Angevin king of Naples after he had been appointed Vicar-General of Tuscany.

In all that pertained to luxury and splendour the Court of Naples modelled itself upon the sister Court of France, and the tournament and the troubadour flourished at Naples, though not in Rome or in Florence. The same influences reached Naples from yet another channel; and the Spanish captivity of Charles II. and his sons may have originated the apparently direct imitation of King Alphonso the Wise, of Castile, and of James, (the Conqueror) of Aragon, on the part of King Robert his successor. The Classic revival had not yet consciously set in, but the Latin revival, ever more and more saturated with Moorish learning, especially with Moorish and Jewish achievements in astrology, metaphysics, and medical science, while reaching maturity, had prepared the way for that anti-theological enthusiasm for Roman and Greek ideals which soon was so completely to mark the emancipation of fourteenth-century Christendom from the narrower bondage of the Middle Ages, and to liberalise the intellect of Christian Europe.

Now, although this tendency had been powerfully stimulated by Frederick II., the renown of Alfonso, his brilliant distinction both as a savant and as the editor of another great body or growth of non-Roman jurisprudence,<sup>1</sup> had turned upon him the attention of all statesmen. Charles II.

<sup>1</sup> *Siete Partidas*. Much of this Digest, however, is obviously derived from the Justinian Code, and savours more of the Roman than the Visigothic law.

and Robert, his son, were presently doing for Naples what Edward I., a child of reaction, was doing for England, and James I. for Aragon, namely, improving, expanding, and assimilating legislation, and enhancing among the people respect for right. Energy which in a former generation would have been absorbed and utilised in some shape or other by the theological spirit, had broken through the walls of its prison, and the jailor now found himself without means to repair the ever-widening gap. One large stream of that energy, then, was pouring forth to swell the flood of civil jurisprudence already undermining the despotic vantage-grounds of Canon Law, not a little to the solicitude of the Church. With regard to the remainder, as soon as men generally had been led into transgressing one powerful formula, they grew to despise and disregard other formulas, and became devoured by the passion for prospecting in the attractive regions of rational speculation thereby opened up to them. They then discovered for the first time how comparatively narrow and circumscribed had been the definings of the Church; how purely nominal and shallow, nay, unrighteous, were many of her decretals and dogmas; how more than doubtful many of her infallible explanations; and the results of their discoveries are being enjoyed by the world to-day.

By this time, then, things were fairly slipping away from the Church, as well as from the feudalised empire. Reverence for both was steadily declining; deference followed suit. It was in vain that the Inquisition lit fires and trimmed racks in the name of Christ, to prevent the spread of unauthorised reasoning. Aristotle with his pagan commentators, even at second and third hand, through the medium of Latin renderings of Hebrew and Arabic versions, was proving not merely the equal, but more than the match for St. Augustine. St. Bonaventura levelled his denunciations at no obscure mark. Thomas Aquinas and Albertus Magnus (although the former accepted and absorbed so

much of Aristotle<sup>1</sup>) marshalled all the practised regulars of scholastic dialectic in order to confront and withstand the advance of the new opinions—the separation of knowledge from the authority of the Church. Pope John XXI,<sup>2</sup> the short-lived, empowered one of his prelates to condemn a crop of no less than two hundred and nineteen errors sprung directly from the free thought of Averrhoistic speculation.

But the enemy was already too strongly entrenched. Driven back at one point, it advanced at two others. Moreover, there were many deserters, and many who were held to be sincere in their teachings, on close examination were found to have been unconsciously influenced and undermined in their fidelity by the insinuating Oriental invader. To this movement, it is beyond question, the familiar spectacle of the corrupt and discredited Church provided powerful and ever-increasing force; perhaps still more did that of the divisions in the Franciscan Order, resulting in numerous heresies, and wholesale diffusion of chartered mendicity.

Thus, indeed, those very Orders whose wealth and extension had given aggrandisement to the power of Rome became a significant, if not the most prominent, element of the decline of that power. There had set in the disintegration of enforced Belief, commensurate with the expansion of speculative Inquiry; and Inquiry, although interdicted under Jehovistic menaces, and guarded around by flaming cherubim in the form of Dominican friars, proved contagious in all directions. Its infection attacked the Sacred College itself. The Cardinals of Clement V. became addicted to polytheistic science; even bishops were burned on charges of sorcery, and Popes themselves not merely became accused of heresy, but certain of them actually fell into heresy unaware, confessed, and repented on their deathbeds.

<sup>1</sup> Crescenzo, General of the Franciscan Order in 1244, was complained of as being a student of Aristotle. He had, moreover, been a jurist and physician: not improbably a student of the works of Michael Scott and Averroes.

<sup>2</sup> 1276.

Before the Holy See deserted Italy in 1305, it had thoroughly prepared the way for its expatriation by alienating Italian sympathies. As Hallam has remarked: 'The laity, subjects alike and sovereigns, looked upon both the Head and the members of the Hierarchy with jealousy and dislike. Boniface VIII., full of inordinate arrogance and ambition, and not sufficiently sensible of [all] this gradual change in human opinion, endeavoured to strain to a higher pitch the despotic pretensions of former pontiffs. As Gregory VII. appears the most usurping of mankind till we read the history of Innocent III., so Innocent III. is thrown into shade by the superior audacity of Boniface VIII.'<sup>1</sup>

This brings me more directly to some brief consideration of the remarkable phase of intellectual revolution preceding the more pronounced Classic revival and its immediate begetter; and this again involves fuller notice, first, of the gradual rise to importance of the laity, with the corresponding decline of the theological regime; secondly, of the transference of culture to the former, from whom, before the twelfth century, it had been almost hopelessly excluded; and finally, of the expansion of the mediæval conception of antiquity, engendering Italian enthusiasm for its heroic and æsthetic side.

To treat at all sufficiently of this, however, would necessitate more than a separate volume. I shall, therefore, endeavour merely to strike off, in the ensuing chapter, some few of the main points of significance, and leave the reader to fill in the rest of the picture from his own resources.

<sup>1</sup> Middle Ages, ii. 228.

## CHAPTER III

### THE PRE-RENAISSANCE

IN A.D. 992 the ignorance of the clergy in Rome is attested by a Council then held to have been such that scarcely one was to be met with who was acquainted even with the mere elements of letters.<sup>1</sup> We are left to guess rather than to describe the darkness that prevailed amongst the laity. It cannot astonish us that in such a period Pope Sylvester II.<sup>2</sup> (Gerbert), whose education was said to have been conducted among the enlightened Moors of Spain, should have been regarded as a magician, or, at any rate, as too much addicted to secular studies.<sup>3</sup> In such equivocal glimmer as that period afforded, the most ordinary phenomena became invested with prodigious attributes; the atmosphere of thought hurtled with conflicting intellectual spectres; and all true perspective was lost. The universal belief of Christendom that the world would come to an end in the year one thousand had afflicted humanity with a disastrous mental blight. Of what use would it be to consider material wants for the future? of what avail to treasure any embers of the ancient learning other than the extravagant legends of the fathers and saints, or the terrorising stories of the remorseless dealings of Jehovah with the now accursed people of his former predilection? The study of Greek had well-nigh died out in Italy;<sup>4</sup> even the language of the Gospels and

<sup>1</sup> Tiraboschi, tom. iii. p. 198.

<sup>2</sup> A.D. 1000.

<sup>3</sup> Gerbertus, Hock (C. F.), ch. xiii. Gerbert und sein Jahrhundert. Wein, 1837.

<sup>4</sup> At Naples, however, Greek learning was arduously maintained still, under the enthusiastic patronage of Duke John III., who collected sacred and secular literature in both Latin and Greek, thus on a small but important scale anticipating the magnificent doings in the same direction of Frederick II. and Robert the Wise. *Cf.* Archiv Stor. Napol., v. xvii. 628. L. Schipa, Il Ducato di Napoli.

of the fathers had given way to Latin ; but corruption had touched the white robe of that Muse-consecrated goddess, and virtue no longer went forth from her, although upon her the hopes of literature necessarily depended. Nevertheless Latin, tainted as it had become, was the sacred depository of Church history, the voice of Christianity, the language of devotion, a magic rampart dividing the clergy from the laity, indeed, a well-stored citadel from which the former governed, and could then hope always to govern, the latter. Yet, except for the purposes of forcible distortion to suit theological designs, or of being dovetailed by means of clerical cunning with scriptural prophecy, the classic literature of Rome and Greece slumbered, and wasted in slumber, in the recesses of the Benedictine monasteries. Homer was chiefly known by means of the Latin epitome of Italicus. Virgil,<sup>1</sup> largely owing to the ill-founded but fortunate assumption of the earlier fathers that the poet had foretold the birth of Christ, held an isolated position at the head of forbidden secular literature, wearing a somewhat dubious, and, later on, a fantastic halo. Certain of the treatises of Aristotle survived mutilated in Latin translations. Thus, whatever of learning remained in Italy, excepting Naples,<sup>2</sup> was the monopoly of the clergy. Instead of enjoying the universal peace, that main motto and object of Christianity during the first three centuries, and for the attainment of which tens of thousands had courted and suffered martyrdom, Christendom was distracted with bloodshed, too often encouraged by the Church herself. Asceticism and celibacy were ideals no longer striven for. The Lateran had become a brothel ; promiscuous profligacy among the clergy was almost universal, 'in some places unconcealed, in others covered with a thin veil of hypocrisy, according as the

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Virgilio nel Medio-Aevo. D. Comparetti. Roma nelle Memorie e nelle Immaginazione del Medio-Evo, A. Graf.

<sup>2</sup> It is certain that Roman law, as well as Greek learning, and a certain measure of a political independence, survived in no slumbering condition at Naples, whence they were afterwards diffused over Italy.

temper of the ruling prelate might be indulgent or severe.'<sup>1</sup> A century and a half nearly had elapsed since Nicholas I. had put forth the declaration that, as Constantine at the Nicene Council had designated the fathers gods,<sup>2</sup> the Supreme Pontiff must therefore be considered beyond reach of mortal judgment. Thus had been inaugurated the dogma of papal infallibility, which laid the foundation of that temporal power of the Holy See that has been finally demolished only in our day by the common sense of the enlightened laity. Yet this was the condition of the spiritual power, this was the example it was setting to Christendom! The Laity could but suffer and seem to be resigned. The Empire observed the secular encroachments of the Church with gloomy, if suspicious, eyes. Otho III., indeed, had not feared to tell Sylvester that the Donation of Constantine was entirely fictitious.

Nevertheless the time was approaching when the power of Reason thus chained down by the despotism of blind Faith, would be stimulated to rise and snap fetters well-nigh worn through. The fateful year passed, and none of the disastrous predictions had been realised. Church and empire, clergy and laity, remained still face to face.

Christendom awoke, and, reassuring itself, seemed to become possessed with renewed vigour. Oppression and lethargy presently vanished. Life seemed to have been infused, accompanied by a spirit of enterprise, that augured the resuscitation of confidence in the stability of mundane things. Churches and monasteries of stone began to rise in remarkable numbers, and occupy the places of wooden ones.<sup>3</sup> The devil was just as much feared, but there was an appreciable loss of prestige in the direction of ecclesiasticism. It is not difficult to perceive that anything which

<sup>1</sup> Sacerdotal Celibacy, p. 158, H. S. Lea.

<sup>2</sup> Rufini, *Hist. Eccles.*, lib. i. ch. 2.

<sup>3</sup> Glabri, *Radalphi, Historiæ*, lib. iii. c. 4, p. 27, ed. Bibl. Pithaei, fol., Francoforte, 1506. This is perhaps truer of northern countries than of southern.

relaxed the reverence or weakened the subservience of the Laity toward the Church would advance its interest and enhance its individuality. Both within and without the Church there were not wanting plenty who passionately felt the necessity for reform, but the prospect for the reformer was far from cheering.

A celebrated abbot of Monte Cassino, afterwards Pope Victor III., tells us that, under the pontificate of Benedict IX. (1033-48), every order of clergy was openly married throughout Italy, but that the scandal reached its climax in Rome.<sup>1</sup> The latter Pope himself is said to have appeared after death to a pious man in the form of a bear wearing the ears of a donkey, declaring that he had been condemned to expiate his former bestialities in the guise of a monster. Hadrian II. (867) had been a married pontiff. Under Sergius III. the Lateran had been a brothel. Nevertheless, reform was in the air, and the desired stimulus would seem to have emanated from the Emperor Henry III., who (unfortunately for imperial interests), in liberating the Holy See from the vicious thralldom to which its own vices had consigned it, and by encouraging the ascetic and ardent Peter Damiani, advanced the Papal prerogative. This, in the hands of Hildebrand, the political collaborateur of Damiani, was soon destined to assume very oppressive proportions.

But these reformers, had they but known it, could only treat certain symptoms; they could not eradicate so deeply rooted a disease. One portion of the treatment employed by Pope Nicholas II. in 1059 was startlingly significant of the direction whither things were tending. At a Council consisting of a hundred and thirteen bishops, he appealed to the Laity, calling upon them to refuse their attendance at mass when it should be celebrated by a priest known to keep a mistress. This project for the rehabilitation of chastity in the Church was forcibly pushed into action by

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Max. Biblioth. Patr., xviii.

Hildebrand when presently he ascended the Papal throne as Gregory VII. But this long degradation of the Church had necessarily involved to a portentous degree the secularisation of the clergy. The priests went armed: prelates became generals: bishops were secular nobles: archbishops resembled monarchs.<sup>1</sup> This movement became further accentuated by Gregory's encroachments upon the temporal power; but it had likewise raised the laity very greatly in its own estimation. Certain of the exasperated clergy openly denounced Gregory as a madman; by others he was dubbed heretic. He continued his course, however, in his own unswerving manner, conscious of the strong support of the Orders, and presently he repeated the manœuvre of Nicholas II. 'by authorising the laity to withdraw their obedience from all prelates and priests who disregarded the canons of the Holy See on the subjects of simony and incontinence,'<sup>2</sup> which practically amounted to a command to the laity to set example to the fallen and disgraced clergy. This iron policy, unflinchingly pursued, purchased a great moral triumph for the Church, although it proved to be at the risk of her own integrity. In result, it accomplished too abrupt a revival of asceticism, to which the laity most enthusiastically contributed. It consolidated the powers, temporal and spiritual, of the Papacy: it glorified monasticism; while it emphasised a consciousness of strength on the part of the laity by further arousing its reason. But in its ratiocination the laity was naturally absorbed by theology. Its requirements reacted favourably upon the Orders, from whom it was constrained to derive the rudiments of culture. As there had been, and still prevailed, a vast and prolonged movement, having the main effect of secularising the clergy, so the condition of the clergy generated a contrary move-

<sup>1</sup> 'Secular pomp and luxury were almost inseparable from secular power. The clergy of a secular bishop would hardly be otherwise than secular.' Vol. iv. p. 377, *Latin Christianity*, Milman.

<sup>2</sup> *Lea, op. cit.*, pp. 232-233.

ment or corresponding displacement, having the effect of spiritualising the laity.

This reform was, in fact, tantamount to a religious revival. There took place a re-collecting and concentration of scattered energies, the firm direction of which, by forcibly reinstating the neglected Canon Law, stimulated theological speculation in various directions.

It is, however, probable that such speculativeness was at least equally stimulated by the violent rebellion brought about in the secular clergy by Gregory's coercive measures, which drove them to ally themselves with the Emperor Henry IV. in his famous contest over 'Investitures' with the Holy See. But this again, though it had the effect of dividing the laity, further emphasised their importance and made them more and more alive to the advantages of education.

Moreover, it is manifest that if blind unquestioning faith and besotted ignorance had kept the laity in durance to a corrupt and superstitious clergy, the flattering command of the Pontiff bidding the laity to judge right and wrong in their tyrants for themselves must have reached them as the first true breath of freedom. We may be certain that they would not have been slow to take advantage of it; or, if slow, their tardiness could have arisen only from quasi-imbecility due to prolonged intellectual bondage. In fact, this measure raised the slave to the level of his master, made the lay servant a spy upon his spiritual lord. More to the purpose, however, this policy perforce allied the laity with the obedient reforming clergy, and thereby rendered more possible the transference to themselves of whatever culture the clergy possessed. But this obedient reforming clergy consisted of the monastic Orders, headed, of course, by that of St. Benedict, which may be regarded as their parent. Gregory had himself been a monk. Peter Damiani was a monastic enthusiast. St. Bruno, of the House of Burgundy, at this time instituted the Carthusian Order

in France. In England, a Sovereign had been a monk. The Cistercian Order and St. Bernard, the future preachers of the Crusades, were about to blossom forth. And was not the surviving remnant of culture in the keeping of these monastic Orders? Were not their libraries the chief repositories of learning? Although dulled and debilitated, were they not the nerve-centres of knowledge? And, indeed, was it not from the monastery, from the reflective monk of genius, that there was destined to rise over and over again the fiercest foe of the temporal power of the Papacy, from Arnold of Brescia to Paolo Sarpi?

Therefore, at a period of reform remarkable for the direct display of temporal ambition on the part of the Holy See, the latter evoked a powerful ally where least of all one might have been expected. The secular clergy were dexterously taken, as it were, in the rear.

It would have been difficult to have devised a measure more tactfully calculated to ensure reform in the Church. At the same time it involved something of far greater importance to the world. It tended to put an end to the monopoly of learning: it brought the vernacular into closer relation with its parent Latin: it rekindled respect if not reverence for olden ideals: it fanned the almost extinguished embers of legitimate inquiry. Even the appalling struggle between Henry IV. and Gregory, involving civil war in the Church throughout Europe, and the sack of Imperial and Holy Rome by the Normans under Robert Guiscard, must seem an event of small account beside this other comparatively unobtrusive feature of the quarrel. If this view be accepted even in some measure as correct, it indissolubly conjoins the revival of Learning with a most suitable and worthy partner, namely, the moral reform of the Church; and it cannot but be admitted that out of the ambition and rapacity of a sanguinary hierarchy for the triple attainment of temporal power, omnipotence over the clergy, and independence for the Church, at least one unintended, but incalculable,

benefit has accrued to civilisation, and that intellectually 'out of the eater came forth meat, and out of the strong came forth sweetness.'

Before a revival of learning can become possible, it is obvious that the mental soil must be turned; the plough must operate before the crop can be sown. In order to achieve reform in herself, the Church initiated a restoration of theological learning. That involved a more serious appreciation of the art of teaching, and consequently, the application of method to study.

In like manner, grammar and reading obviously preceded writing. At the beginning of the twelfth century perhaps but one in a hundred laymen who could read could also write. It is probable that while the accomplishment of writing progressed like the hour-hand of a watch, that of reading moved at twelve times the rate. 'Before the end of the eleventh century,' writes Hallam, 'and especially after the ninth, it was rare to find laymen in France who could read and write. The case was probably not better anywhere else, except in Italy. I should incline to except Italy on the authority of a passage in Wippo, a German writer soon after the year 1000 A.D., who exhorts the Emperor Henry II. to cause the sons of the nobility to be instructed in letters, using the example of the Italians, with whom, according to him, it was a universal practice.<sup>1</sup> The word clerks or clergymen became in this and other countries synonymous with one who could write or even read. We all know the original meaning of Benefit of Clergy, and the test by which it was claimed. Yet from about the end of the eleventh, or at least of the twelfth century, many circumstances may lead us to believe that it was less and less a conclusive test, and that the laity came more and more into possession of the simple elements of literature.' These things in part constituted the turning of the soil.

That Italy was in advance of Germany and England in

<sup>1</sup> Vol. i. Lit. Hist., p. 52, and note *q*. Cf. Wattenbach. *Deutschl. Gesch.* ii. 10-4, 378 (1874).

the eleventh century will not be gainsaid, but we may take leave to doubt the universality of the practice of teaching letters in Italy at that epoch. Another more important point than this, however, claims notice, namely, the consequences manifestly resulting from clerical immunity, from the increasing difference in the pronouncements and administrations between Civil and Canon law. 'Deeds for which laymen were to be decapitated brought only degradation to clerks. While for lighter infractions of the law mutilation was inflicted upon laymen, clerks were only to be suspended from their functions, and subjected to the canonical penance of fasting and the discipline.'<sup>1</sup>

The results of this perversion of justice were manifold; but the only ones necessary to notice here are, firstly, the propitiating invitation to the laity to become clergy, thereby to obtain such precious immunities.<sup>2</sup> Secondly, there arose from it the gaol-device of instructing lay prisoners (who could afford to bribe their keepers) in their letters while awaiting trial. 'So liberally, indeed, was the rule expounded, that aliens were provided with books in their own tongues, out of which to prove their clergy, and blind men escaped the latter by being able to speak Latin congruously.'<sup>3</sup> In fact, the ecclesiastical profession, in all its grades, offered advantages over others, whether for good men or for bad. For the strong, and for the unscrupulous, it was a vantage-ground; for the weak or cowardly, it was a fortress into which they could safely retreat at need. Under its ægis the proud could swagger, the timid could strut; the stupid could blunder without fear of the stake; the wise and the capable, subject to alarming rebuke and correction, could inquire and propound, reason and somewhat discern. 'The layman who purchased holy orders bought usually peace, security of life, and comparative ease.'<sup>4</sup>

A most important concomitant of this revival of letters

<sup>1</sup> Studies in Church History, H. S. Lea, p. 194.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Loiseau, *Des Sign. et Justic. Eccles.*, ch. 15.

<sup>3</sup> Lea, *op. cit.*, p. 197.

<sup>4</sup> Vol. iv. p. 14, Milman, *Latin Christianity*.

remains to be noticed, namely, that the dual struggle on the part of the Church for reform in herself and for supremacy over the Empire was a main cause of the committal to writing of the civil laws, which hitherto had for the most part been handed down orally. When once distributed in writing, the necessities for full demarcation of the temporal and spiritual frontiers became apparent, and in the infinite inundation of subtle sophistries let in here and there over them, so as to cause confusions advantageous to one or the other party, a magnificent market for legal and forensic labour and distinction was opened up, and the elaboration of both civil and canonical jurisprudence thus inaugurated could not but powerfully emphasise the advance of Learning.

Nevertheless, the prevailing regime for more than a century to come, by force of circumstances, remained theological in substance and dialectical in manner; and within these undesirable limits Learning perforce worked. For both clergy and laity the legend inscribed upon the intellectual banner was 'Faith.' If Reason was thereon inscribed also, it was writ so small as scarcely to appear. But in the course of two centuries, that is, between the twelfth and fourteenth, the latter name assumed far larger characters, according as the rising stream of culture passed from the again relapsing clergy to the eager and more and more critical laity, until in Dante the spirits of laic speculativeness and theological study are found to be almost evenly represented, and Reason and Faith are equally fused. For Reason led Dante and his fellows back to antiquity, while Faith led him forward to an ideal future. It followed that only when blind Faith should become still further relieved of her blindness would the truly laic study of the Pagan antique law become possible. Being Pagan, it was profane; and being profane, it was abhorrent to theological supremacy. Wherefore, as the Church became corrupt and relaxed, the barrier with which it had surrounded the study of the former would manifestly be broken or lowered. Such actually proved to be the case.

Again, only under the fructifying influences of more emancipated Reason could be perceived the effects of Moorish civilisation and scholarship, could ripen the increased commercial prosperity, and could be carried out any ardent critical prospecting in the rediscovered regions of antique history, so as completely to arouse the artistic instinct of the Italian : that instinct which was destined to toy for a while with its old shackles before revelling in the freedom of a larger air.

The thirteenth century had been destined to witness great events ; the consummation of the temporal ambition of the Papacy, the culmination and rapid decline of the theological regime, the founding of the last of the great mediæval monastic Orders, the downfall of the feudal Empire, the rise of independent municipalities, the wonder-working introduction of Oriental science and philosophy, the fining down of vernacular Italian, like a beautiful weapon long in fashioning ; and, lastly, the wholesale relapse of the Church-arrogant into another period of undissembled polytheistic corruption.

Everywhere there grew up a breaking away from the mediæval, for everywhere appeared rifts due to elemental upheaval of Church and Empire, through which, however, could be caught gleams of a glorious antiquity. On every hand appeared specialistic cleavage, in law, in literature, in science, and in art ; the continuous decline of the theological spirit further and further emphasising all this disunion ; culture more and more retiring from the Church to the transforming laity, who now likewise began to draw it from other sources, leaving the higher clergy stranded amid corruption or wedged among their conventional dogmas.

The rapid enrichment and disintegration of the great Order of St. Francis, within two generations of its foundation, forms a prominent symptom of the movement. The great tide of reform was visibly receding. Everywhere there was felt a diminution of respect and reverence for a despiritualised Papacy, and an increasing speculativeness with regard to accepted and enforced doctrines. That the Church, when she obtained startling glimpses of this tendency

of things, took measures violent and pitiless in order to check or change it, her partisans would be the last to deny. Her sincerest sorrow has been, and still is, that the Inquisition by regrettable error began its agonising operations too late, and on far too merciful a scale. Its feet, though swift to shed blood, proved to be leaden compared with the infamous wings of forbidden speculation. The Church, far-fallen, did not and could not realise the simple fact that a thousand bird-snares, or ten thousand, cannot compass the destruction of an entire vernal migration, any more than ten thousand buckets can be made to exhaust the sea. That was due to her tender simplicity. None the less did she proclaim then, as she does to-day, her Infallibility, her sovereignty over the world. As she had discovered the required possibilities for her own temporal development in the ignorance of the laity and the decadence of the Empire, so presently the laic Renaissance found its sustenance in the decline of both Church and Empire. Hitherto, however, while the moral and superstitious aspects of ancient learning had predominated despotically, the æsthetic aspect had been absolutely lost sight of. The latter was now to be brought to the front, and before the middle of the fourteenth century its heroic beauty was felt to exercise a supernatural charm; a new world was thrown open for secular prospection,—a world the very crimes and distortions of which seemed to be exquisitely idealised through the calm twilight of history, through the very tears of reverence shed by men for a mighty ancestral Past.

I shall now endeavour to sketch an outline of the career of Robert the Wise as king, and show his relation toward some of the political and intellectual questions of his day; his position with regard to the Empire, the Church, and the Republic of Florence, as well as his attitude to the great Schism of the Minorite Order; what he did, what he thought, what he wrote, his successes and failures; and I shall continue this narrative documentarily down to the crowning of Louis of Taranto in 1352.

## CHAPTER IV

### ANGEVIN *v.* EMPIRE

It will be recollected that Boniface had miraged a visionary Eastern Empire before the eyes of Charles of Valois. Philip le Bel probably never believed the Pope to be sincere toward his brother in that matter. Charles, nevertheless, wedded as his second wife that Catherine Courtenay,<sup>1</sup> who styled herself (as did her daughter after her) Empress-titular. If further practical steps promised by the King of Naples and Robert, Duke of Calabria, were *not* taken to gratify Valois ambition<sup>2</sup> in this direction, it may be attributed to the fact that a still more attractive prize seemed not impossible of attainment, namely, the imperial throne of the West. Having the Pontiffs who succeeded Boniface for his submissive menials, Philip now wrung from them concession after concession, and finally looked to obtaining for his brother election to the throne of the Germanic Empire. The liberties of Europe, such as they were, became therefore really imperilled. The rapacity of France threatened Christendom with a Valois dictator. If the same prince, who had stirred up civil war in Florence a few years before,<sup>3</sup> and had banished Dante with his faction, was now to become Emperor-elect, the hope and prosperity of Florence would indeed be short-lived. As King of the Romans, he would come down to assert imperial rights and be crowned at Milan; his father-in-law, Charles II., would collaborate with him to secure his major coronation in Rome,

<sup>1</sup> January 28, 1301.

<sup>2</sup> Du Cange, *Hist. de l'Empire de Constantinople*, Doc. pp. 43, 44.

<sup>3</sup> 1301-1302.

and the Guelphic cause in every aspect of it would be doomed. The Electors of Germany had acknowledged to a considerable extent the validity of the Papal pretensions. Rudolph of Hapsburg and his successors, Adolph of Nassau and the late Albert of Hapsburg, had been content to renounce the glory of Italian coronations, and to remain, not only north of the Alps, and out of touch with their Italian supporters, but deaf to their solicitations. Such a restricted rôle, however, would be certain to dissatisfy a Valois Emperor.

Clement V. and the Cardinal of Ostia, conscious of the helplessness of the Papacy, and of the absolute prostration threatening it should such an election take place, therefore had recourse to comprehensive mendacity. The Pope despatched written recommendations of Charles to the Electors, while, by means of private agents, he begged them to be on guard for their independence, and secure that of the Church by the election of some one else. The Electors acted upon his advice, and on November 25, 1308, elected Henry of Luxemburg. Europe breathed again. Philip and Charles of Valois were bitterly chagrined, while Clement was careful to dissemble his satisfaction.

This event had occurred during the vacancy<sup>1</sup> of the throne of Naples, and just eight months before the confirmation of the succession to King Robert and his coronation, together with Sancia of Majorca<sup>2</sup> (Aragon) at Avignon.

Had elevation to the imperial dignity come to a personage of doubtful merit, to such another as Rudolph, or upon one of undissembled evil character, such as Albert, there had not, perhaps, ensued tragic consequences worthy of any marked lament; but in Henry of Luxemburg, the scion of a poor, even second-rate, house, the German princes had chosen a person of distinguished merit, a just, God-fearing, and

*May 5, 1309.*

<sup>1</sup> Charles II. d. ~~March 16, 1308.~~ Henry VII. crowned Jan. 6, 1309. Robert crowned Sept. 8, 1309.

<sup>2</sup> Daughter of James I. of Majorca, and cousin of Violante, his first wife.

chivalrous man, with solid ideals; which ideals, however (if I may use a figure to express myself), vaporised as they had become by the fervour of the dignity now shed upon him, became too attenuated to resist the errant political aggregations of the period in which his lot happened to be cast.

He was crowned at Aix, January 6, 1309. In a Diet held at Spire in the following August, attended by envoys representing various Italian states, he announced his intention of descending to Italy to receive coronation at Milan and at Rome,—to claim, in fact, his full historical honours, and to restore, as he too fondly imagined, the glory of the antique Roman Empire. He had already despatched an embassy to Avignon, charged to recognise on his behalf the Papal jurisdiction, to promise his devotion to the Holy See, and beg Clement to sanction his coronation at Rome. Upon arrival, the envoys displayed to Clement the decree of the German Electors. On July 26 the Pontiff gave his consent,<sup>1</sup> that not earlier than at two years' date from the Feast of Pentecost Henry should be crowned at Rome. On August 26, Robert did homage to Clement, and on September 8 he was crowned King of Naples at Avignon.

As the first effect of these events, it will be necessary to consider their primary influences upon the forlorn Ghibelline faction, upon the Guelphic, and, in particular, upon the new King of Naples, owing to his peculiar relationship both to the Holy See and to Florence. Obviously it would have been to the latter's interest to prevent the Pontifical assent to Henry's petition; but Robert's crown at that moment was just not upon his brows. Truly, then, this instant of time was fraught with colossal issues. Clement was clipping and fitting things all round.

And what was the immediate result of granting the

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Epist. Clement V. in Monum. Germ., iv. 495, and Henry's letter to the Pope on p. 492. Also Vitæ Pap. Aven., i. 57, Baluze.

Imperial petition? To Ghibellines the announcement of the coming of Henry bore one or other of two meanings. To the larger and ignobler portion of them it seemed the battle-blast of a new champion for their long-desperate cause; while the nobler minority turned toward him as to one sent to redeem the land of the Cæsars from the power of the destroying angel, and to overwhelm that angel.

The views of the former need no exposition. What may be considered to have been the motto of the latter were the words of Christ, 'Render unto Cæsar the things which are Cæsar's, and unto God the things which are God's;' and again, 'My kingdom is not of this world.' In their eyes Empire and Church were divinely intended to be apart, but not divorced,—separate, but not necessarily antagonistic. Both powers should be administered with perfect accord; both should be foes to tyranny or rapacity. Mankind was not made for Emperors and Popes, but the last for the first. Fusion of the two was impossible.

They did not pause to consider any recent mundane triumphs or defeats of the Holy See, or her unscrupulous use of fraud to support her pretensions. It is more than probable the practised commercial magnates of the Lung'Arno had obtained clear enough insight into the business ways of the Church, even if they did not actually criticise the Donation of Constantine, the false Decretals, the innumerable deliberate forgeries of canons and capitularies. The Empire was more ancient than the Church. Rome had been appointed by Divine wisdom as the seat of universal dominion. Christ had come into the world while it was at peace under the sovereignty of Augustus Cæsar, and he had done nothing either to gainsay, or even asperse, that imperial authority, which they held to have been derived directly from God. St. Paul had appealed unto Cæsar. The family to which the Emperor belonged had become a matter of little more moment than that of the reigning Pontiff. The title and dignity of both Pope and Emperor were electoral, not hereditary. According to their views, then,

the power of the Pontiff should be restricted as much as possible to the affairs of the Church : that of the Emperor,—the supreme embodiment of Roman law,—to the administration of justice and the guardianship of peace.

These tenets, sublimated by the fervent genius of Dante, display to us the exalted, even Utopian, ideal of religious Ghibellinism. To Ghibellines such as Dante, therefore, the announcement of Henry's resolution sounded like the announcement of the coming of Messiah, who should compose clashing factions as a final arbiter, and readjust a jarring world. Cino da Pistoia cried out, 'Nunc Dimittis servum tuum, Domine;' while his fellow-poet sang 'Hosanna,' and later on 'Agnus Dei.'

By the more ordinary Ghibellines, however, Henry was looked for impatiently as the avenging Jehovah who would not fail to remember the death of Conradin upon the scaffold at Naples, and the sons of Manfred, still languishing in the sea-girt dungeons of Castel dell' Ovo.

But very different was the sound of the announcement in the ears of the Neri Guelphs. To these, who had gained wealth and municipal independence through the bitter struggle between Papacy and Empire, in whose eyes the representatives of those two powers had lost prestige by that great struggle, it sounded as a menace of ruin and a most alarming delusion. The Pope was now residing afar off, which circumstance still further diminished his efficacy and distorted his influence as a political factor. A German Cæsar with feudal princes and troops at his back portended the rehabilitation of feudal tyranny and consequent restriction of industrial enterprise. They did not require a re-embodiment of the Roman law : the Republic had painfully worked out, and was continually working out, her own mixed jurisprudence and attending to the administration thereof. The former intrusions of the Teuton had been bitterly recollected as recurrent historical calamities : his interference on this occasion signified even worse disaster.

For the State-machinery had become more elaborated during the abeyance of the Empire. If the Emperor were to prove an evil despot, his coming might mean a death-blow to Florence; even if mild and just, his coming would still connote the reapplication of feudal rights and reinstatement of exiles. He must be watched narrowly, and vigorously opposed, even in his most especial prerogative. To them it seemed inevitable he would be compelled to regard Florence as the focus of insurrectionary opposition. Florence, therefore, distasteful as it must have been, preferred rather to be a financial retainer to the House of Anjou than a thrall to the Empire. What, then, would the new King of Naples do under these circumstances? Her fate seemed to lie in his hands.

Clement had cause to secretly congratulate himself in having rescued Christendom from a French dictatorship. All other difficulties might be adjusted so long as this question was settled. Was not the demeanour of Henry all that could be desired? Though very poor, he was right-minded, religious, and obedient. Clement could concede him sufficient grace in order to manifest friendly recognition, yet not sufficient to constitute him in any sense a rival. He might descend and receive the iron crown at Milan or Monza: he might go down to Rome and receive at the hands of a Legate the diadem of Charlemagne; but his stay in the imperial city should be restricted by definitive agreement, and he must on no account interfere with the vassal realm of Naples, over which he could pretend to no patrimonial claim like the Swabian emperors. How far should his rôle be merely a nominal one?

How then was the announcement received by King Robert? It affected him in a variety of ways. He could not but view the seeming partiality of Clement for Henry with emphatic mistrust of consequences. Obviously, with exception of the Florentines, no one in Europe had reason for anxiety so much as himself. Had not his own throne

been sanguinarily snatched by his grandfather, Charles of Anjou, from the Empire? Had not the heir of the Hohenstauffen dynasty been barbarously murdered by the same ancestor at Naples? Was it probable Henry could forego the reassertion of imperial claims, and even endeavour to oust the dynasty which he and his German followers must perforce look upon as usurpers? What pledges that Clement could exact from the Emperor might be relied upon?

Further to complicate matters, there was Sicily. King Frederick had married Eleanora, King Robert's youngest sister, and the rights of temporary sovereignty had been guaranteed to him in accordance with the conditions laid down in the treaty of Caltabellota.<sup>1</sup> The peace then established had lasted eight years, but the attitude of Frederick was subject to marked fluctuation. Had not his mother Costanza been Manfred's daughter? The friends of Frederick, not those of his wife, were the enemies of Robert. The friends of Robert were foes to the German Empire, with the curious exception of Clement himself. It was clear to every one in Naples that the Aragonese King of Sicily, if grown discontented with his limitations, and with a view to safeguarding his position against the aggressions of the Angevin, would not miss the opportunity now so encouragingly offered of making more than friendly overtures to the Emperor and the Ghibelline elements of Northern Italy.

Moreover, had not Robert but recently been elevated to a throne which had been eloquently, if vainly, claimed by his nephew Carobert of Hungary? Nevertheless, that Clement must look to Robert, who had left Provence in May 1310, to guard the interests of the Church in Italy, was not less obvious. For that purpose he created him his Vicar-General in Romagna<sup>2</sup> and Ferrara, the revenues of which territories the Holy See exactly drew. Further, he had cancelled for him enormous arrears of tribute due to Avignon. Nevertheless, the partiality of the Pontiff for the

<sup>1</sup> August 24, 1302.

<sup>2</sup> August 19, 1310.

new Cæsar, who had helped him out of the gravest political dilemma, permitted him to send circular letters to the various courts and communes of Italy containing expressions of joy so undissembled as to somewhat closely resemble those used by the exiled Florentine poet himself. Both Dante and Clement seemed possessed with a noble demon of unreason in attributing to Henry supernatural power for making and maintaining peace. It is certain both Clement and Dante most earnestly desired peace. If this fine frenzy, however, was the more surprising in Dante, whom we may suppose to have been the better acquainted with the temper and political conditions of Italy, it was the more paradoxical in the Pope, as the conscious representative of Guelphism. But it reveals the effervescence, the rebound, of Clement's joy at being enabled to diminish his growing dependence upon the King of France,—at his achievement, by means of Henry's election, of a comparative emancipation for himself and the Holy See, an invigorating alliance with the Ecclesiastical Electors.

But as long as Philip le Bel reigned at Paris and King Robert, his cousin, was lord of Provence, this emancipation could be only of a limited description. In any case, the Pope was destined to moderate his gladness, and to find himself compelled to continue his double game, to favour the Angevin in such a manner as could not but wear the aspect of despicable treachery toward the Emperor, and to favour the Emperor in such a manner as could not but alarm Naples. He first encouraged the Emperor because he had found a new ally in him; he then cooled toward him, fearing the possibility of open warfare between him and Naples, and, above all, the disturbing effects of his prestige with the Ghibellines or exercise of too plenary an Imperial authority. If, as became more and more apparent, Ghibellinism in its popular aims should assume too aggressive dimensions, Henry, lacking the sinews of war, might find it difficult to restrain himself, might be prevented

maintaining the ideal rôle to which he was known to have set himself. In such case the balance would have to be restored by enlarging the authority (which, however, included countenancing the formidable ambition) of King Robert.

The guileless honesty of Henry presented a phenomenon in that period of craft and violence. It could not be confided in by rulers so soaked in guile as King Robert of Naples and the Priori of Florence. Robert lorded extensive territories in Piedmont within a day's march of Milan. His sister Beatrice was then the spouse of Azzo d'Este of Ferrara,<sup>1</sup> which town had been recently captured from the excommunicated Venetians by Cardinal Pelagrua, with enormous slaughter. Prato, at the very gates of Florence, was a fief of his. Brescia was in league with the Florentines. Pisa, the port of the Arno, though subjected by the Republic since her downfall through the defeat off Meloria, had recovered strength sufficiently to be on the look-out for a bold leader who might once more consolidate her Ghibelline sympathies, and then wreak both jealousy and revenge upon the queen of Tuscan cities.

The drift of such a condition of Italian affairs naturally pointed to an alliance between Florence and Naples closer than heretofore. On 3rd July, Louis of Savoy and two German bishops, constituting the embassy of Henry, arrived at Florence in order to announce formally the Emperor's intended coming to Rome for his coronation, and to ask the Commune to do him honour. In September, at Lausanne, Henry swore anew to the Apostolic Legate that he would preserve the integrity of the States of the Church, and refrain from exercising jurisdiction in them. The Princes of the Empire promised him their support. Envoys from most of the cities of Italy now waited on him<sup>2</sup> to render homage. Pisa sent a rich present of money. Only

<sup>1</sup> Afterwards of Bertrand de Baux (Del Balzo), Count of Berre and Montiscaglioso.

<sup>2</sup> October 11, 1310.

Florence, the most important representative of wealth and communal independence, withheld every token of goodwill.<sup>1</sup>

At this moment, then, Robert, with Queen Sancia, was slowly returning to his kingdom from Avignon. On August 10 they were received by the town of Asti, where a compact with Philip of Savoy was established. A chronicler records that at the banquet given them here they fed out of silver dishes. Thence they proceeded to Alessandria. On September 30, he and his Queen arrived at Florence, where being joyfully welcomed, they were lodged in the palace of the Peruzzi, in the Borgo dei Greci.<sup>2</sup>

To his anxiety, Robert now realised that the Neri party was dangerously divided against itself. Blinded by local ambitions and petty rivalries, it was shedding its own precious blood in the streets and piazz<sup>2</sup>i, instead of husbanding strength and resource so as to present an indomitable front to the threatening storm. Ammirato remarks that the Commonwealth would in all probability have been ruined now, had not public interests been safeguarded by the zeal of those who were at the head of the government.<sup>3</sup> That Robert used his best efforts to restore order and point a policy is scarcely to be doubted; but the event which brought the people to their senses was the arrival of news that Henry VII. had actually begun his march,—that on the 24th of October he had even crossed the snows of Mount Cenis and reached Susa.

Five days before this Robert had concluded a convention with the Bardi and his hosts to supply him with 24,000 carlini<sup>4</sup> of silver for the pay of his troops garrisoned

<sup>1</sup> The Signoria had, however, entertained the idea of sending envoys. Their court costumes were even made. But the project was overruled, and finally abandoned.

<sup>2</sup> Florence did them the singular honour of constructing in their palace a new kitchen.

<sup>3</sup> Ammirato, lib. v. 104.

<sup>4</sup> A carlino of silver was valued at one-sixteenth of an ounce of gold, to which five fiorini went. A carlino of gold was valued at a quarter of an ounce of gold. The ounce, again, equalled '2 livres, 10 sous, Tournois.' The silver carlini were

in Piedmont and Romagna, in return for certain important concessions granted them over the customs at Naples. On the same day with Henry's arrival at Susa, he had quitted Florence for his own capital, taking Siena on his journey. He entered Naples on his fête-day,<sup>1</sup> curtailing every festivity because of the sudden loss of his second son, Louis.

If Robert had not succeeded in his interested endeavour to appease party quarrels beside the Arno, he had at any rate thoroughly discussed with the Administration there the grave position of affairs, the favour shown by the Holy See to the Teuton Emperor-elect, the possible, and even probable, contingencies in the near future, and, finally, the measures which ought to be adopted in view of them. If Robert and his financial friends were enabled to perceive that Clement's attitude could have but one clear interpretation, namely, that, though not the less detesting Ghibellinism, he had some special reason to trust, and therefore to favour Henry, they could not but feel that he was playing an extremely hazardous game, one which he would, perhaps, not have adopted had he been an Italian Pontiff reigning at Rome. As the King had recently returned from Avignon, where his dignity had been so emphatically advanced, it is hardly possible he could be quite in the dark as to Clement's tactics; yet it is improbable he realised their full meaning. Clement was, indeed, aware that the personal ambition of Robert<sup>1</sup> would surely urge him to transcend the rôle

called 'Gigliati.' King Robert coined, in 1318, golden carlini, 'auri fini de caratis viginte quatuor.' The Tareno was valued at one-thirtieth of an ounce. The Grana was a still smaller coin. All were constantly tampered with, and the trader was well-advised who carried balances to test the weight of the coins proffered.

<sup>1</sup> Although Robert, as Duke of Calabria, had obeyed the summons to arrest the Templars throughout his father's dominions (21st November 1307), later, when King, he refused to give up Templar property until he had profited sufficiently by it, and he secretly forbade his Seneschal in Provence to surrender it to the Archbishops of Embrun and Arles, whom Clement had deputed to receive it. For this he was mildly informed that he had incurred Interdict. The family of Sancia (her brother Sancho now occupying the throne of Majorca) showed marked favour to the Templars, and it is probably to her influence

of champion of the Holy See, and dream of a general sovereignty over Italy, in which his cousin Philip le Bel could and would, of course, render him dangerous assistance. Henry of Luxemburg seemed marked out to act as a befitting counterpoise to the schemes of both. By his election and minor coronation at Aix the direct imperial aims of the House of Valois had been defeated: by a mild resuscitation of the Italian claims of the Empire, Clement would check the extension of those of the junior House of Anjou, which during the absence of the Holy See from Rome might be restrained by no better means. But although he had consented that Henry's coronation should take place at Rome (and this supreme ceremony had been immemorially performed by the Pope in person), Clement harboured no intention of reinstating the Holy See there.

The question arises, was it necessary Florence should entertain alarm for her municipal independence and commerce from so ideal, so pontifically-approved, an Emperor? Imperial prerogative in Italy had surely declined past hope of durable rehabilitation. Dante and the exiled Bianchi recognised this, or else they failed to realise the value of that freedom. Their representatives in Germany must have made them aware that Italy would not have to deal with an extirpating Barbarossa, or even a defiant and heretical Frederick II. But the practical rulers of the Republic perceived that Henry's rôle as supreme arbiter of justice would be an impossible one to carry out. A German Emperor cloaked a feudal prince. Such a rôle would involve, among other things perilous to peace, the reinstating of exiles and

similar leniency was shown them at Naples. In his Provençal dominions Robert showed no mercy, although only forty-eight were arrested (Jan. 3, 1308). Philip of Taranto was similarly commanded to effect the arrest of the proscribed Order throughout his Levantine dominions. (*Cf.* Chioccarelli, tom. viii. f. 73; Lünig, *Cod. Dipl.*, tom. iv. 467.) Their sub-preceptor, Michele, held his chapters at Capua. That several survived at Naples is evidenced by the fact that in 1318 John XXII. made an order that the Franciscans and Dominicans there should contribute to their support. He likewise permitted them to enter other Orders. (*Cf.* Lea, *Hist. of Inquisition*, vol. iii. p. 315.)

the appointment of an Imperial vicar in their city. Moreover, the latter would probably be a stranger and a Feudal Teuton. It portended to them, above all, the restoration of a hated aristocracy, the destruction, or at least the certain retardation, of the promised supremacy of Florence in Tuscany, by the encouragement which would be afforded to her rivals, Arezzo, Pisa, and Pistoia; in fact, it would menace her very life.

This was more than sufficient for them. This they had instinctively foreseen; and here were they, forcibly reminded of that Tuscan union which had been welded by Innocent III. a century before, at once as a counterpoise to the Empire and a shield for the honour of the Holy See,—less attached, it is true, to the Church than of old, yet far closer to her as having become her commercial partner,—here were they, to all practical intents, face to face with what could not but seem to them the open and extraordinary desertion of his own historic cause by the Pontiff. Their main endeavour must, therefore, be to draw closer and closer to the Angevin, both at Paris and at Naples, and await events. To play her part, then, Florence must be prepared to refuse homage of any kind to the Emperor, and if driven to it, as surely she would be, to meet force with force and fight him.

But what force could Florence put in the field with any hope of prevailing against such as might be brought against her? If the feudal system had proved adverse to her industrial progress and the accumulation of wealth, she had found, likewise, that a commercial commonwealth could not beget the equivalent of a trained feudal militia, like that obtaining in France, England, and Naples. A century and more had to elapse ere the birth of regular standing armies. There was but one course open to her, and that was to cling closer to King Robert, whose various possessions in Italy compelled him to form and retain in his pay, besides Apulians, large bands of mixed Provençal and Catalan mercenaries. Unfortunately, however, but four

years previously Florence had been led to entertain an unfavourable opinion of him : moreover, she had experienced direct hostility from the Holy See.

It will be recalled that in revenge for ill-success as Legate at Florence under Benedict XI., the interested Cardinal of Ostia<sup>1</sup> had espoused the cause of the exiled Bianchi, and had induced that Pontiff to summon the leaders of the Neri, with Corso Donati at their head, to Perugia, to make them answer for their conduct, in order that during their absence from the city he might himself strike a blow to reinstate their foes. But this measure, from defective strategy, had not succeeded. In consequence, Florence had attacked the Bianchi stronghold of Pistoia, and had called in Robert, then Duke of Calabria, with some of his father's Catalan mercenaries, to carry out the operation. The siege of Pistoia, under his direction, was proceeding to its sanguinary termination in April 1306, when, at the prompting of the same Cardinal, Clement V. despatched two Legates to Tuscany, one of them commissioned to demand the recall of the troops by the Signoria ; the other to order the relinquishment of the operations at Pistoia.

Robert, as became the vassal of the Holy See, or rather, as the hopeful representative of his vassal father, had obeyed the Pontifical summons, though he left some portion of his forces to continue the siege at their own peril. He had been handsomely remunerated by Florence for his services, and his mercenaries were more mindful of their wages than the fulminations of the Pope. The siege of Pistoia continued. The city fell, and the Bianchi therein were ruthlessly massacred. The Legates had been defied. The Cardinal of Ostia, with Clement's full consent, then proceeded to excommunicate the Republic, and twice repeated the operation, in order to render it 'thick and slab : ' on the last occasion actually naming separately each individual member of the Florentine government. That

<sup>1</sup> Niccolo degli Alberti of Prato, Dominican Bishop of Spoleto, Legate in France, England, and Sicily, created by Benedict XI., 1303, died 1321.

government then retaliated by levying a heavy tax upon all church properties within its jurisdiction. The monks of the Badia barred their doors and rang their bell, hoping to obtain succour from citizen sympathisers; but the enraged populace broke in upon them, sacked the Badia, and the government decreed its tower should be destroyed.<sup>1</sup>

It will thus be perceived that the honour and glory of the Church were scarcely identifiable with the Guelphism of Florence on this occasion; and that the honour and glory of Florence were therefore for solid reasons likely to be less affectionately considered by the Holy See at the coming of Henry, four years later, than was agreeable to her Neri rulers.<sup>2</sup> Possibly Clement, who had thus had opportunity to note a sad declension in the efficacy of the Papal anathema, hoped to increase it again by conjoining the ban of the Empire. If such was at any time a side hope of his, it was a vain one, for the prestige of the latter had faded to a mere shadow. Moreover, the older Ghibellinism was even more abhorrent to him than contumacious Guelphism; and Henry must not fall into that. In any case, the same Cardinal da Prato, who had once acted so harshly to Florence, had been the chief means of procuring the election of Henry VII. to the Empire. The Cardinal was her arch-enemy.

Under these circumstances, it was manifest the deficiencies of Robert had to be overlooked. Ghibellinism, of whatever description, could not put into the field, at least in Tuscany, any equivalent champion. Henry, it was understood, was accompanied in his journey by the modest force of five hundred men and certain princes, his allies and relatives. But his cortège would, of course, be augmented in Lombardy. Robert, on the other hand, was well furnished with

<sup>1</sup> The interdict on Florence and Fiesole was removed only on Sept. 11, 1309, conveniently for King Robert's visit thither.

<sup>2</sup> Moreover, the Cardinal da Prato, their old enemy, was at the right hand of Philip of France. Dino, Compagni, iii. 32.

tried soldiers, and Florence with money. Henry of Luxemburg was defective in both resources.

Neither Papal nor Imperial authority, nor the combined supremacy of both these, could ensure peace in Italy. Class hatred, commercial prosperity, governmental mismanagement, family dissensions, proscriptions, forfeitures, feuds of all kinds, fermenting throughout her length and breadth, defied adjustment even at the hands of her own plebeian rulers. Jealous of her independence as she was, proud of her democratic constitution, it was now forced upon Florence that her safety in the near future, if not her very existence, lay in the ascendancy of her Angevin ally; and that ascendancy, she realised more and more, must depend upon her own solid gold.

## CHAPTER V

### INCIDENTS AND INDIVIDUALS AT NAPLES

WHILE Clement is congratulating himself on having pleased both Guelph and Ghibelline, the German Empire and his own Neapolitan vassal, and while King Robert is thus in a fair way of becoming the figurehead of the Guelphic faction, it is opportune to glance first of all at Naples and at certain personages figuring there, who were destined to fulfil important rôles in the turbulent politics of the succeeding period.

To those accustomed to view Naples and Neapolitans by the light of modern and non-Italian criticism, the virility displayed by her in days before those which brought about the fatal admixture of Spanish blood, or rather before Bourbon degradation, may perhaps awaken surprise. Naples has not always been populated by the morally and physically enfeebled race which travellers of to-day recognise there, conspicuous for superstition, cruelty, and idleness, the most suggestive example in Europe afforded outside Spain herself of the obliquity of priestly misgovernment,—she having been only the other day, in the second half of the nineteenth century, the home of legalised human torture.<sup>1</sup> One has but to visit the sculptured effigies still plentifully extant in her neglected churches to be made aware of the large-limbed, firm-faced race in whose veins flowed Norman and Provençal blood, whose fine names and amazing titles still catch the ear in ridiculous profusion in Neapolitan drawing-rooms.

<sup>1</sup> Superstition and Force, H. C. Lea, p. 587. Carlo di la Varenne, *La Tortura in Sicilia*, 1860.

More virile surely were the warlike people who built St. Elmo,<sup>1</sup> for whom French architects built Castel Nuovo, who raised the first stages of the tower of Sta. Chiara—than the people who have pretended for generations past that these and other noble works were the *chef d'œuvres* of Masuccio, a mythical Neapolitan genius, and his equally mythical son and grandson.<sup>2</sup> The moderns, with many notable exceptions, have not failed to inherit the vices and most of the superstitions, but display little trace of the masculine force and talents, of their ancestors, for whose failings, at any rate, there is the excuse that they were reared in a feudal age amid clerical corruption and extreme party violence.

At the moment of Robert's accession, there had arisen a grave scandal at court, owing to a charge alleged against Ithamar Comnena, consort of the King's brother, Philip, Prince of Taranto and Achaia, of adultery with Bartolommeo Siginulfo, Count of Caserta, Grand Chamberlain (godson to the said Prince), and others. The Count resolutely denied the accusation, and demanded to have his innocence placed beyond dispute. On the King's return to Naples from Florence, this affair had reached its climax. King Robert, in sentencing Siginulfo to deprivation and banishment, stated that he would have granted his request had it not transpired that certain men had been hired to assassinate the Prince while at Aversa.<sup>3</sup> The assassination had not taken place; neither did Siginulfo answer the summons to appear

<sup>1</sup> St. Erasmo, Anselmo, Neapolitan martyr under Diocletian. Cf. Ariosto, xix. 50.

<sup>2</sup> B. De Dominicis, *Vite dei Pittori, Scultori ed Architetti Napoletani*, 3 vols., 1742.

Of like nature are a large proportion of Neapolitan attributions to illustrious natives in the region of painting: Colantonio del Fiore (Firenze) and Gennaro di Cola, for instance, concerning whom see Crowe and Cavalcaselle, *Hist. of Painting in Italy*; Frizzoni, *Arte Italiana del Rinascimento*, p. 9, and *Archivio Storico per le Province Napolitane*, 1882, N. F. Faraglia.

<sup>3</sup> At Aversa the royal folk of Naples were used to spend their leisure hunting and hawking. The Norman kings had built the castle, part of which in the reign of Robert became converted into a monastery of Celestine monks dedicated to San Pietro a Majella. Pietro Faytinelli in his sonnet (ed. Del.

before the tribunal appointed under the presidency of Charles, now created Duke of Calabria, to examine the various accusations. In December 1310 the Count was banished the kingdom, all his goods and honours were sequestrated, and a price was put upon his head. He lived, however, to be of assistance to Louis IV. of Bavaria, while attempting later on an invasion of Naples. Meanwhile, the Prince of Taranto slew a Benedictine friar, upon suspicion of intending his own assassination, and for this he himself was excommunicated until 1313.<sup>1</sup>

Unfortunately for the character of the Prince<sup>2</sup> in question, it was well known that he ardently desired to contract a union with the daughter of Charles of Valois and Catherine Courtenay, who, then in her teens, was presumptive heiress to the maternal imperial rights in Greece and Ionia, the acquisition and realisation of which would promise him sovereign as well as suzerain authority, and great enrichment of the royal house of Naples.<sup>3</sup> Nor is it less unfortunate for him that his victim, Siginulfo, who, like many people in that age, had been three times married, had grown very wealthy, and was therefore a considerable prize. Confiscations and heredities filled royal purses.

With regard to Ithamar, it is probable she retired to a convent and died obscurely. I have discovered no details of the process of her divorce or death. By her the Prince had had Philip, who predeceased him in 1331; Carlo, who fell five years later on the field of Monte-

Prete) refers to the King visiting it. 'Stiasi pure in Napoli, o in Aversa.' Wine grown in the neighbourhood was much esteemed. In the eleventh century Alfano had celebrated Aversa as an Athens for 'Learning.'

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Giuseppe de Blasiis in *Archivio Storico per le Prov. Napol.*, anno xii., pp. 291-293.

<sup>2</sup> Philip, Prince of Taranto, owing to his falling prisoner at the battle of Falconaria (December 1, 1299) into the hands of Frederick, King of Sicily, had been nicknamed 'Unlucky.' Bartolommeo Siginulfo likewise had been made captive on the same battlefield. Cf. Amari, vol. ii. pp. 392-398, *op. cit.*

<sup>3</sup> Furthermore, he was bent on wedding his son Carlo, by Ithamar, to Giovanna, Catherine's younger sister. The dispensation for this union was granted only a few months after that for his own, 19th May 1313. *Regest. Clement V.*, 9276.

Catino; Bianca, married to Raymond Berenger, Count of Prades; Beatrice, who married Walter de Brienne, (VI.) Duke of Athens; and Giovanna, who married Rupenide, King of Armenia.<sup>1</sup>

After a delay of two and a half years, during which Clement removed the interdict, Philip was granted dispensation to wed Catherine of Valois, and this second union of his, which took place in July 1313, will have later on important bearings on the narrative.

This matrimonial scandal irresistibly recalls contemporary scandals at the court of France, where the three daughters of Philip le Bel were charged with the same crime as that attributed to Ithamar. Blanche and Margaret were shaven and shut up in Château Gaillard, and the latter was strangled that her husband might make an advantageous re-marriage. Jane was likewise imprisoned, but finally pronounced innocent by the Parliament of Paris. Indeed, it will be necessary by-and-by to notice a similar and still more painful instance of state-crime of the same nature in connection with Matilda of Hainault and John, a yet younger brother of King Robert.

These were times of avarice, vengeance, treachery, and despair; and yet, even as by the fire of passionate and bitter experiences, Dante himself was at this time creating in exile an imperishable memorial consecrated to chaste love, so, amid the furnace of these perilous elements, there was beginning to develop that dazzling genius of the Renaissance. How crowded with monster events was this age—the captivity of the Papacy, the coming of the Emperor, the suppression of the Templars, with Dante and Giotto, Cino and Cavalcanti, each deeply meditating, and deriving solemn lessons therefrom!

After King Robert himself and his son Charles of Calabria (now a lad of fourteen years), the individual whose authority had become preponderant beyond rivalry at Naples was Bartolommeo da Capua. His command and employment of

<sup>1</sup> 1316. Otherwise Oissim. He died 1320.

the resources of Jurisprudence may be said to have effected even more than the sword of Catalan and Provençal in rehabilitating the Neapolitan Angevin after the Sicilian disasters.

Of noble origin, Bartolommeo had attained pre-eminence as a jurist before the decease of Charles I. in 1285. He had acted already as Grand-Protonotary in 1283, and during the viceregal administration of Robert d'Artois and Charles Martel he commanded wider distinction. In 1292 we find him accompanying the former to Genoa, in order to take part in the council wherein were vainly debated the conditions of a proposed league between Naples and that Republic against Sicily and Pisa. He had spent the four previous years between Rome, Paris, and Aragon, occupied in obtaining modifications of the Spanish Convention, in the election of a Pontiff sympathetic to the Angevin, and above all, in procuring the release of the captive princes. In June 1295, he figured in the presence of Boniface VIII. at Anagni, stipulating as to the new conventions between King James and his master, Charles II., with the Aragonese envoys, on which occasion the liberation of the royal hostages was determined, and the claims of the Valois to Spanish dominions were finally abandoned. The debt due on the part of the three princes and their father to him was acknowledged by the honours liberally conferred upon him both while Charles survived, and afterwards, during the first nineteen years of the reign of King Robert. But their indebtedness to him by no means ended with their liberation.

There were, in fact, few affairs of any importance in these complicated reigns in which the 'Protonotarius Magnus' did not sustain a leading rôle, one which may be designated that of an international Guelphic jurist.

For a century and more the study and practice of civil law, founded upon Roman, though stratified in Naples by Longobardic and Byzantine usages, had been pursued with increasing distinction and influence in the Universities of

Naples and Bologna. In it had been discovered the sinews of sovereign right, the virtue of royal prerogative, the weapons to be used either for or against ecclesiastical despotism. But its most marked tendency in the period immediately under consideration was to modify and transform prevailing feudal law. The labour, with this object in view, of codifying and clarifying the collected 'Constitutions,' was undertaken and carried through by Bartolommeo; and in applying to the task his own individual methods, he declared himself to be a child of the 'Revival.' This great work was brought to a conclusion in 1306, when King Charles both confirmed and gave it a preface. 'These usages,' writes Giannone, 'were placed by the King's command in the royal archives, in order that those of his subjects who might become involved in disputes might know where to resort for a decision.'<sup>1</sup>

A fresh and significant opportunity for enhancing his renown was afforded him in 1309, upon the death of Charles II., when there arose for the second time the question of Succession. Bartolommeo was then called upon, together with Niccolo Ruffolo of Ravello and Andrea d'Isernia (the elder), to accompany Robert, Duke of Calabria, to Avignon, where they triumphantly supported the cause of the latter in opposition to the advocates of his nephew, Carobert of Hungary. For these services Bartolommeo was recompensed by a grant of nobility and several rich lands.

But there were other facets to his talent. Over and above compiling 'Digests,' expounding statutes, or inditing commentaries, Bartolommeo utilised his scholastic attainments in composing sermons founded upon scriptural texts in a right juridical style, thereby setting example and model for King Robert himself, which the latter, bent on obtaining similar theological renown, was not slow to emulate, although it cannot be said that the pupil equalled the master. The great jurist became the tutelary genius of the

<sup>1</sup> Istoria Civil. Reg. Napol., lib. xxi.

monarch, and from him were derived the respective attitudes observed by Robert toward the Emperors Henry VII. and Louis IV., and toward the Florentine Republic.

By his wife Margherita, who was a daughter of the famous Ruggiero di Lauria, he left issue to inherit his wealth and honours. His death took place in the same year as that of Charles, Duke of Calabria, namely, 1328.

Among the evidences of King Robert's statesmanlike vigour relating to this period, immediately after his return to his kingdom are enactments relating to lepers. On April 29, 1311, he enjoins upon all provincial and other officials, 'that since the religious Order of Knights Hospitalers of St. Lazarus of Jerusalem have proven themselves to possess authority to compel those infected with leprosy, wherever found, to separate from the healthy community and retire into houses belonging to the Order, they are to second the efforts of the Hospitallers, who sometimes encounter opposition, owing to the lepers having relatives of influence.'

One effect in Naples due to the prosperous extension of her commercial relations with Florence, may be adverted to here, namely, the manner in which Tuscan talent followed in the track of Tuscan gold, and adorned King Robert's capital. Naples recovering during the later years of Charles II. from chronic crisis and an exhausted treasury, by means both of encouragement given to trade and the peace with Sicily and Aragon, began to own the need of further enlargement, and a luxurious desire to emulate the splendour of the court of France. The unheroic and sensual character of Charles II. accentuated the tendency. Streets needed widening, palaces were required for his younger sons, and mansions for magnates and merchants; churches, and especially Franciscan and Dominican convents, rose upon the sites of poorer dwelling-places. But Naples herself was not able to supply artists and architects of adequate genius for all these undertakings. Recourse, therefore, as in the

days of Frederick II. and Manfred, was had to Roman, Tuscan, or French masters, whose mercantile compatriots flourished in the shadow of the Castello Nuovo. Through their influence was re-opened in Naples a market for Florentine artists. Hence, in 1305, Montano d'Arezzo is found frescoing two chapels in the castle for five ounces of gold;<sup>1</sup> and six years later he is executing similar works in the palace of the Prince of Taranto, as well as others for him at Monte Vergine. Pietro Cavallini, a Roman painter of repute, had already distinguished himself there. These two masters were speedily followed by Francesco di Vito, Tino da Siena, and more famous Simone, whose picture of Louis<sup>2</sup> (of Toulouse) presenting his crown to King Robert, may still be examined with some painful sort of profit in the right aisle of San Lorenzo Maggiore. In 1329, Giotto, in the fulness of his powers, was called to Naples, and there executed several works, all of which have unfortunately perished, though the influence of his style is strongly manifested in the extant frescoes by Roberto di Oderisio in the Church of the Incoronata, painted, however, in the latter half of the century. But of Giotto later. The many splendid tombs in Sta. Chiara, Sta. Maria Donna Regina, San Gennaro, San Lorenzo, San Domenico Maggiore, and San Giovanni in Carbonara, attest the taste and force, as well as the failings, of Florentine architecture and sculpture, and hand down to us the names of Pace, Sancius, and Johannes, all artists from the Lung' Arno.

A noteworthy effect, in great measure due to this Tuscan influence, was the increased social respect accorded the man of business. Commerce had ceased to be regarded as derogatory to lineage. The brow of labour was not branded with a social stigma. The plebeian plutocrat was a master in Florence: his position at Naples—where money and splendour were more emphatically desired, but more rarely enjoyed—was not less assured. The aristocracy in Feudal Naples, like that

<sup>1</sup> Twenty-five fiorini.

<sup>2</sup> Probably painted in Provence.

of Florence, to a considerable extent became mercantile. The poverty caused by the disastrous war for the recovery of Sicily contributed to this result. In the basements of many a mansion were displayed to attract purchasers silks, sendal, serge, cotton, hempen and woollen goods, and fine scarlet, from England, France, Flanders, and Tunis; the peculiar virtues of which were doubtless more effectively advertised by the ladies who aired themselves in the loggie or gardens, or were depicted on the walls of this or that family chapel by the pupils of Montano or Cavallini. Consequently, it had become possible for individuals of humble, even of very low, origin to rise by merit, favour, or force of character to high dignities in the state. It is probable, nevertheless, that this tendency gave rise to jealousies on the part of those functionaries of high Provençal lineage who had followed the Italian fortunes of their hereditary sovereigns.

Still another effect, partly due to the same influences, was the unusual toleration accorded the Jews. As might be surmised, the enlightened policy of Frederick II. had tended to make Naples and Sicily places of refuge for this race, where the Universities of Bari and Salerno became conspicuous for Hebrew talent. During the pontificate of Alexander IV., and immediately after the decease of that Pontiff, the enmity of the Franciscan friars toward them resulted in a fierce outbreak. The favour of the gentle Alexander availed the wretched people but little, owing to the fact that this Pope was himself the creature of the Minorite Order. But more reliable favour, extended to them by later Pontiffs, especially by Nicholas III. (1277-80), contributed to ameliorate their condition, and although encouraged to abjure their faith, they were not harshly coerced into so doing. Their synagogues were established, and the privileges and immunities they enjoyed were considerable.

Once more, therefore, the Angevin, out of France at least, was found following in the steps of the Suabian. King

Robert extended the patronage exercised toward the Jews by his father, and the family of Queen Sancia equally favoured them in Majorca. No doubt these favours were paid for, but we do not meet with atrocities in Naples at all similar to those visited upon the Hebrews in France, Germany, or England at this period.<sup>1</sup> The business of such bankers as Abramo Provenzale, Abramo di Lucifero, and Monda Pisano flourished, leading later on to an influx of great numbers of their co-religionists, when, at the instance of Sancia and her brother, James II. of Majorca, King Robert openly invited Jews from the Balearic Isles to take up their abode in all parts of his dominions, subjecting them merely to the same taxation with Christians. Besides resorting to them for money, the King by their means procured rare and desirable books and wild animals, scarce medicines,<sup>2</sup> scientific and geographical data, &c.

In this manner it will be seen that Christian and Oriental science drew forcibly, not merely to alliance, but into amalgamation. Indeed, the literary impulses of the age were shared in as well as emphasised by the learning and industry of the Jews. It is true there could not be found as yet a chair of Hebrew at any Italian University; nevertheless Dante, the inspired epitome of the pre-Renaissance, perhaps more fortunately than reasonably, guessed at the withholden beauties of this language,<sup>3</sup> and expressed himself

<sup>1</sup> I have met with no instance of 'Host-finding' at the doors of Jews, a device so popular in other countries at this period for bringing about a massacre of the Jews and confiscation of their properties. On the other hand, by an edict bearing date 1311, Robert commanded that all Hebrews who had undergone conversion should be compelled to live dispersed among the orthodox population, so as to preclude their being tempted to relapse into Jewry. Regest. 3 A. fol. 64; 4 B. fol. 47; 6 D. fol. 180.

<sup>2</sup> The '*Liber Pandectarum Medicinæ omnia Medicinæ simplicia continens*,' the '*Liber Cibalis*,' and '*Tractatus de Herbis, de Animalibus, et de Lapidibus*,' by Matteo Silvaticus (the first dedicated to King Robert), abound with references to the Jewish and Arabian philosophers. Copies of all these works may be found in the Corsini Library and the British Museum.

<sup>3</sup> By Dante, a language that must have been spoken by Adam and by Christ, could not be regarded as the speech of confusion, but of heavenly favour. Cf. *Vulg. Eloq.*, lib. i. 6, 40; *Parad.* xxvi. 124.

favourable to the study thereof. Giuda Romano, and his cousin Manoello, even laboured at the fashionable scholastic philosophy. Moreover, they were seemingly masters of the vernacular; for the latter, at any rate, wrote an imitation of the 'Divina Commedia' in Hebrew, and lamented Dante's death in an Italian sonnet.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Jüdaische Zeitschrift, v. 286-330, Abraham Geiger, 1867. Das Judenthum und seine Geschichte, 1865, id.

## CHAPTER VI

### HENRY OF LUXEMBURG

ON the 30th October 1310, Henry of Luxemburg and his Queen reached Turin. He was accompanied by his two brothers, Baldwin, Archbishop of Trèves,<sup>1</sup> and Waleran, Count of Lutzelburg, Leopold, Duke of Austria, the Duke of Brabant, Ugo and Guido, of the Delphinat of Vienne, and Amadeo and Ludovico di Savoia.<sup>2</sup> Sixty years had elapsed since the Lombards had witnessed the military pomp of the coming of an Emperor-elect into Italy. There may have been very old men living, as Gregorovius remarks, who faintly recollected the last occasion. But instead of coming with an armed host, as it were for conquest, like his predecessors, Henry had come almost unarmed, as the Evangel of Peace, the incarnation of mercy and justice, the composer of conflicting factions, to rehabilitate the ancient union between Germany and Italy. As Clement likewise desired the peace of Italy, he favoured Henry for two reasons.

No sooner did he arrive, than Ghibellines from all directions flocked to his standard, for the most part, however, expecting that he was a Samuel or a David come to restore them to their former pre-eminence, and assure

<sup>1</sup> It will be recollected that of the seven Electors constituting the Electoral College, three were the Archbishops of Mainz, Trèves, and Cologne, representing the German Church. The King of Bohemia, as cup-bearer, claimed to be leader among the secular Electors. The number 'seven' was considered sacred in the Germanic Constitution. By uniting his son John to the heiress of the Bohemian throne, Henry paved the way to its possession by his house; in fact, in the following year John was accepted by the Estates of Prague as King of Bohemia.

<sup>2</sup> The former of these was presently created Prince (Nov. 24, 1310); the latter was despatched to Rome in order to assume the supreme senatorial dignity, to which he had previously been elected.

them political predominance, rather than merely to arbitrate between them and their antagonists, as was announced to be his definite intention. There were, nevertheless, a number of important Guelphic leaders, such as Guido della Torre, Riccardo del Tiscione, Antonio da Lodi, the Marquis of Montferrat, and Simeone di Vercelli, who came at the head of their mercenaries to do homage, evidently buoyed with the same hope with which Dante comforted himself. These helped to swell the imperial forces, which presently numbered 12,000 men. Henry refused to accept that proffered by the Marquis of Saluzzo, because it became known to him that the Marquis had recently sworn fealty to King Robert. The other Guelphs of Lombardy, somewhat timidly perhaps, remained faithful to King Robert, as sovereign of the rich lordships of Asti, Alba, Casale, and Alessandria. They anxiously awaited his orders.<sup>1</sup>

On November 1st arrived an embassy from Rome, representing both the leaders of the factions, Orsini, Annibaldi, Colonna, and the citizens, entreating Henry to come and receive the imperial diadem in their midst. They had likewise despatched a separate embassy to Avignon urging the Pope to return to their city to perform the coronation. Henry sent his brother, the Archbishop of Trèves, and Nicholas, Bishop of Botronto (the author of the 'Iter Italicum'), to Clement inviting him to fulfil that traditional ceremony, and expressing the desire that should he be unable to do so, he would delegate full authority to the Legate and Cardinals to act in his stead.

Clement could entertain no intention of gratifying them. The excuse of bodily infirmity was made to do duty for his compulsory absorption in the affairs of Philip le Bel;—the seizure of Lyons by that king, the closing scenes of the tragedy of the Templars, the persecution of the memory

<sup>1</sup> Henry carefully avoided meddling with any places owing allegiance to Robert. Cf. *Iter Italicum*.

of Boniface VIII. But he bade Henry select his own day after the Feast of Pentecost for the function, and satisfied him that he would depute certain Cardinals to act in place of himself.

At Asti two events of importance occurred. Matteo Visconti, Ghibelline leader, driven out of Milan by Guido della Torre, made a sorry appearance, and kissed the feet of Henry. The future Emperor received him graciously, and in a short time conducted him and other exiles back to Milan. The second event consisted in the fact that documentary evidence now reached Henry showing the existence of a Guelphic League organised in opposition to him, of which King Robert was the virtual head. After pondering the information for some time, he caused the document to be destroyed by the Bishop of Botronto, declaring he wished it to be seen by no one, forasmuch as a scion of the House of St. Louis could never spontaneously have entertained such designs against him, and he attributed responsibility for it to that King's councillors.<sup>1</sup>

At Milan, after with difficulty reconciling the Torriani and the Visconti, he duly received his Lombard coronation in Sant' Ambrogio at the hands of Guido della Torre, in honour of which he created a hundred and sixty knights.<sup>2</sup> Signs of defection, however, were not wanting. Certain Guelphs of Parma and Cremona refused to receive knighthood at his hands. Further, certain envoys sent by Venice and Genoa, while according to him homage as King of the Romans, declined to take the oath of fealty. Consequently, although Henry laboured not unsuccessfully at the hopeless task of reconciling Guelph and Ghibelline, and evinced astonishing impartiality, the Guelphs, forecasting what his pretensions might become after his final coronation, distrusted him, and when he left Milan,

<sup>1</sup> *i.e.*, Bartolommeo da Capua and the Priori of Florence.

<sup>2</sup> The iron crown was, however, not forthcoming; so that another had to be made for the occasion by Lando of Siena.

says the Bishop of Botronto, few could be found to accompany him.<sup>1</sup> The gold of Florence and the orders of King Robert had begun to operate powerfully. Before Henry had quitted Milan, the city was assessed in a very large sum, which, nevertheless, was easily, if not altogether willingly, paid. Outbreaks between the Germans and the Italians ensued, which resulted not infrequently in bloodshed. Matteo Visconti was seized, and would have been condemned to death, had not the Bishop personally begged his life from the Emperor—an incident fraught with truly serious consequences to succeeding generations both at Milan<sup>2</sup> and throughout Italy. Della Torre escaped and fled the city. His palace was ransacked, and in it was discovered an extensive military store.

On the spread of the news of the insurrection in Milan, Brescia, Cremona, Crema, Parma, and Lodi, stimulated by letters and money from Florence, rose likewise in revolt, driving out their newly-installed Vicars-Imperial.<sup>3</sup> Meanwhile Henry was compromising a similar revolt in Bergamo; but what with adjusting various disputes, deciding modes of election, raising money to meet expenses incurred, and paying the salaries of his Vicars, he was already experiencing a foretaste of his fatal embarrassments. He spent Easter at Pavia, returned to Milan, and thence set out somewhat menacingly for Crema and Cremona. The citizens of these towns came out to meet him barefooted and with halters round their necks. The bloodshed at Milan and the loss of several of his Germans had at last stirred the mortal indignation of the Peacemaker. Crema was heavily mulcted. Cremona was sacked and dismantled.

<sup>1</sup> To secure Milan in his absence, Henry demanded that fifty of the great nobles and leaders, chosen, half from the Guelphs, half from the Ghibellines, should accompany him to Rome to do honour to his coronation. The Guelphs were to name twenty-five Ghibellines, the Ghibellines twenty-five Guelphs. But this mode of election failed. Neither Guido nor Visconti would quit the city.

<sup>2</sup> Feb. 1311.

<sup>3</sup> Jan. 20, 1311.

Lapo dei Bardi and Giovanni da Benedetto now informed King Robert that Henry's forces were swelling alarmingly; that he was intending to go to Rome, and after that he would march into the kingdom of Naples.

On April 1 these Florentines inform him that their Tuscan League is solidified, and that the Prince of Taranto, his brother, having been elected captain of it, their commune begs that prince to take up his appointment at once.

Presently came news of the rebellion of Brescia, a city to which Henry had but three months before accorded marked privileges, wherein he had caused peace to be made between the Ghibelline Magi and Tebaldo Brusati, the exiled leader of the Guelphs, who had then been reinstated. Alberto del Castel-Barco had been appointed Imperial Vicar there. At this moment, in May, the rebellion was raised by Tebaldo Brusati, himself in the pay of Florence, and the Magi were expelled. Henry peremptorily summoned him to his presence. Tebaldo desired to obey the Emperor, to whom he had been personally beholden,<sup>1</sup> but the people refused him permission to go. Burning with indignation, the Emperor marched thither with his entire forces and encamped under the city walls. The imperial tent and standard were raised in a locality called 'The Bishop's Field'; there, too, were pitched that of the Queen Margherita, those of the princes, others for the Cardinal-Legates, and bishops, and for Stefano and Agapito Colonna, all surrounded with catapults and mangonels, throngs of cavalry, and armed exiles—a formidable and motley multitude.

Henry spent four weary summer months besieging the proud city of Arnaldo, during which he lost (by an arrow-shot) his brother Waleran, and nearly half his army. In the month of June, during one of the fiercest of many sanguinary assaults, Tebaldo fell covered with wounds, was made prisoner, and was carried living before the Emperor.

<sup>1</sup> Henry had held Tebaldo's infant son at the font. Cf. Ferret. Vincent, R.I.S., tom. ix. 1059; *ibid.* tom. xiv. 966.

The lenient Henry, still inclined to favour him, exacted that he should write to his fellow-citizens urging them to surrender. Tebaldo wrote to the contrary effect, however, and his letter fell into the imperial hands. After this, command was given for the execution of Tebaldo as a traitor and a rebel. He was to be drawn around the camp at the tail of a horse, afterwards quartered, and his limbs nailed to the walls of the besieged city.

Far more ferocious reprisals were thereafter made within Brescia upon such Germans as fell into the hands of the citizens. But the siege, closely pressed as it was, did not prevent the entrance of Florentine spies with gold. Henry urged the Cardinal of Ostia to excommunicate the city; but the Cardinal, who had strenuously endeavoured to restore peace, is said to have pointed out that the Italians had grown strangely indifferent to the anathema. The Bishop of Botronto, who had been absent, writes: 'After these events I arrived at Brescia, where the Cardinals and the Patriarch (of Aquilegia) had made vain efforts to close the struggle. The cause of their failure was by some considered to be the undue exactions of Henry, though others ascribed it to the arrogance of the Brescians. But I infer that he bore no malice against them. Nevertheless, the Lord Waleran had been killed lately, and many Germans had been savagely put to death; and had he pardoned the rebels, as the Cardinals desired him to do, the greater part of his army, nearly all the Germans (together with the relatives and friends of those who had been slain), would have mutinied. And with good reason; for it had become well known that, negotiations pending, the Brescians had run short of all necessaries, with exception of wine, and they could have held out but a month longer. This was presently clear enough, for when we entered their city, we found hardly any eatables at all.'

The city surrendered on September 18th, and the wretched citizens, like those of Cremona, issued barefooted

and with halters round their necks. Henry granted them their lives, mulcted them heavily, ordered the gates to be carried to Rome; and thus Brescia lost her autonomy.

‘At the same place were present the Bishop of Alba, an Archdeacon, and a Franciscan Friar (who had arrived) on the business of King Robert in order to settle terms and conditions relative to a union now suggested between his son (Charles, Duke of Calabria) with the daughter of the King of the Romans. On the side of our Sovereign were selected the Bishops of Lyons and Basle. These four prelates swore upon the Holy Gospel that they would act straightforwardly, without resorting to subterfuge of any kind, and would study the advantage of their respective lords, and use their best efforts for the benefit of the parties concerned. They remained together in perfect accord for several days, settling particulars of the dowries and other details, of which I am ignorant, and I remarked that at any rate they parted friendly.’

Among other matters relating to the siege of Brescia, the Bishop relates that Henry succeeded in intercepting letters of the Brescians to the Florentines. These were read aloud in his presence and that of Margaret, the Archbishop of Trèves, the Count (Amadeo) of Savoy, and of the Bishop himself. In them the Florentines were notified that upon no account would the city be surrendered to the enemy, and more money was demanded without delay in order to pay the soldiers. ‘The said monies must be forwarded by means of the Preaching Friars, as previously; otherwise, by the Franciscans.’

‘I further recollect certain things done (by Henry) while he was before Brescia. I do not know whether they may have been acceptable in the sight of Heaven, but they certainly displeased all mortals, and weighed heavily upon my heart. Firstly, he conferred the lordship of Pavia, Vercelli, and Novara on Philip of Savoy, on condition the latter should pay 25,000 florins into the King’s privy purse. He then bestowed the lordship of Milan upon Matteo Visconti,

at the urgent entreaty of the Ghibellines, who likewise undertook to pay 20,000 florins into the royal exchequer annually. Now, as the King was at the time in sore need of money, and the Ghibellines were far from well-off, these sums had to be extorted from the poorer sort.'

From these extracts it is sufficiently evident that finance would play a most important part in the prosecution of the imperial designs. But there could be no uncertainty as to which purse was the longest—that of the Emperor or that of the Florentine Republic and King Robert. The last-named meanwhile had been making a careful tour of his realm, inspecting and repairing his strongholds.

It now becomes necessary to turn to that monarch and observe his tactics. Florence perhaps regarded her hold upon him as affording all necessary scope for their mutual benefit in the struggle; but they relied upon his strictly keeping to the agreement. From letters extant in the archives at Florence, it is certain that she had pledged him above all things not to enter into any domestic alliance with Henry.<sup>1</sup> Robert, however, in the first place, had been created Pontifical Rector in Romagna, and in that capacity he had spent February 1311 in confirming the privileges of towns in the dioceses of Ravenna, Bologna, Faenza, Imola, Forli, and Rimini, appointing Niccolo Caracciolo (Marshal of the royal household at Naples<sup>2</sup>) his deputy-vicar. On the 20th of the same month, the Florentines consolidated their league with Lucca and Bologna. Volterra and Siena now joined them.

It is probable Robert for a time entertained the ambition of becoming master of entire Italy, and he could perhaps hope to fulfil such an aim by being appointed Vicar-General

<sup>1</sup> Item : quod ipsa Regia Celsitudo scriberet dici fecit dictis communibus nulla federa, nullaque concordia, seu parentela velle cum ipso rege Alamanie, sed ipsum excludere et vincere, et gentes suas armigeras . . . ad urbem mittere, et personaliter ipse venire, seque infra viii. Junii iter arrepturus, et die xiv. in urbe futurus. Informatio Agendorum. Arch. Fior.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Regist. Angioini, fol. 360-364.

of the Empire. But this could be accomplished only by striking a bargain with the pontifically-favoured Cæsar. Indeed, this is what Clement desired. In such case the Florentine Republic would assuredly feel it necessary to bribe him by granting him more monies at lower rates of interest. Again Philip of Savoy claimed over Achaia, in right of his deceased wife, pretensions incompatible with those of Philip of Taranto, and Henry countenanced his claim. Such a bargain as the above, however, could only be brought about between the Emperor and Robert by means of a union between their respective children. But could such a union possibly please or profit Florence? On the contrary, it would infuriate her.<sup>1</sup> An alliance between the Emperor and the King of Naples would threaten destruction to her trade. At any rate, any such relations with Henry could scarcely be established by Robert without treacherously overthrowing his allies.<sup>2</sup> The Florentines would seem to have become aware of the King's proposal only by means of letters falling into their hands in June, on the 17th and 20th of which month they wrote sharply to him, reminding him of his promise to occupy Rome without delay, and threatening that if this matrimonial project was not dropped, they would at once recall the two thousand troops they had despatched thither in the united interests.<sup>3</sup> That they should have bound him down by such conditions, while it does credit to their political acumen, shows that they were aware of his slippery ambition, or else mistrusted his methods. They could not afford

<sup>1</sup> Item : quod dicta Communia omnem prorsus excludunt, abhorrent et evitant, concordiam et tractatum cum ipso Rege Alaman. magis quam mortem, et quod ipsum et suos complices totis orbis expugnare ac impugnare volunt et intendunt. Archiv. Fior.

<sup>2</sup> Villani, ix. 39; Bonaini, ii. 131-137; Arch. Fior. Sign. Carteggio, vol. i. f. 13; Gregorovius, Stor. Città di Roma, vol. vi. p. 47, note; Storia di Brescia, Oderici, 296-297.

<sup>3</sup> Item : quod nuper cum certis literis inventa fuerunt capitula et articuli continentes tractatum concordie inter ipsam Regiam Majestatem et Regem Alamanie, qui ad Romanum Curiam dirigebantur; et quod Populus et Com-

to rely upon a treacherous friend. Were they not assisting the Brescians with all their power so as to impede Henry and delay his coronation?

Robert was doubtless disconcerted at the candid tone used by his allies. Florence was evidently in earnest.<sup>1</sup> He must decide one way or the other; so he decided in favour of Florence.

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Again he had now grave reason to ponder the attitude of King James of Sicily, the ally of the Ghibellines of Pisa and Genoa, as well as the dangerous machinations of the Colonna in Rome. The imperial envoys had not honoured him with the expected return visit in the matter of the proposed matrimonial alliance. It is thus certain that up to this date Robert could afford to act sincerely, at least toward Henry, in regard to this project. From this moment, however, he was compelled to satisfy the Florentines of his good faith, while at the same time letting them know that he was despatching fresh envoys to Henry, now at Genoa, in order, under mere pretence of sustaining the former negotiation, to find out that monarch's real intentions, and to distract his attention from the careful military preparations afoot further south. For Robert's younger brother, John of Gravina, was now despatched with four hundred men to Rome, where, in concert with the Orsini, he presently succeeded in occupying the Castle of St. Angelo and the Vatican.

Sciarra Colonna, on the other hand, lost no time in acquainting Henry of the necessity of hastening the assumption of senatorial authority on the part of Louis of Savoy. In November Henry consequently despatched thither the latter with but fifty German lances and Colonna. But their journey was retarded owing to the open hostility

*mune Florentiæ firmiter credit et tenet quod predicta non processerunt de voluntate ipsius Regiæ Majestatis, seu de suo conscia, sed quod ex malignitate et calliditate adversariorum et emulorum ipsius Regiæ Majestatis, &c.*

<sup>1</sup> Cf. G. Villani, lib. ix. 39; Bonaini, cxxxi-vi.

shown by the Florentines, who promptly refused them permission to traverse their territory.

Meanwhile, Riccardo di Gambatesa, and other envoys of King Robert, arrived in Genoa, while imperial envoys, including Pandolfo Savelli<sup>1</sup> and the Bishop of Botronto, were sent on a perilous embassy to Florence. From the first-named the Emperor-elect demanded the meaning of the augmentation of Florentine forces by the troops of King Robert under his brother Philip, stating that he failed to understand the presence of the King's subjects on terms of alliance with the rebellious Tuscans. The astute envoys professed themselves unable to do more than fulfil their special mission. When Robert's letters were opened, it was perceived that he professed not only goodwill, but affection for Henry, and expressed a desire to come to Rome himself in order to honour the Emperor at his coronation.

But Robert entertained doubts as to the safety of his throne and kingdom should Henry really become master of Rome; and his enemies filled the air with rumours that the execution of Conradin was at length about to be avenged upon Naples. This likewise contributes to explain the amiability, first sincere and then deceitful, maintained by Robert toward Henry. Moral courage, however, was not a shining quality in the 'Wise' king.

Among other demands, the Neapolitan ambassadors requested that their sovereign should be made Imperial Vicar in Tuscany, and that to one of his brothers should be granted the senatorial dignity at Rome. But why had Prince John gone thither? The Prince, they explained, had, it was true, proceeded to Rome—moreover, with an armed force; but he had gone thither for no other purposes than to represent Naples at the Coronation, and to keep order among the anti-Teutonic populace.

It is scarcely surprising that Henry was dissatisfied.

<sup>1</sup> Pandolfo Savelli had recently been fulfilling the odious duties of Papal Commissioner in Romagna in suppressing the Templars.

His ministers, at any rate, saw through the device, and it is recorded that the departing envoys left an evil impression upon the Court. Under such circumstances the negotiations could not but have fallen through. Still other envoys of Robert now arrived in the persons of Conrad Acquaviva and Pietro Guglielmo, Professor of Civil Law, in order to do homage for their master as sovereign of Provence and Forcalquier.<sup>1</sup> Henry, however, caused them to be informed that such homage could only be rendered by the King in person, and that the King must himself attend the Coronation. Robert, much disquieted at this reprimand, wrote nervously to Clement at Avignon arguing that Henry ought to be satisfied with his substitutes.<sup>2</sup>

And what had been the response made by Florence to the former ambassadors of Henry? Ammirato tells us that Betto Brunelleschi (lately deceased), had, on the part of the Signoria, declared that the Emperor used too overbearing a tone in his demands, and that they could have nothing to do with him; that if, furthermore, he presumed upon claims of former Cæsars to sovereignty over Tuscany, they themselves on their part claimed likewise supreme authority over it in right of their Etruscan ancestors, who had swayed it long before the Republic of Rome had expanded beyond that city's walls. This reply, however, being considered too crude and rough-cast, it was subtilised through the artful brain of Ugolino Tornaquinci until it assumed an attenuated form almost *sans* weight or force, in which condition it was then returned. The hostility of the Republic being thereby clearly established, Henry caused the expulsion of all the Florentine merchants from Genoa, and at the sound of the trumpet proclaimed Florence to be under the ban of the Empire<sup>3</sup> (Dec. 24, 1311).

<sup>1</sup> As pertinences of the ancient kingdom of Arles.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Bonaini, Acta Enrici VII., i. cxxxvii.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Bannitio Florentiæ, Citatio ap. Pertz, tom. iv. 521-523; Villani, ix. 26-29; Coppo Stefani, v. 285.

Some days before this incident his Empress had succumbed to an illness derived from the poisonous air of the trenches around Brescia, to which she had been so much exposed during the summer.<sup>1</sup> She was the daughter of John II., Duke of Brabant, and sister of that Duke who had accompanied Henry over Mont Cenis.

The only other incident of immediate significance was the arrival of envoys from Frederick of Sicily, seeking closer alliance with the Emperor by offering him assistance both financial and military, and proposing Frederick's son Pietro as a fitting consort for Beatrice, his daughter.

As the Tuscan league of defence solidified, the Guelphic cities of Lombardy, one after another, revolted, and expelled the Imperial Vicars, but Henry at last perceived that he could not longer afford to waste time and resources upon them. Pressing entreaties from the citizens of Pisa induced him to speed thither Henry of Namur as his harbinger, conveying his acceptance of their offers, and forthwith he began to make preparations for departure from Genoa. He appointed Werner, Count of Homburg, his Vicar-General in Lombardy, and placed refractory Pavia under the ban: both very inadequate measures, it must be confessed, for counteracting Tuscan intrigue and the designs of Ugo del Balzo and Tommaso Marzano, Count of Squillace, King Robert's captains.<sup>2</sup> In fact, the Guelphic League undid by night whatever the Emperor had accomplished by day.

Perhaps at this moment Henry may have reflected upon a certain passionate epistle addressed to him in the previous spring as to 'the most holy and triumphant' Henry, in which, as the mouthpiece of ideal Ghibellinism, Dante had written: 'We marvel that, having overcome in Lombardy, thou lingerest so far from Tuscany, forgetting and abandoning it, just as though imperial rights were co-

<sup>1</sup> December 11, 1311.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Alberto Mussato, R.I.S. 440; Chron. Modcetiens, xii. 1106; Böhmer, Regist. Imp. Henrici VII., n. 455.

terminous with the frontiers of Liguria. . . . Dost thou imagine that by spending the spring as the winter among the Milanese thou wilt be able to behead the malignant Hydra? If thou recallest the glorious deeds of Alcides, thou wilt perceive thyself to be dangerously mocked by the monster with ever-sprouting heads, just as he also was until he attacked its very vitals. . . . It is not in the rapid Po, nor in thine own Tiber, that the subtle creature slakes his thirst. Nay, his jaws hitherto have corrupted the waters of the Arno. And if thou knowest it not, Florence is his name. This is the viper turned towards the bowels of its own parent,—the Myrrha guilty of paternal incest. This is the tainted wether that infects the entire flock of his master. Let us arise then! The Philistines flee and Israel shall be delivered.’<sup>1</sup>

NOTE.—I herewith subjoin the characteristic account of his own arrival at Florence by the Bishop of Botronto. ‘And within two days, at nightfall, we found ourselves but two short leagues from Florence, at a place called Lastra. Before entering it, we despatched the same notary who had suffered imprisonment at Bologna, to the Podesta, Capitano, and others of the Government, in order to let them be aware that we had arrived and were bent upon promoting the peace and welfare of Tuscany, bearing credentials both from your Holiness and from the King of the Romans,

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<sup>1</sup> Sed quid tam sera moretur segnitias admiramur. Quoniam jamdudum in valle victor Eridani, non secus Tusciam derelinquis, pretermittis et negligis, quam si jura tutanda Imperii circumscribi Ligurum finibus arbitreris; . . . In Mediolani tam hiemando quam vernando moraris, et Hydram pestiferam per capitum amputationem reris extinguere? Quod si magnalia gloriosi Alcidae recensuisses, te ut illum falli cognosceres, cui pestilens animal, capite repullulante multiplici, in damnum crescebat, donec instanter magnanimus vitæ principium impedivit . . . Quippe nec Pado precipiti, nec Tiberi tuo criminosa potatur, verum Sarni fluenta torrentis adhuc rictus ejus inficiunt, et Florentia (forte nescis?) dira haec pernicies nuncupatur. Haec est Vipera versa in viscera genitricis: haec est languida Pecus, gregem Domini sui sua contagione commaculans; haec Myrrha scelestas et impia, in Cinyrae patris amplexus exæstuans, &c. &c. Epist. vii. sub fontem Sarni; xiv. Kal. Maias. MCCCXI = 18th April.

and asking them to provide us with lodging. When they had received our credentials they at once summoned their great Council, according to their custom, and deliberated until nightfall. Our envoy, wearied by their long delay, and needing lodgment, then departed, leaving word with a certain person, however, that in case his presence should be required by the Council, he could be found at a specified inn. Scarcely had he set out thither than those of the Council rose from their meeting and made known (what should be) their answer. Now mark their mode of procedure! Late that night were sent round town-criers into each division of the city where public proclamations are wont to be made, who acquainted the populace that we had arrived and were but two leagues from the city, and that we were the emissaries of that tyrant the German King, who had defeated the Guelphic party in Lombardy—as far as he had been able to do, that is to say—who was now on his way by sea to Tuscany, with the design of bringing them to ruin and reinstating the nation's foes; that we were acting thus under the ægis of the Church. Further, they declared that we carried large sums of money for the purpose of bribery and restoring the exiled Ghibellines. Thenceforth it was manifest that no one desirous of doing hurt to the King or to us in person or property would suffer hindrance.

‘When our envoy heard this he was sore afraid, and durst neither quit his lodging or send any to report it to us.

‘Now a certain Della Spina, a man of great age, the uncle of Pandulphus (Savelli), and known as having been purveyor to Pope Honorius IV. (Savelli), hearing these things, sent word to us of all that had occurred. His missives reached us at Lastra, after we had retired for the night. Forthwith we rose, though we were at a loss what should be done. . . . On the following day we ordered the horses to be made ready and loaded with our things. While we were yet seated at table awaiting our envoy's return, we heard the sound of the alarm-bell, and suddenly the street was filled with armed men, horse and foot. They surrounded our abode, and presently a certain Magalotti, a person of noble presence, attempted to mount the stairs, shouting “Death to them!” Our host, however, unsheathing his sword, allowed none to ascend. In the mêlée our pack and saddle horses were nearly all taken. Presently our antagonists, climbing by various ways, entered our chamber brandishing their weapons. Some of our retainers, letting themselves down to the garden, now fled, and among them was my companion, the

preaching friar.<sup>1</sup> Others, in mortal fear, hid beneath the beds. Few stayed by us. Nevertheless God saved us from their violence and comforted our hearts; so that, although I was in greater peril than any there, I yet had no fear. . . . We now desired to explain to them the nature of our mission and to present our letters; but they would neither listen to us nor receive the letters, saying that their orders were that we were to return whence we had come.'—*Iter Italicum*.

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<sup>1</sup> The Bishop himself belonged to this Order. *Cf.* Regest. Pontif. Vatic. Clemente V., 6851. Nicolas, tunc Votrontin. Episcopo ad ecclesiam Avellinens. translato ecclesiæ Votrontin; cujus provisionem suæ reservavit dispositioni, Nicolaum, ordinem fratrum Predicatorum professum præfecit in Episcopum munus consecrationis per Nicolaum Ostiensis Episcopum impendi ei faciens.—23rd May 1311.

## CHAPTER VII

### THE IMPERIAL CORONATION

AT Naples, in anticipation of open rupture between himself and the Emperor, King Robert had been occupied in strengthening his defences. He enacted that none should bear arms without a license. Besides repairing fortresses and arousing the powerful Abbot of Monte Cassino, he hired from his brother-in-law, Sancho, the new King of Majorca, a number of expert slingers, and at Castellamare he was equipping a fresh fleet. His youngest surviving brother, Pietro, Count of Eboli, was despatched to guard the Abruzzi, and Adenulfo d'Aquino, Count of Acerra, was made Governor of Ferrara.

At Castel Nuovo he was frequently closeted with Florentine envoys or with Bartolommeo of Capua, discussing the coming of Henry; and he has left us many of his opinions concerning the imperial authority. These are contained in a memorial which was addressed to the Holy See; not, it is true, at this moment, but three or four years later, and after the election of Louis of Bavaria. More and more did Europe perceive that the Emperor, the peace-bringer, the living symbol of justice, was becoming transformed by the shaping power of his resourceful enemies into an avenging David, the mere head of the Ghibelline faction. King Robert pretended his own fleets were only destined for defence against Sicilian attack. It is certain he felt not unnatural alarm at the perilous encouragement Frederick would derive from his projected alliance with Henry. He therefore negotiated with Aragon, then at quarrel with Frederick, to induce it to attack Sicily conjointly with himself.

As for the Florentines, they busily bribed the officials of the Papal Curia in order to discover the actual intentions of Clement, while they remonstrated obsequiously with Philip le Bel, who had been plundering their merchants, flattering him that, next to God, their hopes were placed in himself. Meanwhile, they strengthened their garrisons and recalled De la Ratt and his Catalans from Bologna.

In the middle of February (1312), appointing Ugucione della Faggiola his lieutenant in Genoa, Henry embarked for Pisa accompanied by a fleet of thirty galleys. Detained, however, by stress of weather for eighteen days off Porto Venere, he did not make his destination until March 6th. Being accorded a magnificent reception, he remained with the Pisans for six weeks. On April 23rd, attended by a force of above two thousand men, captained by Henry of Namur, and accompanied by three cardinals, Nicolo of Ostia, Luca Fieschi,<sup>1</sup> and Arnaldo Pelagrua of Santa Sabina, the Archbishop of Trèves, Amadeo of Savoy, and Godfrey, Count of Leiningen, he set out for the Eternal City, and on May 1st reached Viterbo.

Now, although Henry had been moulded by his enemies into the very thing they most feared—the champion of Ghibellinism—he yet strove to preserve his former impersonal attitude. How difficult, how impossible, this showed itself of accomplishment must be manifest. Clement still favoured him, but Clement had become still more alive to the evils of Ghibellinism. In proportion therefore as Henry became identified with Ghibellinism, he would naturally lose Clement's favour, and the greater would become the fear of him at Naples. His Germans had been heard to bluster about revenging Conradin. Minstrels chanted the death of the last of the Swabians in the camp. Was not a surviving son of Manfred even now languishing in a dungeon of Castel dell' Ovo? Frederick of Sicily had made indeed fervent overtures to Henry; but Henry, while

<sup>1</sup> Cardinal of Sta. Maria in Via Lata, Legate in England and France, d. 1338.

thanking him, had not thought fit as yet to close with his offers. Indeed, had he done so, it would have marked his complete metamorphosis from the figure-head of Justice into an impersonation of War. It was now his intention to avoid Tuscany, and he continued to treat King Robert as if that monarch were dealing honourably with him, and had manifested no oblique intentions. In consequence, before quitting Pisa, he despatched a fresh embassy to the Eternal City to Prince John, who had taken possession of the Castle of St. Angelo, 'empowered to effect the accomplishment of the matrimonial alliance' before mentioned. The embassy, joined by the Bishop of Botronto, had entered Rome upon April 30, being the Sunday before Ascension Day, aware that the Emperor himself and the Cardinals would by that time reach Viterbo, and would quickly join them. The ambassadors accordingly presented their letters to Prince John, who, having opened them, informed the bearers that he would summon his Council, and give them his reply on the morrow. Meanwhile, however, some fighting occurred in the neighbourhood of the Ponte Molle, between the partisans of King Robert and those of Henry. After a brief delay, opportunity was further taken advantage of by the ambassadors of alluding to the satisfaction felt by their imperial master that the Prince had come to Rome (as had been advised by King Robert in his letters); they also added a hope that the said Prince would unite his efforts with those of the Emperor in order to establish enduring peace between the Houses of Orsini and Colonna.<sup>1</sup>

The Prince at length returned an answer to the envoys, which must have fully opened their eyes.<sup>2</sup> He stated that, although it was true he had been originally sent to Rome

<sup>1</sup> Clement himself had at that moment succeeded in bringing about a satisfactory truce between the Colonna and the Gaetani, who had waged the vendetta at Anagni, Alatri, and elsewhere, ever since the death of Boniface VIII., and he had appointed King Robert and Philip of Taranto Conservators of the peace. Cf. Regest. Clem. V., 8393.

<sup>2</sup> May 4, 1312.

by King Robert in order to do homage to their master, he had now received very different advices, commanding him to prevent the entrance of the latter into Rome even by force, and above all to preclude his coronation at the Vatican. Obedient, therefore, to his brother's orders, he now declared that it was his intention to place every impediment in their master's way. Again, with reference to the affairs of the Orsini and Colonna, the latter were King Robert's declared enemies, and for that reason he was not prepared to interfere, but rather to make war upon them whenever occasion presented.

On the following day the ambassadors were permitted to depart for the Castle of Isola, beside ancient Veii, in company of Gentile Orsini. 'Before reaching the castle we encountered certain retainers of the Cardinals, who had been waylaid and placed in fetters. But Messer Gentile caused them to be released, because he personally revered and loved the Cardinals, and also because we kept reiterating how treacherous it was on the part of the Prince thus to have made reprisals on subjects of our master before there had taken place any actual declaration of war, and that no such act of treachery had ever been committed by the royal house of France (Anjou).

'Entering the castle, we found the retainers of our master busy preparing quarters for him for that very night. When we had entered, the gates were closed and then quickly reopened. Some of the mercenaries of Prince John had been concealed in the building, and now burst forth fully armed.' By Divine Providence and the awe in which Orsini was held, says the author above-quoted, no evil ensued.

The Emperor-elect, therefore, was now on his way over the intervening forty miles from Viterbo to Rome, his cortège being swelled by the adherence of Di Vico, Prefect of Viterbo, the Count of Anguillara, Conrad of Antioch, together with men from Spoleto, Narni, and Todi.

When the ambassadors quitted the castle later in the

day, they met the unarmed advance-guard of the Emperor. 'We ordered them to go no farther. Among the first we met was the Cardinal of Ostia. Hearing our serious report, he doubled and fled, and though we ourselves were sufficiently afraid, we laughed heartily at his terror. A little farther on we encountered his Majesty riding unarmed. He then summoned to him the cardinals, princes, and prelates, to whom we now related our experiences. All of them marvelled at the recital, and none so much as the King of the Romans himself, on account of the recent (friendly) letters he had received from the King of Naples. It seemed fitting to him, however, that, in spite of the state of affairs, nothing should be done until the envoys of King Robert should duly acquaint him with their master's intentions. That night he encamped in the fields.

'The following day (May 6th) our King and his retinue passed toward the Ponte Molle in due order of battle.' . . . Having made the bridge, he found a neighbouring tower, Tripejo, garrisoned with archers in the pay of Prince John, so that no one could go on the bridge without risk of being shot. It was, however, soon decided to cross the bridge, happen what might. The Count Amadeo of Savoy advised Henry to cover up his armour, lest owing to its gold and jewels it should be discerned and made a target. They were greeted with showers of arrows. Said the Count, 'My liege, in yonder tower are archers whose arrows will pierce our armour.' Henry replied, 'Count, have you yet heard that any are dead of the two thousand who have now crossed?' The Count replied in the negative. 'Well, then,' resumed Henry, 'God took care of them, and He will likewise take care of us!' 'And so he crossed, and we with him, and although several were wounded, I have not learned that any have died. Several horses, however, were slain.'

Gregorovius tells us that Henry camped that night between the Ponte Molle and the Porta del Popolo, where

had formerly taken place the heroic struggles of Belisarius.<sup>1</sup> On the following morning he made his entrance, and was welcomed by the Ghibelline nobles and the clergy. Avoiding the Guelphic quarters, he traversed the Campus Martius, which was in possession of the Colonna, and passed on by Santa Maria Maggiore toward the Lateran. On his way along streets by which no King of the Romans had yet gone, Henry beheld massive barricades, fortified towers, fallen houses, and rough people under arms wearing an air of defiance. The aspect of the Lateran Church, half destroyed (by the recent fire, 1308), doubtless made a dismal impression upon him. Surrounded by ruins, he offered prayers in the church, habited as a canon, and took up his abode at the Lateran Palace. He made a present of a lion to the Capitol, and brought with him likewise a bear and an eagle. Thus, the Guelphic centre was the Vatican, and that of the Ghibelines the Lateran.

‘As soon,’ says the Bishop of Botronto, ‘as Henry had entered the city, there occurred skirmishes and the razing of dwellings, and many other evil things.’ This continued for three days, until the tower before mentioned was captured with those who held it. The Capitol, however, had been surrendered to Prince John, owing, it was said, to bribery. Henry’s soldiers occupied the neighbouring monastery of the Franciscans, at Ara Cœli. The Senate and citizens, enraged at the wounding of some of the latter by the Neapolitan troops, prepared to storm the Capitol. But those within it felt it wise to yield on condition they might leave carrying their arms. Every effort, however, on the part of the Legates and nobles to restore tranquillity proved unavailing. ‘Then Henry, in presence of those chiefly concerned, in the palace of the Legates, declared himself willing to give his daughter in marriage to Charles of Calabria, King Robert’s son, as the Pontiff had desired him to do, and he pointed out that John, the brother of that monarch, ought now

<sup>1</sup> As a rule, the Emperors camped in the Neronian field.

to remove every obstacle which prevented access to the Vatican.'

Presently arrived envoys from Naples bringing King Robert's response, and the conditions for which he stipulated prior to giving consent to the matrimonial alliance. Glancing at these, we become fully aware, firstly, of the impossibility of their acceptance by the Emperor; secondly, of their contemptuous audacity; and, thirdly, of the designs of Robert upon Florence in particular and Italy in general. As regards Henry himself, they were preposterous. Nevertheless, Robert had brought pressure to bear upon Clement through Philip le Bel (who hated Henry as the successful antagonist of Charles of Valois), and the Pope had subscribed to certain of them. Philip also wrote pressing letters to the nobles of Rome in favour of Robert. These were the conditions: Charles of Calabria should be created Imperial-Vicar in Tuscany for life. For a stated number of years King Robert himself should hold the positions of Imperial-Vicar in Lombardy and Naval Commander-in-Chief for the Empire. His son should be married at Naples to Beatrice of Luxemburg in September, and sons born of the union should inherit the kingdom of Sicily as well as that of Naples. Colonna should not participate in the coronation in St. Peter's without consent of the Orsini. Finally, he stipulated that, after the coronation, the Emperor should remain in Rome no longer than three days.<sup>1</sup>

Henry now gave a great banquet in the Lateran Palace, to which flocked various Ghibelline nobles, the Colonna, Conti, Savelli, Annibaldi, and Tibaldeschi. After it he rose to his feet and addressed them in a vigorous speech, asking for aid in his anomalous situation. The loyalty of very few, however, was found solid enough to promise him what he wanted, and almost all of these, excepting Colonna, made excuses qualifying their promises. Henry waxed indignant,

<sup>1</sup> The Popes would not suffer another sovereign to even appear to govern where they themselves were not permitted to do so.

and found it necessary to threaten several with extreme penalties, upon which some surrendered to him the strongholds they possessed both in and without the city, such as the Coliseum, the Torre dei Conti, and the Aventine Hill. The effect of this enforced obedience, however, soon manifested itself in discontent, which took the usual form of treachery. The Savelli openly mutinied and cut off the supply of the aqueduct which fed the flour-mills of Sta. Sabina, and this led to an assault by the Germans on the fortress made of the tomb of Cecilia Metella (Capo di Bove), then held by them, which resulted in its capture and burning.<sup>1</sup>

On the 21st May, Prince John was reinforced by the arrival of the forces of the Tuscan League, strong both in numbers and equipment, and led by Giovanni di Biserno. This roused Henry to more active efforts. That the encounters around the Capitol and the Aventine were sanguinary is attested to this day by the tombs of many slain Germans in the Churches of Sta. Sabina and Ara Cœli. On the 25th occurred a ferocious combat, with the object of determining possession of the Vatican, in which prelates, priests, and soldiers equally took part. Driving the Guelphs at the sword's point through the Campo dei Fiori, the Imperial forces reached the bridge of St. Angelo. Thereupon the Neapolitan and Florentine troops issued from the castle and forced them to fall back upon their various strongholds. Among those who fell on this occasion were the Counts Peter of Savoy and Robert of Flanders, the Abbot of Weissenburg, and many noble knights. Theobald de Bar, Bishop of Liège, the Emperor's cousin, having been made prisoner, was being led off to the presence of Prince John, when a Catalan,<sup>2</sup> whose brother had been slain in a previous mêlée, ran him through with his sword. He died in the Castle

<sup>1</sup> This must have given solicitude to Pandolfo Savelli, the Papal Notary, who had risked so much for the cause of Henry. Hence the picturesque Ghibelline battlements which so attract the modern eye to this famous mausoleum.

<sup>2</sup> King Robert had retained numbers of these formidable freebooters, as the archives fully attest; and in this same year the young Este of Ferrara was slain

of St. Angelo. On the other hand, the Florentine leader, Biserno, was captured, and many Guelphic palaces were burned. But the cause of Henry suffered unmistakably, and some of his more timid Italian adherents with their captains deserted and left the city. Rumour now reached Rome that a Pisan fleet coming to aid Henry had fallen into the hands of King Robert, and had been convoyed to Naples.

Meanwhile, having despaired of reaching the Vatican, Henry wrote to Clement, requesting that his coronation might take place in the Lateran. Without the especial consent of the Pope, however, the Legates refused to undertake the responsibility of performing so traditional a ceremony anywhere but in St. Peter's. Besides, they were in favour of the magnificent arrangements for the function, drawn up with elaborate care by Clement, which will be found in his Registers.<sup>1</sup> The objections of the Cardinals, however, were presently surrendered owing to the summoning of a Parliament of the citizens by Henry, who reminded them of their paramount rights in the question. The Legates obstinately refused to yield, and the people became impatient at the resulting delay. On June 22 the populace frantically stormed at the Torre delle Milizie, wherein the Legates were, and threatened them with their vengeance. The latter then declared that if the Papal reply did not arrive within eight days, they would accede to the request of the Emperor and the people, and celebrate the ceremony in the Lateran. 'We went in terror of the mad country-folk, and I believe that had the King (of the Romans) not done his best to appease them, few of the clergy would have been left alive.'<sup>2</sup> Niccolo Bonsignore di Siena

by some of them at the gate of his capital, by order, it was reported, of Robert's Vicar, Dalmasio. Cf. Chron. Estense, tom. xv. S.R.I.

<sup>1</sup> Reg. Clem. V., 7181: 'Prescribitur forma coronationis Henrici Regis Romanorum,' 19th June 1311; an interesting document, going into details as to the positions to be occupied by Henry and his Queen, what he is to say, and what music is to be sung.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. *Iter Italicum*.

(appointed Vicar by the Senator, Louis of Savoy), who had published the ban against those in arms against Henry and the Empire, was thought by some (as was Henry himself by others) to have excited this tumult; but the Bishop of Botronto expresses his belief that this was not the case.

The Papal reply not forthcoming, it was settled that the coronation should take place on June 29th, the festival of SS. Peter and Paul. Was it by coincidence that this was the date on which the monarchs of Naples were bound to pay the annual tribute of 8000 ounces to the Holy See? The expenses of the coronation were demanded from the city, but the populace of Rome, never a generous one, though dearly loving a pageant, refused to meet them. Recourse was therefore had to the common device of making the Jews pay them. The evening prior to his coronation, Henry took up his abode in a palace on the Aventine, close to Sta. Sabina, and thence on the following morning the procession moved to the Lateran,—the Emperor mounted on a white mule and clad in robes of white, his yellow hair falling upon his shoulders. How a deputation of the Hebrews presented him with a copy of the Pentateuch and took the oath of homage to him; how on arrival at the Circus Maximus he took the customary vow to observe the laws of the Roman Republic; how, likewise, in conformity with tradition, little girls threw coins of silver and gold to the people; and ultimately, how the proud Cardinal of Ostia placed the imperial diadem upon his head, protesting all the while, however, that the deed was unauthorised, and that he did it out of fear of the people, may be found related in a variety of ways in the Chronicles of Albertino Mussato,<sup>1</sup> Rengades, the Imperial Diarist, and in the conciser pages of Gregorovius and Professor Bryce.

<sup>1</sup> Albertino Mussato, viii. cap. 7; Dönniges, Acta, 49-51.

## CHAPTER VIII

### THE DEPARTURE FROM ROME

AMONG the stipulations, or humiliating conditions rather, by which Clement disparaged the Empire he had so gladly obtained for Henry, it was enforced that, according to an olden usage, after his coronation he should not remain more than three days in Rome. The Pope exacted this for several reasons. He did not desire to aggrandise an emperor in the city of the Apostles, especially during the absence of the Holy See. King Philip of France, as well as Pontifical suzerainty over Naples, forced him to forbid Henry, however provoked, to attack the offending kingdom, or even to molest John of Gravina. King Robert, however, took precautions which sufficiently manifest his alarm. He was aware that Frederick of Sicily was concluding a serious alliance with the Emperor. Besides, it was not impossible that Henry would disobey the Papal commands and invade his realm. In addition, therefore, to augmenting his fleet and sending reinforcements to his brother in Rome, he issued an edict ordering all male subjects of his between the ages of eighteen and fifty-five to hold themselves armed in case of emergency.

As for the Florentines, whose forces in the vicinity of Rome were now commanded by Diego della Ratt, it had been their object to keep the Emperor employed by impeding, if not preventing, his coronation. Once crowned, however, Henry would be free to use his forces against them. As it was now the height of summer, it was far more likely he would turn northward to Tuscany than south towards Naples. Villani informs us of their extra-

ordinary preparations in view of such a contingency; how they made alliance at Padua, and added a thousand men to the cavalry of their city.<sup>1</sup> In addition they wrote to Prince John: 'If it comes to pass that the German King unhappily leaves the city and turns his footsteps toward Tuscany, then fall upon him with all the combined forces under your command, and you shall follow up any advantage, even to death and extermination' (13th July 1312).

Exaggerated accounts of successes seem to have reached Florence a few days later, and given unusual satisfaction. The Commune wrote to Pistoia that five galleys belonging to the treacherous Pisans had been captured by those of King Robert; over a thousand of the enemy had fallen by the sword; that letters from Rome revealed the Emperor to be in peril of death, and that their Marshal and Prince John with the men of Siena and Lucca held themselves ready to follow him whithersoever he might turn to go (July 20).

But Henry's troubles at Rome were not yet at an end. It is true he received considerable sums from Frederick of Sicily; yet his forces had seriously diminished, while those of his enemy were steadily increasing; so that men would have been of greater advantage to him than gold. Some of his most influential friends, suffering from the heat of the southern summer, now took themselves away; among them the Duke of Bavaria and Louis of Savoy, together with four hundred knights. It was agreed by him with Frederick of Sicily that, should war once be actually declared, neither ally should conclude peace without the consent of the other. Once more, however, Henry endeavoured to come to an understanding with Prince John; but the latter, fulfilling fraternal orders, refused even to receive his envoys. In consequence, the Emperor left Rome on the third day after his coronation.<sup>2</sup>

But the citizens had reason to be displeased with this

<sup>1</sup> G. Villani, lib. ix. 44; Ammirato, v. 107.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Capitoli, xxii. 148.

hurried leave-taking. They had elected as proto-senator a Burgundian knight, Jean de Savigny, a partisan of the Emperor, and had given him possession of the captured Capitol. Perceiving now that Henry was about to bid them farewell, they held a congress in which they resolved to urge him to remain, pleading that as Prince John had not interfered with the actual coronation, it was a token he would shortly retire, and further, above all, should the Emperor depart, their lives would be in peril. In response Henry pleaded the traditional custom of the Emperors; but a compromise was finally effected by his moving, in company with Stefano Colonna and about a thousand followers, to Tivoli, which town was a fief of the Senate and Roman people. On July 21 he took up his abode there in the Bishop's palace.

Then arrived the desired letters from Avignon, the contents of which were presently communicated to the Emperor by the Cardinal of Ostia. The patience of the simple and trusting Henry had been tried to the uttermost, and he looked now to the longed-for solution of the problems that had so embarrassed him. But if he turned to Avignon for this, he looked in vain. In the presence of the Cardinals he consulted his legal advisers together with the Roman lawyers, whom he caused to swear they would report honestly upon the letters, and especially upon all that related to the attitude of the King of Naples. The letters indeed caused the scales to fall from his eyes.

Clement, evidently forced closer to his vassal, now declared that the Emperor must swear not only to take no measures against King Robert, but must conclude with him an armistice for a year's duration. Obediently retiring from the Eternal City, he was commanded to pause nowhere until he had quitted ecclesiastical domains, and that upon no account must he return thither without special permission from the Holy See. Furthermore, he

must refrain from molesting Prince John, must liberate all prisoners, and restore to their owners all strongholds he had occupied while in Rome. King Robert's star was indeed in the ascendant.

Henry's position was now that of an honest man who suddenly discovers that his friends, whom he has been entertaining by his simplicity, are thieves and traitors. Counsel in reporting upon the letters, adjudged that the Pontiff had power to impose this truce between the Emperor and his vassal; and that even should the Emperor justly desire to punish the said vassal, the Pope had power to intervene and impose peace. They likewise asseverated that the Emperor and Robert did not stand subject in affairs temporal to the Holy See in equal degrees, forasmuch as the latter was both subject and vassal to her, while the former was her champion, and held nothing from her in temporalities. They maintained therefore that if the Emperor allowed himself to be regarded as a vassal of the Holy See in temporalities, he would openly transgress the laws of the Empire which he had sworn to observe.

The case then amounted to this: Robert, as the faithful vassal of the Holy See, might harass and insult the Emperor to his heart's content, but the latter must not retaliate, because Robert could not but be protected by his over-lord. What was such juggling in effect but the holding up of the Empire to the ridicule of the world as a colossal fiction? This was the revenge of Philip of France as well as the sport of the Holy See. The gallant, almost irreproachable, Henry was mocked and derided by Gascon and Angevin.

After consulting with his advisers, the Emperor refused to take any further oaths required of him by Clement, stating that such oaths as were due to the Holy See had already been taken prior to, and as a condition of, his coronation.<sup>1</sup> With reference to making a truce with King

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Dönniges, ii. 55, 56.

Robert, whom he regarded as a rebel very unjustly screened by the Holy See, he declared that he did not feel himself pledged in any sort to refrain from taking measures against him, but merely that it did not suit him at present so to do.

When it is remembered that his forces were small, and that it was past midsummer, his self-restraint is scarcely surprising.

Before quitting Tivoli, against the advice of his Council, he re-visited Rome; and this he did at some personal peril. The author of the 'Iter Italicum,' whose account has proved so valuable to this and every other narrative of these events, has given one or two admirable touches to his living portrait of the Emperor, which I will here adduce. 'Like the loyal man he was, he desired to comfort the Romans, of whose goodwill at least he had experienced sufficient proof. So trusting in God and caring nothing for his foes, he returned to Rome with a small number of men; and there, at the request of the people, he left a contingent, "lest," argued they, "if he withdraw all his troops, still worse case befall us." He quitted Rome by that same bridge (Ponte Molle), by God's help, without molestation on the part of the enemy, and shaped his course toward Viterbo.'

The Florentines, informed of this, deliberated whether their commerce would permit of destroying the roads so as to vitally embarrass him. They likewise received a fresh reinforcement from Ugo del Balzo,<sup>1</sup> King Robert's general in Lombardy, who during the previous months had retaken Pavia, Asti, and Alessandria.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> This Ugo del Balzo (De Baux), Count of Soletto, belonged to the branch of Des Baux, Princes of Orange. He married Jacqueline della Marra, and was father to Raimondo, Marshal of Naples in 1340.

<sup>2</sup> Chron. Astense, tom. xi. 69, S.R.I.; Capitoli, xxii. 147-148.

## CHAPTER IX

### THE CROWNED VICTIM

IN command of able mercenaries, and enjoying liberal supplies of Florentine gold, King Robert was clearly master of the situation. Added to these advantages, he now benefited from the pressure put upon Clement by his cousin, King Philip of France. There can be little doubt that, having been permitted to rescue the memory of Boniface VIII. from the degrading persecution to which it had been subjected by Philip, the Pope was forced to pay for that favour by annoying the Emperor. It was to small purpose the envoys of Frederick of Sicily brought the latter financial succours, or that the vain-glorious Romans were persuaded that it was of prime necessity the Emperor should punish Tuscany. As Henry left the Eternal City, the sentinels of the Neapolitan army, posted upon the slopes of Monte Mario,<sup>1</sup> jeered at him. Dante's ideal Cæsar quitted the Imperial City scoffed at by the Angevin. The Florentines fled pell-mell homeward, and once more Rome was left a prey to Orsini and Colonna, Annibaldi and Savelli.

In order to strengthen herself for the coming struggle, Florence amnestied her exiles, with certain notable exceptions, among whom were Dante and some nine hundred others. Reinforcements came in from Siena, Volterra, and Pistoia. King Robert's brothers, Philip of Taranto and Pietro, Count of Eboli, with Diego della Ratt,<sup>2</sup> were busy in Romagna and the Abruzzi augmenting the forces of the League.

<sup>1</sup> Monte Mario, the Glad Hill (Mons Gaudii) of mediæval pilgrims to the Eternal City.

<sup>2</sup> Upon Della Ratt the King conferred the high honour, later on, of a right to bear in his coat armour a portcullis with lilies in the teeth of it. *Cf.* De Lellis, *Discorso sulle Famig. Nobil. del Regno di Napoli*, vol. iii. p. 25.

The former prince experienced serious difficulties in accomplishing this, owing to the presence of other bodies of Catalans in the pay of Frederick of Sicily, whose attitude was a continual menace. Clement, however, came to his assistance with threats of excommunication, in which he styled Philip (with King Robert) 'Conservator Pacis.' An artful caressing tone was employed in the Papal addresses to 'Dilectis filiis Societatis Cathalanorum.' As both Robert and Frederick equally utilised these wild sons of adventure, the Society may be fairly said to have been divided against itself.<sup>1</sup> After 1302 and the truce of Caltabellota, these Catalans had scoured the Mediterranean and Adriatic, greatly to the detriment of Venetian and Florentine commerce. By subsidising them King Robert had emphasised the enmity of Venice. Of their power Frederick had also taken full advantage, and larger numbers were in his pay. Clement, either by flattery or excommunication, hoped to alarm or allure these latter into defection.<sup>2</sup> The king's other brother, John, now returned to Naples.

It has been seen that, although Robert might have felt assured of triumph over Henry, he entertained grave anxiety. The fear of the Teutonic soldier was before his eyes—the Teuton who sang songs in camp demanding vengeance for Conradin. The last surviving son of Manfred was still dragging out his miserable existence at Naples in the Castello dell' Ovo, in the dungeons of the very palace in which he had been born to Helena—this last male survivor of the Hohenstaufen having been a prisoner nearly fifty years. Should the Emperor be reinforced from Germany, and suc-

<sup>1</sup> Probably Zurita is correct in stating that, in those times of old, they called all people coming from Spanish kingdoms Catalonians, though they might be Aragonese. Cf. *Annales ad Ann.*, cap. c. 1312.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. *Reg. Clem. V.*, 7891–7896, 8393. Led by a Templar, Ruggiero di Brindisi, in 1311, these Catalans overran and possessed themselves of the Duchy of Athens and the greater portion of Achaia, killing Walter (V.) de Brienne, Count of Lecce, a vassal of Naples, and father of Walter VI., later on notorious at Florence, who ultimately fell at the battle of Poitiers.

ceed in his undertaking against Florence, he would surely turn his avenging arms upon Naples; and, according to the Bishop of Botronto, the Germans seriously hoped to decapitate King Robert.<sup>1</sup>

Florence had been lately expanded, and was being girdled with a fresh wall. Her manifold towers were strengthened and provisioned, and palisades were erected. Villani, however, did not regard the city as strong enough to have made any availing resistance.<sup>2</sup> He boasts, nevertheless, that business went on as usual.

Henry having at last correctly diagnosed the attitude of the Pope and his Angevin vassal, determined to strike terror into those who had thus made mock of him. He therefore marched northward by way of Todi, Narni, and Spoleto toward Perugia, burning and spoiling,<sup>3</sup> albeit the Bishop tells us but few lives were lost; 'for all fled, excepting those of Marciano.'<sup>4</sup> Advancing thence to Cortona, he reached Arezzo on September 12, where he was enthusiastically welcomed, and received the homage of the inhabitants—inveterate foes to Florence. To them he declared King Robert to be a traitor, and deprived of his dominions, and cited him to appear.<sup>5</sup> Needless to say, the ban of the Empire had lost sovereign efficacy, and was regarded by the majority of men with almost curious ridicule.

Reinforced by troops from Pisa, to which city many of his followers now vainly desired him to turn his footsteps, Henry marched upon Florence, taking Capo Selve and Montevarchi on the way.<sup>6</sup> A new trouble, however, began to

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *Iter Italicum*, and Bonaini, i. n. 147.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. lib. ix. c. 47; *Ammirato*, i. 254.

<sup>3</sup> August 26-30, 1312.

<sup>4</sup> *Iter Italicum*; *Diario di Ser Giov. Lemmo*, p. 178.

<sup>5</sup> The full sentence on Robert was pronounced in the following spring at Pisa, April 27, 1313, in which he is described as—'Nequitiae siquidem et perditionis alumnus, natus claræ memoriæ Caroli secundi, qui se Siciliæ Regem intitulat, ex imperii Romani adipe impinguatus, ingrassatus et dilatatus.' Cf. *Codex*, 2547, *Vatic. Lat.*

<sup>6</sup> *Istor. Pisane*, *Archiv. Storico. Ital.*, 1st Series, tom. vi. 678; *Roncioni*; Villani, lib. ix. c. 44.

beset him in the shape of malarial indisposition. The Roman summer and the sunsets of the open Campagna had begun their treacherous work; and to the Guelphic allies the knowledge of this was but too welcome. At San Salvi, beyond the Porta alla Croce, the Emperor remained for fifty days—that is, until the end of October—without drawing the citizens to offer battle, during which time his forces employed themselves in predatory excursions. Giovanni di Cermenate<sup>1</sup> is probably correct in conjecturing that the Florentines trusted rather in the progress of his malady than in anything else to relieve them. On the last day of the month he burned his camp and moved to San Casciano,<sup>2</sup> on the road toward Siena. Here he spent his last Christmas.

It does credit to Henry's personal character, under these exasperating circumstances, that we find him still resolved to err upon the side of mercy. Having captured a number of Catalans at the taking of Castro San Giovanni, his captains desired they should be put to death, as being paid rebels, both for an example, and because they formed the most effective portion of the Tuscan forces. This he strenuously refused to do, and upon Christmas day he set them at liberty. Again, having upon the first days of November captured a fortress belonging to the Bardi family, in which were many ladies, the latter besought him to have them safely escorted back to Florence with their children. To this request the Tuscan Ghibellines demurred, declaring that if the Emperor should detain them, their husbands and brothers would soon surrender. Henry refused to countenance the proposal, and at once gave them their freedom. A little later, at Santa Maria Novella, he took prisoner a certain Conrad, son of Giovanni Filache. Father and son together were reported to possess in Dauphigny estate of the value

<sup>1</sup> Muratori, S.R.I., tom. ix. 1270.

<sup>2</sup> 'Ubi diu fuimus.'—*Iter Italicum*.

of more than 100,000 fiorini. Many advised Henry to make a terrifying example, and wished they should be beheaded. It cannot be questioned what would have been the advice of Dante. Henry, however, was moved with pity, and exacting from the father two sons as hostages, set him free.

The commander of King Robert's horse was encamped near San Gemignano,<sup>1</sup> and although superior both in numbers and equipments, and intimately acquainted with the country, in no skirmish did he come off with credit. Neither does there occur one shining achievement of Tuscan valour. 'It was quite marvellous,' says the oft-cited Bishop of Botronto, 'that by God's protection the rich and powerful Florentines did no greater damage than they did to the Emperor and his people.' Owing to the difficulty of obtaining supplies, the Imperialists roved the country in large bodies, pillaging to such an extent that often the Emperor was left with but three hundred attendants; and this while the Florentines were making daily sorties. The Bishop of Florence one day appeared in full armour, exhorting the populace, as became freeborn men, to resist the Emperor to their utmost, and to reflect how things would go with them should the Germans once enter their city. By means of a clerical envoy, the good Bishop of Botronto remonstrated with him for this; but in turn received a characteristic reply to the effect that being both a Guelph and Guelph-descended, the Bishop could not but advance the interests of his party, and prevent its destruction with his own.

The fear of the German soldier evidently affected Tuscan and Neapolitan alike. '*Stolida gens Germaniæ natura nimium prædæ avida ac disciplinæ militaris ignara, ulli hominum parcere nesciant,*' writes a contemporary.<sup>2</sup> The Florentines, fighting for their own independence, had

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Villani, lib. ix. c. 47.

<sup>2</sup> Giov. di Cermenate, S.R.I., tom. ix. 1274.

besides to keep careful watch upon no inconsiderable proportion of their fellow-citizens, who indirectly manifested favour toward the anointed Emperor. They were relieved, however, to see him strike camp early in the new year and move toward Poggiobonzi, where Villani, on the one hand, records that Henry faithfully paid his debts, and the Bishop tells us that he handsomely rewarded his captains, among whom were Federigo of Montefeltro, Amadeo of Savoy, and Ugucione della Faggiola.

Here he pronounced the ban of the Empire against Robert of Naples, which he renewed later on at Pisa; and here began to mature in his mind a project for attacking Naples from the north, while Frederick of Sicily should co-operate in Calabria, and accordingly he set about gathering naval forces for its fulfilment. In order to victual his army, his officers undoubtedly gave no temperate interpretation to his orders, and the country was devastated much as it had been by former emperors, the property of neither Church nor laity being spared. Meanwhile, certain of his royal friends, alarmed at his project, deserted him, until his brother, the Archbishop of Trèves, and Nicolo of Botronto alone remained. Darker and darker poured the shadows around the ill-fated bringer of peace and justice, now transformed, as Gregorovius remarks, into a pitiless destroyer. His malady developed a pustule<sup>1</sup> under his knee, which rendered every movement irksome to him. On the 6th March he advanced to Pisa, where, owing to the taxation he had imposed on the town, he was not welcomed quite so warmly as before. Here, however, his designs against Naples and the consolidation of his alliance with King Frederick took final form. Here was the centre of the hostility to Florence. Here jealous Genoese merchants greeted the enemies of the financial Hydra, and the Sicilian foes of King Robert cordially united with men who could not speak fifty words of

<sup>1</sup> Quæ anthras vocatur. Baluze, Vita Clem. V.

Italian; and here, at the end of April, was pronounced in full the formal citation<sup>1</sup> and sentence upon the King of Naples as a rebel and traitor, absolving all his subjects from allegiance, forbidding them to coin money, &c., &c.

This drew from Clement a bull early in June threatening excommunication to all who should invade the realm of Naples,<sup>2</sup> a renewal, in fact, of the usual earlier menaces against invaders of the vassal kingdom. The Bishop of Botronto states that he asked the Emperor what he intended doing with the numerous galleys he was now collecting,<sup>3</sup> since he must be fully aware of the penalties attaching to any who should make war upon the kingdom of Naples. 'I exhorted him to abandon any design which either directly or indirectly might give offence to the Church, and spoke also of many other matters. Then, smiling, as though trying to allay my anxieties, he replied, "Be at ease! We have duly listened to our counsel, both cleric and legal, as to whether we offend God by protecting ourselves, or whether, on the other hand, we should not rather offend Him by omitting to execute justice and punish evil-doers. Anyhow we have not as yet resolved to enter the kingdom, nor are we able so to determine until we hear further from King Frederick." To this I rejoined, "If, however, that monarch himself should advise it, and your Majesty should invade Naples, you must know that his Holiness will surely excommunicate you, and proceed to

<sup>1</sup> Codex Vat. Lat., 3217. 'Sententia et Processus contra Regem Robertum Siciliae.' In it the Emperor charges the King with having nourished rebellion among imperial subjects, and having formed conspiracies, leagues, and confederations against him among the Florentines, Sienese, and Lucchese; and with having caused his officials in Lombardy to rebel, after homage rendered, and with having sent his brother purposely to impede the imperial coronation. Further, King Robert had imprisoned a number of Pisans, and still detains them. VII. Kal. Madii Regno nostri Anno v. Imperii vero, Anno Primo.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Raynaldus, 1313. II. Ides Junii-Reg. Clem. V., 10,051, 6th September 1313. Declaratio sententiæ latæ contra volentes offendere Regnum Siciliae.

<sup>3</sup> Genoa provided him with twenty-two, and Pisa with twelve.

depose you.<sup>1</sup> Consider what befell the Emperor Frederick, who was both richer in resources and more powerful by reason of his friends than is your Majesty." To this he replied, "If God is for us, neither the Pontiff nor the Church, provided we offend not Heaven, can do us any hurt. We shall make our peace with the Pope; for his disposition toward us is well known, and of it we long ago received ample assurance by means of his envoy, Jerrico de Villeson." He further declared that if, on account of his treason, King Robert (whom he had justly deprived) should be decapitated, instead of incurring the displeasure of your Holiness, it would rather gratify you, who then would freely receive back the kingdom, with power to place one of your own kindred upon the throne, if so it seemed good to you!

The Emperor was thus virtually offering the Holy See an opportunity for recovering her freedom by sacrificing a dangerously ambitious vassal. But the terror of Philip le Bel lay heavy upon Clement; the hazard was far too formidable for his courage; and the treatment of Boniface in all its tragedy must have frequently arisen before him. Consequently the rôle of a crafty, obsequious diplomatist was more convenient to Clement than that of an independent Sovereign Pontiff. Philip commanded him to close his ears to everything but the entreaties of King Robert for succour. Accordingly, Clement again released the latter from a considerable portion of the annual tribute due to the Holy See,<sup>2</sup> in order to enable him to expend it upon further preparations for defence against Henry. The nature of these is soon told. Chains were stretched across the chief harbours; Pietro, Count of Eboli, was given the command of the Abruzzi forces; and Prince John, having quitted Rome, was deputed to undertake the defence of Calabria.

On learning the contents of the afore-mentioned bull,

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Dönniges, ii. 54, June 12. Clement sent his prohibition to Henry at the direct instigation of Philip le Bel. Cf. Baluze, tom. i. 94.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Regest. Clem. V., 9783, 9784, dated June 20 and August 14, 1313.

Henry at once pronounced it to be the work of the King of France, and not that of Clement himself. Whereupon he summoned his Council, stated in set terms the nature of his policy, confuted the pretensions of the Church to exclusive right over Naples and Sicily, and re-declared the divine right of the Emperor as monarch of the world.<sup>1</sup> He then forwarded to Avignon a lengthy reply to these effects, and, while hastening his own preparations, stimulated those being made by the Genoese.

His malady, however, was sadly gaining upon Henry. Some of his physicians advised him to try the baths of Macerata on the way to Grosseto; others, however, were of a contrary opinion.<sup>2</sup> At the close of July, preparations for striking the blow at Naples being completed, Henry set out for Rome on his way to Terracina. The Ghibellines were again flushed with exultation, and once more recognised their centre. Frederick of Sicily, with his fleet of fifty galleys, promised to attack Reggio on an appointed date. The cities loyal to the Empire were exhorted by letter to speed volunteers to join the imperial forces at Rome, while Lamba Doria, with seventy<sup>3</sup> Genoese galleys, was to join the Pisan fleet in the neighbourhood of the island of Ponza, in the Gulf of Gaeta.

According to Villani and others, Robert now took serious alarm, and even projected retiring to Provence, which is not improbable. The vengeance for Conradin must have seemed to be rapidly overtaking him. Yet the blow was not to be struck after all, though the hand burned to strike it. The Emperor mounted his steed with increasing difficulty. He passed into the Sieneſe, and pitched at Monteperto. The middle of August in the Maremma to such an enfeebled patient meant certain death. Reaching the little walled town of Buonconvento, sixteen miles from Siena, he felt his

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Dönniges, ii. 65.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Roncioni, *Istor. Pisane*, Arch. Stor. Ital., 1st Series, tom. vi. p. 684.

<sup>3</sup> This is the number given by Villani, lib. ix. c. 50.

end drawing nigh. There, having taken sorrowful leave of his warriors, and received the last offices of the Church at the hands of a Dominican friar<sup>1</sup> who had long attended him, his dream of earthly empire passed away.<sup>2</sup>

Very various naturally were the effects of this event, and very conflicting the views with which it was regarded. Naples breathed again; Florence smiled and feasted. Prisons were opened and captives were released. The churches were thronged with congregations thanking God and St. Bartholomew. Tournaments became so frequent that in the following month Clement issued a fresh edict forbidding them. To the Guelphs, therefore, the death of Henry seemed a veritable godsend; to the world of progress, to the radicals of the period, an incalculable benefit. But to the world of the old ideal it seemed an irretrievable crushing disaster; and amid all this excessive jubilation, the greatest poet of Italy, himself in hopeless exile, saw through his falling tears a vision of the noble Henry seated upon a glorious throne far away, the angels placing upon his brows an immortal crown.

Frederick of Sicily returned by sea from Milazzo to Pisa,<sup>3</sup> where, though gladly welcomed, he found the whole city bewailing her loss. The citizens, fearing that, should the Germans abandon them, as in fact they were doing, they would be attacked by Florence and King Robert, now tendered him their government. This honour was courteously declined, however, both by him and the Count of Savoy, and by Henry of Flanders, to whom it was subsequently offered. Each of them declined for a different reason, and departed bent upon his own affairs.

<sup>1</sup> Fra Bernardo di Montepulciano.

<sup>2</sup> Henry was fifty-one years of age, and died on August 24, 1313. His heart was deposited in the tomb of his Empress, Margaret, at Genoa; his flesh in the Duomo at Pisa; while his bones were later on removed to Germany. Clement issued his full declaration menacing those who should dare to invade the kingdom of Sicily and Naples with excommunication only on Sept. 6, 1313. Arch. Vat. Clem. V., 10,051.

<sup>3</sup> He had received news of Henry's death at Stromboli.

The people now turned their eyes with success upon a young captain who had ably served the Emperor as his lieutenant in Genoa, a man of herculean frame, and a master in the art of war, by name Ugucione della Faggiuola.<sup>1</sup> He accepted the perilous position as champion of Ghibellinism in Central Italy, and, with the aid of tried Flemish and German soldiers, now began his famous career as the Scourge of Florence.

In this manner, then, the long and desultory campaign of the Empire against the thriving Guelphic powers came to a tragic but not altogether surprising end. The wheel of Fortune had turned in favour of King Robert and his merchant friends, and for him now commenced the most prosperous decade of his lengthy reign. Two months prior to the death of his foe, Dardano Acciajuoli and Jacopo dei Bardi had arrived in Naples as envoys from Florence, together with others from Lucca and Siena, to offer him the government of their city for five years; conditioning that he should send thither a fresh Vicar every six months, who, without altering the constitution, should govern to the best of his ability. They stipulated, however, that this responsible office should be fulfilled by the King himself or by one of his brothers. So impossible did the Republican magnates find it to steady themselves and their factions while lacking a marked centre, that they must needs seek this centre in a royal personage, and 'whilst they had an over-lord, they remained united.'<sup>2</sup>

Seriously occupied with the necessities of his menaced realm and throne, Robert could not forego the lucrative honour. He therefore accepted it, and in the first instance sent as his deputy-vicar Jacopo Cantelmo.<sup>3</sup> In the ensuing year, however, Pietro, Count of Eboli, was transferred thither from the Abruzzi. The people of Parma followed suit, and

<sup>1</sup> La Faggiola was a mountain stronghold not far from Borgo San Sepolcuro. Cf. Ammirato, lib. v. 126.

<sup>2</sup> Coppo-Stefani, v. 303.

<sup>3</sup> August 1, 1313.

Robert, accepting their invitation, appointed Ghiberto da Correggio to administer his government there. Bologna did not lag behind. In this manner, soon after the death of his Imperial antagonist, he found himself master, if not Sovereign, of two-thirds of Italy.

By thus increasing her security and consolidating her alliance, the wealth of Florence, especially her trade with Apulia, multiplied to a degree unprecedented. The avarice of Philip le Bel, glutted by the spoil of the Templars; that of Clement, which, however, escaped in disgraceful prodigality; and that of King Robert himself, could be played off, the one against the other, in the resourceful counting-houses of the Arno. But within a year of these events both the Pope and Philip le Bel followed the Emperor to the grave, leaving the Holy See as fallen in prestige<sup>1</sup> as the power of law and parliament in France and the influence of Naples in Italian politics had been advanced.

<sup>1</sup> Clement bequeathed to his nephew, under the pretence of succour to the Holy Land, no less than 300,000 fiorini. 'It was generally believed that the beautiful Brunisinda de Foix was the Pope's mistress. To her he was boundlessly lavish.'—Milman, *op. cit.*, vol. vii. 324.

## CHAPTER X

### A NEW VICAR OF CHRIST

Ghibellinism, then, had suffered disaster; but it was by no means desperate. 'Its head had been removed,' wrote a Ghibelline, 'but the body remained.' Amadeo V. of Savoy, who laid certain vaporous claims to Achaia,<sup>1</sup> and his nephew Philip were united in their antagonism to Robert. At Verona flourished Dante's patron and Henry's favourite, Cane della Scala; while, more important than all these, Milan, under Matteo Visconti, taking every possible advantage of the jealousy of certain Lombard nobles toward King Robert, kept a rapacious eye upon the possessions of that king in Piedmont and Lombardy. Still, Ghibellinism, if not annihilated, had lost its centre, and to King Robert that was sufficient for a time. He could withstand the fitful assaults of Frederick of Sicily, who, however, would be little likely to invade his kingdom single-handed. Indeed, Robert lost no time in reaping his advantages, and before the year of Henry's death had closed, Clement was induced to create him his Vicar in Ferrara.<sup>2</sup> The next imperial election which should be ratified by the Pope was an event which the King of Naples earnestly hoped might long be postponed, and to the postponement of which he determined to use his utmost influence.

To this end he was aided by the circumstance that Clement V. arrogated to himself the authority of supreme administrator of the Empire during the vacancy, nullified the pronouncements of Henry against him, and in March

<sup>1</sup> As the second husband of Isabella Villehardouin, who died in 1311.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Alberto Mussato, *op. cit.*, Dec. 12, 1313.

1314 created him his Vicar-General in Italy, conditioning only that he should surrender that office within two months of the Pontifical confirmation of the next lawful election to the imperial throne. On April 20, Clement died of lupus.<sup>1</sup>

Meanwhile, Philip of Taranto, the interdict under which he lay having been removed, had extended the family pretensions by celebrating his own union with Catherine de Valois, with whose hand he received in dower the 'titular' Empire of Constantinople. At the same time, his son Charles married her younger sister, Giovanna, July 30, 1313. This accomplished, he sailed to Greece in order to survey his claims, and he remained there until 1315.

Nevertheless, the years 1314 and 1315 brought grave disasters to King Robert, though the full force of these fell rather upon his Florentine allies than upon himself. The responsibility, often laid by them to the account of the King of Naples, probably lay quite as much with the Florentines, owing to their own internecine dissensions. The leaders of their parties were incorrigible. They invariably placed private vengeance before patriotism. Their idea of liberty was a prosperous independence at the expense of others. Pisa and Arezzo considered themselves a match for Siena and Florence; but Lucca, by her alliance with Florence, gave the latter cities the favour in balance of actual power. Ugucione della Faggiuola, however, who since Henry's death had retained in his service a great many Germans and Netherlanders, now contrived to oversweep the territory of Lucca,<sup>2</sup> drove out King Robert's Vicar, compelled the surrender of Ripafratta, and finally caused the return to Lucca of the exiled Ghibelline family of Interminelli—a move ultimately fatal to himself, as well as to others. The revolution accom-

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Raynaldus, 1314, 2. Among stories having the same bearing, it is related that a miserable Templar, despatched from Naples to Avignon, defied the Pope, was condemned to the stake, and there summoned Clement from the flames to appear before the eternal throne within a year. (Cf. Chron. Astens., tom. xi. 194; and Ferreti Vincentini, Hist., tom. ix. 1018; Muratori, S.R.I.)

<sup>2</sup> February 1314.

plished by their means, therefore, presently put Lucca at the mercy of Ugucione, and he assumed the government, taking to himself the title of Vicar-General of the Empire.

In their surprise and alarm at the capture and looting of Lucca, the Florentines were driven to urge King Robert to despatch further assistance to them. He replied by sending his brother Pietro at the head of three hundred horse in August. 'Although very young,' says Ammirato (lib. v. 131), 'he was naturally of a prudent disposition. He permitted no sign of royal haughtiness to interfere with his attitude towards the citizens, but behaved in courteous-wise, and made plain to them that he looked upon their interests as his own. . . . To these excellences he conjoined unusual comeliness of face and person, and shortly so won upon the love of the people that, had he lived, it was believed the lordship of their city would have been conferred upon him for life.' But neither this Prince, nor Philip, Prince of Taranto, his elder brother, who was similarly despatched in the following year to aid the Republic, were destined to prove a match for so redoubtable a captain as Ugucione.<sup>1</sup>

Meanwhile, through the demise of Clement V., the Holy See had become vacant, and a significant struggle over the Pontifical election ensued on the part of the Italians in the Conclave. The Orsini in Rome had been Robert's allies against the Emperor; he had since appointed Ponzello Orsini to be his Deputy-Vicar there. Napoleone Orsini was one of the Cardinals. The Italians demanded an Italian Pope—demanded, in fact, the release of the Holy See from French bondage. Dante also once more raised his patriotic voice, but once more raised it in vain.<sup>2</sup>

It was not to the advantage of the King of France to

<sup>1</sup> In the north of Italy Robert established a treaty with Giovanni II., Dauphin of Vienne, for six years, with a view to holding in check Amadeo V. of Savoy. Lünig, *Cod. Dipl.*, tom. iv. pp. 470, 471. The Dauphin had married Beatrice, daughter of Charles Martel, sister to Clemenza, Queen of France, and Carobert of Hungary.

<sup>2</sup> Dante, *Epist.* ix.; G. Villani, lib. ix. c. 136.

let the Pontifical eagle escape from his Provençal aviary, nor was it to the interest of the King of Naples to have an Italian Pontiff set down between him and Florence. He desired a Pope who, attached by strongest ties to Naples and France, would aid him in the re-conquest of Sicily, against which another futile expedition was now setting forth. In James,<sup>1</sup> Cardinal of Porto, Robert found a Gascon of vigorous, not to say violent temperament, though on the verge of his seventieth year, who had formerly acted in the capacity of instructor to Louis, Bishop of Toulouse, and perhaps to Robert himself.<sup>2</sup> As Bishop of Frejus, he had distinguished himself by his vehemence in persecuting the Templars, and so had won infamous honours. He had perhaps more reason to be proud of his theological and juristic attainments, although the influence of the teachings of the Old Testament remained throughout an inordinately long life far more alive in him than those of the New. In fact, it may be said of him, without qualification, that he endeavoured, not unsuccessfully, to incarnate in himself the vindictive Jehovah. One of his contemporaries states that the blood poured out by means of the wars he carried on in Lombardy, for the double gratification of himself and King Robert, would have crimsoned the entire Lake of Constance, and that the slain would have bridged it from shore to shore.

His vindictiveness was, however, surpassed by his avarice, which he systematised with microscopic exactness. It is manifest that, even taking into account past services and old associations, nothing perhaps but one or two salient aims in common, together with the likelihood of a very brief Pontificate, would have induced Robert to press the elevation of an individual so slenderly endowed with subordination, so obviously fashioned for a bigot and tyrant

<sup>1</sup> Jacques d'Euse of Cahors ; not, by the way, the son of a cobbler, as Villani states, but belonging to a good bourgeois family.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Milman, *Latin Christianity*, vol. vii. 339.

in one. It will be perceived that in John XXII. the King did not find the deferential favourite, the ever-complying subsidiary, too many writers have represented him to be.

The community of the interests of the two Houses of Anjou was therefore strained for the advancement of this candidate. The Italians, who passionately deplored the debasement of the Church under the rule of Clement, and the abandonment of Rome by the Holy See, addressed their cause ardently to the new King of France. Their numbers, however, amounted to a fourth only of the entire Conclave, which had of course been packed with the favourites of Clement—chiefly, like himself, Gascons. The Italians, however, apparently actuated by unusual tact, selected as their candidate a Frenchman in Guillaume, Cardinal of Palestrina. Even this was not to the taste of the Gascon faction among them. But the French and Italian Cardinals above all things desired to have no more Gascon Pontiffs. 'To drink our blood the Caorsines and Gascons are making ready.'—*Parad.* xxvii. 58. The Conclave held at Carpentras shortly became little better than a den of wild beasts. Personal combats between the leaders of the factions led to bloodshed among their retainers, which in turn communicated itself to the rabble of the town. One of the nephews of Clement is stated by a Chronicler to have set fire to houses adjoining the hall wherein the Conclave held its sittings. The mob outside shouted, 'Death to the Italians!' The latter then managed to make their escape through a hole in the wall at the rear of the building, and vanished.

Louis, le Hutin, whose Queen was King Robert's niece, Clementia,<sup>1</sup> interposed to re-gather the scattered Cardinals. This was finally accomplished at Lyons, after that monarch's death, by his brother, Philip V. (the Long). The Holy See,

<sup>1</sup> On whose tomb the King at a later day inscribed an epitaph which won the excessive approbation of Petrarch. Cf. *Epist. de Rebus Familiar.*, iv. 3: 'O felix mulier, quæ pro una temporali vita, eademque brevi et incerta, et mille semper casibus exposita, duas æternitates, ut ita dixerim, consecuta est, quorum alteram celesta, alteram terreno Regi illum Christo debeat, hanc Roberto.'

nevertheless, remained vacant during two years and a quarter, until August 1316, when the favourite of King Robert, having been duly elected, took the style of John XXII. It will be presently remarked that the same pitiless energy which this ecclesiastic had exerted against the Templars, and which had won him his Cardinalate, was now about to find a wider field for its exercise in nominally combating for the cause of Guelphdom against the Empire, and a yet greater one dealing with the Franciscan schism, now culminating to a desperate crisis. But meanwhile there had occurred a brace of events of the utmost consequence to the affairs of the allies, Naples and Florence, and which not a little contributed to emphasise good relations between the future Pontiff and King Robert.

On October 20, 1314 (a violent struggle among the Electoral Princes of Germany having resulted in serious division), Louis of Bavaria was declared by one party among them to be King of the Romans elect, while Frederick, Duke of Austria, was declared by the other.<sup>1</sup> It will be understood that these events could not but heighten the significance of the consolidation of the Ghibelline forces under Ugucione, and that of his capture and retention of Lucca. Moreover, they accentuated the chronic hostility of the Visconti at Milan. The rivalry, and presently civil war, between the new Emperors-elect, however, paralysed any possible project for another imperial passage of the Alps. This turn of affairs, while it had spurred King Robert to secure the election to the chair of St. Peter of his candidate, had given him time to exert his influence to subdue the refractory Italian Cardinals.<sup>2</sup>

Through the distinguished men gathered around him at Naples, and notably among these, Bartolommeo da Capua,

<sup>1</sup> Villani, lib. ix. c. 66.

<sup>2</sup> Their favour is said to have been gained by a specious oath uttered by John, to the effect that he would never mount horse or mule until it should be for the purpose of going to Rome; in fulfilment of which he dropped down from Lyons to Avignon in a barge, and, arrived there, ascended on foot to the palace.

there was now opened to him a literary avenue by which, while addressing himself to the Holy See, Robert could favourably attack the historic fabric of the Empire, even challenge its right to continuance, and at the same time flatter the decadent Papacy by magnifying its vanished puissance.

In the archives of Siena has been preserved to us the original memorial embodying the arguments made use of by the scholastic King and his legal luminaries. It was published by Bonaini in his 'Acta Henrici VII.' (i. n. 147), who assigned to it the date of 1312, believing it to refer directly to that Emperor. To Signor G. B. Siracusa certainly belongs the credit of clearly demonstrating that it refers to the later period of 1314, either pending or soon after the election of Louis IV. of Bavaria.<sup>1</sup> As it illustrates the increasing spirit, not of liberty, but of independence, manifested here and there during the simultaneous Papal and Imperial decline, as well as the craft and ambition of Robert himself, it is a document of no little significance. In considering it, three circumstances, therefore, should be kept in mind:—(1.) The terror in which the Teuton soldier was then held by the Italian; (2.) the necessity for securely warding off invasion of the kingdom of Naples by utilising Pontifical authority; and (3.) King Robert's ambition to consolidate his dominions, thereby to become virtual master of Italy.

In this memorial Robert demonstrates to the Legates that they should bid the Pontiff reflect how the Empire surely traces its origin to violence, reminding his Holiness (who might have smiled to hear it) that whatever has been acquired by violence cannot be either steadfast or lasting.<sup>2</sup> When, however, the author enumerates the scandals, disasters, and desolations suffered by Italy and the Church, owing to the election and coronation of successive emperors,

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *L'Ingegno, il sapere, e gl' intendimenti*, di Roberto d'Angio. Torino. Palermo. 1891.

<sup>2</sup> 'Quod igitur violenter quæsitum est non est durabile neque permanens, quia est contra naturam.' Op. cit.

he has trustworthy foundations to build upon. He then adduces instances from the lives of the Emperors Trajan, Hadrian, Antoninus, Julian, Otho, and Frederick II. He concludes, of course, by blackening Henry VII. for having dared to project the invasion of the kingdom of Naples in face of the explicit prohibition of the Holy See.

The King incidentally permits us to know that when he had sent envoys to Sicily to tax King Frederick with ill-faith in co-operating with Henry against Naples and the Church, in face of the sworn and Pontifically-approved treaties, Frederick had rejoined that the Emperor was supreme ruler over all kings and nations; that outside the spiritual sphere the Pope could have no authority; and finally, that Henry had absolved him from his oaths to the Angevin House.<sup>1</sup>

‘Who of sane mind doubts,—who does not plainly perceive, that all temporal dominions, in the vicissitudes of time, undergo continual change? How senseless, then, is this idea of perpetuating a universal domination! Where is now the lordship of the Chaldeans, the despotism of the Persian, the command of the Egyptian and Hebrew peoples, the craft and wisdom of the Greek, the force and energy of the Trojans? Where, above all, the unique monarchy of the Roman, which, from world-wide dominion, is contracted to a mere handful of earth?’ He then proceeds to characterise the perilous custom of electing German princes to the imperial throne, describing them as harsh, unruly, greedy, and inimical both to the French and Italians. German savagery should not be permitted to afflict the nations and embitter Italian mildness. Further, he prays the Cardinals to contrive that no Emperor shall be elected, or, if he should already have been elected, that he shall not be conceded the Italian coronations; or, should the Supreme Pontiff allege that the Holy See is unable to refuse coronation to a justly-elected Emperor, they ought to object that he might indeed

<sup>1</sup> ‘Et multa circa hujusmodi protulit abusiva,’ p. 236.

do so in order to prevent still graver dissensions. Also the King thought that the Cardinals should recall to the Pontiff's memory the examples justly made of Frederick II., Manfred, and Conradin, overcome in fair fight, who had been guilty of criminal invasions undertaken in the very face of Papal prohibitions. They should recollect, moreover, the case of the Tuscan Ghibellines, to counteract whom the Church had appointed Charles I. of Anjou her Vicar-General.<sup>1</sup>

The King then proceeds to examine, after his fashion, the doings of Henry, to whom, by means of his envoys, he declares he had hastened to do homage for his feudal territories,—homage which, however, had not been accepted. Nevertheless, Robert states that, in order to preclude ill-feeling, he set on foot a treaty of matrimony between his son Charles of Calabria and the Emperor's daughter Beatrice; but his envoys had been sent back with promises which were never fulfilled, that imperial envoys should wait upon him for the same object. He justified his former interference in Rome upon the ground that the Colonna had openly ranged themselves on the imperial side. He had despatched thither his brother, not to injure any one, but in order to defend the faithful, as well as his own realm, to which Rome, under the known circumstances, might well become dangerous, as in the days of Conradin. With regard to the Emperor's designs, these had been obvious; for when required by the Pontiff to swear to the Cardinals that he would not invade Naples, he avoided so doing, declaring himself to have been neither under legal obligation nor compelled by the Apostolic mandate. His (King Robert's) attitude in face of this had been legitimate, and arose from the necessity of self-defence; certainly in nowise had it been deserving punishment.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Siracusa, p. 168, op. cit.; and Agostino Trionfo, *Summa de Potestate Ecclesiæ Quæst.*, 42, art. 1. 'Sed ille verus Imperator dicitur quem Ecclesiæ assumit in suum auxilium et adiutorium.' In a document quoted by Siracusa, *Reg. Ang.*, 271, f. 17, Agostino is designated, 'Sacræ pagine doctor, consiliarius, Cappellanus familiaris et fidelis nostri.' He lived at Naples, and died there in 1328.

Finally, the coronation of Henry had, he considered, been both irregular and unconstitutional, and it ought to have been annulled by the Sovereign Pontiff, both on that account and by reason of the Emperor's after-actions. The Cardinal ought to have persisted in refusing to proceed with the ceremony. The Pope had plenary right to confirm or dethrone the Emperor, to assume entire jurisdiction in temporalities, and even to transfer the Empire, did he so will it, from one nationality to another.

Such, in short, are the special pleadings of the Angevin. The memorial throughout is personally inspired, as Signor Siracusa remarks. 'While Robert adjudges the Empire moribund, he nevertheless rejoices in the title of Imperial Vicar. He desired to see enthroned an Italian Emperor, doubtless none other than himself. At the same time, he suggests the total abolition of the Empire. In one case he declares the right of the nations to independence in face of the Empire; in the other he strongly questions the necessity for the continuance of the Empire at all. The latter idea he opposes to the Ghibelline theory that the imperial power was derived direct from God. The former idea was equally opposed to such as shared Dante's views of the absolute separation of political from ecclesiastical power.'

In fact, at the commencement of the fourteenth century, ideas of national independence distinctly began to assert themselves, as a glance at the conditions prevailing beyond as well as within Italy will certify. 'While, however, the Italian states, small and large, began to liberate themselves and become worldly-wise—to shake off, that is to say, the double yoke of Church and Empire, the political craft of Guelph and Ghibelline equally proceeded in the above manner, neither having the courage to announce the close of the universal autocracy of both Empire and Papacy. The theory of Dante, as set forth in "De Monarchia," seemed at that time extremely audacious,

and forms one of the bases for argument that the poet was the prophet of a new era. When Robert, however, conceived the possibility of a definitive end to the Empire, and absolute independence of the nations, it seems to me he made a far greater advance, and anticipated (perhaps unconsciously) an entirely modern idea.' Bartolommeo da Capua was certainly a far-seeing adviser.

The Pope, then, might do all things. The Empire henceforth should be identical with the championship of the Church, or should not subsist. Why, therefore, not substitute the faithful Angevin for the blundering German?—the aggrandised crown of Naples for the faded diadem of the Empire?

While, however, these Angevin arguments, based upon discussions with the abler minds about him, were taking their final shape, a catastrophe occurred which once more filled the atmosphere of Guelphdom with grief and anxiety. Another violent shock now shook its supports by reason of the crushing victory of Ugucione at Montecatino over the united Florentine and Neapolitan armies, under command of Philip of Taranto, on August 29, 1315. In it King Robert lost his brother, Pietro, Count of Eboli, and his nephew Carlo, son of the defeated Philip,<sup>1</sup> while two thousand Florentines were left dead upon the field. This was a triumph which to the victors seemed at least some long-delayed vengeance for the deaths of Manfred and Conradin, and some poor recompense for the failure of Henry; while, for the Pisans themselves, it seemed a glorious retaliation upon their mercantile rivals.

The unlucky and fever-stricken Prince of Taranto, with the remnant of his routed forces, fled toward Pistoia.<sup>2</sup> Sore to them, however, as was this disaster, and disgusted as were the Florentines at the failure of their royal general,

<sup>1</sup> By his first and divorced wife, Ithamar Comnena. Charles fell at the commencement of the action. Mussato relates that Rainieri di Donoratico, whose father had shared the fate of Conradin at Naples, was knighted over the Prince's corpse.

<sup>2</sup> Cortusiorum Historia, S.R.I., xii. 794-796.

Villani is careful once more to assure us that not for one day did the guildsmen of the various crafts in Florence cease to ply their trade, nor did the Signoria neglect to take immediate and necessary steps to raise new levies<sup>1</sup> and obtain another general from their Angevin ally. Many of the citizens, however, were hostile to this design, and showed acute distaste for the Neapolitan alliance, both at this time and later on, when Bertrando del Balzo III., Lord of Berre, Count of Montescaglioso, and King Robert's brother-in-law,<sup>2</sup> arrived with two hundred horsemen to take up the vicarial command. Moreover, they endeavoured to obtain an experienced leader from France and Germany, but their endeavours met with no success. Yet other designs were afoot for breaking with King Robert altogether; but these likewise proved impracticable, probably owing rather to his financial indebtedness to Florence than to their sense of the binding nature of the vicarial contract. For though the new Signoria and Simone della Tosa, together with a fair proportion of the people, were hostile to the Angevin, Pino della Tosa, and the leading financial houses of the Bardi, Peruzzi, and Acciajuoli, had forged with him and members of his family responsibilities too serious for Florentine trade lightly to override. Besides, was not the King Senator-elect of Rome? Was he not their surest ally in view of the perilous ambition of Visconti and Della Scala?

Del Balzo took up his appointment, but found his authority curtailed in every direction. He witnessed the accession to magisterial power of Lando da Gubbio, the infamous Bargello (whom Villani describes as standing continually at the foot of the stairs of the Palazzo dei Priori with five headsmen).<sup>3</sup> After bearing the brunt of Florentine ill-will for rather more than a year, he was succeeded by

<sup>1</sup> Villani, lib. ix. c. 72.

<sup>2</sup> Second son of Bertrand II.; married Beatrice of Anjou, 1309, and by her had Maria, who married, 1322, Humbert II., Dauphin of Vienne. Beatrice herself had been the widow of Azzo d'Este, Lord of Ferrara.

<sup>3</sup> G. Villani, lib. ix. c. 76, May 1, 1316.

Guido, Count of Battifolia,<sup>1</sup> a Tuscan noble, nominated by Robert at the request of Florence. Ugucione della Faggiuola, now Lord of Pisa and Lucca, as might be expected, became likewise occupied with outbreaks against his own government in those cities, and especially with that of the family of Interminelli, by whose means he had been made master of Lucca, and by the sudden rise of one of whose scions, who possessed even more remarkable military gifts than his own, he was soon to be displaced and expelled.

The three influences, however, which most powerfully tended to restore the Neapolitan alliance to its former level of efficacy came from outside, not from within Florence. One arose from the continued struggle for the crown of Germany between Louis of Bavaria and Frederick of Austria, each of whom was supported by a strong party; the second arose from the successful conclusion of Robert's manœuvres for the election of Jacques d'Euise to the Pontificate on 7th August 1316; and the last from the betrothal of Charles, Duke of Calabria, the only surviving legitimate son of King Robert,<sup>2</sup> to Catherine, daughter of Albert, and sister of Frederick of Austria.

With regard to the first and the last of these influences, it was manifestly the interest of Robert to prolong, if possible, the contest between the rival Emperors, thereby to keep them vigorously employed beyond Italy, so as to prevent either of them descending to Milan and Rome for the customary coronation. Clement V., who had declared the Empire to be vacant, was dead, and until now no successor had been appointed. The treaty of marriage, therefore, signified that the Pope and Robert would support Frederick against Louis on certain well-defined conditions, chief of which was that, should he prove successful in the contest, he must refrain from crossing the Alps.

<sup>1</sup> July 13, 1316.

<sup>2</sup> His natural son, of whom more later on, was Charles Artois, son of Cantelma Cantelmo, wife of Bertrand Artois, a former Governor of Naples.

With regard to the second influence, the Count de Poitiers, brother of Louis X., King of France, dexterously collecting the opposed Cardinals, formed a conclave at Lyons, and although himself called away to Paris by the death of the King, his instructions were obeyed, and Robert's favourite was at length elected. The coronation of John XXII. followed early in September 1316.

The Queen of France, Clemencia, being left a widow and enceinte, gave birth to a boy, who died five days after;<sup>1</sup> and the Count of Poitiers, being the second son of Philip le Bel, became King as Philip V.<sup>2</sup> No sooner had John XXII. ascended the Pontifical throne, than he renewed the declaration of his predecessor, that the imperial throne was vacant, and at the same time he re-appointed Robert Vicar-General of the Church in Italy and presently canonised Louis of Toulouse.<sup>3</sup> Bertrando del Balzo went to Avignon and rendered homage for his master.

Finally, in regard to the third influence, Catherine of Austria had arrived at Florence<sup>4</sup> at this moment, and been received with the utmost honour by Prince John, Bertrando del Balzo, the Archbishop of Capua, and a multitude of other distinguished personages.<sup>5</sup> By special desire of King Robert, the citizens were now relieved of the presence of the Bargello,<sup>6</sup> and this, together with these festivities, had the effect of greatly modifying their objections to the old alliance of Florence with Naples. When to these considerations was added fuller understanding of the significance attaching to the ties between the King and the new Pontiff, a perfect reconciliation was effected. The number of 'Priori' was doubled, or rather the six 'Priori' of one

<sup>1</sup> Nov. 15, 1316.

<sup>2</sup> Nov. 19, 1316.

<sup>3</sup> April 7, 1317.

<sup>4</sup> Bringing her dower of 40,000 marks of silver.

<sup>5</sup> Coppo-Stefani, v. 323; *Delizie degli erudite Toscani*, ix. 46; Villani, lib. ix. c. 79.

<sup>6</sup> October 12 (?), 1316. On October 20, King Robert commanded great preparations to be made at Naples for the festival, and ordered one of his officials 'ut pro festo Catherine Austriæ, quæ Neapoli in breve expectetur, celebrando 4000 librarum ceræ necessaria emat, Neapolimque mittat.'

faction were united to the seven of the other, so that King Robert gained a working majority. On May 12 following a treaty (which had the effect of re-arousing Uguccione della Faggiuola) was signed between Florence, Lucca, Pisa, Pistoia, Prato, and King Robert.

Added to these events, Ugo del Balzo and Riccardo Gambatesa carried on with varying success the desultory Lombard and Piedmontese warfare of the Guelphs with Matteo Visconti, Cane della Scala, and Passerino of Mantua. Alessandria now deserted King Robert and became tributary to the patriarchal Matteo Visconti. Cremona and Brescia, however, remained strongholds of Guelphism.

Thus, in the year 1317, King Robert, by favour of the Pope, was master of Rome and Romagna, and nominally Imperial Vicar in Italy; by favour of Florence, Vicar-General in Tuscany; by favour of the Genoese, nominal Lord of their city; and finally, by force of Catalan and Provençal soldiers, he was master of several districts in Piedmont and Lombardy, some of which, it is true, he had inherited from his father, and some of which his captains had since acquired for him. Thus it is obvious he was at this period on the verge of becoming monarch of entire Italy, with the exceptions of Milan, Verona, Mantua, Sicily, and the republics of Pisa and Venice. Had he therefore been a man of military genius, or even had he possessed the stout mettle of certain of his adversaries, had he employed such a captain as Castruccio Castracane, presently Lord of Pisa and Lucca, he might well have dealt a crushing blow to Ghibellinism, the Antæus of mediæval Italian politics, and, by converting the Guelphic League into an Italian substitute for the Empire, have constituted a national monarchy, himself being its first sovereign.

But neither Robert nor Pope John, though both of them plentifully endowed with ability and good fortune, were men of genius. They developed mutual differences also; but they were of one mind not to have the Holy See reinstated

in Rome. John had come down by water from Lyons to Avignon, and there fixed the seat of his pontificate. His promotions in the Sacred College soon revealed the old Gascon favouritism, as well as the anti-Italian prejudices of the man. In the first batch of cardinals were his son, Bertrand de Poyet, and three nephews. 'Of the first eight, one was his own nephew<sup>1</sup> (son?), three from the diocese of Cahors, one French Bishop, the Chancellor of the King of France, one Gascon, only one Roman, an Orsini. Of the next seven, one was from the city (Avignon); three from the diocese of Cahors (of these, one was Archbishop of Salerno, one Archbishop of Aix); three others were French or Provençals. At a third promotion of ten cardinals, six were French prelates, three Romans. One of them Archbishop of Naples, one an Orsini, one a Colonna; one Spaniard, the Bishop of Carthagen.'<sup>2</sup> These promotions took place upon December 17, 1316, December 20, 1320, and December 16, 1328, and present us with a hard and fast picture of Curial morality in that age.

But over and above the plentiful defect of genius in both royal and papal pedant, there was manifestly abroad a force militating against any such design or accomplishment on the part of King Robert—a force of which his own memorial, already considered, reveals him to have been fully cognisant—namely, that striving for 'independence' on the part of the nations, which had then set in so strongly, and of the action of which the Florentine Republic presented the most conspicuous example. Robert, in arguing against the continuance of the Empire, had maintained the right of the nations to be independent of it, although he now gladly fulfilled (at least nominally) the office and title of Imperial Vicar, as conferred upon him by the Holy See. But while certain of the nations desired to be independent of the Feudalized Empire, they by no means lost sight of advantages

<sup>1</sup> Bertrand de Poyet.

<sup>2</sup> Milman, *op. cit.*, vol. vii. 339-340.

which would accrue to them from their similar independence of the Papacy—that is to say, from the increased secularisation of Italian politics.

Three circumstances which especially favoured this desire were—firstly, the transalpine location of the Holy See; secondly, the Pontiff and most of the Conclave being foreigners; and, lastly, the Pontiff being reckoned for the most part as the instrument of Angevin ambition.

The forces, financial and spiritual, formerly generated in Italy by the Papal presence were felt to have evaporated. Luxurious cardinal-legates, whose spirituality was too obviously a fiction, vainly attempted to fill the dangerous void. If respect for the Empire was become a thing outworn, respect for the Holy See had been deplorably forfeited. Florence had treated the anathemas of Clement V. with scorn, as long as it had suited her financial well-being to do so. Venice (with less success, however) had defied him. John XXII., a little, deformed, but a vigorous old man, of far more choleric and implacable disposition, was destined to experience the full force of the disrespect due to the rapid declension of Papal prestige. Small military tyrannies and despotic commercial communes now sprang up on all sides through the length and breadth of Italy.

Sword and pen fought against each other, or side by side, against ambitious cardinal-legates. First at one, then at the other, were launched from Avignon anathemas, made ridiculous at once by their frequency, their excess of fury, and solemn lack of humour. Yet the frequency of fulmination on the part of the new Pope showed that greater freedom of action was accorded to him than his predecessor. There was no Philip le Bel at hand to terrify and dictate to him. Philip V. had succeeded to a throne whose authority had been greatly weakened likewise by the growth of a spirit of independence among the people founded upon the abasement of the feudal nobility. 'The Pope, in all his briefs addressed with great frequency to the King, divulged his knowledge

of the weakness of the crown. His language is that of protecting and condescending interest, of a superior in age, learning, and dignity. He first rebukes the King's habit of talking in church on subjects of business or amusement. He reproves the national disrespect for Sunday; on that day the courts of law were open, and it was irreverently (?) chosen as a special day for shaving the head and trimming the beard.<sup>1</sup> It will be shown that he was by no means afraid to address similar rebukes and warnings to his patron, King Robert,<sup>2</sup> who, however, treated his words with kindly indifference, as of a younger man to an old preceptor who is somewhat tiresome, but who means well, and must be humoured. A lengthy visit to Avignon before long probably revealed to John the full extent of his patron's power and their real community of interests.

But although, to any one who had eyes to see with, the period was acutely stamped as one of transition,—one, particularly, in which knowledge was rapidly out-distancing ecclesiastical authority, when old institutions, by reason of their inadequacy or rottenness, were tottering on every side, John, instead of arresting the tendency, by the very means he adopted in order to do so, accelerated it. For all his actions were marked by excess of passion. From the period when the Holy See first had arrogated to itself the temporal power, attacks more or less harmful to it and the Church generally had been made, though they had only been able to disregard the foe. With the exercise of temporal power the Holy See had become both extremely

<sup>1</sup> Milman, *op. cit.*, vii. 341.

<sup>2</sup> Lünig, *Cod. Dipl.*, tom. iv. 474. Robert certainly exhibited activity at this time with regard to the definition of canon and civil law in their respective application to clergy mixing in secular affairs. He enacted that clergy not mixing in secular matters should not be subject to civil judges, except in cases permitted by canon law. The difficulty of adequately meeting exigencies of this kind is manifested by the reiterations of this law in various forms throughout his reign. The same old struggle between Church and Laity was thus going on in the heart of the other European kingdoms. Pope John was an expert in canon law, and probably looked askance at the vigorous advances made by the civil administrative.

wealthy and extremely tyrannous. John was destined to become the richest and worldliest of all pontiffs.

On the 17th March 1317, he advertised throughout Christendom that God had delegated to St. Peter authority equally over celestial and terrestrial empire,<sup>1</sup> thereby promulgating the former pretensions of Innocent III. and Boniface VIII. in their most offensive form. Checks which the Inquisition had received in France during the vacancy of the Holy See were now removed, and the functionaries of the Holy Office were bidden speed diligently upon their terrible work, and to carry torture and fire into Bohemia, Poland, Hungary, and Bosnia. Meanwhile 'his quenchless greed displayed an exhaustless fertility of resource in converting the treasures of salvation into current coin. He it was who first reduced to a system the taxes of the penitentiary, which offered absolution at fixed prices for every possible form of human wickedness, from five grossi for 'homicide' or 'incest,' to thirty-three grossi for 'ordination' below the canonical age. Before he had been two years in the Papacy he arrogated to himself the presentation to all the collegiate benefices in Christendom, under the convenient pretext of repressing simony.'<sup>2</sup> By grasping the entire patronage of the Church, the Holy See had now assumed the rôle of universal auctioneer.

Having commenced his pontificate by re-asserting the right to administer the Empire during its vacancy, John ordered all those whom Henry VII. had formerly appointed his Vicars-Imperial in Italy to surrender their titles.<sup>3</sup> Matteo Visconti, therefore, wisely obeyed, and assumed that which the people of Milan conferred upon him, styling himself 'Signor,' otherwise Lord of Milan. Cane della Scala, however, having done actual homage

<sup>1</sup> 'Ad summum Pontificem, cui in persona Beati Petri terreni simul et celestis imperii jura Deus ipse commisit, imperii predicta, jurisdictionis regimen, et dispositio devolvantur.' Cf. Raynaldus, 1317, 17-18.

<sup>2</sup> Hist. of Inquis., H. S. Lea, iii. 67; Taxæ. Sacr. Pœnitent. Friedrichs, 35.

<sup>3</sup> Bull, 'Si Fratrum,' Martene, Thesaur., ii. 641, II. Kal. Ap. 1317.

to Frederick of Austria, continued to use the forbidden title. Intent upon the conquest of Vicenza and Padua, he little regarded the Papal mandate, and in May 1317 succeeded in capturing Giacomo di Carrara and seventeen hundred of the enemy. As Catherine, Frederick's sister, was now Duchess of Calabria, La Scala was enabled to estimate his own importance to Frederick as well as to the Holy See.

Gregorovius appropriately remarks that 'if the princes of Italy had countenanced this ridiculous assumption on the part of the Pope, it must naturally have followed that they would have had to take the oath of fealty to him as their temporal sovereign, and to pay him tribute; moreover, that to the Pope would have belonged the right to confer titles and feuds of the Empire, and above all, to subject the civil law to his tribunal.'<sup>1</sup> The safe asylum which the Popes had found in France, and their continuance there, rendered their attitudes more exasperating than those observed by even their most aggressive predecessors; and John XXII., prompted by France and Naples, dared even more venturesome things against Louis of Bavaria than Boniface VIII. had attempted against Philip le Bel.

To this end circumstances had fallen out but too favourably by reason of the disputed election to the Empire. While King Robert would advance his domination in Italy through the absence of both the imperial combatants, the Pope and the King of France hoped to be able to manœuvre so as to utterly cripple the Empire.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Storia della Città di Roma, F. Gregorovius, vii. 130.

<sup>2</sup> The friendly attitude of Robert toward the Church at this period is shown by his dealings with the clergy. Those of the province of Principato Citra had complained bitterly to him that his justiciaries took such proceedings against their concubines that the latter were often fined as well as excommunicated. The King, on March 26, 1317, therefore commanded that in future the matter should be entirely left to the prelates. Cf. Chioccarelli Ind., tom. x. p. 165.

His feelings toward the Pontiff are shown by the fact that on Nov. 12, 1317, in consideration of great services rendered Charles II. by him, Robert ennobled and enriched with lands his nephew, Arnaldo di Troiano.

Yet, in spite of all these advantages, Robert, feeling the control exercised by Florence, proved unable to compass his political ambitions, while the extravagant Papal interdicts which came to his aid, threatening to overwhelm every one who opposed his pretensions, were openly scorned. These fiery meteors, so repeatedly hurled from Avignon, fell upon their far-off would-be victims merely as dust or stones.

Four years of peace and prosperity in Florentine affairs, lasting until 1320, permitted the King of Naples to direct his attention to the fierce struggle between the Guelphs of Genoa and the Visconti. The same years, however, brought to a crisis the long contest between the Church and the Franciscan spirituals over the doctrine of evangelical poverty,—a contest fraught with momentous consequences to both Papacy and Empire, and especially disastrous to the credit of the former.

The attitude observed by King Robert in this question, dictated alike by family tradition and personal conviction, proved fruitful in unexpected developments in Lombardy and Provence. I will take occasion, therefore, to depict the outlines of this question, and the relationship of Naples to it.

## CHAPTER XI

### ROBERT AND THE SCHISM OF THE MINORITES

IT is related that when Gilio, third among the disciples of St. Francis, visited Assisi, in order to see the memorials being raised in honour of his beloved master, he found himself passing from one resplendent shrine to another, through spacious courts and gleaming cloisters, all in process of yet costlier enrichment by the brush and chisel of various renowned craftsmen. After standing for some moments dumb with astonishment, instead of breaking forth in expressions of wondering appreciation, he suddenly exclaimed, 'There is now nothing wanting—but your wives!' He then proceeded to declare that the vows of poverty and chastity were equally binding, and that if one were neglected, the other might as well be abandoned also.

How his protest was received would import little, even if it were known. So rapid had been the degeneration of the Order from the ideal of its founder, that, within but a few years of his death, his sanctified abode could thus be pointed to as the most flagrant example of the undissembled evasion of his most binding vows.

Again, Olivi has left it upon record that he had heard Bonaventura declare before a 'Chapter' held at Paris, that he would submit to be ground to powder if such submission would bring the Order back to the condition designed by St. Francis.<sup>1</sup> In April 1257 he issued an Encyclical to its Provincials, deploring the vicious ways of the brethren, and pointing out the contempt to which their conduct would

<sup>1</sup> Archiv für Litt. und Kirchengesch., Franz Ehrle, 1887, p. 517.

expose the entire Order. Ten years later, at the instance of Clement IV., Olivi issued one similar to it, in which 'he expressed his horror at the neglect of the "Rule," exemplified by the shameless greed, the importunate striving for gain, the ceaseless litigation caused by the grasping of the friars after legacies and burials, as well as the splendour and luxury of their buildings.'<sup>1</sup>

Remonstrance headed reaction; but reaction portended nothing short of schism within the Order; and, worse than the wound of Amfortas, the dissension and division that ensued proved not only immedicable, but malignant, growing by the strife it fed upon, and gradually involving the whole confraternity. A memorable stage in its development was marked by the issue on the part of Nicholas III. of the Bull 'Exiit qui seminat,' which vainly attempted to settle the main dispute at issue—at least, so far as the Papal interpretation of the Rule of St. Francis was concerned; and as it reads, it makes distinctly for maintaining the unworldly tenets of the founder, chief among which was renunciation of all mundane goods and possessions, or, literally, the embracing of destitution.

Such complete relinquishment of lucre had been both enjoined and practised by Christ and the Apostles. The Pope, however, drew the distinction between use and possession in clear lines—the one being permissible, indeed absolutely necessary, the other forbidden. Upon this distinction, pursuing the line already laid down by Innocent IV. and Alexander IV., Nicholas declared the Holy See to be guardian and trustee for all that the Franciscan Order possessed, of which the brethren should only enjoy the usufruct. Legacies, therefore, must not be bequeathed actually to them, but only for their general use. Money was still the one polluted and polluting thing which individually they must not touch. Further, all doubts and

<sup>1</sup> Lea, *Hist. Inquis.*, vol. i. p. 29.

difficulties concerning interpretation of the Bull, or the tenets of St. Francis, were to be submitted to the Holy See.<sup>1</sup>

If the atmosphere of the strictly spiritual life, as enjoined by St. Francis, was recognised to be too rarified for the comfort of ordinary devotees, it would have seemed to mean death to the grosser community to be forced into it. Nevertheless, the halo that had surrounded the Mendicant Order remained an awe-inspiring attraction to the laity, and its worldly progress continued unchecked, pushing it at all points into successful competition with the Preaching Order of St. Dominic, and thereby bringing upon it the jealousy both of that and of the far older Orders of Benedictine origin. 'They despise the legitimate Orders, those founded by holy fathers, by St. Benedict or St. Augustine, with all their professors,' writes Matthew Paris; 'they place their own Order high above all; they look down on the Cistercians as rude and simple, half laic, or rather peasants; they treat the black monks as haughty Epicureans.'

If the antagonism thus excited was bitter against the Order on the part of rivals, far more bitter was the hatred which arose, not unreasonably, on the part of the regular clergy. The latter saw their patrons and congregations magically drawn away from them by the preachings of the Mendicant Friars. According to a popular belief, which spread far and wide, any one dying in a Franciscan habit would undergo but a year of purgatory, because St. Francis visited purgatory each year in order to release his followers. The effects of such a superstition were abundantly manifested. Thousands flocked to the Order; kings and queens adopted its habit, built and endowed for it magnificent churches and convents. Moreover, they consigned their bodies, or at least their bones or hearts, to them, when their parish church legally claimed their flesh. The quarrels and

<sup>1</sup> The possible evasions of his enactments for the Order had been cautiously forestalled by St. Francis, who, in consequence, forbade any modifications thereof, and ordered the prohibition to be read aloud in all Chapters of the Order.

litigations that took place over the bodies of those who perhaps only at the last moment had assumed the habit and were claimed by the friars, became one of the scandals of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. The enrichment of the Order had thus become inevitable, and equally inevitable had, of course, become its demoralisation. At the close of the thirteenth century, Boniface VIII. had vainly attempted to adjudge these and other differences which had arisen between the Order and the beneficed clergy. Each new Pontiff differed from his predecessor with reference to the crowning obligation of poverty. The Order by that time, however, in spite of its dissensions and divisions, had become a powerful organisation, and men of the loftiest ideas and talents, as well as the idlest and most miserable, entered its various ranks either as friars or as laymen.

Now if it came to be perceived that such an organisation could be manipulated as an effectual weapon by the Holy See, and if its leaders should come to dangerous division with one another over fundamental tenets, it followed that the reigning Pontiff would be certain to espouse the cause of the one and anathematise his adversary, precisely according to the dictates of political utility. Wise men, therefore, may well have foreseen in those days of the demoralisation of the Church—of its lust for temporal power—not only how a Pontiff of such a temperament and placed in such circumstances as John XXII. would conduct himself toward this acute and ever-widening schism of the Franciscan Order, but also that one division of the Order would be surely driven to ally itself with the enemies of the Pope, even perhaps with a German emperor.

It had been one of the few merits of Clement V. that he, too, had made a serious endeavour to heal the strife. But the dire malady had been mining away into the very bowels of the Church, and, in spite of his canonisation of Celestine V.,<sup>1</sup> and even of popular sympathy with him, the

<sup>1</sup> June 5, 1313.

Conventuals, or worldly division of the Order, proved too influential. At his death in 1314 the persecution of the Spirituals, or Evangelical Absolutists, raged more fiercely than it had done before. The Conventuals speedily surrounded the new Pontiff in 1316, and contrived to prevent the envoys of their antagonists gaining access to him by putting them to death as heretics. In John XXII., in fact, the wretched Spirituals were destined to find an exterminating Herod. 'John, probably from the constitution of his mind and his training, could not understand that men could be so enamoured of holy poverty as to sacrifice themselves to it, and he could only regard them as obstinate rebels to be coerced into submission, or to pay the penalty. He had taken his stand in support of Michele da Cesena's authority, and resistance, whether active or passive, only hardened him.'<sup>1</sup> In 1317 and 1318 he followed up his Constitution 'Quorumdam' against them with two other violent bulls, 'Sancta Romana' and 'Gloriosam Ecclesiam,' declaring all varieties of 'fratres de paupere vita' excommunicate, and commanding all prelates and inquisitors to hasten their extirpation. As at this time, by the sale of benefices and indulgences of all kinds, including his 'taxation' of the Penitentiary, he was rapidly laying the foundations of that amazing fortune which later on so astonished the Florentine assessors appointed to appraise it, much surprise cannot be felt at his malevolence toward those whose fanatically proclaimed tenets pricked whatever of conscience may have remained to him.

In 1319 Bernard Delicieux, presumably a follower of Arnaldo di Villanova, foretold the fate of John on the strength of the Joachist prophecies of 'Antichrist in the Sixth Age.' The persecution reached its zenith in 1321. In the following year, however, Michele da Cesena, the General of the Franciscans, in a Chapter of the Order held at Perugia, changed face and took up his stand against

<sup>1</sup> Lea, *op. cit.*, iii. 74.

the Pope even upon the Bull 'Exiit qui seminat' of Nicholas III., and thus openly pitted a dead pontiff against the living one. He asserted the absolute poverty of Christ to have been a doctrine accepted of the Church, and attempted to show that John had himself approved of it in his Bull 'Quorumdam.' The protest thus well-founded, received the seals of the various Franciscan administrators and theologians throughout France, England, and Castile. In December the Pope replied to it with the Bull 'Ad Conditozem,' declaring the Chapter to have been guilty of heresy and annulling the provisions of Nicholas III. Bonagrazia now boldly presented a written protest on the part of the Chapter to the Pope in Consistory, for which he was promptly cast into a dungeon, while a still more decisive version of the Bull was affixed to the doors of the cathedral at Avignon.

During this ferment in the Church the hostilities between the Holy See and the German Empire with the Ghibellines of Lombardy, represented by the Visconti, had culminated to various crises. The Pope, evidently desirous of realising in his own representative person the theory propounded by King Robert, to the effect that the German Emperor was the national foe of Italy and Christendom, had assumed unprovoked what can only be designated a sort of devilish rancour against Louis of Bavaria. It was with tranquil pleasure, therefore, that this dogmatic Vicar of Christ learned from time to time of the sanguinary conflicts between Louis and Frederick of Austria, which until 1322 kept laying waste so many German valleys.

Now the Chapter of Perugia, in which the Pontiff himself had practically been declared a heretic, as having denied not merely the poverty of Christ, but likewise the rights of the lawfully elected Emperor, had been held but a few months before the decisive battle of Mühldorf,<sup>1</sup> which placed Frederick of Austria completely at the mercy of his antago-

<sup>1</sup> September 28, 1322.

nist, and left Louis undisputed master of the Empire. Louis duly informed the Pope of his victory. Instead, however, of receiving from him a favourable, or even a courteous acknowledgment, he was apprised by John that, in spite of that victory, the decision between the rival claims still remained for himself alone to decide.

It was at this time that Cardinal Bertrand de Poyet, believed to be a son of the Pope, was carrying on ferocious hostilities at the Papal command, with the Lombard Ghibellines, nominally in the cause of King Robert and the Guelphs, but virtually striving to construct a principality for himself. To him Louis sent envoys peremptorily protesting against any meddling with imperial territory. The Cardinal retorted that as the Empire was still vacant, the territory in question practically belonged to the Holy See, and he affected crafty surprise that a Catholic prince like Louis should ally himself with the heretical Visconti.

In the following year, John put forth yet another Bull, declaring that, let the German Electors say what they would, until the Pope had given his approval no one could assume the title of King of the Romans, and, further, that until such title had been thus lawfully assumed, the administration of the Empire devolved upon the Holy See. Louis therefore was admonished to appear in person at Avignon within three months, to answer for his usurpation, and to receive Pontifical sentence for so doing. All his enactments were pronounced to be null and void, and prelates of every degree were forbidden to render homage or allegiance of any sort to him.

Thus was war declared once more between Papacy and Empire; and this climax determined the actual passing over of Michele da Cesena with the whole body of Franciscan Spirituals to the side of the Emperor, as discovering in the latter not only an imperial protector, but their most natural weapon against the universal oppressor.

It cannot be doubted that this movement, the immediate result of his own action, irritated the Pope all the more because it magnified the importance of Louis. Indeed, it brought about exactly what King Robert and Florence most feared. It induced Louis to make his descent into Italy and plunged Christendom into uproar.

It remains to define the attitude observed toward this great religious ferment by King Robert himself; for there were distinct reasons for grave differences of opinion on this subject between him and his Pontifical ally, in consequence of which the latter found himself in an anomalous position.

Even monarchs of the type of Robert could entertain with regard to dogma convictions as sincere as those they entertained with regard to astrology, and yet be unscrupulous politicians. Albeit champion of the Holy See, Vicar of the Church in Italy, and figure-head of Guelphdom, Robert not unnaturally regarded himself as a hereditary patron of the Franciscan Order, with distinct bias in favour of its spiritual tendency, further emphasised by the direct influence of Queen Sancia. He happened, likewise, to be an aspirant for intellectual distinction in the luminous regions of scholastic philosophy. It thus fell out that his views regarding the question as to the poverty of Christ and the disciples were practically identical with those of Dante the Ghibelline, according to whom the founder of Christianity had distinctly forbidden his followers possession of silver or gold, and who held that it was the duty of the Pontiff and Church to act as dispensers of the good things of the earth to the poor and needy:<sup>1</sup> a view diametrically antagonistic to that prevailing at Avignon.

Consequently, whatever were his political determinations respecting the abasement of the German Empire, however

<sup>1</sup> 'Poterat et Vicarius Dei recipere, non tanquam possessor, sed tanquam fructum pro Ecclesia, proque Christi pauperibus Dispensator, quod Apostolos fecisse non ignoratur.'—*Dante, De Monarchia*, iii. 10.

intimate his ties as friend, sovereign, and vassal toward the patriarchal Pontiff, it was impossible for him either to agree with the latter or to surrender over this great proposition.

There were especial reasons why Robert's convictions upon the subject should be more definitive than would have been those, say, of his father. When transferred to Aragon as hostages for the latter, Louis (of Toulouse) and Robert had there received their education at the hands of Franciscan friars. Now the royal family of Aragon at that period may be described as having lived under the spiritual spell of Arnaldo di Villanova, veritably the philosophic Apostle of the poor, who taught that salvation literally depended upon devotion to them. To Arnaldo, Cabalist and mystical prophet of Antichrist, both James II. and Frederick of Sicily over a series of years had turned gratefully with all their belongings as toward an infallible ghostly counsellor; and not merely so in regard to religious questions, but to those of science, law, and diplomacy. His name appears as witness to the last codicil of Peter III. at Villafranca del Panadés.<sup>1</sup> Arnaldo had thrown all the solemn weight of his wide reputation as a devout and fearless philosopher into his sympathy for the persecuted spiritual Franciscans, and he scourged their opponents without mercy. In Aragon, Majorca, Sicily, at Naples, and in the last year of his life (1309-10) at Avignon itself, in the very presence of Clement V., he had risked everything for their amelioration.

<sup>1</sup> Arnaldo was a native of Catalonia, though his birthplace remains uncertain. As is the case with Michael Scott, there is much obscurity hanging over particular periods of his life,—1305-9. Menendez Pelayo has endeavoured very successfully, with Don Manuel de Bofarull, to throw light upon them. We may readily accept his authority for stating that there is no truth in the legend of his having made bars of gold by alchemistic process at the Court of Robert. 'Arnaldo no fué Albigense, ni sabatato ni Valdense, aunque por sus tendencias láicas no deja de enlazarse con estas sectas, así como por sus revelaciones y profecías se de la mano con los discípulos del Abad Joaquin. En el Médico Vilanovano hubo mucho fanatismo individual, tendencias ingenitas á la extravagancia, celo amargo y falto de consejo, que solía confundir las instituciones con los abusos, temeraria confianza en el espíritu privado, ligereza y falta de saber teológico.' Cf. Arnaldo di Villanova, Menendez Pelayo, Madrid, 1879.

In 1316 his writings were condemned by the Dominicans at Tarragona.

To his influence, therefore, may be traceable the resignation of secular life by Louis which had led to the succession of Robert to the Neapolitan throne, and perhaps, less directly, to the same influence may have been due the successive unions of Robert with Violante and Sancia. To the same, most probably, was it due that Sancia's elder brother, James of Majorca, had assumed the Franciscan habit, and likewise her younger brother Philip, who, to his sister's satisfaction, had come to live at Naples, to identify himself with the aims of the Spirituals there.<sup>1</sup> To Robert, Arnaldo had dedicated his treatise 'De Conservanda Juventute.' To the theologians of the University of Paris he had daringly inscribed 'De Adventu Antechristi,' for which he suffered a significantly brief imprisonment.

But John was not unaware of all this, nor of the past history of Robert's leanings. Besides, had not Charles II. ardently supported the cause of Celestine, whom Clement V. had canonised in June 1313? Had not the same Clement and Charles openly protected the Spirituals from their pitiless foes in Provence? Had not Celestine crowned Robert's eldest brother King of Hungary? Furthermore, was there not established in Castelnuovo at this moment a fraternity of fifteen friars of the Order, with the Queen's own brother as their chief? And were not the church and convent, now-a-days called Sta. Chiara, and other noble foundations consecrated to the same Rule, in process of erection at Naples?

Truly, therefore, the weighty Question and the attitude observed toward it by the violent Pontiff came home tenderly to the royal family. It may be remarked, however, that the risk to be incurred on the part of Robert by differing from the Pope was not very alarming. Living directly under Angevin patronage and upon Angevin territory, the

<sup>1</sup> Arch. Vatic. Secr. Johannes XXII., Anno 15-16, Reg. 8, fol. 91, Epist. 426.

Pope might venture to rebuke him painfully, but he could scarcely afford to do so save in private correspondence. On the other hand, the King, while professing complete submission, could dare to set forth his own views in such manner as might preclude acute irritation. The whole subject, doubtless, was narrowly discussed by those living in contact with the King and Queen, both laymen and ecclesiastics. As a result Robert resolved to set down their conclusions and his own in the form of a scholastic treatise. The reader may call to mind how the poet, then just deceased at Ravenna, had sneeringly alluded to Robert's dialectical tendencies:—

‘Ma Voi torcete alla religione  
Tal che fu nato a cingere la spada,  
E fate re di tal ch' e da sermone.’

Another contemporary versifier, Pietro di Faytinelli (Mugnone), closes a sonnet hostile to the Guelphs by allusion to the King and his preachings:—

‘Oimè, che solo a dirlo par ch' i smalvi,  
La parte Guelfa viene esser dispersa,  
Or sermoneggi, e dica Prima e Terza.’

The main object of the royal treatise,<sup>1</sup> as might be surmised, was to show that the Church, which had formerly recognised the authoritative sanctity of evangelical poverty, could not but continue to recognise it, and thus close the scandalous quarrel. Its tiresome eloquence, so characteristic of a pedantic lecturer, was further dulled by over-cautious manipulation of the subject. Probably few Guelphs outside Naples approved of it emanating from the King, although in tone it was distinctly conciliatory. In any case, it clearly demonstrated that previous Pontiffs who had amassed great wealth could not fairly be denominated heretics; at the same time, it equally proclaimed that the doctrine of ‘Leave all and follow Me’ could scarcely be termed ‘heresy.

<sup>1</sup> Codex 4046, Biblioth. Nationale, Paris

Nevertheless, it admitted that to sustain a doctrine which the Pope condemned did amount to heresy.<sup>1</sup> At the same time it cautiously avoided plunging into the abysmal question as to the right of a Pontiff to annul the enactments of his predecessors. The portentous skein of difficulties manifestly could be unravelled only by the Church flatly contradicting herself and sanctioning the very doctrine she had so furiously condemned. She could do this, without prick of conscience, with leisure; but her machinery was too cumbrous to act with celerity.

Robert's dominions, like those of his Sicilian foe and kinsman, had thus been thrown open to the Spirituals, and consequently to closely-related and equally-proscribed subdivisions of the Order; and these were naturally not slow to avail themselves of a refuge from the implacable Pope and Inquisition. But Robert, at the risk and in spite of John's displeasure, went even further, and presently threw his protecting ægis over no less a personage in his hour of persecution than Michele da Cesena. 'Robert, in spite of his close alliance with the Pope, and the necessity in which he stood of the Papal favour for his political plans, declared himself sincerely on the side of the (Spiritual) Franciscans. He seems never to have forgotten the teachings of Arnaldo di Villanova, and as his father, Charles the lame, had interfered to protect the Spirituals of Provence, so now both he and his Queen did what they could with the angry Pope to moderate his wrath, and at the same time he urged the Order to stand firm in defence of the Rule. In the protection which he afforded, he did not discriminate closely between the organised resistance of the Order under its General and the irregular mutiny of the Fraticelli. . . . With the troubles provoked by John their numbers naturally

<sup>1</sup> 'Sed post predicta videndum est, si dicere Christum et Apostolos habuisse sit hereticum dicendum. Primum prompte occurrit quod verbum horum dicere simpliciter non est hereticus nisi quando alterum determinasset Ecclesia et contra determinationem Ecclesiæ oppositum eligeretur contumaciter et pertinaciter defendendum.'—F. a. col. i. Cod. cit.

grew.<sup>1</sup> This multiplication was stimulated by the greater confidence in their cause inspired in them by the King's sympathy. The obstinacy of the Pope was, however, the greater factor in the making of heretics, and ten years later it caused the cry of the persecuted Fraticelli to be taken up and deliberately re-echoed, by Philip of Valois and King Robert himself, to the effect, namely, that Pope John was himself a heretic and deserved deposition.

When Michele da Cesena, in 1327, was summoned to appear at Avignon, and answer for having secretly encouraged heretics, he excused himself from coming on the ground of illness. The Pope doubted the excuse. King Robert sent his physician to Michele at Todi, and himself subsequently wrote to Avignon corroborating the latter's statement.<sup>2</sup> Michele, nevertheless, went thither himself as soon as he was recovered, and, strange to say, he was well received. Wisdom, however, compelled him to depart thence clandestinely, and he lived to become, after William of Ockham, John's most redoubtable foe.

The protection accorded to the persecuted in the realm of Naples increased with time, and John's many vehement letters to the Inquisitors, to Sancia, and to Charles of Calabria, were for the most part written in vain. A few years later the Queen's domestic chaplain, Fra Andrea da Gagliano, was accused of being the author of a tract declared to be inimical to the teaching of the Church,<sup>3</sup> and was cited by the Pope to appear before him. Robert sent envoys to exculpate him; and, while admitting the friar to be the author, he averred that the latter had never written a word either contrary to the teaching of the Church or lacking in reverence for the Catholic faith. The King, moreover, did not content himself with this, but deliberately intercepted and withheld Pontifical letters upon the subject addressed to the

<sup>1</sup> Lea, *op. cit.*, iii. 144.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Baluze, iii. 315-316; Franz Ehrle in *Archiv für Literatur*, 4 Band, 1 u. 2, 151; *Archiv Secr. Vatic. Reg. Johannes XXII.*, tom. xxxii. fol. 615.

<sup>3</sup> 1331. *Arch. Secr. Vatic. Reg. Johannes XXII.*, tom. xxxii. fol. 615.

leaders of the Order, and refused to give them the desired publicity.

The Pope rightly fastened the responsibility for this manœuvre upon Queen Sancia and her brother Philip, and in his chagrin wrote that, if she did not take heed, the heretics would soon seduce her entirely from the bosom of the Church.<sup>1</sup> Thus it is obvious that, though he might deplore their leanings, John could not venture openly to condemn his allies and patrons. He could scarcely doubt the sincerity of a friendly monarch, who must have felt acute repugnance at sharing with his natural enemies, Louis of Bavaria and the King of Sicily, the duty of patronising the condemned Mendicants. To Louis the latter had become an important political weapon, and to Robert they were also of political advantage, since, by freely favouring them, he prevented their strengthening the hands of his other foe, Frederick, King of Sicily. By this action the power of the Inquisition at Naples was diminished (where, however, it had been more popular than Neapolitan writers are wont to admit), and the rigorous commands of the Pope to the Inquisitors were in consequence greatly discounted.

Thus the attitude of Robert toward the Holy See with regard to the schism of the Minorites stands out in strong contrast with his alacrious obedience to it twenty years earlier, when, while he was Duke of Calabria, Clement V., fulfilling the cruel mandate of Philip le Bel, commanded him by a bull<sup>2</sup> to lay hands upon the Templars throughout his father's various dominions, and sequesterate all their property. That order was promptly obeyed, as it likewise was in Majorca, and the Inquisitors had their way.<sup>3</sup>

When Robert died in 1343, he was laid out in the habit of the Franciscan Order; and when Sancia, then a confirmed Fraticellian, followed him in 1345, she had resided during

<sup>1</sup> Arch. Secr. Vat. Reg. Johannes XXII., March 13 and September 2, 1332. Cf. Raynaldus, 1332, 20.

<sup>2</sup> Pastoralis præeminentia, November 21, 1307.

<sup>3</sup> Arch. di Napoli, MSS., Chioccarelli, tom. viii.

six months as Sister Chiara in the convent of Santa Croce. On the walls of the deserted refectory of Santa Chiara at Naples may still be seen a large contemporaneous fresco (of little merit, however), in which figure the King and Queen together with SS. Francis, Chiara, and Bonaventura.

If the Angevin champions of the Holy See had done their utmost by pen and sword to undermine the already leaning Empire, they likewise contributed not a little to accelerate the declining prestige of their patroness. The commercial Guelphs, while incessantly undergoing metamorphosis, had risen to power and security in proportion as the rival authorities of Church and Empire had dwindled. But Florence was of necessity both richer and more independent than defeudalising Naples, and to her must be given glory for having methodised both her mercantile and intellectual capacities, and for having constituted herself a solid centre of rational progress.

If Robert, recalling his mentor, Arnaldo di Villanova, by active and sympathetic patronage of various branches of science, literature, and law, stimulated men of talent, and even of genius, among both his own subjects and the Florentines, it was not among the former that he could find men to build him Gothic churches and castles, and adorn them with fresco and sculpture. The various beautiful, but neglected, monuments in the churches of Naples, Montevergine, Amalfi, and Salerno, belonging to the thirteenth, fourteenth, and fifteenth centuries, it must be repeated, are not the work of Neapolitans, but of Tuscans, Provençals, and Milanese.<sup>1</sup>

The flatteries lavished on his sermons probably induced him to multiply these exceedingly, and he would seem in later years to have allowed no domestic occasion to escape dialectical attention. 'The great number of these

<sup>1</sup> In the thirteenth century Niccola Pisano, with his pupils and associates, worked both for Frederick II. and Manfred. Giovanni Pisano worked at Naples for Charles I. of Anjou from 1268-1274. Cf. Schultz, *Denkmaler in Unter Italien*, iii. 39. The Castel-nuovo was erected under the superintendence of Pierre de Angicourt, and under the eye of no less a personage than Arnolfo del Cambio.

sermons extant shows clearly that this (though not the only one) was his favourite species of composition, as being, also, that best adapted to his disposition and to the nature of his studies.<sup>1</sup> In fact, the influence of his Franciscan friends, and the mystical tendencies of the Majorcan family, deepened with him yearly; but as the circle of his spiritual ideas expanded, the material prosperity of his dominions surely declined. The ten years, from 1316 to 1326, during which there seemed to be some possibility of consolidating his various dominions, included his most illustrious period as a ruler; while from 1326 until his death in 1343, the years marked more and more emphatically his love of learning, and the growth of his evanescent fame as a versatile philosopher. The sudden death of the Duke of Calabria, in November 1328, put a period to his political ambition, and consequently drove him many degrees further into the solemn twilight of religious speculation; and, as will duly appear, other mundane events ensued which increased that tendency.

As the King's grasp of affairs became relaxed, more authority became delegated to Sancia, and exercised by her. Their Franciscan-Fraticellian predilections drew them firmly together. This surely signified that the friars and the lawyers advanced in influence. But while fresh and wise statutes continued to be framed, the administration of the law became enfeebled, and the violence which had become chronic in Romagna seemed to communicate itself to the kingdom until every province became infected.

It should be observed, however, that while Robert's attitude toward the Franciscan schism was founded both upon early training and upon sincere religious conviction, that of the Emperor Louis toward it was simply utilitarian, and, could he have afforded to do so, he would have thrown over his persecuted friends sooner than he did, and have kept Ockham and Marsiglio of Padua well beyond his German territories.

<sup>1</sup> G. B. Siracusa, *op. cit.*, p. 42.

In the judgment of the Pope, then, Robert and Sancia, if not regarded as heretics themselves, came perforce to be looked upon as deliberate fauteurs of heresy. Although this was deplorable, policy compelled him to be advised and to overlook. It was doubtless with satisfaction he observed that Tuscany did not share Angevin sympathies for the Fraticelli, and persecuted them without mercy.

Nevertheless John's political headway could suffer no sudden deviation. The chain of Guelphic powers between Paris and Naples was still interrupted by re-arisen Pisa and Lucca. The continuity had to be made perfect at all costs. John and Robert, girdling Italy with Angevin forces, still intended to possess her; but both miscalculated the peculiar nature of the powers against which it was necessary they should contend. For the strength of their antagonists became steadily more and more augmented by the decline of respect for Pontifical authority, by the growth of the spirit of communal freedom, and by the rights claimed on the part of people from and acknowledged by their sovereigns; all which tendencies this great schism of the Franciscan Order materially assisted. Thus, the only Guelphic element that really flourished was the desire of the people for their municipal independence. But naturally this benefit was not felt so much by Naples as by Florence and Siena.

Although, therefore, the various elements which, united, formerly made up the cause of Guelphdom, still cohered, disintegration had set in, and the bonds that held Florence almost enslaved to the Angevin were fast relaxing.

## CHAPTER XII

### TRAGIC WOMEN

By disposition, by conviction, and by family associations, Queen Sancia was a profoundly devout woman, not without intelligence and love of power, but with a well-marked tendency to Joachitic mysticism.<sup>1</sup> She had wedded Robert (then Duke of Calabria) as his second wife in August 1304 at Avignon, and in the following year her brother, Sancho, afterwards King of Majorca,<sup>2</sup> had been united to Robert's sister, Maria, and thus had been multiplied the ties between the Houses of Naples and Majorca (Aragon).

That Sancia's subsequent long life was altogether a happy one, there are reasons enough for doubting. Firstly, she remained childless. It has been believed, not without ground, that, as a strict Franciscan, she was under a vow of perpetual chastity. Secondly, as such, she had disqualified herself for enjoying the frivolities of court life. Lastly, her husband, probably disappointed in her as a partner, though respecting her piety, brought her into contact with the less virtuous side of his character, and made Canelma Artois, one of her ladies-in-waiting, his mistress, which, maybe, was in part the reason Sancia applied to Avignon for a divorce in 1317.<sup>3</sup> The Pope, although rebuking Robert for other matters, refused her request,

<sup>1</sup> Joachim of Flora, Abbot of Corazzo, one of the founders of modern mysticism, 1160-1205 (?). Arnaldo di Villanova had written an introduction to Joachim's treatise 'De Semine Scripturarum.'

<sup>2</sup> 1311. The union, however, proved childless. The whole family of Majorca, of this generation, seem to have been sterile; though this may be attributable to their interpretation of the vow of chastity according to St. Francis.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Raynaldus. ad. anno 1317.

and exhorted her to be amiable and forgiving, lest her husband should become yet more unrestrained; telling her, moreover, that the devil was tempting her in this, her unholy desire for a separation, adding that it was not improbable she might yet have children of her own. Two months later he wrote reprovingly to Robert, severely blaming him, dubbing him a new Rehoboam,<sup>1</sup> and admonishing him not to draw about him idle and effeminate persons,<sup>2</sup> who know not how to conduct themselves. John did not yet correctly reckon his patron's power and influence.

Cantelma Cantelmo<sup>3</sup> was the widow of Bertrand Artois, a prominent captain in the Sicilian wars and governor of the city of Naples in the latter portion of the reign of Charles II., and had died in 1305. By her Robert had a son, Charles Artois, who grew up and was educated at court, afterwards holding various important positions, and of whose career much will have to be related.

Notwithstanding these difficulties, as time wore on, the Queen seems to have become reconciled to her lot, and finally obtained both influence over Robert, and great political power in the kingdom, albeit, owing not a little to her Mendicant sympathies, it cannot be described a fortunate one. Perhaps her authority became emphatic only after the death of her stepson, Charles of Calabria; but it naturally connoted advance to power of the phalanx of Friars and lawyers. In 1331 we find her ordering the destruction of the houses belonging to the Griffi family, owing to their having murdered Lorenzo Castagnola. Her position had by that time become so assured that Pope John

<sup>1</sup> 'Per viam Roboam incidens.' Reg. Johann. XXII., Anno 2, fol. 32, N. 109, Epist. 131, Nonas Aprilis; et Lünig. Cod. Dip., tom. iv. 474.

<sup>2</sup> 'Delicatos et molles.'

<sup>3</sup> Her husband had held also the office of Giustiziero di Terra di Lavoro. Cf. Arch. Stor. Nap. An. viii., Fas. iv.; Regest. Clem. V., 8066-8, 1312; Hist. della Famig. Cantelmo. Vincenti, 20-21. Other members of the Artois family were Bernard, Raymond, and Gerard. The last-named, brother to Bertrand, was justiciary in the same province in 1279.

felt it politic to remain good friends with her, although strenuously condemning her religious opinions.

Another personage who figured (but scarcely among the educated portion of the court) also as a *dame d'honneur* to the Queen was Philippa di Cabannis<sup>1</sup> (detta Catanese), the wife of Raimondo di Cabannis,<sup>2</sup> afterwards celebrated by Boccaccio in 'De Claris Mulieribus,' and certainly memorable from the part attributed to her in the disasters of the following reign, as well as for the terrible destiny which overtook her in her old age, after a remarkably successful career.

By birth the child of extremely humble folk, but dowered with effective charms, she became the wife of a fisherman, after whose death, at the commencement of the century, she became recommended to the Duchess of Calabria (Violante), and was appointed nurse to her infant second son, Louis.<sup>3</sup> A few years later King Robert married her to a black<sup>4</sup> slave who had been purchased from some Corsairs by Raimondo di Cabannis, provost<sup>5</sup> of the royal kitchen. Finding this youth trustworthy, his master gave him his own name, and subsequently procured him the succession to his own office. King Robert, later on, promoted him to the post of Chamberlain, and finally to that of Seneschal. Philippa ultimately became honorary governess to the daughters of her former charge, Charles of Calabria.

The eldest son of this marriage, Carlo, by his union with Margherita da Ceccano, had Raimondo, Roberto, Antonello, and Sancia, Countess of Morcone, afterwards a lady-in-waiting to Queen Giovanna I. Philippa's second son, Robert, first in holy orders, later a soldier and diplomatist, was created Count of Eboli, and succeeded his father, Raimondo, as Seneschal upon the latter's decease.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Not Cannabis, as Canon Pór denominates her throughout his *Life of Louis the Great of Hungary*. Raymond de Chabannois derived his origin from the Counts of Bigorre.

<sup>2</sup> Died, 1334.

<sup>3</sup> Died, 1310.

<sup>4</sup> *I.e.*, dark.

<sup>5</sup> Prepositus.

<sup>6</sup> Buried in Sta. Chiara.

Philippa retained the royal favour throughout Robert's reign, and as she grew old, saw all her descendants honourably advanced,<sup>1</sup> thereby, be it noted, affording mark for disparaging envy on the part both of courtiers of noble blood and those merely overtaken in the race for promotion. That she was vain of her achievements and ambitious is not improbable; that she was deliberately vile, or deserved all that her enemies said and wrote of her, would be difficult to prove. That to her had been confided the nursing of the heir-presumptive to the kingdom, and again that, after twenty-five more years had passed, was confided to her yet another heir to it, scarcely warrants one in forming an extremely unfavourable estimate of her. Certain writers ascribe the elevation of so unworthy a personage to the inexplicable force of destiny. Might it not have been due simply to her exceptional attractions and abilities? That she made use of unusual opportunities in order to aggrandise her family is hardly matter for censure. Every one about her was attempting to do likewise, though none perhaps proved so successful as herself. Again, that one so astute and experienced in court life should in old age have thoughtlessly entangled herself in the conspiracy to murder Andrew of Hungary, as her sons and her grandchildren certainly did, is not over-probable. At the same time, a court that elevated nurses and emancipated slaves to the positions of magnates of the kingdom would seem to have been far from tactful, and soon or late would have to pay inevitable penalties for so doing. It may at least partly be guessed how such upstarts must have been regarded by the San Severino, Gaetani, and Del Balzo families, though probably even their disparagements took milder tones than those used by equally recent, though less humbly born, colleagues.<sup>2</sup> With its power for government and its brazen ambition there was

<sup>1</sup> Scip. Ammirato, *Fam. Nobili Napolitane*.

<sup>2</sup> The devil of Feudalism has always found a satisfactory 'conductor' in the swine of Democracy.

a defect of nobility in the Angevin temperament, which adapted it not so well to patronise and forward the more refined tendencies of the new learning, as to introduce the very age of enterprising upstarts.

Nevertheless, the influences of the Aragonese marriages, of Tuscan commercial progress, and the position of Naples as a trade-focus between the Eastern and Western as well as Northern and Southern rulers, enabled the House of Anjou to strive and accomplish much that of its own inclination it would perhaps have left undone. By the recommendation of James II. of Majorca in 1330, King Robert invited the Jews to take up their abode in all parts of his kingdom, free from every sort of molestation, subject to precisely the same taxation as his Christian subjects. This was brought about by a certain Simone Virgilio,<sup>1</sup> himself doubtless a Hebrew—probably one of the multitude of learned wanderers of the race then paid devotees to Latin literature, scholastic philosophy, and medicine.

Brief reference must here be made to one or two political events of peculiarly significant importance at the court of Naples during the early years of John's pontificate. It will not have been forgotten that, in spite of the ruling of Boniface VIII. and Clement V. after him, Carobert, son of Charles Martel, had been debarred the realm of Naples in favour of his uncle, and that in consequence Dante,<sup>2</sup> and many besides him, in opposition to Cino da Pistoia, regarded King Robert as a usurper. Meanwhile, Carobert, who had attained maturity, had been getting his Hungarian kingdom well in hand; and there were not wanting enemies of King Robert who were careful to make the young monarch of Hungary fully realise and resent the Pontifical ruling of which he had been the juvenile victim.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Arch. Stor. Prov. di Napoli, Ann. vii. Fasc. iv. ; Jüd. Zeitschrift, v. 286, 332 ; Jüdentum und seine Geschichte, A. Geiger. It has been previously noticed that in 1311 the King ordered all converted Jews to live scattered among the Christians in Naples, so as to preclude their being tempted to relapse.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Par. ix. v. 1-3.

Consequently, in 1317, Carobert despatched John II., Dauphin of Vienne, the husband of his sister Beatrice, to endeavour to recover for him from his uncle Robert, not indeed the realm, but the Principality of Salerno and the Honour of Monte St. Angelo. As John of Vienne had sympathetically followed the cause of the Emperor Henry VII., he scarcely proved a *persona grata* to the King of Naples, and no favourable result ensued. In quitting Avignon the ensuing year the Dauphin fell ill and died at Pont de Sorgues.<sup>1</sup> It may be surmised that although King Robert felt he could have nothing to fear in refusing to acknowledge his nephew's territorial claims at present, nevertheless, in view of the rapidly increasing power of Hungary, these claims might well give him serious meditation. Carobert, however, could afford to wait. It would be interesting to know if Robert sent his nephew a sermon upon the subject, larded with second-hand quotations from Seneca, Livy, and the Bible, or whether his reply was dictated after consultation with Bartolommeo da Capua and the astrologer-royal? As Bartolommeo, likewise a prolific sermon-writer, was still his factotum, these two may have sustained remarkable discourses, presumably upon the divine right of kings and Papal infallibility, and it might be entertaining to follow their reasonings.<sup>2</sup>

At the same period, namely, in the year 1317, King Robert's two brothers, the unlucky Philip of Taranto, and John, Count of Gravina, were engaged in discussing certain arrangements as to the principality of Achaia, resulting incidentally in a tragic fate to Matilda of Hainault, then Princess of Achaia in right of being heiress of Florenz of Hainault and Isabella Villeharduin.

Charles I. of Anjou, with a view to opening an avenue for himself to the Latin Empire of Constantinople, at that

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Fejér, Cod. Dipl., tom. viii. ad Ann. ; Duchesne, Hist. des Dauphins de Viennois, Paris, 1628.

<sup>2</sup> These sermons are to be found chiefly in the Marciana at Venice and the Laurenziana at Florence.

time seized by the schismatic Greek, Paleologus, had united his eldest daughter, Bianca, to Robert of Flanders; betrothed his second, Beatrice, to Philip Courtenay,<sup>1</sup> son of the dethroned Emperor Baldwin II.; and his second son, Philip of Anjou, to Isabella Villeharduin.<sup>2</sup> By the capture of Helena, widow of Manfred, after the battle of Benevento, her dower-lands, as daughter of Michael Comnenos, Despot of Arta and Epirus, became the spoil of the conqueror, namely, Corfu, Canina, Valona, Botronto, and Durazzo. Thus enriched, had not the aim of Charles been frustrated by the action of Pope Gregory X. (who, instead of espousing his cause, acknowledged the right of Paleologus, but conditioning as he did so the submission of the Greek Church to the supremacy of Rome), he would unquestionably have been pleased to administer the Eastern Empire in right and on behalf of his son-in-law, Philip Courtenay.

William Villeharduin, Lord of the principalities of Morea and Achaia, was an important vassal to Baldwin. Consequently, when Charles had arranged his famous treaty with the dethroned Emperor at Viterbo,<sup>3</sup> in presence of Clement IV., Baldwin ceded him the suzerainty over Morea and Achaia, as well as over the dower-lands of Helena. Thus the treaty of Viterbo, the defeat of Manfred, and the subsequent matrimonial alliances had concentrated in the hands of Charles I. a collection of suzerain and sovereign rights, some of which, at least, he was himself enabled to substantiate. After the Sicilian Vespers, however, and the capture and long detention in Spain of Charles II., many of these rights, acknowledged, though not undisputed, relapsed into the realm of shadows, not a little assisted

<sup>1</sup> Married at Foggia, 1273.

<sup>2</sup> Married at Trani, 1271. Some years afterwards (1305) Isabella married again to Philip of Savoy, without asking the consent of Charles II. of Naples, which gave rise to disputes between Savoy and Naples, likewise relative to claims of the Count of Savoy to Achaia. In 1307, however, Philip of Taranto assigned Isabella Villeharduin and the Count the countships of Alba and Telesse, on condition they renounced all their pretended Achaian rights. Isabella died 1311.

<sup>3</sup> 27th May 1267.

thither by the predatory incursions of the great Catalan company toward the close of the thirteenth century.<sup>1</sup>

Nevertheless, an agreement was arrived at between Charles II., the Republic of Venice, and the King of France, to the effect that all those vassal dominions of the Latin Empire which had been ceded by Baldwin to his father should pertain to him. In virtue, therefore, of a grant made by him to his fourth son, Philip of Taranto, at Aquila in 1294, on the occasion of the coronation of Celestine V., the latter became possessed of these somewhat nebular domains. By dower of his first wife, Ithamar (daughter of Nicéphorus Ducas, Despot of Romania and Arta, and Anna Cantaczenos), whom he had put away in 1310,<sup>2</sup> Philip had claims over certain other territories. By his second wife and cousin, however, Catherine,<sup>3</sup> daughter of Charles of Valois and Catherine Courtenay, grand-daughter of Baldwin, whom he married in 1313, he pretended to nothing less than the Latin Empire itself. Catherine of Taranto, therefore, hereafter styled herself Empress of Constantinople; and Philip her husband, according to a treaty concluded between himself, Philip le Bel of France, and Hugh, Duke of Burgundy, considered himself to be supreme Lord of Achaia.

Nevertheless, to realise not merely suzerainty but sovereignty involved trafficking in the rights of Matilda of Hainault, who, as the heiress of her mother, Isabella Villeharduin and Florenz of Hainault, had lawfully succeeded to the principality of Achaia in 1311. At that time, although but eighteen years of age, she was the widow of Guy de la Roche II., Duke of Athens.

Now, Hugh, Duke of Burgundy, had himself aspired to the hand of Catherine of Valois, and his brother Louis had been made the husband of Matilda at the same time as

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Cron. R. Muntaner. For details, this work is extremely unreliable.

<sup>2</sup> Ptol. Lucensis, S.R.I., tom. ii. Muratori.

<sup>3</sup> Catherine is stated to have been lame; Philip to have inherited the large nose of his grandsire, Charles I., and certainly not a little of his ill-luck.

Catherine had been given to Philip of Taranto, namely, in 1313. Hugh, indeed, had opposed the union of Philip and Catherine, and in order to overcome his dangerous opposition, Matilda had been driven to make over her principality to his brother Louis, her husband, and to his heirs—even, as Ducange observes, to the exclusion of any possible children of her own.

In virtue of this declared cession to him and his collaterals, Louis of Burgundy and Matilda set out toward the close of 1315 from Venice with a body of Catalan mercenaries, in order to take possession of their territories. Unfortunately for their design, Ferdinand, brother of Sancho, King of Majorca (and consequently also of Sancia, Queen of Naples), had arrived on the spot with another body of Catalans, intent upon establishing a claim to their principality. This he did in virtue of his union with Elizabeth, daughter of Margaret de Villeharduin, Lady of Akova, who but a short time previously had left him both a widower and father of the ill-fated James II. of Majorca. In a battle which took place between them at Espero, near Chiarenza, Ferdinand was slain and decapitated.<sup>1</sup> In August Louis of Burgundy himself died, poisoned, it was rumoured, by the Count of Cephalonias, thus leaving Matilda in the curious position of having but a life-rent in her own dominions, and with her own personal rights exposed to confiscation, in case she should marry again without the consent of Philip of Taranto, lord-paramount of the principality.<sup>2</sup>

Finding herself alone, victorious, and again a widow in her hereditary domain, Matilda would appear to have listened, not wisely perhaps, to the advances of Sir Hugues de la Palisse, one of the French knights who had so effectively contributed to the defeat of her Majorcan foes. I do not think, however, that it can be decided whether

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Ducange, *Hist. de Constantinople*, tom. ii. p. 175.

<sup>2</sup> *Hist. Greece*, iv. p. 219. G. Finlay.

their marriage actually took place, or precisely when, save presumptively.

No sooner was it known at Naples that Louis of Burgundy was dead than King Robert, perceiving that the principality of Achaia would now slip away from the family grasp into that of the Burgundian heirs of Louis, took vigorous measures to preclude such an eventuality, by pointing out Matilda as the natural prize for his brother John of Anjou, Count of Gravina. The latter prince therefore addressed himself to the lady and to Avignon. The Pontiff readily entered into the design, promised dispensation for the union, and, moreover, persuaded Otho of Burgundy to relinquish his legitimate fraternal claims to the principality.<sup>1</sup> Sending a Nuncio with letters to Matilda, he urged upon her the desirability of the marriage, both for herself as an unprotected princess, and for the benefit of her so-called principality.

Matilda, however, did not receive these powerful overtures with pleasure. Her year of widowhood ended in August 1317, and in October the Pope wrote to her<sup>2</sup> stating that he could not comprehend her opposition to such a union, and that he had questioned her envoys, Fra Ubaldino and Stefano da Civinino, whether any reasons were known to them which should prevent her confirming the negotiations for the same. To this they had replied that they knew of none except that their mistress was unwilling to re-marry.

Between this date and March following (that is, in 1318), Matilda advanced more valid reasons against the union, namely, certain degrees of consanguinity both on the side of her late husband and John of Anjou, as well as on her own; she having formerly been betrothed to the ill-starred Carlo, son of the Prince of Taranto. The Pope,

<sup>1</sup> Arch. Secr. Vatic. Johann. XXII. Reg. 110, Epist. 264. To Otto of Burgundy, 27th August.

<sup>2</sup> Arch. Secr. Vatic. Reg. 109, Epist. 648, 26th October, Anno ii. (1317).

in a letter now addressed jointly to John and Matilda, thereupon declared that they having asked him to liberate them from these difficulties which have arisen, he, acting for the benefit of the faithful in Achaia, and from many other reasonable motives, accedes to their request, and by especial grace dispenses them.<sup>1</sup>

It may well be doubted if Matilda asked for any such liberation. The dispensation<sup>2</sup> was despatched with affectionate alacrity to King Robert at Naples. Matilda, however, had no mind to yield, either to persuasion or menace, royal or pontifical. Perhaps she underestimated the far-reaching power of her antagonists, who now resolved to treat her objections with scorn and capture her by force.

This nefarious design was put into prompt execution. Probably in May 1318,<sup>3</sup> she was practically made prisoner and brought against her will to Naples and handed over to Prince John. Either at this moment, or perhaps earlier, she may have declared that she was secretly married to Sir Hugues de la Palisse. Nevertheless, having possession of her person, her captors determined to retain her and appropriate her remaining rights. In fact, in the previous autumn, King Robert had despatched two Genoese captains, Corrado Spinola and Tommaso di Lentino, with a body of horse and foot, to make good the Angevin pretensions.

The unfortunate Princess was consigned to the Castello dell' Ovo ('incantato'), and may have occupied the chamber rendered vacant by the recent death of the last of Manfred's sons. Various efforts were set on foot on the part of her relations to obtain her release, especially by

<sup>1</sup> Arch. Secret. Vatic. Reg. 110, fol. 54, Part ii. Epist. 904, 29th March, Anno ii. (1318). See the documents at the close of this volume.

<sup>2</sup> Id. Arch. Secret. Vatic. Reg. 109, fol. 134, Epist. 551. 'Et ecce dispensationem super perficiendo matrimonio inter dilectum filium nobilem virum Johannem Gravinae Comitem, &c., contracto petitam, sub Bulla nostra Regiæ Celsitudini mittimus.' Kalendis Aprilis.

<sup>3</sup> Villani tells us that she was captured while on a pilgrimage to Rome. Lib. ix. c. 71. Cf. also Fern. de Heredia, Chron. de Morée.

William, Count of Hainault; but her liberation was declared to be inexpedient in view of the political interests of her captors. Consequently she remained for the rest of her life a state prisoner, and died, probably of a broken heart, in 1331.

But although this cruel stratagem had succeeded, all things had not gone easily concerning it between Prince John and his brother Philip of Taranto, the latter of whom seems, in 1317, to have contemplated a cession of certain of his suzerain rights over Achaia to another personage; for the Angevin archives record King Robert's command to him not to dispose of the Principality, seeing that his brother John was laying claim to it in right of his prisoner, Matilda.<sup>1</sup>

By a deed drawn up and signed by Bartolommeo da Capua, and witnessed by several of the most important functionaries and prelates at Naples on June 13, 1318, it was determined that Matilda should nominally retain her rights during her lifetime; the Principality to be actually administered by King Robert's ministers and soldiery; and that after her decease it should remain in possession of John, conditional still to the suzerain rights of his brother Philip. John, thereupon, was permitted to assume the title of Prince of Achaia.

Controversies between the brothers, nevertheless, soon obscured this convention, and the King found it necessary to compose their differences by persuading Catherine of Taranto, Empress-titular, to surrender to himself her imperial rights. That being done, he personally re-invested<sup>2</sup> her husband

<sup>1</sup> Reg. Robertus., D. n. 331, f. 253.

<sup>2</sup> Arch. Secr. Vatic. Reg. iii. Johann. XXII., iii., Id. June 1323. Letter of the Pope in response to William, Count of Hainault, who had demanded the liberation from prison of Matilda, stating that Robert and John have decided by special council that by law she must and ought to be imprisoned, nor was it expedient to them to relax her captivity, showing many reasons of peril to themselves if they should liberate her. 'Subjunxit tamen prefatus Rex in tractatu mutæ collocationis ipsius, quod si aliqua via reperiri posset ac commoda per quam hujusmodi valeret periculis obviari, paratus erat predictam Princi-

Philip with them, who thereafter and in like manner re-invested John.<sup>1</sup>

Instruments to this effect were drawn up, administered, and signed in January 1322. Whereupon, borrowing moneys from the Acciajuoli Society, John fitted out a new expedition, consisting of five-and-twenty galleys, set sail from Brindisi in January 1324, made himself master of Cephalonia and Zante, and sailed thence to Clarenza (likewise a fief of Matilda's), where he left Nicholas de Joinville (Jamvilla) his governor. Unable, however, to enthrone himself satisfactorily, he returned to Naples. After the death of Philip de Taranto, December 1331, Catherine again laid claim to her natal (Courtenay) rights over Achaia, on behalf of her eldest son, Robert,<sup>2</sup> and therefore demanded the homage of his uncle, John. The latter then replied, that as formerly he had paid Philip ten thousand ounces of gold in purchasing his rights, if they would repay that sum, the principality<sup>3</sup> should become theirs. It happened, however, that the late Philip had appointed Niccolo Acciajuoli, a rising partner of the great banking firm, trustee and steward of his affairs and possessions, and by means of the financial diplomacy of the latter, the claims of John were presently bought out. Acciajuoli, in fact, offered him five thousand ounces and the Duchy of Durazzo;<sup>4</sup> accepting which, the Prince handed over the title-deeds of the principality, and henceforward styled

*pissam restituere, pristinae libertati.* The Pope goes on to state that if the Count knows of any skilful and well-instructed person to send to him with a view to showing how the way may be found to liberate her, he will likewise be prepared to work for that end.

<sup>1</sup> 'Per sertum in capite et virgam argenteam, et vexillum in manu recipiente.' John, however, found himself in perplexity as to payment to Philip, and they nearly came to blows over the debt. Cf. Arch. Secr. Vatic. Reg. iii., 12th November 1322, Epist. 1087, 1088, and 1089, to their mother, Mary of Hungary. The latter died soon after this date, early in 1323, at Naples, and was buried in St. Maria Donna Regina.

<sup>2</sup> Born September 1326. Reg. Anglo. 262, fol. 61.

<sup>3</sup> Chron. de Morée, 147-148. Buchon.

<sup>4</sup> Dyrrachium, including Albania.

himself Duke of Durazzo. In 1335<sup>1</sup> he died, consigning his second wife, Agnes of Talleyrand-Perigord, and three sons, Charles, Louis, and Robert, to the care of King Robert, whom he had so effectively served. There will be occasion to refer to the transaction later on.

<sup>1</sup> April 1335; not seven years later, as Domenico di Gravina states in his Chronicle.

## CHAPTER XIII

### THE VISCONTI

It is now necessary to turn from these family intrigues, religious and political, at Naples, and take a survey of certain far-reaching events closely concerning the extension of King Robert's hereditary domains in Piedmont, namely, the conflict raging at and around Genoa between his Guelphic allies and vassals and the Visconti. The Pope, intent on keeping the Emperor north of the Alps and acquiring further temporal power south of them, had attempted by peremptory command to annul all the vicarial appointments made by Henry VII., declaring that any one venturing to exercise powers pertaining to such appointments would be considered guilty of treason to the Holy See, and would incur the penalty.

In April 1318, after various menaces, Matteo Visconti, Cane della Scala,<sup>1</sup> and Passerino of Mantua, were declared persecutors of the Church, excommunicated, and were cited to Avignon to answer charges of heresy. Visconti and his five sons were summoned as devil-worshippers. Matteo himself had certainly committed many crimes; he had forcibly impeded the Inquisition, and openly protected the Guglielmite sectaries; and above all, he was the mainstay of Louis of Bavaria. Although, like John himself, past seventy years of age, similar irrepressible energy of character rendered Matteo a truly redoubtable antagonist.

<sup>1</sup> In the following year Brescia, out of fear of Della Scala, offered her signiory to King Robert. It is noteworthy that Florence in the early days of 1318 had extended the duration of Robert's signiory for three years, and Amelio del Balzo, Count of Avella, was appointed his Vicar there.

In spite of the powerful intrigues of the Holy See and the Angevins, Matteo had maintained the balance of success decisively upon the side of the Ghibellines. Moreover, in this year his son Lucchino, encountering Ugo del Balzo, the Piedmontese Seneschal of King Robert, beside the Tanaro, near Alessandria, had engaged and killed him.<sup>1</sup>

Owing to this and similar triumphs, Matteo, making light of the Papal anathema, turned longing eyes toward Genoa, where the Guelphic Fieschi and Grimaldi were combating Spinola and Doria. The last since 1316 had been receiving aid from his son Marco, and were now carrying devastation into the heart of the city.

In their distress the Guelphs turned again to the King of Naples, suzerain of the neighbouring territories of Ventimiglia, Cuneo, Mondovi, Asti, and Alessandria, and invited him to accept the profitable Signiory of their city for a term of years. This was anything but disagreeable to him or the Holy See. Despatching prompt aid to them (he himself being ultimately bound for Provence, where an armistice with Frederick of Sicily was to be settled in the Papal presence), Robert followed in July 1319 with Sancia, his brothers Philip and John, his natural son Charles Artois, and the latter's mother, Cantelma, accompanied by twenty-seven galleys,<sup>2</sup> containing six thousand men-at-arms.

The King took up his abode at the convent of the Dominicans, and before the close of the month received at the hands of the Podesta, in the Piazza San Lorenzo, supreme power as Papal Vicar for the term

<sup>1</sup> In 1327 the Pope writes to King Robert lamenting the death at the hands of the foe in Piedmont of yet another Ugo del Balzo and the capture of his nephew, Bertrand. Arch. Secr. Vatic. Epist. 992, Johann. XXII., iiiii. Kal. Junii, Anno xi. fol. 24.

<sup>2</sup> The King took, besides soldiers, a seneschal, thirty knights, ten doctors, twelve chamberlains, three surgeons, ten chaplains, two lawyers, nine scribes, two barbers, and over a hundred menials. Reg. 1317, A. r. 201, f. 130-136.

of ten years, with remainder to his son Charles in case of his own decease. Of this proceeding Matteo was duly advised by his son, who during the ensuing months scarcely allowed a day to pass without trying his Milan steel upon the royal mercenaries, often to their great discomfort.

At the close of the following April, leaving Riccardo di Gambatesa<sup>1</sup> as his deputy, Robert proceeded once again to Avignon.<sup>2</sup> He was welcomed there with sumptuous honours by the Sacred College and townsfolk, and presently, in close conference with the septuagenarian Pontiff, began to concert significant measures for the subjugation of the Visconti by means of a holy war in Lombardy, and for protracting the sanguinary imbroglio between the rival Emperors beyond the Alps, so as to preclude their interference with the affairs of Italy. For this purpose John confirmed the King in the Vicariate of the Empire; but his own political ambitions having by this time become fully aroused, he resolved that his own family, with which he was packing the Sacred College, should cut in somewhere and carve out a principality. There is no reason to think that Robert offered any serious objection. At any rate, on June 26, he informed his subjects in Lombardy that a Cardinal-Legate would soon arrive in their midst armed adequately for the defence of the faithful; and that the person appointed to fulfil that purpose was Bertrand de Poyet, Cardinal of San Marcello, the first individual raised by the Pope to the purple, and usually considered to have been his own son.

Other important resolutions contributive to the same design were likewise arrived at. In the first place, it was

<sup>1</sup> Otherwise De Montfort di Gambatesa.

<sup>2</sup> In the autumn he had caused the remains of Louis of Toulouse, his beatified brother, to be transferred from Brignolles to Marseilles, where they were interred by the Franciscans with solemn ceremony. Various astonishing miracles are recorded to have been manifested while they were on their journey.

perceived to be vitally necessary to success to detach Frederick of Sicily from his alliance with Visconti, whom he could but too effectively assist either by maritime co-operation or by re-attacking Calabria. As Frederick lay under Papal interdict, it was hoped to purchase his secession by removing it. The negotiations, however, fell through, the Sicilian envoys actually defying King Robert in the Papal presence upon the subject of their sovereign's adherence to Henry VII., and then departing bent upon mischief—that is to say, upon rejoining the banished Ghibellines, and assaulting Genoa in the following September. In consequence, the island-kingdom was revisited with anathema, which lasted from 1321 until 1335, at the commencement almost of which period Frederick deliberately precluded all hope of future agreement by crowning his son Peter at Palermo (April 19, 1322).

Secondly, it was resolved to invite Philip of Valois, heir to the French throne, to Avignon, to designate him Papal Vicar-General in Lombardy, and despatch him thither with a force of Provençals, in order to extirpate the common enemy. Philip accepted the charge, and set about raising both forces and money, determining, however, to act quite independently of the Cardinal. He then crossed the Alps and received a welcome from the Guelphs of Asti and Valenza. Nevertheless, Visconti proved too astute for his resourceful foes, and brought all their designs to nought. When Philip presently found himself face to face with the well-practised forces of Galeazzo and Marco Visconti, who had formerly received knighthood at the hands of his own father, he and his men adopted an unexceptionable attitude, and promptly made overtures of peace. Whereupon, right well pleased, fiery old Matteo sent the Prince valuable presents, which, together with many agreeable memories, the latter speedily carried back to France.

Florence likewise bore her share in the designs formulated

at Avignon. Her support of Brescia and Cremona directed against Henry VII. had made her fully realise the value of causing her northern foes to delay while beleaguering such cities. Cremona had now fallen into the hands of Cane della Scala of Verona. She therefore despatched thither a troop of three hundred from her own borrowed defenders, who being joined by seven hundred Guelphs on their way, attacked the foe, and driving him out of Cremona, restored that town to the Guelphic interest. As had been attempted with Frederick of Sicily, King Robert now endeavoured to detach Della Scala from his alliance with Milan. But once more Matteo, detecting the manœuvre, frustrated it by creating the Lord of Verona Captain-General of the Ghibelline League, while he put a check to the intrigues of Florence by causing Castruccio Castracane to march into Valdarno without going through the little formality of declaring war.

This strategy permitted Visconti to concentrate still larger forces in the neighbourhood of Genoa, so as to act in accord with the fleet of Corrado Doria, then vainly endeavouring to prevent the entry into the harbour of provision-fleets despatched from Naples by Charles, Duke of Calabria.

Nor were the Ghibellines less successful in foiling Pope and King in other quarters. For the Guelphs of Padua, finding themselves sorely beset by Della Scala, were recommended to call to their aid Frederick, Duke of Austria, who was then contesting the Empire with Louis of Bavaria. In fact, the Pope now held out attractive but delusive promises to that Duke if he would send an army to subdue Visconti. Robert, in consequence, despatched to him a *douceur* of a hundred thousand florini. Frederick in return acceded to the request, and despatched his brother Henry of Steiermark to Brescia,<sup>1</sup> in order to concert operations with the Cardinal-Legate, who, in spite of all the

<sup>1</sup> 1322.

ecclesiastical armoury at his command,<sup>1</sup> had been strangely unable to quarry out his principality.

The Apostolic standards having been solemnly blessed in the cathedral by the Patriarch of Aquilegia, Henry went forth at the head of the army to the encounter.<sup>2</sup> He had not advanced far, however, before he was enabled to realise the actual designs of the Pope and the King of Naples. While meditating these things, he received an agreeable offer of fifty thousand fiorini from Visconti, on condition he would return to Austria. In consequence, he proceeded no farther than the banks of the Oglio, where, delaying several days, the Brescian contingent perceived the unwelcome change that had taken place, and withdrew to their city, closing her gates. The Germans retired thither also, but being denied entrance, they proceeded to Verona, where Cane della Scala gave them a magnificent welcome. Thence, having received his fiorini, Henry faithfully re-crossed the mountains.

Such were the dexterous rivals by whom the united craft of Pope and King was set at nought in Lombardy, upon whom the former kept cheapening the value of Pontifical fulmination. A little later the Cardinal-Legate somewhat rashly speeded his chaplain to Matteo, demanding his immediate resignation of the lordship of Milan together with full acknowledgment of the authority of King Robert. At this Visconti lost patience, and the chaplain was promptly consigned to a Milanese dungeon. In consequence, the Catalan leader, Raimondo di Cardona, was despatched with a force to compel the surrender.

A conspiracy among the adherents of Matteo, in which Francesco Garbagnate, whom he had protected from the

<sup>1</sup> Arch. Secr. Vatic. Reg. iii. Epist. 643-644, Jan. 23, 1322.

<sup>2</sup> Arch. Secr. Vatic. Reg. iii. Epist. 777. To Henry of Austria, 778. To the Patriarch of Aquilegia, 779-780. To the Brescians, announcing the coming of Henry, June 22, 1322. John expresses his earnest hope that Henry will not be deceived by Matteo. He had sent envoys to Matteo, 'quare videat ne decipiatur per eum, et a bene ceptis non desistat.'

Inquisition, took a prominent part, revealed that the Papal anathema still retained some power, even if that power worked more cumbrously than of yore. Matteo acknowledged the fact by consulting the more timorous citizens, whom he found no longer so willing as formerly to devote their lives in his cause. 'He yielded to the storm; perhaps his seventy-two years had somewhat weakened his powers of resistance. He sent for his son Galeazzo, with whom he had now quarrelled, and resigned to him his power, with an expression of regret that his quarrel with the Church had made the citizens his enemies. From that time forth he piously devoted himself to visiting the churches. In the Chiesa Maggiore he assembled the clergy, recited the symbol in a loud voice, crying that it had been his faith during life, and that any assertion to the contrary was false; and to testify this he caused a public instrument to be drawn up embodying the declaration. Departing thence, like to one crazed, he hastened to Monza, in order to visit the church of S. Giovanni Battista. There being taken sick, he was brought to the monastery of Crescenzago, where he died within three days, on June 27. Being excommunicate, his body was thrust into unconsecrated ground.<sup>1</sup> The younger Visconti, Galeazzo, Lucchino, Marco, Giovanni, and Stefano, were, however, less impressionable, and once more concentrated the Ghibelline forces when they seemed almost to be evaporating. To give them his final blow spiritual, the Pope (Dec. 23, 1322) commanded Ricardo, Archbishop of Milan, and the Holy Office, to proceed against the memory of Matteo.'<sup>2</sup>

This, however, occurred a few months after the battle at Mühldorf had decided the prolonged imperial strife in favour of Louis of Bavaria. The Archbishop and the

<sup>1</sup> According to Corio (Stor. Milan.), the death of Matteo was kept secret for fourteen days by his sons, and he was duly buried according to custom at Chiaravalle, though in an unrevealed spot, lest the body should be disturbed by order of the Pontiff. *Cf. op. cit.*, part iii. cap. i.

<sup>2</sup> *Cf. Hist. Inquis.*, H. S. Lea, vol. iii. pp. 198, 199.

Inquisitors, in attempting to fulfil their odious charge at Alessandria in January following, were put to ignominious flight by a skirmish on the part of Marco Visconti, and fled to Valenza in the Marquisate of Montferrat, whence, two months later, they securely anathematised the dead Lord of Milan as an obstinate and obdurate heretic.

The long array of accusations with which they cited him, writes Lea, 'shows that the simplest acts of self-defence against an enemy who was carrying on active war against him were gravely treated as heretical, and constituted valid reasons for inflicting all the tremendous penalties prescribed by the law for lapses in faith.'<sup>1</sup>

Nor were the further measures undertaken by the combined judgment, effort, and expense of the Pope and King Robert destined to any better fortune. The King having appointed Raimondo di Cardona his *locum tenens* in Lombardy, and Cardinal de Poyet co-operating with him, these two presently invested Milan. But Galeazzo Visconti sent for aid to the Emperor Louis, now released from the exhausting struggle with his rival, and having warned the Legate by means of envoys, hastily forwarded a body of eight hundred Teutons to his relief. The Cardinal was compelled to raise the siege in the month of June 1323, whereupon Milan gratefully took the oath of homage to Louis as King of the Romans. Immediately following this event, Obizzo III. d'Este likewise did homage to him for Ferrara. Whereupon Louis appointed Count Berthold von Neuffen his Vicar-General, cemented his alliances with Can Grande della Scala and Passerino of Mantua, and so put a period to King Robert's dream of an Italian sovereignty,<sup>2</sup> as well as

<sup>1</sup> Op. cit., vol. iii. p. 200.

<sup>2</sup> The Princes of Savoy, the Marquises of Saluzzo and Montferrat, were in chronic, though not always active, antagonism to Robert during this Lombard warfare. But they were likewise in dread of Visconti. Cardona likewise seems to have been fearful of his foes, for on November 20, 1323, the Pope feels it necessary to admonish him for lukewarmness. Arch. Secr. Vatic. Reg. 112, Anno viii. Epist. 212.

to the Pontiff's dream of a Lombard principality for his sanguinary son; albeit they now tried to spur Leopold of Austria to continue the old struggle with the Emperor on behalf of his captive brother Frederick.

Their ambitious designs had thus been defeated by the extravagance of their folly. They had literally goaded Louis of Bavaria into undertaking that which they most particularly had wished him to refrain from, namely, crossing the Alps into Italy, and reconsolidating the Ghibelline faction, to the emphatic aggrandisement of the house of Visconti. The wrath of John, naturally of extreme violence, now recoiling upon himself, drove him to frenzy. All his fury was henceforth directed upon the Emperor, whose sole crime was that his existence constituted an obstacle to the companion ambitions of the House of Anjou and of the Holy See. Never, even in the period of the utmost assumption on the part of the Church, had any of his predecessors acted with equal imprudence. Evidently the Pope desired by the strife with the Empire to magnify his own importance, and to draw the Church out of the narrow confines of her bondage at Avignon. John XXII., imitating Innocent IV., defied Louis (who was, however, no man of genius) to undertake the rôle of Frederick II. On March 23, 1324,<sup>1</sup> he declared Louis fallen *in contumaciam*; on July 13 he again excommunicated him, proclaiming him deprived of all his honours, and his subjects released from their oath of fealty.

This violence had been stimulated by a crushing defeat, amounting almost to annihilation, suffered by the Pontifical forces under Raimondo di Cardona at Vaprio, near Monza, in the previous month,<sup>2</sup> when those who escaped the Milanese

<sup>1</sup> King Robert left for Naples on April 30. The Pope finds small comfort in the fact that Theodore, Marquis of Montferrat, has informed him that he intended to make a treaty of peace with Robert. Arch. Secr. Vatic. Reg. 112, cit. Ep. 249, 250.

<sup>2</sup> Gregorovius, *op. cit.*, vol. vi. c. iii. Feb. 16, 1324. Cf. Bern. Corio, Part iii. c. ii.

swords were drowned in the Adda—which victory had led Galeazzo to besiege the Cardinal-Legate in Monza itself, whence, however, the latter contrived to escape to Piacenza. In addition to these disasters, Leopold of Austria died, leaving Louis without a rival.

An attempt on the part of the Pope to procure the election by the German princes of the French King met with no better success. King Robert quitted Avignon in April 1324, having spent four years in various parts of his Provençal dominions.<sup>1</sup>

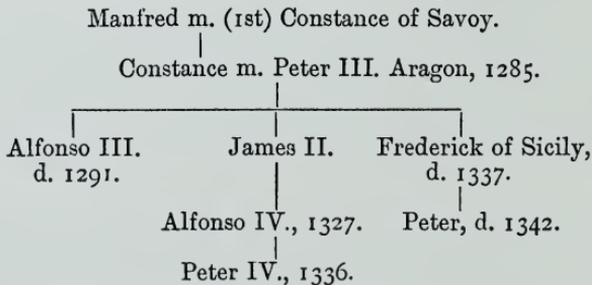
<sup>1</sup> Arch. Secr. Vatic. Reg. 112, Ep. 946. The Pope congratulates King Robert on the consummation of the marriage of Charles of Calabria and Maria de Valois, June 20, 1324.

## CHAPTER XIV

### THE COMING OF LOUIS IV

DURING these years of Lombard warfare, Frederick of Sicily, the hereditary foe of Naples,<sup>1</sup> having acted in concert with the Ghibellines at Genoa, had been duly visited, together with his whole island-kingdom, with a fresh bull of excommunication. In face of this, however, he had felt himself released from every condition agreed to by him in the treaty of Caltabellota in 1302; and in 1322, as already mentioned, he had crowned his son Peter at Palermo, securing to him the forbidden succession. It was in vain that Charles of Calabria despatched another expedition to attack the island. The pillage of a few coast towns, the cutting down of some palm trees, the sacrifice of a few ships and many men, were the worthless results. Both the King of Sicily and Louis of Bavaria had by this time discovered staunch and useful adherents in the persecuted Franciscans,<sup>2</sup> whose leaders were making their cause ring through Europe, vituperating against the avarice of the Holy See; and by this means the question of the poverty of Christ, in itself such a self-evident proposition, assumed a significance entirely disproportionate

<sup>1</sup> It will be recollected his mother was Constance, daughter of Manfred.



<sup>2</sup> The Papal Registers at this date abound with letters to the Inquisitors in the March of Ancona and Calabria, exhorting them to fresh efforts against the Fraticelli.

to its apparent merits, and was thundered upon mankind as a veritable European question.

Meanwhile, discovering that they could not annihilate the Empire, and that Louis had no further antagonist among the German princes, it occurred to the Pope and King Robert to attempt yet a more preposterous enterprise, and place the King of France upon the imperial throne. For this purpose the former sought means to overcome the awkward fact that Charles the Fair could not in canon law be divorced from Blanche de Bourbon, his queen, merely upon the ground of her adultery.

The Archbishop of Paris and Geoffroi du Plessis, Apostolic notary, therefore arduously sought substantial justification for a divorce. Presently this was discovered in the fact that Philip le Bel, her husband's father, had acted as her godfather. This sufficed, and upon such a ground the Holy See declared the union to be null and void, and King Charles at complete liberty to contract a fresh one. Indeed, another partner had already been provided for with particular care. The lady now to be made his Queen, and prospectively Empress, was, strange to say, no less a personage than Maria of Luxemburg, sister of John, King of Bohemia, and daughter of the Emperor Henry VII. Her uncle, the Archbishop of Trèves, an Elector, was released from the interdict<sup>1</sup> incurred by him for adhering to the cause of Louis of Bavaria. The union and her coronation having duly been celebrated in the spring of 1323, the Pope and his Angevin allies met in solemn state at Avignon, in order to parcel out the Empire to Charles and Italy to Robert. Large sums had been sent to Leopold of Austria, to induce him to take up arms against Louis; but although he had obtained a positive success in the field against the latter, the amiable treaty which had been made by Louis with Leopold's defeated brother, Frederick, by

<sup>1</sup> Arch. Vatic. Secr., vol. lxxx. Ep. 1383. John XXII. orders the Prior of the Dominicans at Trèves to absolve Baldwin, May 12, 1326.

which the latter voluntarily surrendered all claim on his part to the Empire, set at nought his efforts.

Meanwhile, this new Queen of France died in childbirth, and John of Bohemia, together with his uncle of Trèves, disgusted with French methods, returned to Germany. Thence the former wrote to Avignon that he could not be a party to despoiling the German princes of their noblest privilege, the right of election to the Empire. The King of France was now permitted to marry a third time, only two months after the death of Maria. He was immediately called upon by the Holy See to permit the imposition by the latter of a special subsidy on the churches throughout France, so as to prolong the struggle against the Visconti in Lombardy,<sup>1</sup> just as it had wrung money for the same purpose, even from Ireland, in order to extirpate heresy.

The King, in awe of his Parliament, was at first unwilling; but in consideration of a grant of tithe to him for two years, he acceded, and a profitable arrangement resulted. The imperial designs of both, however, had to be abandoned; and once more the fiery Pontiff fulminated anathemas at Louis of Bavaria. No one in Germany, however, excepting the Archbishop of Salzburg and the Bishops of Strasburg and Passau, chose to regard Louis as lying under interdict. 'The Canons of Freisingen refused to receive as bishop an adherent of the Pope. The Dominicans at Ratisbon and Landshut closed their churches: the people refused them all alms; they were compelled by hunger to resume their services. Many cities ignominiously expelled those prelates who would publish the Papal bull. At Strasburg a priest who attempted to fix it on the doors of the cathedral was thrown into the Rhine.'<sup>2</sup> The Franciscans perceived and appreciated their triumph.

To return to Central Italy. The news of Matteo Visconti's

<sup>1</sup> August 24, 1323. The Pope once more entreats the Florentines not to delay sending reinforcements to act in concert with those of King Robert in Lombardy.

<sup>2</sup> Milman, *Latin Christianity*, bk. xii. ch. vii.

death had been received with delight by the Guelphs, Florence having even commemorated an insurrection against Galeazzo in Milan by public fêtes. Accounts of the serious defeats of the Cardinal-Legate and Raimondo di Cardona by Marco Visconti, however, caused general dismay, having at the same time the effect of fully arousing the energies of their redoubtable foe, Castruccio Castracane. The latter soon undermined the Guelphic authority in Prato and Pistoia, and to some extent, at least, in Florence itself, thereby preparing the way for his sanguinary triumph in September 1325 at Altopascio, in which Cardona was again worsted and made prisoner. In this battle the braggart Florentine cavalry turned and fled, the famous *carroccio* and *bell* were captured, and one of Matteo's many sons, Azzo, made his sword of Milan steel fatally reach many a Florentine who formerly had made merry at his father's death. Were there not captured likewise the standards of King Robert, to be reserved for display in the victor's triumph, presently celebrated with extreme magnificence at Lucca, when they were borne reversed and trailing in the dust, together with those of Florence? <sup>1</sup> Meanwhile Bologna surrendered to Passerino, in spite of succours despatched from Florence. Thus was being swept and strewn the path soon to be taken by Louis for his coronation at Rome.

If the absence of the Pontiff from Italy, together with his perverse policy, was convulsing Northern Italy and Tuscany, the full force of these evils was faithfully reflected in Rome, where King Robert held the lucrative dignity of Senator year after year, without one whit ameliorating the awful condition of the city. Unable to carry on a law-abiding life without a really representative head, Papal or Imperial, the citizens were rendered still more wretched by reason of the flow of capital diverted toward Avignon. A species of chronic civil war between the citizens and the nobles, and among the partisans of Louis and those of Pope John,

<sup>1</sup> Nov. 13, 1325. The Pope condoles with the Commune of Florence, and bids it not be disheartened by the defeat.

accompanied by every sort of criminal violence, literally made a shambles of the Eternal City; and in all this the sons of the Church bore no inconspicuous part. In one of many epistles addressed by the suffering people to John, imploring him to restore the Holy See to Rome, the younger priests are described as going about the city by night with bared swords, committing murders, thefts, and violations.<sup>1</sup> But entreaties, by means of letters and special envoys, were received by the Pope not merely unfavourably, but with petulant impatience. One result of the discontent was an outbreak against King Robert, whose partisans were expelled in 1327; another, of yet greater significance, was that they hearkened the more readily to the agents of the Emperor, who, moreover, were provided with golden fiorini, derived from Castruccio's loot of Prato and Pistoia. Sciarra Colonna,<sup>2</sup> the same who had taken the lead in the tragedy of Boniface VIII. at Anagni twenty-five years before, and now an inveterate enemy of the Angevin, was chosen captain of the people, took possession of the Castle of St. Angelo (an incident which excited peculiar fury in Avignon), and presided over the town council at the Capitol.

Recollecting the part so successfully played at Rome by John of Gravina (now Prince of Achaia) at the coming of Henry VII., the Pope wrote urgently to him at Aquila, desiring him to repeat the same rôle. To that end, also, he nominated him his Vicar. The Prince forthwith passed the Apennines in order to fulfil his new charge.

Arrived before the Eternal City, however, he met with such opposition as made him retreat upon Viterbo, whose gates being closed upon him, he ravaged the neighbourhood, glutting his chagrin. By the procurement of King Robert, a Genoese fleet presently descended upon Ostia and burned it, after defeating its defenders. Events thickened; the drama intensified.

<sup>1</sup> 'Per tabernas et loca alia inhonesta cum armis evaginatīs per urbem . . . homicidia, furta, rapinas, committunt.'

<sup>2</sup> Regest. Johann. XXII., Arch. Secr. Vatic., fol. 114, Epist. 10. The Pope here begs Sciarra to merit benediction, and not be tempted by that son of perdition, Louis the Bavarian. Ides May, Anno xi.

Louis having held an Imperial Diet at Trent, at which the envoys of Frederick of Sicily appeared, and at which he had spoken of James of Cahors, the priest, as a heretic unworthy the throne of St. Peter, descended the Brenner, and passed by Verona and Bergamo to Milan, receiving money and mercenaries from the Lombard Ghibellines as he proceeded. There, on the feast of Pentecost,<sup>1</sup> he was crowned in Sant' Ambrogio with the iron crown, his Empress with one of gold. In September the Prince of Achaia, with the Cardinal-Legate and the mixed forces in their command, having made a vain request in the name of the Pope, carried out a night attack upon the Vatican, which was penetrated through a breach in the garden wall, whence, however, they were soon driven with great slaughter by Sciarra Colonna. Bertoldo Orsini, one of the Guelphic leaders, was taken prisoner. 'The victory of the Romans was completed two days later by the repulse of another assault made by the foe upon the Porta S. Sebastiano, in which the Orsini and the Neapolitans suffered severe losses at the hands of the citizens. Sciarra, elated by his successes, now hastened the descent of Louis to Rome, and every obstacle being removed, the Emperor accepted the invitation.'<sup>2</sup>

Thus the hand-in-hand policy of Angevin Pope and King, for which the one not less than the other was responsible, proved itself to be fraught with every sort of evil for Italy. So long as wealth could be made to accumulate, it mattered to neither that Europe should be soaked with blood. Clearly enough, much of their implacable hostility to the Empire and its representative had a financial origin. They objected to sharing the revenues extorted from two-thirds of Italy with any partner; they were jealous lest any should invade the precincts of their Tuscan treasure-store, and thereby foil their operations. And yet was it not owing to their folly that Louis of Bavaria was now coming?

Superficially, then, there appeared some imitative resem-

<sup>1</sup> May 30, 1327.

<sup>2</sup> Gregorovius, *op. cit.*, vi. c. 3.

blance between the coming of Henry VII. and that of Louis, as far as the attitudes of the King of Naples and of the Florentine Republic were concerned. But with respect to the Papal policy there was nothing whatever in common between the two occasions. Henry's election had been reasonably welcomed by Clement V. ; that of Louis had been first disfavoured and then superciliously contemned by John ; finally, Louis had been five times excommunicated by him with no shadow of justification. Henry, filled with the noblest ideal, had fallen a victim to the revolt against the feudal system which more or less he represented ; Louis, with no ideal at all, would perhaps have remained north of the Alps throughout his life had it not been that the frenetic perversity of the Pope forced upon him the championship of his overdue, but expiring, imperial rights. As King Robert, therefore (whose political instrument John, to a great extent, was known to be), encouraged the Pope in this bungling policy, it is clear he could not have merited the title of 'Wise' on account of his statesmanship, or even for his qualifications as a business man. As a general and tactician he had gained some not unquestionable laurels at Genoa. One after another his vain-glorious Sicilian expeditions had proved to be improvident failures. As he grew older (and he was now in his fiftieth year), the passion of avarice gained upon him, as it had done upon his Pontifical ally at Avignon, and enabled him to lay up enormous treasure at the expense of his subjects. Angevin vanity, however, compelled him to make Naples vie with Paris in the magnificence of his court and its patronage of learning. In this he was greatly assisted by the Valois Princesses of Taranto and Calabria,<sup>1</sup> whom marriage with their cousins had brought thither, together with numbers of wealthy French nobles and their dames.

<sup>1</sup> Catherine, daughter of Charles of Valois, by Catherine Courtenay, and Maria, daughter of the same, by Matilda of Chatillon.

## CHAPTER XV

### AN ANTI-POPE

IN spite of former calamitous experiences (and Altopascio must perforce have vividly recalled the disaster at Montecatino ten years before), the Florentines resolved to have further recourse to the Angevin, and in consequence struck a fresh bargain with him.<sup>1</sup> By this they agreed to confer upon his son, Charles, Duke of Calabria, the supreme governorship of their city for five years, dating from April 18 ensuing, together with a salary of two hundred thousand fiorini d'oro per annum.

To the appointment were, however, attached the following conditions. He was upon no account to effect any change in the Constitution. He was pledged to reside three months in each year at Florence. If in time of tranquillity he did not desire to do so, he was bound to provide and maintain an adequate deputy, preferably one from his own kindred, as well as a Vicar-Justiciary. He must uphold and defend the Gonfalonier and the Priori. In war-time he must furnish a thousand ultramontane cavalry; in time of peace, four hundred knights. If he employed a deputy, the latter would receive but half the ducal stipend, namely, 100,000 fiorini.

The Duke at the time happened to be commanding a fresh Sicilian expedition, which presently returned ingloriously to Naples. The magnificent proposal of the Florentines proved most acceptable. His second wife, Mary,<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Dec. 24, 1325.

<sup>2</sup> Caterina of Austria had died in childbirth, Jan. 1323. Cf. Arch. Vatic. Secr. Johann. XXII. Reg. iii. Epist. 286. Dispensation for Charles to wed Maria de Valois was granted July 25; but delay in the negotiations, or possibly on

daughter of Charles of Valois and Matilda de Chatillon, was expecting her second confinement. Unable to take up his new charge punctually, he arranged with the Commune that his kinsman, Walter de Brienne, Duke of Athens, should act as his deputy. Accordingly, on the 17th May 1326, the last-named Prince arrived before the walls of Florence at the head of four hundred cavaliers, took up the appointment, and thereby may be supposed to have given the citizens some confidence in their leaderless condition. Courage, however, he cannot be said to have given them, for nothing would induce them to venture beyond their stout walls against their versatile enemy.<sup>1</sup>

It is probable that the delay of Charles himself in reaching Florence was occasioned in the first place by the birth to his Duchess of a daughter in March or April, thus replacing for them their first-born, Ludovica, born in the previous March, who had died in January. The birth of an heir to his regal prospects in the person of Giovanna,<sup>2</sup> or Joan (afterwards Queen of Naples), afforded further cause for the festivities<sup>3</sup> which awaited the family group upon their arrival in Florence.

Early in July 1326 further delay was occasioned the royal travellers at Siena, owing to an outbreak between the factious Tolomei and Salimbeni families in that fair city. As a Ghibelline triumph therein would probably have resulted in Siena throwing herself into the arms of Castruccio, the Priori wrote urgently to Charles, entreating him to remain there until tranquillity should have been restored. That result

account of her extreme youth, caused her to remain in France until the following year, when she came to Naples in company with the returning King and Queen. *Cf.* Reg. 112, Epist. 501-503, 535, 946.

<sup>1</sup> On Oct. 4, 1325, Castruccio had caused races to be run from the walls of Florence to Peretola. The first race was for horses, the second for men, and the third for prostitutes. *Cf.* Villani, lib. ix. c. 320.

<sup>2</sup> Donato Acciajuoli, in his MS. Chronicle, writes that Joan was born in Florence. Probably this should mean in Florentine territory.

<sup>3</sup> On March 15, 1326, were despatched to Florence for the ducal service six thousand sheep, three thousand pigs, and two thousand calves.

was achieved through his endeavours in about twenty days, at the trifling cost of sixteen thousand fiorini for his services.<sup>1</sup> He was further enriched by the conferment upon him of the Signiory of Siena for a period of five years.

On July 30 the Duke and Duchess, together with John, Prince of Achaia, and Agnes of Perigord, his consort,<sup>2</sup> entered the city in grand state, taking up their abode in the same Peruzzi Palace formerly occupied by King Robert. Villani and others declare that nothing so sumptuous as the Angevin court had ever before been seen in Florence. Although the astrologers had designated the fortunate day for their entry, within the week there was bitter vexation in the city owing to the failure of the Scali Banking Society for the sum of four hundred thousand fiorini, involving misery and litigation far and wide. A chronicler relates that it was regarded by many as a calamity greater than the defeat at Altopascio. While the Neapolitans vaunted the lavish magnificence of their Prince and his court at Florence, the Florentines, with reason, bewailed its inordinate expense and fruitlessness. For, indeed, Charles accomplished but little, and ill-fortune attended each of his half-hearted attempts to draw on the astute Castruccio. He had the further misfortune to lose a son, Carlo Martello,<sup>3</sup> born to Maria de Valois in April the following year (1327), who survived his birth but eight days and was buried in Sta. Croce.

Nevertheless, the Duke at a future time characterised his governance there as fortunate; and it cannot be denied that he was justified in so doing, for upon him were conferred the lucrative lordships of Prato, Colle, and San Gemignano. In all he cost the Commune the sum of nine hundred thousand fiorini, although his stay in the city lasted no longer than nineteen months. When, in December

<sup>1</sup> G. Villani, lib. ix. c. 351; lib. x. c. 9.

<sup>2</sup> On the 18th May 1327, the Pope congratulates the Prince of Achaia on the birth of a child to his wife. Cf. Secr. Reg. iii. Epist. 990.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Arch. Vatic. Secr. Reg. 114, Epist. 987.

1327, Louis of Bavaria descended, by way of Lucca,<sup>1</sup> to his coronation at Rome, King Robert, alarmed for the safety of his son and grandchild, recalled them to Naples. Leaving his somewhat intractable mercenaries under command of Philip di Cadeneto<sup>2</sup> and Philip di Sanguineto, Charles therefore hurried southward, and spent New Year's day (destined to be his last) in Siena.

In spite of their complaints, it should be recollected that the Florentine firms were now deriving enormous profits from their trading privileges throughout the kingdom of Naples, and their agents practically controlled the markets at the capital itself. Already in 1317 the Venetians had complained through their consul, Marino Zorzi, to King Robert, that the customs officers at Naples, in defiance of orders, resorted to measures hostile to Venetian traders in order to favour Tuscans.<sup>3</sup> But the riches of King Robert will be referred to again.<sup>4</sup> Here may be mentioned incidentally, that at this moment was decided, in the common chance of things, a matter significant in result to Italian and European literature. The father of Giovanni Boccaccio, who, after acting as an agent to the Company of the Bardi at Paris, had risen to be their associate, was recommended to the Duke of Calabria, and in consequence became a purveyor of grain in the kingdom of Naples, whither his son presently followed him.<sup>5</sup>

Meanwhile the Pope showered letters upon all the governors of provinces, bishops, and influential nobles, urging them to assist Robert in resisting Louis,<sup>6</sup> 'that son

<sup>1</sup> He was welcomed in Lucca by Castruccio in November.

<sup>2</sup> Afterwards Seneschal in Piedmont.

<sup>3</sup> Arch. Stor. Prov. Napol. Anno xvii. 502, note 1.

<sup>4</sup> Vatic. Secr. Johann. XXII. fol. 114, Epist. 995. The Pope entreats Robert to pay arrears of census due to the Holy See, June 1327.

<sup>5</sup> The latter then fourteen years of age. Cf. Arch. Stor. Prov. Napol. Anno xvii., 71-102, Prof. G. de Blasiis. The name of another person of interest to us, as later on an intimate of Petrarch, occurs at this time as the envoy of the Duke of Calabria at Avignon, namely Giovanni Barrile. Cf. Regest. Johann. XXI. Secr. fol. 114, Epis. 987, v. Kal. Maii Anno xi.

<sup>6</sup> Dec. 1, 1327.

of Gehenna,' to the uttermost, while he warned them and the heads of all monasteries to capture, if possible, Bonagrazia and Michele da Cesena, 'olim patris Minorum Generalis minister,' and deliver them safely into the custody of Geraldo da Strata and Pietro Natalis for transferring to the Curia at Avignon.<sup>1</sup>

Once more panic had seized King Robert. Louis of Bavaria (against whom anathema seemed to be utterly futile), should he be joined in an expedition against Naples by Castruccio Castracane and the King of Sicily, might avenge at last Conradin and the sons of Manfred. Rome had driven out Robert's Vicar; Florence was discontented with his son; his captain-general in Piedmont had been slain. Still more alarming, the French mercenaries in Tuscany now struck for want of wages. To the Pope this last incident seemed extremely serious, and he wrote urgently to the Legate to satisfy them.<sup>2</sup>

Undisturbed by any attempt whatever to molest or impede him on the part of his timorous Guelphic foes, Louis was welcomed at Viterbo on January 2, 1328, by Silvestro di Gatti, was there joined by Castruccio Castracane, and on the 8th of the New Year, he was able to enter Rome and take up his residence in the Vatican, where, as Gregorovius and others remark, his predecessor Henry VII. had been unable to set foot. He was surrounded by a throng of heretics and reformers accursed Pontifically, who now gladly chanted 'Te Deum' in the shrine of the Apostle. But the Roman clergy held aloof. The Cardinal-Legate had hurled anathema over the city, and the majority of priests, all the Dominicans, and the greater number of the Franciscans of Ara Coeli had left it. Consequently many churches and convents were empty and desolate, while certain relics held in utmost esteem, such as the handkerchief

<sup>1</sup> Vatic. Secr. Johann. XXII. fol. 114, Epist. 1332, v. Kal. Junii Anno xii. 1328. See also Epist. 1336, concerning William of Ockham.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. id. Epist. 1186, Anno xii. 1327, Non. Dec.

of St. Veronica, which was then kept in the Pantheon,<sup>1</sup> had been hidden away.

In spite of these circumstances, Louis had with him a sufficient number of priests, and even bishops, who derided the anathema, and performed the needful religious offices. In this manner, therefore, in 1328 were repeated the unhappy occurrences which had taken place in the days of the Emperors Henry IV. and V. All the partisans of the Pope trembled before the entrance of Louis as before an invasion of heretics, while the Roman citizens welcomed his coming to their city, wherein the obstinate Pope had refused to reside, with cries of joy.<sup>2</sup>

But amidst all these successes it may be doubted whether Louis forgot for a moment that, in order to become master of Italy, something more even than his coronation in the Vatican was necessary. That ceremony accomplished, he would be immediately confronted with two problems—the necessity of conquering Naples, and dealing with a defaulting exchequer. If these difficulties did not escape him, far less were they overlooked by the astute Florentines. He had already lowered his prestige among the Ghibelline cities by the fatal move of imprisoning Galeazzo Visconti, and by imposing upon them taxes which were most reluctantly paid. The Romans, fond of vain-glory, but detesting the Teuton, cared far less for the Emperor than the opportunity he offered them for humiliating the Pope; and when they should become tired of imperial exactions, they would not scruple to treat him and his German soldiery with contempt. The business-like people of Florence had to await these prospective developments.

Villani considered that had Louis then and there attacked Naples he would have won his way.<sup>3</sup> The withdrawal of

<sup>1</sup> Santa Maria in Rotonda.

<sup>2</sup> Gregorovius, vol. vi. pp. 165, 166. Albertino Mussato states that the people greeted him as if he were a god from on high.

<sup>3</sup> So also Albertus Argentinensis: 'Ipse Cæsar segnis tanto tempore stetit otiosus in urbe, quod, quasi omnia expendebat.'

Castruccio to Rome in order to shine at the coronation festivities was yet another foolish waste of opportunity. Events followed fast.

On January 17, accompanied by his Empress, four Syndics of Rome headed by Sciarra Colonna, Manfredi di Vico, the Prefect of Viterbo, and a judge carrying the book of imperial laws, Louis, mounted on a white palfrey, proceeded from the palace on the Esquiline to his coronation in St. Peter's, and there received the diadem of Charlemagne at the hands of a deputy of the Roman people. After this Castruccio, now Duke of Lucca, was created Senator, and the Emperor and Empress took up their sojourn at the Capitol. Hardly, however, had twelve days of hilarity elapsed, when news arrived that Pistoia<sup>1</sup> had been recaptured by Charles of Calabria's deputy-captain, Philip of Sanguinet.<sup>2</sup> This brilliant stroke probably saved Naples.

The importance of this incident was immediately appreciated by King Robert. Castruccio barely collecting his men, hastened from Rome to Lucca, thus dashing the designs of Louis, and weakening his hold upon the Romans at the very moment when the pinch of necessity compelled him to put their temper and fidelity to extreme tests. Naples breathed again. In March the citizens of Rome were in revolt, and Louis found himself compelled to resort to executions and forced tributes from the people, the clergy, and the Hebrews. His bands of German adventurers required payment of their wages; consequently they were let loose upon the people and helped themselves. Thus those who were loyal were gradually made to pay quite as heavily as the disloyal, and Rome fared no better than Pisa had done.

But if Louis was firmly committed to his German allies, still more intimately was he bound to his Franciscan followers. He had been crowned, but he remained under the ferocious anathema of John, who was still lawfully seated on the Pontifical throne, and with the Pope were enleagued

<sup>1</sup> Jan. 28, 1328.

<sup>2</sup> Son of Roger de Sanguinet.

Robert of Naples and the Commune of Florence. The struggle had to be worked out to its close in the ecclesiastical as well as in the actual field of battle, and in order to do this, Louis found that he must continue in Rome, and there inflict the last insult in his power upon his vindictive foe, by declaring James, the priest of Cahors, to be a heretic and deprived, and electing in his place a Franciscan anti-pope.

For the purpose of carrying those measures into effect Louis summoned two parliamentary gatherings in the Piazza of St. Peter—the first on April 14th, in which the heresy of John was discussed and asserted; the second on April 18th, in which John was formally declared Antichrist, traitor, and deposed, and a new Pontiff was promised to the people. The people, not perhaps so much to gratify Louis as angry with John for having refused to restore the Holy See to Rome, made an effigy of the latter in straw, and after drawing it through the streets, set fire to it. This pitiful triumph on the part of the Emperor and his Franciscan friends was not satisfactory, however, for it completely alienated from his cause any sympathy that may have survived among certain of the more influential clergy who had half-heartedly left the city.

It is illustrative of the family divisions then prevailing that, whereas Louis was crowned by Sciarra Colonna,<sup>1</sup> the latter's nephew, Jacopo, a Canon of the Lateran, but a few days after that event appearing in front of the church of Sta. Marcella, read the latest bull hurled against Louis. He reminded his hearers that the heretic Emperor had acted against the will of the higher clergy of Rome, who had absented themselves to a man from his coronation. After concluding, he boldly nailed the bull to the church door, and rode away unmolested to his father Stefano's castle at Palestrina. He lived to become the intimate friend of Petrarch, 'il mio gran Colonese,' and to be the uninten-

<sup>1</sup> In May 1327 John had addressed Sciarra Colonna, entreating him not to permit himself to be suborned by that fraudulent son of perdition, the Bavarian.

tional author, by means of the poet, of far-reaching mischief in the kingdom of Naples.

On the following day<sup>1</sup> Louis again gathered together the people and their rulers, before whom it was decreed that hereafter each Pontiff should be compelled to reside in Rome, excepting during three months of summer, and that without consent of the people he should not extend his journey beyond two days' distance from it. If, after three recalls from the clergy and people, he should refuse to return, it was decreed he might be deposed, and another Pontiff elected. On the 28th of the month Louis pronounced sentence of death against John, both as a traitor and heretic.

The final act of this drama soon ensued, and the Spirituals and Fraticelli thronged from their hiding-places in order to enjoy their hour of triumph. The tiara was offered to Pietro Rainalucci of Corbara, then a Franciscan monk in the convent of Ara Cœli, and a native of Aquila. On Ascension Day<sup>2</sup> the people were re-convoked in the Piazza of St. Peter, and Louis presided, as before, in all imperial pomp seated upon his throne. The Pontiff-elect sat beside him, while a friar, Niccolo da Fabriano, stood up and preached a sermon upon the text, 'And Peter turning said, The angel of the Lord hath appeared and delivered me out of the hand of Herod,'—the application of which was sufficiently obvious. Then the Bishop of Venice demanded three times whether the people would accept for their Pope brother Peter of Corbara. The response was loudly affirmative. The Bishop then read the imperial decree, after which Louis stood up, placed the Pescatorio upon the friar's finger, arrayed him in the pall, and proclaimed him Nicholas V. The two then retired into the church, and there celebrated solemn mass, while the Bishop of Venice first anointed and then crowned the Anti-pope. 'In this manner stood before the Roman people, enchanted as it were by the unique event, an Emperor whom

<sup>1</sup> April 23, 1328.

<sup>2</sup> May 12.

they themselves had crowned and a Pope whom they themselves had elected.'<sup>1</sup>

But once more the factor of finance was to press inexorably upon the triumphant cause of the Emperor and his anti-pope. If the prosperity of Florence hung upon the success of Robert of Naples and their allies, so the enormous riches of the Pope, the cardinals, and of the higher clergy were at stake until the downfall of the anti-pope.<sup>2</sup>

This, however, became presently assured. King Robert and his Tuscan allies cut off the stream of supplies which flowed through their hands from Naples, both by sea and land, and thus created acute scarcity in Rome. The Gaetani admitted Neapolitan troops into Anagni. A force of Germans was repulsed at Ostia. Above all, summer was fast approaching, and the necessity of conquering Naples became more pressing in proportion as the achievement became more doubtful. 'The Emperor's military movements were uncertain and desultory; when he did move, he was in no small danger of starvation. The Anti-pope, to be of any use, ought to have combined the adored sanctity of Celestine V. with the vigour and audacity of Boniface VIII. The Romans, always ready to pour forth in shouting crowds into the tapestried streets to the coronation of an Emperor or the inauguration of a new Pontiff, had now had their pageant. Their pride had quaffed its draught: languor follows intoxication. They began to oscillate back to their old attachments or to indifference. The excesses of the German soldiers violated their houses, scarcity raised their markets.'<sup>3</sup> Louis, however, who moved out to Tivoli on May 17, returned to gratify them yet again by a full coronation at the hands of the Anti-pope in St. Peter's, and to

<sup>1</sup> Gregorovius, loc. cit.

<sup>2</sup> It is characteristic of the Pope that on the 25th February 1328, in the midst of the excitement regarding Louis and his doings at Rome, we find him exhorting Robert to pay 20,000 fiorini d'oro, 'Census Regni,' owed by him to the Holy See. Arch. Vatic. Secr. Reg. 114, Ep. 1876.

<sup>3</sup> Milman, op. cit., viii. 422.

place upon the Pope's head, in turn, the tiara. 'There Louis renewed the ban, formerly pronounced at Pisa by Henry VII. against King Robert, while the anti-pope, on his part confirming the processes instituted against John XXII., pronounced him to be a heretic, and ordered that all those who should refuse to acknowledge himself to be the true Pope should be punished by the Inquisition.' A few days later Louis once more quitted the city, this time for Velletri, intent upon attacking Naples. For another three weeks, moving from place to place, sending forth his more and more needed squadrons, now to this point and now to that, checked here by Stefano Colonna, there by the troops of Charles, Duke of Calabria,<sup>1</sup> vainly expecting news of the promised Sicilian fleet, Louis perceived his position to be untenable.

On August 4, together with the anti-pope and his anti-cardinals, the Emperor and Empress yet again left the Eternal City—this time for Viterbo—but in a manner and condition that rather resembled a flight—insulted, stoned, and derided by that rabble of Rome they had done so much to gratify. On the morrow Bertoldo Orsini, a nephew of the Legate, entered at the head of a Guelphic squadron. Stefano Colonna followed, and a few days later two Orsini Cardinals re-took possession of the city in the name of the Church, revoked all the privileges granted by Louis, burned the bulls of Nicholas, and caused some of the bodies of German soldiers to be disinterred and hurled into the Tiber. Sciarra Colonna and Jacopo Savelli fled, carrying with them all the treasure upon which they could lay hands. On the 18th of August the governorship of the King of Naples was once more recognised in the name of the Holy See, and in the person of William, Count of Eboli, who took possession at the head of eight hundred men-at-arms.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Charles was at Aquila, guarding the Abruzzi frontier.

<sup>2</sup> Vatic. Secr. Reg. 115, Anno 1328-29. On Jan. 2, 1329, the Pope writes to William of Eboli that report reaches him the forces of Robert, under his command, are committing excesses in Rome, and bidding him to restrain them.

## CHAPTER XVI

### FROWNS OF FORTUNE

DANTE, it may be recollected, had declared the choice of Emperor to lie by right with the people of Rome. King Robert had questioned the necessity of there being an Emperor at all,<sup>1</sup> and had entreated the Holy See in any case to provide against the advent of a Teuton. At a later day Rienzi vapoured the idea of an Italian confederation, headed by a Latin Emperor. The so-called divine rights of the Empire belonged to the Past. Robert had expressed the thoughts of the acuter minds about him, while applying them for his own personal interest; but want of daring had prevented him taking advantage of his opportunities and making himself master of Italy. Doubtless the main deterrent had been his fear for the immediate disaster to his very comfortable finances through arousing the animosity of Florence. Moreover, had he not avowed the right of the nations to their independence? Such emancipation could scarcely be reconciled with the exercise of imperial rights. But it is scarcely necessary to suggest that had this difficulty alone stood between him and the diadem of Charlemagne, it would not have stood long. Although precluded by a special condition of the tenure of the vassal kingdom from becoming a candidate for, or even an aspirant to, the imperial throne, it was not in this fundamental restriction, perhaps, so much as in the profitable development of Florentine finance that Robert wisely recog-

<sup>1</sup> It has been seen that the conditions exacted by the Holy See from the kings of Naples provided against the possibility of their ever becoming candidates for the imperial throne.

nised an uncompassable foe to such aspirations. He permitted his other ambition, therefore, to glide easily into the background. He possessed not the unbending capacity of his silent grandsire, far less the genius of the greater Hohenstaufens. The pleasure of seeing money accumulate and of playing the part of Mæcenas offered him increasing attraction. The ten (politically) most powerful years of his reign were now ended. These had for the most part been spent in maintaining and extending hereditary possessions, and in enjoying honours additionally conferred upon him by a Pontiff not perhaps altogether to his liking, though of his own creation. All his numerous and expensive expeditions against Sicily had proved disastrous. Good fortune, rather than his own prowess, had twice delivered him from being driven out of his kingdom by a Teuton Emperor. The fast-declining authority of the Church had nevertheless sufficed to stand him in good stead, and the two humiliating defeats at Montecatino and Altopascio had wounded Florence more seriously than Naples.

Robert had in reality succeeded not so much as a warrior or as a politician, but as a royal merchant. Successes of another kind were to be his aim in the future. With a small portion of the wealth already amassed in his treasure-tower<sup>1</sup> in Castelnuovo he could attract men of genius in art and literature to his court, and perhaps might outshine his predecessors as their patron, while gratifying himself with the flattering assurance that he was their intellectual superior.

Relieved of acute political anxiety by the departure of the Emperor, Robert was urged by the Pope to make peace with Sicily, with the Marquis of Montferrat, with Philip of Savoy, and the Marquis of Saluzzo, who, with others, were recurrently menacing his domains in Lombardy and Piedmont. Especially he was recommended to befriend Stefano

<sup>1</sup> Torre Bruna.

Colonna,<sup>1</sup> and by his means to get Rome well in hand again. In all these directions the Pontiff repeatedly begged Sancia, Charles of Calabria, and Philip of Taranto to use their influence with the King. For like purpose, too, a union was projected between Margaret, infant daughter of Philip, and the nine-year-old son of the Marquis of Montferrat.<sup>2</sup>

Further good fortune came to the relief both of the critically situated kingdom and the anxious republic. While the Emperor was encamped at Todi meditating invasion, news reached him that Frederick of Sicily had at length arrived at Corneto,<sup>3</sup> and was entreating him to come thither to consolidate plans against Naples and her allies. This once more beguiled Louis from the attempt upon Florence he was intending. Leaving Todi upon the last day of August, he had scarcely joined his Sicilian ally when he learned that Castruccio (who on the third of the month had succeeded in re-capturing Pistoia, the key of so much else) had succumbed to an attack of fever at Lucca.<sup>4</sup> This blow was one that could not be repaired by the bulls of an anti-pope or the swords of semi-mutinous German soldiers, or even salved by the flattering reception accorded him in Pisa.

The Sicilian monarch, but little gratified by his interview, sailed away to his island realm in a gale which made havoc of his fleet. Thus every circumstance favoured King Robert, and though the wished-for departure of the emperor from Pisa was delayed by discord and violence until the following April, fortune then only frowned yet more scornfully, putting, as it were, the last touches of mockery upon the far-fallen empire.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Reg. 114, Johann. XXII. Ep. 2016, Reg. 115, Ep. 880, 1328-29.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Johann. XXII., fol. 115, 141, 142, 883, 886, XV. Kal. Sept. ann. 13=18 Aug. 1329.

<sup>3</sup> G. Villani, lib. x. c. 85; Sc. Ammirato, vii. 356.

<sup>4</sup> Sept. 3, 1328, aged forty-seven. It was in the full-blown spirit of the Renaissance that Macchiavelli later on compared Castruccio to Scipio Africanus. Cf. Vita di Castruccio, p. 175.

But fortune did not confine her frowns to Louis. In November<sup>1</sup> Charles of Calabria died of fever, caught while sporting with falcons in the Campagna, leaving his wife, Maria de Valois, with her infant, Joan, and expecting to be again confined. Florence, whom Charles should now have been assisting, went into hypocritical mourning for him. Villani says that while living, the King, his father, had been jealous of him. Whether or not this was the case, Robert was very fearful of losing him, and, now that he was dead, the King declared that the crown had fallen from his head,<sup>2</sup> and appeared to be inconsolable. 'No man knows his own end,' wrote the Pope to the widowed Maria; 'but as fishes are taken with a hook, as birds are taken with a snare, so, when they least look for it, men are snatched away by death,'<sup>3</sup>—expressions almost brutal in unintentional appropriateness to the circumstances.<sup>4</sup> The one gleam of hope perhaps left to the King lay in the fact that Maria might yet give birth to a son. This was quenched, however, before many months, when the Duchess brought forth another daughter, to whom she gave her own name.<sup>5</sup>

Thus, therefore, upon every side but one triumph was dawning for the Holy See and Naples; but grief did not permit Robert to realise this. He saw himself, as it were, in the midst of a deserted landscape, with his dead son,—the sky still blue above him, but the horizon ominously threatening. Nevertheless, he was not destitute of resources, and the influence of the pious Sancia became more and more powerfully felt. This influence naturally turned his energies yet more emphatically toward the interests of that portion of the Franciscan Order so fiercely

<sup>1</sup> Nov. 28, 1328.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Chron. di Parthenope, iii. c. 5: 'Cecidit corona capitis mei.'

<sup>3</sup> Secreta, fol. 115, Epist. 863; cf. also 860, 861, 862, 865.

<sup>4</sup> 'Uomo assai bello del corpo e formato innanzi grosso e non troppo grande . . . sparte i capelli, grazioso, di bella faccia rotonda, con piena barba e nera!' G. Villani, lib. x. c. 109.

<sup>5</sup> Afterwards Maria, Duchess of Durazzo.

persecuted by the Pope, but whose tenets were now openly adopted and advocated by the Queen and the entire Majorcan royal family. Had this not been the case, had not the sympathy entertained at Naples for the excommunicated Spirituals and Fraticelli been a deeply seated one, the failure and departure of the Emperor, who had likewise befriended them, would have left immense numbers of them throughout the realm at the mercy of the Holy Office, and of the tyrants whom the Pope incessantly stimulated to fresh efforts against them, and they must have been driven, like their wretched comrades of the March of Ancona, to escape across the Adriatic into Slavonia.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Slavonia, at this period, was practically a Franciscan hunting-ground. King Carobert, unlike his uncle at Naples, manifested zealous sympathy with Pope John against the various heretics in his dominions, and earned significant praises from Avignon. Nevertheless, the Inquisitors despatched into his Adriatic provinces had no pleasant time. *Cf.* Hist. of Inquisition, A. C. Lea, vol. ii. pp. 300-302.

The consequences of thus winning the Pontiff's favour will be seen in the ensuing chapter.

## CHAPTER XVII

### THE HUNGARIAN COMPACT

THE Gothic church and cloister of Sta. Chiara,<sup>1</sup> which had been commenced in 1310, was now completed; that of St. Lorenzo, likewise a Franciscan shrine, had been finished in 1324. The important Cistercian cloister of St. Martino, which had been begun by Charles of Calabria in 1325, was pushed toward completion by the King. In addition to these devout labours, he ordered the re-embellishment of two chapels within Castel Nuovo.

For the accomplishment of all these artistic additions to the beauty of his capital, the King was obliged to have the usual recourse to foreign talent. While his architects came from France, his painters and sculptors came from Florence, Siena, and Flanders. Unfortunately their works, even under the guardianship of a giant upon stilts, have not been safe from Neapolitan recklessness. It is not too much to say that in the later fourteenth century Naples must have constituted a magnificent museum of Tuscan and Gallic art, of which there has survived certainly less than one quarter, and that remnant mutilated often to the verge of total destruction. Of the works which Giotto was now invited to execute there in the chapels above-mentioned, not a trace remains; while for centuries the works of imitators of that master have been permitted to pass under his name. The very church<sup>2</sup> which certain of these latter productions dimly adorn did not rise from the ground until some years after the Chaucer of Florentine painting had ceased to live.

<sup>1</sup> Charles of Calabria was the first to be buried therein.

<sup>2</sup> Now Sta. Maria dell' Incoronata, but originally 'Della Spina Corona.'

Of Giotto's residence in Naples the Angevin archives give no doubtful evidence. They tend to show that he commenced working there in September 1329, and remained (perhaps continuously) there until March 1332.<sup>1</sup> His salary was sixty fiorini d'oro a year, being exactly the price of a benefice with cure of souls. If the debatable letter of Boccaccio to Francesco Nelli, Prior of St. Apostoli, be relied upon, the great master ultimately left Naples in disgust at the meanness of King Robert, informing his friends that he had been deluded into considering himself to have been sent to a king, whereas he had encountered a merchant. Now, whether this letter was actually written by Boccaccio, or only fashioned by an ingenious admirer out of original jottings of the novelist, the story unquestionably adapts itself to other evidences. In the 'Ameto' Robert is described as 'cupido di ricchezze ed avaro di quelle,' and is given the name of Midas. Villani likewise states that after the King began to age, avarice consumed him ;<sup>2</sup> while the unknown Guelphic author of a ballad upon the defeat at Montecatino places that disaster to Robert's account :—

' Che il Re Roberto, fonte d'avarizia,  
Per non scemar del colmo della Bruna<sup>3</sup>  
Passerà esta fortuna  
E smaltirà il disnor temendo 'l danno.'

Moreover, at this very period, when the culmination of Tuscan commercial predominance at Naples had so greatly enriched the royal house, the Pope finds it just as difficult to procure the payment of annual tribute from the King as in far different times.<sup>4</sup> In a Papal epistle addressed to Charles of Calabria, Robert is reminded,

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Vasari, 'Giotto,' for one or two stories relative to king and painter.

<sup>2</sup> G. Villani, lib. xii. cap. 10.

<sup>3</sup> His treasure-tower in Castel Nuovo, which D. di Gravina misnames 'Bonna.'

<sup>4</sup> Arch. Vatic. Secr. Anno xi. Ep. 995, 1013, Anno xii. 1976.

gently enough, of the servile conditions to which his grandfather Charles I. agreed to submit upon his investiture to the kingdom.<sup>1</sup>

About the same period—that is, in 1330—one more illustrious Tuscan came to Naples at the summons of the ‘Re di Sermone,’ in the person of the Ghibelline poet, Cino da Pistoia. Cino was both poet and professor of civil law; but he came to Naples in the latter capacity alone, though it may be said that he left it in 1332 in the former. Like Giotto, though for a different reason, he also quitted Naples in anger, which vented itself in the brief and bitter canticle subjoined below.<sup>2</sup> Cino, though he had figured as an ardent supporter of Henry VII., had previously supported the succession of King Robert against the heir of Carlo Martello, and, in the writer’s

<sup>1</sup> Cf. id. Epist. 1996, 2006, 1327-1328.

<sup>2</sup> Deh ! quando rivedrò il dolce paese  
Di Toscana gentile,  
Dove 'l bel fiore si vede d'ogni mese ;  
E partirommi dal Regno servile,  
Che anticamente prese,  
Per ragion, nome d'animal si vile ?  
Ove, a buon grado, nullo bensì face ;  
Ove ogni senso e bugiarlo e fallace,  
Senza riguardo di virtù, si trova ;  
Però ch'è cosa nova,  
Straniera e peregrina  
Di così fatta gente balduina.

O gente senz' alcuna cortesia,  
La cui invidia punge  
L'altrui valore e d'ogni ben s'oblia ;  
O vil malizia, a te però sta lunge,  
Di bella legiadria,  
La penna, ch'or Amor meco disgiunge,  
O suolo, suolo voto di vertute,  
Perché da sua gentil natura, mute,  
Già bella e pura, quel gran sangue altero ?  
Ti converria un Nero,  
O Totila flagello,  
Da poi ch'è in te costume rie e fello  
Vera satira mia ; va per lo mondo ;  
E di Napoli conta,  
Ch'ei ritien quel, che 'l mar non vuole al fondo !

humble opinion, it was in connection with this he was invited to Naples.

It is certain that the lawyer-poet had been a party to the treaty of peace concluded in May 1329 between Pistoia, Prato, and Florence, 'to the honour and glory of Robert, King of Jerusalem and Sicily,' and that he and his fellow-exiles had sworn obedience to the Pope and rebellion against the Emperor. Professor de Blasiis published in 1886, in the 'Archivio Storico per le Province Napolitane,'<sup>1</sup> an excellent notice of the poet's sojourn at Naples, in which he cited an original document, wherein the King states that Cino would give instruction in civil law,<sup>2</sup> not at the expense of the royal treasury, but at that of his faithful and beloved subjects. (Was this another royal smallness?) This manner of procedure, though not without example, would lead us to suppose that Robert invited him unwillingly, and only to humour the enthusiasm of certain people who exalted the reputation of the veteran lawyer.<sup>3</sup>

The death of Charles of Calabria and the posthumous birth of another daughter to Maria of Valois naturally gave rise to serious speculation. It rekindled the whole question as to the Succession. As soon as the King could be aroused from his grief, the Pope wrote repeatedly to him and to Sancia, urging him, in view of very threatening dangers, to make peace with Sicily, with the Marquises of Saluzzo and Montferrat, and with Philip of Savoy.<sup>4</sup> Another even graver element of danger now reappeared in the resuscitated claim formerly advanced without success by King Carobert of Hungary in 1317<sup>5</sup> to the Principality of Salerno and the Honour of Monte St. Angelo, in right of his father Carlo Martello, which titles King Robert had since conferred upon his brother, John, Prince of Achaia. Not at that

<sup>1</sup> P. 97, op. cit.

<sup>2</sup> Anno xi. fasc. 1, p. 139.

<sup>3</sup> Anno xi., op. cit., fasc. 1, pp. 144-145.

<sup>4</sup> Arch. Vat. Secr., fol. 115, Ep. 2253, 886

<sup>5</sup> Fejér, Cod. Dipl. viii. 11, 41.

period strong enough to exercise pressure upon his powerful uncle, Carobert and his advisers had resolved to await a more favourable opportunity.

That opportunity had now arrived. A dozen years had greatly augmented his power and the prosperity of Hungary. By his Queen, Elizabeth, daughter of Ladislaus, King of Poland, he had become the father of four sons, the eldest of whom,<sup>1</sup> after having been affianced to Anna, daughter of John, King of Bohemia, had recently died. He therefore renewed his claims, lodging them vigorously at Avignon by means of letters and envoys, and declaring that King Robert still refused to entertain them. Having given the matter serious attention, the Pope now wrote<sup>2</sup> to Robert strongly advising him to admit the claims, and to find a way of recompensing the Prince of Achaia for losses that must ensue to him.

Yet another critical development had presented itself to the mind of the Pontiff for solution, of which this counselling, important as it was, represented but a detail. On November 4, 1330, Robert had convened a grand council in the Castel Nuovo, at which, in the presence of the Prince of Achaia, Agnes of Talleyrand-Perigord, their infant sons, and many prelates and magnates of the realm, he solemnly declared Joan and Maria, his infant grand-daughters, to be heirs to his crown and dominions, adding that should it happen that Joan died without offspring, her sister Maria should succeed her. He had then caused the prince and all present in turn to take the oath of homage to them.<sup>3</sup>

There is reason to believe that the King's next brother, Philip of Taranto, and his wife, Catherine, were not present at this function. Their motive is not far to seek. They had three sons, as well as the daughter whom they had affianced to the heir of Montferrat. Catherine was an elder half-sister of Maria of Calabria, both having been

<sup>1</sup> Ladislaus, September 1327; died 1329.

<sup>2</sup> Arch. Vat. Secr., fol. 116, Ep. 441, vii. Kal. Feb. 1331.

<sup>3</sup> Reg. Ang. A. n. 281, f. 19, t. 20.

daughters of Charles of Valois.<sup>1</sup> It was not unnatural, therefore, that Philip should desire recognition of his propinquity to the throne and that of his sons, as the nearest surviving males. In the middle of the following month, direct evidence in the shape of Pontifical letters begging them not to listen to poisonous insinuations concerning him,<sup>2</sup> to both the King and John of Achaia reveals that serious irritation had arisen between King Robert and Philip. What these poisonous insinuations may have been, whether threats of supporting the unslumbering claims of Hungary, or something yet darker, it is impossible to decide. Other letters from the same source followed, urging Robert to recall Philip into his grace, and persuading Philip to humble himself toward the King. In these the influential offices of Queen Sancia are invoked likewise, in order to smooth matters, 'seeing that many perils environ the kingdom.'

At this same date occurs the first letter (likewise addressed to Sancia) suggesting that the safest means for overcoming the Hungarian difficulty, for smoothing over past contentions, and, above all, for preserving the integrity of the kingdom, will be found in negotiating a union between the first-born daughter (Joan) of the Duke of Calabria and the eldest surviving son (Louis) of the King of Hungary; the Pope declaring himself ready to grant the necessary dispensation.<sup>3</sup>

It is obvious that, in view of this recrudescence of the Hungarian question, the invitation to Naples of that veteran Ghibelline lawyer of wide reputation, who had formerly advocated the claims of Robert against his nephew Carobert, could scarcely be looked upon as disconnected with

<sup>1</sup> Died Dec. 1325.

<sup>2</sup> 'Ne venenosis eorum (emulorum) suggestionibus acquiescas aliquatenus Regiae magnificentiae tam salubri quam paterno consilio suademus eundem Principem nihilominus commendantes.'—Arch. Vatic. Secr. fol. 116, Ep. 433, xviii. Kal. Jan. An. xv. = December 15, 1330.

<sup>3</sup> Epist. 435-441.

future eventualities. It is certain that Cino for a short time taught civil law at Naples, and, like all other eminent men there, was narrowly interviewed by the learned King. If Cino still maintained his former favourable opinions as to the right of King Robert to the throne of Naples, that may have formed a reason for his departure from the kingdom, probably in July 1331. For the pressure then put upon Robert and Sancia by the Pope with regard to his Hungarian matrimonial projects rapidly brought about an arrangement that rendered it unnecessary to reconsider the rights or wrongs of Robert's accession. On the 8th June the Pope informed the King that he has had satisfactory letters from King Carobert regarding his project.<sup>1</sup>

In December Philip of Taranto died, leaving Catherine with three sons, Robert, Louis, and Philip, besides a daughter, Margaret. An important letter from the Pope to Philip of Valois, now King of France,<sup>2</sup> reveals that the latter favoured the idea of his sister Catherine's sons being united to their two orphan cousins, Joan and Maria. The Pope, however, firmly informs Philip that, at King Robert's own entreaty, dispensation had been granted for the union of Joan to the son of the King of Hungary.<sup>3</sup> In June the Pope had arrived at a yet more elaborate and binding agreement, to the effect that the two princesses should be married to none but sons of Carobert. All eventualities duly considered, they shall certainly marry their Hungarian cousins. This he settled by a bull dated June 30.<sup>4</sup>

This particular treaty appoints that Louis of Hungary

<sup>1</sup> Ep. 473, vi. id. Junii, Anno xv. = June 8, 1331.

<sup>2</sup> Dated 11th Kal. Marcii, Ann. xvi. = 1332.

<sup>3</sup> Ep. 1259. The Pope asks the King to have paternal care for Catherine's children. He states that the King of France has entreated that they should be united to the King's grand-daughters, but has been answered in the negative for understood reasons. He proceeds to urge Robert to make up his mind to fulfil the treaty, and lose as little time as possible. V. Kal. Marcii, Anno xvi.

<sup>4</sup> Arch. Vatic. Secr. fol. 116, Ep. 1244.

shall marry Joan, while Andrew, his younger brother, shall marry Maria.<sup>1</sup> Carobert, equally with Robert, is then advised against delaying the affair. The former King, however, found himself somewhat embarrassed by the speed at which the affair had developed, which assuredly indicated the Papal anxiety. The main cause of Carobert's embarrassment was his ambition to secure another throne (that of Poland) for his eldest son, and at this moment only two out of four sons remained to him.

In August, however, was born to his Queen a third son, who was named Stephen. This event enabled him to consider the future of Louis, his eldest son, far more independently. Before the close of the same year (1332), therefore, matters were recomposed on a modified scale. In December Carobert, taking his second son, Andrew, and accompanied by his nephew, Humbert, Dauphin of Vienne, set out with a great following for Naples. They had, however, proceeded only so far as Stuhlweissenburg when the King was seized with so severe an attack of gout as to compel him to return to Visegrad, the Windsor of the Danube. Keeping careful watch, however, on the affairs of Poland, then in the throes of electing a new ruler, he postponed his journey to Naples until June (1333). Meanwhile great preparations for receiving him at the port of Barletta and elsewhere *en route* thither were entrusted to the agents of the Bardi and Peruzzi.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Arch. Vatic. Secr. fol. 116, Ep. 1240.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Arch. Stor. Napol. viii. 7. Besides smaller galleys to be made use of, there is mentioned one having 120 oars belonging to the Prince of Taranto. Others still were despatched to Slavonia in order to bring over 200 horses belonging to the King of Hungary. Truly the Angevins travelled more handsomely than emperors.

## CHAPTER XVIII

### DE VIRIS ILLUSTRIBUS

BEFORE following the line of this significant political action, it will be well to further advert to certain other individuals of importance, whose presence added lustre to the Angevin court of Apulia at this period, and whose talents and studies, like those of their brilliant contemporaries at Florence, serve to mark a conscious inauguration of the classic revival. For at Naples, in vigorous confusion, were now focussed these mighty opposites, the representatives of Scholastic philosophy, and those of that new spirit of speculative inquiry who were more and more enraptured by beautiful gleams of that occulted world of classic erudition which owed none of its lustre to the fathers, by that majestic past whose names and monuments, mutilated and caricatured by ages of chaotic barbarism, had yet proved so mighty as to defy total destruction, and by that new sense of enfranchised Reason which the spectacle of the decadence and collapse of the Empire, and still more that of the decay and disintegration of the Papacy, so manifestly favoured. It is this which stamps the reign of King Robert as a period of acute intellectual transition — a searching for, and a re-joining of the broken and hidden strands of ancient learning after which the two-previous centuries had been blindly groping.

Among these individuals of importance, the name of Giovanni Barrile presents itself. Intellectually, the most important fact about him is that he became an intimate and belauded friend of Petrarch during the most brilliant period of that poet's career; and, politically, that he with

Niccolo Barrile held eminent appointments of state throughout this period. According to his friend Petrarch, he was born in Crete and educated at Naples. The first mention known to the present writer concerning him is in a letter addressed by Pope John to Charles, Duke of Calabria, congratulating the latter upon the birth of that infant son who, as has been seen, died at Florence in April 1327. In it the Pope speaks of 'Johannis Barrili, your envoy.'<sup>1</sup> During the next fourteen years he held the appointment of justiciary in various provinces of the kingdom. In 1341 he was deputed by King Robert to accompany Petrarch to Rome and attend the poet's coronation as laureate, which in itself is proof sufficient of the credit Barrile enjoyed at court. Under Queen Joan, Barrile became Seneschal in Provence,<sup>2</sup> but owing to a faction of Provençal barons who were hostile to Italian officials, he was compelled to retire to Naples.

Of theological writers favoured by the immediate patronage of Robert, the most prominent were Egidio Colonna,<sup>3</sup> Agostino Trionfo, then a very old man, and Francesco Mairon. Egidio Colonna had been a disciple of Thomas Aquinas, an instructor of Philip le Bel, and had held the Archbishopric of Bourges. Agostino Trionfo, a native of Ancona, wrote a treatise in favour of the supremacy of the Papacy over the Empire, 'De Potestate Ecclesiastica,' in which he declared the true Emperor to be but the champion appointed by the Pope to defend the Church. He died at Naples in 1328. Francesco Mairon,<sup>4</sup> a Minor friar, who

<sup>1</sup> Arch. Secr. Vatic. Johann. XXII. Anno xi. Epist. 987. Cf. Argument to Eclogue ii. Ideus vocatur ab Ida, monte Cretensi, unde ipse oriundus fuit. Petrarca, Eclogi.

<sup>2</sup> The correspondence of Clement VI. contains a number of letters referring to him officially. Niccolo Barrile became Seneschal in Piedmont.

<sup>3</sup> He dedicated to Robert a treatise entitled 'Super Secundo Libro Sententiarum.' Codex in the Bibliot. Marciana at Venice; one of the innumerable commentaries on the work of Peter Lombard. Cf. Tiraboschi Stor. lett. Ital. iv. i. 145-7.

<sup>4</sup> Born at Meyronnes; died 1327, at Piacenza. (*How can this be?*)

he "succeeded his royal patron"?)

survived his royal patron, to whose memory he dedicated a work illustrating the mystical theology of Dionysius the Areopagite, was the author of a number of treatises, and may have assisted the King in the composition of his sermons. He divides the infernal regions into four portions: (1) the abode of the damned; (2) the 'limbus parvulorum;' (3) purgatory; (4) Abraham's bosom. In the dedication of the above-mentioned work he states that Robert, whose profound wisdom had inspired his effort, was not merely a prince, but was truly worthy to be called a philosopher.<sup>1</sup>

Of Bartolommeo da Capua, the life-long ministerial director of the Angevin policy at Naples, the learned diplomatist, the solver of problems political, legal, and theological, the national factotum, no more need be recapitulated here than that he died in 1328, old and full of merited honours.<sup>2</sup> It is necessary, however, to refer to another individual of not dissimilar mould, whose influence on the constitutional affairs of the realm was only second to that of his great contemporary, Andrea d'Isernia, the elder; for there were two of the name, grandfather and grandson, and the eminence of the latter has led to no little literary confusion. The first-named, however, died in 1316, and had enjoyed at least twenty years' continuous royal favour and general renown.

At a period when the world was so surely awakening to the merits of ancient culture, profounder inquiry into Roman law became inevitable. Throughout the two previous centuries the study of Roman law had steadily been advancing and expanding, until the political atmosphere had become charged with it. The aim and office of these great

<sup>1</sup> 'Ut non solum Princeps inclytus, sed verus philosophus, non immerito dici posset.' Cod. Bibl. Marciana, Secolo xvi. a. 273, i. 204.

<sup>2</sup> His widow married Niccolo di Joinville. His grandson Robert became Count of Altavilla, and the second husband of Andreina Acciajuoli, friend of Boccaccio and sister of Niccolo Acciajuoli, Grand Seneschal of Naples under Joan I.

jurists, who were often authoritative in both canon and civil law, consisted for the most part in applying Roman law to the surviving institutions of feudalism, effecting the absorption of the latter by the former through adroit transformations. Isernia therefore stigmatised the Suabians, and severely criticised their former exactions, but wisely passed over those of their Angevin successors. His work breathes the spirit of ecclesiasticism as triumphant over the Suabian Kings of Naples. He also had accompanied King Robert to Provence in 1309, and was present at his coronation at Avignon. In 1315 his son, Robert, fell at the fight at Montecatino. His most important works are the 'Commentaria in Usus Feudorum,' composed in the reign of Charles II., the 'Ordinances of the Kingdom,' and 'Observances of the Great Council.'<sup>1</sup>

Andrea d'Isernia the younger was already a judge in 1333, when Cantelma Artois and Charles Artois (her son by King Robert) figured in a litigation with himself. He attained yet higher offices of state under Queen Joan, but was waylaid and murdered, October 23, 1353.

Other luminaries in the same profession at Naples were Luca di Penna,<sup>2</sup> Niccolo Alunno d'Alife,<sup>3</sup> afterwards Grand Chancellor to Queen Joan, and Giovanni Grillo di Salerno. Another important official attached to the court, with whom Boccaccio, and, later on, Petrarch came in profitable contact, was Paolo da Perugia, the keeper of the King's library.

While imitating illustrious predecessors and certain of his contemporaries, who delighted not merely to quicken the literary pulses of the time, but to appear to direct them, Robert multiplied and increased the value of books. After 1329, the year of mourning for the losses of his son and

<sup>1</sup> Riti della Magna Curia di Maestri Razionali. Cf. the careful and elaborate work by Luigi Palumbo. Napoli, 1886.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Scritt. Napol. Tafuri, II. ii. 38.

<sup>3</sup> Died 1367. Chancellor after the death of Philip de Cabassoles, Bishop of Cavailon. Married Maria da Foscatto. His son became a Cardinal under Urban VI.

his chief minister, the purchase of rare works in Latin and Greek became frequent. As might be surmised, the fermenting versatility of the age, which the King himself endeavoured to reflect in his own mental life, makes itself apparent in the choice of these works. Religion and astrology, pagan lore and medicine, jostle one another. He failed, however, to acquire a taste for classic antiquity, and therefore remained a mediæval in spite of his opportunities.

In 1332, while spending August at his new villa at Casasana near Castellamare, the King assigned to Paolo da Perugia a salary of nearly two hundred and twenty-five fiorini of gold a year. Boccaccio informs us in his 'Genealogia Deorum' (xv. 6) that Paolo was a man of universal erudition, and that he himself had derived valuable information from a voluminous work of his entitled 'Collectanea,' stating, moreover, that he should have become yet more indebted 'had not the work been lost through the carelessness of the shameless Biella, wife of the said Paolo.' The librarian outlived his master, and survived both the long reign of Queen Joan and the brief one of Charles III. (of Durazzo), her successor, dying April 23, 1389. He was laid to rest close to the sepulchre of his early patroness, Queen Sancia, in Sta. Croce.<sup>1</sup> Under his supervision Azzolino di Roma, Niccolo di Reggio, and Leone di Scala carried out renderings of the less known works of Aristotle and Galen, and the collecting of such books as 'De Etatibus Mundi,' 'Liber Magni Canis,' 'De Viris Illustribus,' and MSS. too numerous to individualise.

Great changes evidently had come over King Robert since the time when the Pope<sup>2</sup> had reproved him for associating with 'raw and ignoble youths, lacking in industry and self-control,' although he may still have continued weak in the matter of 'munusculi,' or small bribes. He had passed

<sup>1</sup> After the decease of King Robert he would seem to have fallen into a state of distress and want. Cf. Arch. Stor. Ital. s.v. tom. iii. fasc. 3, by N. F. Faraglia.

<sup>2</sup> Arch. Secr. Vatic. fol. 32, Epis. 131, Anno ii. nonas Aprilis.

his fiftieth year. The application of scholastic philosophy to theology and morals<sup>1</sup> exercised a powerful fascination over him, as also did medicine, astrology, and alchemy; and the Arabo-Alexandrian learning so deeply implanted in the universities of Salerno and Naples by the great Frederick certainly nourished his interest in these studies. Astrology flourished in face of prohibitions; even the Cardinals at Avignon freely indulged in it. For had not demoralised Catholicism relapsed into Polytheism? It is true the Inquisition had made a notorious example of Cecco d'Ascoli, astrologer to Charles of Calabria, at Florence in 1327; but in that affair such powerful professional enmities had been at work to insure an adverse verdict that his condemnation hardly represents *bonâ fide* ecclesiastical hostility to the pursuit of the science. Moreover, heresy and schism in the Church herself were distracting the atten-

<sup>1</sup> It is certain that King Robert wrote a work entitled 'Moralia,' which he had transcribed for him in 1310. It may have been original, or perhaps only a collection of wise sayings intended for the study of his sons. There is reason to think, however, that these exist in versified form, attributable to the skill of Graziolo Bambaglioli. Cf. Codex xc. *inf.* 33, Biblot. Laurenziana. Signor Siracusa favours this supposition, and has devoted several lucid pages to the examination in his work already quoted. As he has transcribed certain specimens, I will here reproduce others:—

CHE 'L BENE E IL MALE ADVIENE PER VOLUNTA HUMANA, E NON PER  
NECESSITA D'INFLUENTIA DI PIANETO.

Non da pianeto alcuna necessita ;  
Ma sol tal volonta  
A qual sua natura l'uom dispone  
Pero che d'apetito e di ragione  
E de libero arbitrio e possente  
Ciascuna mortalmente ;  
E legge a suo piacere il male e 'l bene,  
Et, e, sola cagione di quel cavene.

DELLA LUXURIA.

Lo disonesto e misero dilecto  
Luxurioso ardore  
Priva ciascun d'onore,  
Et togliel maggior ben del l'intellecto

tion of her guardians at this time. Dionysio di Borgo San Sepolcro,<sup>1</sup> Bishop-elect of Monopoli, seems to have fulfilled the functions of astrologer-royal during Robert's later years, much to the King's satisfaction. Possibly the old Genoese, Andalone del Nero,<sup>2</sup> Boccaccio's companion, who pursued the science at Naples, was his disciple.<sup>3</sup>

How extensive the King's attainments may have been in these scientific directions is of small consequence compared with the fact that, like Frederick II. and Manfred, he intimately patronised professors of Arabian and Hebrew learning, and studied history and philosophy, thereby achieving in himself a curious lettered blend of Scholastic philosophy, Averroism, and Franciscan theology,—truly a portentous minglement, as it were, the mysterious brew of an unlovely but nevertheless promising intellectual twilight.

We have seen how the father of Boccaccio, a well-to-do associate of the Bardi, and engaged in the grain trade, left Florence in 1327, and came to Naples just about the time when, owing to the descent of Louis of Bavaria, the Duke of

Per lui si strugge 'l bene  
 Di che viver convene  
 L'uomo e lo suo sangue  
 Da difendere suo stato langue.  
 O folli innamorati dal dolce amaro  
 Alla morte guidati per carnal disio.  
 El nostro sono bene e solo Dio  
 In una pinta imagine di terra  
 Vile che si ye lega e serra  
 Che gentilezza ne virtu v'accende,  
 Ma solo a vitii e a vitta s' attende.

<sup>1</sup> As Michael Scot had done to the Emperor Frederick II. He died January 14, 1342. Cf. Grässe Trésor, i. 576, and the 'Life and Legend of Michael Scot,' by Rev. A. Wood Brown, pp. 141-2.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. A. De Hortis, 'Study of the Latin Works of Boccaccio,' p. 6, and 'Giov. Boccaccio, sua Vita e sue Opere del Dottor Marco Landoni,' edit. Camillo Antona-Traversari, p. 127. Cf. Bull. bibl. stor. Scienze Mat-e-Fis. Roma, 1874, vii. 313-376.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. also Petrarch's letter consoling the King upon the death of Dionysio in 1342. As Robert's various Sicilian expeditions were all undertaken after consultations with astrologers, it is perhaps not to be wondered so many of them were failures. Dionysio is believed to have gone from Paris to Naples in 1338.

Calabria was recalled from Tuscany to his father's dominions. Documents in the archives of Naples make it certain that his transference was connected with the provisioning of the ducal forces that were to be stationed on the confines of the Abruzzi provinces.<sup>1</sup>

'One may argue from this,' writes Professor G. de Blasiis, 'that Boccaccio (the elder) would have then taken his son with him, in order to initiate him in his business, as well as to remove him from the presence of his stepmother. Moreover, this not unreasonable conclusion is borne out by the words of the poet himself, to the effect that he came to Naples in his boyhood, following the footsteps of his father—that is, not later than 1327, when, being in his fourteenth year, he would be about finishing it.'<sup>2</sup> Further, Fr. Corazzini, in his edition of the 'Letters of Boccaccio,' demonstrated that from 1333 until 1342 (that is to say, from his twentieth to his twenty-ninth year) the poet resided at Naples, leading a gay life in touch with the Angevin court.<sup>3</sup>

In 'De Casibus Virorum Illustrium' the poet himself informs us that he practised romancing at the court of King Robert.<sup>4</sup> We may now therefore go to him for a more intimate, though brief, peep into that court. This will bring us in contact especially with the family of Catherine of Taranto,<sup>5</sup> the widowed Empress-titular, whose husband, and whose brother, had so much desired to consolidate her branch of the Valois dynasty by uniting her sons to their orphan cousins. This project, besides caus-

<sup>1</sup> Reg. Roberti, n. 271, f. 23.

<sup>2</sup> 'Io sono vivuto dalla mia puerizia in fino intera eta a Napoli.' Epist. a Messer Franc. Nelli. Cf. Filocolo and Ameto. Archivio Storico Napoli, xvii. p. 511.

<sup>3</sup> 'E conduceva lieta vita tra i gentiluomini di quella città e della Corte Angioina,' pp. 19 and 140.

<sup>4</sup> Lib. ix.

<sup>5</sup> The Ospizio Tarantino rose close to the spot where one sees to-day the triumphal arch of Alfonso of Aragon. Cf. Arch. Stor. Napol., xi. Fasc. iii. The Ospizio Durazzesco was situated close to the sea, westward of the castle, almost on the site of the modern arsenal, and facing the Isoletta di San Vincenzo.

ing a quarrel with King Robert, had been crushed by the compact arrived at between King Carobert and the latter.

Among the numerous Florentine financiers then at Naples, none promised to shine more conspicuously than Niccolo Acciajuoli, a youth but little Boccaccio's senior, a partner in the prosperous banking firm of the name—moreover, steward and trustee to Catherine of Taranto and her sons, by the King's appointment.

In 'Fiammetta' (86) Boccaccio vividly describes these princes<sup>1</sup> as evincing their royal qualities in their countenances, and he compares two of them to Deiphobus and Ganymede. He describes tournaments and Courts of love as of frequent occurrence. The former were held in the Piazza dei Correggi, as well as in the district called Carbonara; the latter in the royal gardens attached to Castel Nuovo. 'And there, with their blonde hair falling upon their glittering shoulders, but restrained above by a dainty circlet of gold or by a garland of new leaves, dressed in purple and silk of divers colours, shot with gold and broidered with pearls, woven by Indian hands, they jousted before the admiring throng,' the educated portion of which gratified itself by likening them to the heroes of classic lore. Nor is he silent as to the family of John, Prince of Achaia, now, for certain political reasons, about to take another title. In the 'Amorosa Visione' Boccaccio lays emphasis upon the beauty of Agnes of Durazzo, the widowed mother of three other princelings, by comparing her to a phoenix. As this lady had shone at the Florentine court of Charles of Calabria in 1328, the poet may well have set eyes upon her before he came to Naples.<sup>2</sup>

Boccaccio at first plodded despondently at credit and debit, and afterwards wasted time light-heartedly over the

<sup>1</sup> 'I nostri principi giovanetti.'

<sup>2</sup> 'La mira e piacevol bellezza Di Peragota, nata genitrice dell' onor di Durazzo, che per bellezza si puo dir fenice,' cap. xl. This passage is interesting

study of canon law. In consequence, he alleges, of a visit to the reputed tomb of Virgil at Posilippo, he became inoculated with a passion for classic antiquity, which rendered him more and more disdainful of commercial pursuits, in proportion as he devoted himself to the masterpieces of Roman literature. These he read with unspeakable delight, which led him to produce trifling poems himself. Little wonder that he soon felt the necessity for a feminine ideal, around whose central loveliness his youthful talent might speed upon its more or less remote orbit, passing alternately through the phases of helpless sentimentality, the infatuation of ardent animalism, the fervour of obsequious idolatry, the tumult of passionate fruition, toward a purely spiritual love.

That self-shining divinity he encountered on Palm Sunday (27th March 1334), at her devotions in the Church of San Lorenzo Maggiore. 'It befell in a certain spot, upon a day whose first hour is ruled by Saturn, on which Phœbus with his steeds attains the sixteenth degree of the Celestial Ram, and on which the return of the son of Jupiter from the enchanted realm of Pluto is commemorated, that I entered a temple called after him who won a place among the gods by suffering himself to be roasted upon a gridiron.' Henceforth he celebrates his lady-love in sonnets which reflect the immediate influence of Dante and Petrarch. For fifteen years Fiammetta, as he fancifully named her, remained the perhaps exclusive goddess of his idolatry, and to this inspiration are owing his early work, the 'Filocopo' (The Friend of Toil), 'Ameto,' the 'Theseid' (an attempted epic in octosyllabic stanza), and two far more important works, 'Fiammetta' and 'Filostrato' (The Love-slain), otherwise the story of 'Troilus and Cressida.'

for another reason. It shows that Boccaccio had read and deliberately imitated Purgatorio, c. iii. 115-116. Agnes was daughter of Elie VII., Count of Perigord, by his second wife, Brunisinda de Foix. Her brother, Elie-Talleyrand, born in 1301, had been elevated to a cardinalate in 1324. According to De Blasiis and Mas-Latrie (Arch. Stor. Napol., Anno xii. p. 311), she was wedded to John of Achaia in November 1321.

A contemporary tells us that, in person, Boccaccio was large and strong; that, despite excessive fulness of the lips, he had a beautiful mouth and a dimple in his chin, which, when he smiled, became him. His face was round and his nose rather depressed.

The identity of the Fiammetta, the supposed issue of an Angevin liaison with a noble lady belonging to the family of Thomas Aquinas, is shrouded in becoming mystery. The accepted statement that she was a natural daughter of King Robert by Sybilla de Sabran, wife of Tomaso d'Aquino (2)<sup>1</sup>, who were married in 1292, rests upon very insecure foundation. The only certain knowledge extant as to illegitimate offspring of the King relates to Charles Artois. It may be mentioned here, nevertheless, that King Robert ennobled two respective scions of the House of Aquino, namely, Berardo, whom he created Count of Loreto, and Tommaso, Count of Bellicastro. To one or other of these Fiammetta (Maria) must have been nearly related, therefore. Berardo, at any rate, was constantly about the

<sup>1</sup> Son of Adenolfo d'Aquino, Count of Acerra, burned alive in 1294, and whose possessions were handed over by Charles II. to the Prince of Taranto. Only in 1308 did the King permit this Tommaso to return to the realm. *Vide* Professor de Blasiis in Arch. Stor. Napol. 1887, p. 308, note. In 1313, however, I find an Adenolfo (2), Count of Acerra, created Governor of Ferrara. The lines in the 'Amorosa Visione' which seem to give the clue to Fiammetta's origin are the following:—Canto xliii. 46-48:—

'E com io seppi ell' era della gente  
Del compagnin, che lo Spagninol seguoi  
Nella cappa, nel dire, e con la mente.'

*Cf.* Baldelli, Vita Giov. Boccaccio, 358-359. Also V. Crescini, Contributo agli Studi sul Boccaccio, pp. 125, 149, 155. Also—'Ma, mentra che egli con occhio vago hora questa donna, hora quell' altra riguarda, alla vista li corse il viso della mia madre, il quale in se di bellezza oltre à tutti li altri commenda, e tacito pensa se ancora dovere piu felice usare le colei bellezze, se fortuna nemica nogli si oppone. Le liete feste durano il debito tempo, il quale finito ciascuno le sue case ricerca. Ma tra poche à questo usate sempre, la madre mia spesso ricerca la reale corte, nella quale il marito haverà non piccolo luogo. Il nuovo Re, per non dimenticare bellezze s'infiamma piu sovente vedendole, e sollecita di dare effetto al suo pensiero,' &c.—*Ameto*, pp. 72-73. This somewhat recalls the base fiction concerning his mother and Henry VII., which Rienzi tried to palm off on Charles IV.

court, and his name not unfrequently occurs in 'circular' letters from Avignon at this period.

Most of the works of the poet may be described as founded upon a strongly autobiographic theme, treated, however, in closely-related variations by a mind abounding with adroit fancies and bubbling over with amorous experiment. Saturated with enthusiasm for all that connected itself with antiquity, to Boccaccio the city of Naples, Parthenope, the last resting-place of Virgil, breathed a classic atmosphere, and no nobler title to his admiration could be required. This cancelled a thousand blots. A new world was being opened up for the intellect of mankind, which might now be examined and explored without over-cautious apprehension, and Naples seemed to be its gateway.

To Boccaccio the gods of this world were Virgil, Ovid, and Statius, and in their writings everything astonished him. But nothing would seem to have so profoundly fascinated him as the dextrous art with which these writers evaded the obvious,—their apparently inexhaustible wealth of indirectness, in which allegory and symbol were the most conspicuous devices employed. In imitating his masters, however, the luxurious genius of this age of excess often transgressed their well-restrained devices, and not merely repelled the understandings of the ignorant, but often those of genuine lovers of the Muse. That he has timidly employed every means in his power to veil the identity of the important personages depicted so vividly in some of these earlier works,<sup>1</sup> and later in his Latin 'Eclogues,' is certainly true; but no less true is it that he has been at pains (too often successfully) to entirely baffle their recognition. He has described them with the most airy allusions. The best proof of this is to be found

<sup>1</sup> In 'La Caccia di Diana' he names most of the ladies who take part in the action of the poem by their right names. He did not repeat this indiscretion.

in the fact that the poet has vouchsafed to explain his explanation of the personal relations and political circumstances described in some of these 'Eclogues.'<sup>1</sup> But modern students, albeit armed with clear notions as to Boccaccio's political views and Guelphic predilections, have come to the conclusion that even these commentaries only leave us in an equivocal twilight. Moreover, the 'Eclogues' appear to have been written, some at the place where the events described took place, and some at a distance therefrom; some from personal knowledge, some from reliable, or possibly unreliable, information; and they manifest extraordinary divergences of opinion.

But this is not the place for a review of his works. To King Robert, we may well believe, poetry presented but trifling attraction; at any rate, until contact with Petrarch in 1341 aroused him to some personal interest in it. The Latinists by whom he was surrounded, like himself, devoted their literary efforts to marketable treatises, sermons, and sophistries, more especially to the study of law and the Fathers. To poetry, as a non-money-making pursuit, they were indifferent. Upon them and the mendicant friars, Boccaccio, like his friend Petrarch, was presently able to pour the triumphant contempt which he felt as one autocratically conscious that he had power to confer fame or oblivion. Against jurisprudence he had been constrained to do personal battle; and against the corruption of the Curia at Avignon he later on inveighed in set terms. 'The sight of its vices converts a Jew, for Christianity spreads and prospers in spite of the iniquity of its head, and must therefore be supernatural.'<sup>2</sup> Against the Mendicants, who regarded the study of Antiquity as mortal sin, and thus

<sup>1</sup> In his letter to Fra Martino da Siena. *Cf.* *Contributo agli Studi sul Boccaccio*, V. Crescini, 1887; *Studi sulle opere Latine del Boccaccio*; A. de Hortis, *Le Lettere edit. e inedit. de M. G. Boccaccio*; F. Corazzini; Gaspary-Koerting; and more especially C. Antona Traversari, *Della realtà dell' Amore di Giov. Boccaccio*. Bologna, 1884.

<sup>2</sup> *Decam. Giorn. i.*, November 2.

became the declared enemies of its worshippers, he used his keenest weapons, which, however, were more conducive to rendering their authority ridiculous than to establishing his own orthodoxy.

Under the last twelve years of the reign of Robert, then, Naples was a city given up to shameless dissipation, yet not to such an extent as precluded the possibility of serious study. The protection accorded the Mendicants did not give them much authority beyond the court circle, and a divided, albeit powerful one, within it. They could not interfere with the life at Baiæ in the summer, with the bathing, the music, the picnics and water-parties, and other amusements. Indeed, their fierce persecution by the inexorable Pontiff must have constrained them at first to observe a moderate and conciliatory attitude toward their protectors, and we obtain no picture during these years of any mendicant friar, such as Petrarch graphically portrays as a little court-tyrant twelve years later. I will now endeavour a little more fully to show the extraordinary lengths to which the King and Queen permitted themselves to go in favouring these persecuted Franciscans.

In his Bull 'Quia Nonnunquam,' the Pontiff informed the dignitaries of the Church and all Inquisitors that, in spite of his former ruling to the effect that to believe any longer in the poverty of Christ was heresy, many dared openly to cling to the belief. He accordingly urged their vigorous extirpation. 'It is quite possible that this was provoked by some movement among the remains of the moderate Spirituals of Italy—men who came to be known as Fraticelli—who had never indulged in the dangerous enthusiasms of the Olivists, but who were ready to suffer martyrdom in defence of the sacred principles of poverty.'<sup>1</sup> The King of Naples, as a dutiful son and champion of the

<sup>1</sup> Lea, *Hist. Inquis.*, vol. iii. pp. 143-144. See also the very important work on the Franciscan Spirituals and Fraticelli by my learned friend Monsig. Franz Ehrle, in *Archiv für Litteratur*, 1886, 1887, 1888.

Church, had been therefore commanded to give his aid in the good cause. John did not yet break completely with Michele da Cesena, the General of the Franciscans, whom he summoned from Todi to Avignon.

Meanwhile had occurred the alarming triumph of Louis of Bavaria at Rome. The people of Todi had welcomed the excommunicated Emperor and his anti-pope. John detained Michele and his companions, William of Ockham and Bonagrazia, and commanded the Order (then holding its Chapter at Bologna), to elect a fresh General. The Order, however, declined to do so, and re-elected Michele.

This was a warning for the latter to escape with his life. On the 26th of May the three illustrious brethren fled to Aigues-Mortes, and embarked in a Genoese galley for Pisa. A bishop, who had been speeded after them to induce them to return, arrived in time to hold a fruitless colloquy with them. They were pronounced excommunicate, and letters were forthwith despatched to all archbishops, bishops, and abbots, and to King Robert's admiral, Spinola, bidding them capture, keep safely, and deliver the above 'sons of Belial' to Geraldo de Strata and Pietro Natalis, who would forward them to the Curia.<sup>1</sup>

Persecution had set in throughout Italy with sterner vigour than ever, and terrible vengeance was taken upon Todi and the March of Ancona. It is not surprising to find that Avignonese agents were told to spy upon the royal family at Naples, where Philip of Majorca,<sup>2</sup> one of the brothers of the Queen, assuming mendicancy, had now

<sup>1</sup> Arch. Secr. Vatic. Johann. XXII., fol. 114, Ep. 1332, 1336, 2023, v. Kal. Junii. With regard to Ockham there is a letter in fol. 115, Ep. 797, dated Nones of April 1329, begging Edward, King of England, to capture him. This most original and daring forerunner of Wiclif made by far the most vigorous protest against the organisation of the Hierarchy. He declared that it would be better to have several Pontiffs simultaneously than only one; that the nature of the Hierarchy is immediately human and not divine; and that the natural judge of the Pontiff is the Emperor.

<sup>2</sup> Treasurer of S. Martin at Tours.

headed a number of Minor friars, whose presence was held to sanctify Castel Nuovo.

The Pope, exceedingly annoyed at this prince and his proceedings, informed him that if he must needs enter an Order, it ought to be one both decent, approved, and free from the stigma of ignorance.<sup>1</sup> The King's chaplain, Fra Andrea Gagliano, was even cited to Avignon, to answer a charge of having published a tract out of conformity with Papal dictates.<sup>2</sup> King Robert protested by letter to John exculpating Gagliano; not denying, however, that the friar had written the tract, but averring that the tract contained nothing contrary to the doctrines of the faith, or wanting in reverence for the Church.<sup>3</sup> Further, Queen Sancia's nephew, Ferrando of Majorca, followed his uncle's example, and likewise assumed tonsure. Owing to this tendency to celibacy on the part of its princes,<sup>4</sup> the Pontiff presently expressed anxiety as to the absence of heirs to the Majorcan throne. To such a strange pass had things now come, that Sancia did not refrain from intercepting Papal letters to the Inquisitors in the kingdom, under cover of making artful presents of Greek wine<sup>5</sup> and apples to his Holiness,<sup>6</sup> and carrying on a lengthy correspondence with him concerning her orthodoxy upon the

<sup>1</sup> Fol. 116, Ep. 426, 427, January 26, 1331. 'Sed si te vitam religiosorum mendicantium delectaret, intrares unam de approbatis religionibus, in qua, ut tenemus indubie, personas scientia pollentes et moribus, cum quibus spirituales consolaciones haberes, varias.'

<sup>2</sup> In fol. 37, anno xv. pt. ii. p. 642, is the King's letter to the Cardinal of St. Eustasius in defence of the friar.

<sup>3</sup> 'Neque scripto, neque verbo, quo frequenter in mea audientia, prelatorum, baronum, lectorum et Doctorum, ac innumerosi populi atque cleri, predicavit . . . unquam scitur aliquid ejus oraculo emanasse, nisi quod sincere fidem Catholicam . . . saperet.'

<sup>4</sup> Reg. 116, Ep. 418, 423, 424, 425. Reg. 114, contains a great number of letters relating to Majorca and its ruling family.

<sup>5</sup> Torre del Greco wine.

<sup>6</sup> 'Vino Greco et pomis abundanter missis.' Ep. 460, 4 Non. Maii 1331. In Ep. 1298 he thanks her for another present of 'aqua rosacea copiosissima.' xviii. Kal. Maii 1332.

subject of Evangelical Poverty.<sup>1</sup> Later on, a new General of the Franciscans, Geraldo Othoni, was sent to correct various heresies flourishing in the realm, and especially to exterminate the Fraticelli. In response to the Queen's inquiries after his health, John pointedly declared that, in spite of his great age, his outward health was good, although his inner man was distressed on account of heresy and schism, so favoured by certain princes.<sup>2</sup>

Robert and Sancia, as might be expected, soon fell out with Geraldo Othoni, and banished him the royal presence. The King, in turn, was reprimanded sharply from Avignon for having suppressed publication of certain Pontifical letters, and was adjured to deliver them to those to whom they were addressed.<sup>3</sup> As for the Queen, it was to be feared that she would be seduced altogether from the Church.<sup>4</sup> Finally, Geraldo was advised to make himself agreeable to the royal people, and he was presently permitted to return to their presence (in June 1333). The Pope saw reason enough to avoid quarrel with Naples, but he had pressed his contentiousness so far that he could go no further without a scandalous rupture. He was now rapidly nearing his ninetieth year, and in his eyes the ignominious retreat of the Emperor and the surrender of the Franciscan anti-pope by Boniface, Count of Doneratico<sup>5</sup> (with whom he had taken refuge on

<sup>1</sup> Fol. 116, Ep. 477. Fears and hopes. 4 Idus Aug. 1331. Also Ep. 478. To Sancia. 'Debeas credere et tenere hereticum esse pertinaciter dicere Christum et Apostolos non habuisse aliquid in communi vel proprio, sed tantum simplicem usura fructi.'

<sup>2</sup> Fol. 116, Ep. 1252. To Sancia, who has inquired after his health. vii. Kal. Oct. Anno xvi. 1331.

<sup>3</sup> Fol. 116, Ep. 486, viii. Idus Julii 1331.

<sup>4</sup> 'Attende, Filia carissima, ne hostis illius astutia te ab ea (ecclesia) valeat separare.' Non. Sept. Anno xvi. Geraldo had given an unfavourable account of her tenets to the Pope. Ep. 1268, 1287, 1305; also fol. 117, Dec. 1332. Ep. 661-662, 678, 680, 732, 734, 736.

<sup>5</sup> Pietro Corbario (or Nicholas V.) reached Nice, August 6, and made his confession in Avignon on the 25th. Cf. fol. 115, Ep. 2315, 2849, fol. 116, Ep. 97, 98. He was pardoned by John in November of the same year. Cf. fol. 116 Ep. 853.

the defection of Pisa from the imperial cause), together with promise of a matrimonial settlement of the long and perilous dissension between the royal families of Hungary and Naples, were doubtless events for sufficient satisfaction, if not for his complete contentment.

Yet there were other and more potent causes tending to modify the overbearing energy, and trenchant autocracy, of John XXII.; and chief among these were the far less friendly attitudes now politically observed toward him by Robert and King Philip, both of whom he had alienated by countenancing the mock-invasion of Italy by the King of Bohemia as a further check to the Emperor.<sup>1</sup> For, this restless and somewhat humorous son of Henry VII., instead of repeating his father's impracticable rôle of treating Guelph and Ghibelline with equal justice, caricatured it, and adopted the cunning artifice of persuading the latter faction that he had come to undertake the rehabilitation of the Empire, while to the former he declared himself to be the candidate sanctioned by the Holy See, thereby causing renewed ferment in the bubbling caldron of Italian politics. Circumstances greatly favoured him. Azzo Visconti had been reconciled with the Church in 1330, and King John now concluded an alliance with him, and created him his Vicar in Milan. He was enabled to play this rôle with especial effect and profit, owing to the territorial ambition of the Cardinal-Legate, De Poyet, who had not yet succeeded in carving out for himself a Lombard principality. Checked in that aim, De Poyet had turned his attention to enlarging the States of the Church in such a way as menaced Tuscany; and both Florence and King Robert viewed with renewed alarm, and presently with indignation, an actual alliance formed between the son of their old enemy, Henry VII., and the chief representative in Italy of the Holy See. The

<sup>1</sup> The Pope artfully protested to the Florentines and to Azzo Visconti that he had in no way been a party to the coming of the King of Bohemia. Fol. 116, Ep. 522, 686. Cf. Böhmer, *Fontes*, i. p. 228.

latter dined together at Piumazzo and parted with embracings. King John, in a short space of time, became master of Modena, Cremona, Parma, and Lucca.

The result of this dangerous turn of affairs was extremely curious. It severed the alliance between King John and Milan, and consequently threw the Guelphs into alliance with their old antagonists, with Azzo Visconti, and Mastino della Scala ; thus constituting a Guelph-Ghibelline league. On September 16, 1332, an alliance was, in fact, concluded between King Robert, Florence, Milan, Mantua, and Ferrara.<sup>1</sup>

Annoyed at this, the Legate threatened Florence with the interdict for allying herself with the enemies of the Church. To this her rulers replied coolly that they did nothing but by approval of the Pontiff and King Robert. Fortunately for her, war ensued between the Legate and Ferrara, resulting in the complete defeat of the Pontifical forces, and soon after King John himself falling out with the Legate, saw fit to come to terms with his adversaries in July 1333. Upon this he re-sold each of the cities he had over-lorded, including Lucca, and in October comfortably retired *vid* Verona to his own kingdom. The league between him and his allies terminated at the close of the year. De Poyet was driven out of Bologna, and even owed his life to the adroit intercession of the Florentines with the citizens.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Archiv f. Oesterr. Gesch., xxxv. 365.

## CHAPTER XIX

### THE HUNGARIAN MARRIAGE

To return to the important Italian journey of King Carobert and his son. In June 1333, having sufficiently recovered from his indisposition, he set out by way of Agram and Modrusch to Zeng, where, taking ship, he crossed to Viesti.<sup>1</sup> He was accompanied by Duke Henico, brother of his first Queen, the Archbishops of Gran and Kalocsa, the Bishops of Grosswardein and Csanád, Nicholas Drugeth, and a number of other important and noble officials, including a Jewish physician, Jacob Lombard. He made port on July 31, and was welcomed on the part of the King of Naples by John, Prince of Achaia, and Bertrando del Balzo, Count of Montiscaglioso, Tommaso Marzano, Count of Squillace, Admiral of the realm, and a great concourse of notables.

The journey was soon continued to Melfi<sup>2</sup> and Nola. At the latter place ~~place~~ King Robert himself welcomed both nephew and great-nephew. Their advance, however, had to be delayed on account of a febrile relapse on the part of Carobert, which gave rise to no little anxiety.<sup>3</sup> Notwithstanding this, on September 18, Naples was *en fête* to receive the father-in-law of their future sovereign, and in all the gorgeous, if fantastic, magnificence of fourteenth-century state ceremonial the two allied sovereigns, attended by a train of azure-mantled princes, followed by prelates and warriors, entered the capital.

<sup>1</sup> Nowadays mail-steamers call here on their way from Brindisi to Venice.

<sup>2</sup> Reg. 117, Arch. Secr. Vatic. (cit.), Epist. 759, Aug. 29, 1333. The Pope joyfully writes to Carobert that he has learned Andrew had reached Melfi ('Melfiam pervenisse').

<sup>3</sup> Id. Reg. Epist. 1155. To Robert concerning the indisposition, 1156. To Carobert, congratulating on recovery. Both dated Sept. 9, 1333.

On the 27th, Andrew<sup>1</sup> was affianced to Joan, Duchess of Calabria, with an infantine kiss,<sup>2</sup> as well as created Duke of Calabria and Prince of Salerno. This event took place in Castel Nuovo in the presence of both sovereigns, Queen Sancia, the Princes of Taranto and Durazzo, the magnates, and ambassadors,<sup>3</sup> including an escort of a hundred and fifty notables from the Commune of Florence.

The festivities over, a portion of the recently embellished castle, together with a special retinue of Franciscan clergy and court officials, Hungarian and Italian, was assigned to the little couple, and a fresh tax was imposed upon the various dominions of King Robert for the purpose of covering the necessary outlay.

Thus was a kind of family-compromise carried into effect, and the soreness caused by Papal policy in one generation was salved, though not made whole, in another. Robert had now occupied the throne during twenty-five years, and was himself midway between fifty and sixty. In many respects he could look back with self-satisfaction on the past: he had enabled his subjects to vaunt themselves champions of Guelphdom, he had given them a number of wise laws, he was flattered by the learned, both at home and abroad, with the title of the Solomon of the age.<sup>4</sup> That he obtained credit which should have been the Pontiff's for this adroit matrimonial modification of a dynastic quarrel is not unlikely. It has already, however, been noticed that another effect of a rather ominous nature resulted from this union, namely, that the throne of Naples was henceforth barred to the aspiring princes of Taranto

<sup>1</sup> Born November 1327.

<sup>2</sup> 'Osculum sibi ad invicem prebuerunt.' Form of betrothal.

<sup>3</sup> The names of these were:—Donato Acciajuoli, Gnozzo dei Bardi, Simone Peruzzi, Testa Tornaquinci, Lotto Cavicciuli, Antonio degli Albizzi. Cf. Villani, x. 218; Coppo Stefani, vii. 495.

<sup>4</sup> In November he had occasion to write to the Commune of Florence con-  
doling with the city on account of the disastrous flood of the Arno in the earlier  
part of the month. Cf. Villani, lib. xi. cap. 2-3. Villani thought so highly of  
the King's letter that he has rendered it into the vulgar idiom.

and Achaia,<sup>3</sup> and barred, it is manifest, with no little heart-burning.<sup>1</sup>

Between these two princely families, a variance, which had arisen over the Greek claims, had reasserted and accentuated itself since the death of Philip of Taranto, through the refusal of Prince John to do homage for his possessions to his nephew, Robert of Taranto, eldest son of the deceased prince. This had called forth sharp remonstrances from Avignon.<sup>2</sup> Catherine of Taranto, however, by means of her Chancellor Niccolo Acciajuoli, contrived to come to terms with her son's adversary, by which it was agreed that, in consideration of his adopting the title of Duke of Durazzo, and receiving five thousand ounces of gold, he should hand over the title-deeds of his ill-gotten Achaian principality. In April 1335 that Prince himself died, leaving his widow, the beautiful Agnes, with the care of his own three ill-fated sons, Charles, Louis, and Robert, who with their cousins of Taranto will figure not a little remarkably in the ensuing pages.

Shortly after the betrothal of Joan and Andrew, there was celebrated at Naples another royal union, which gratified Pope John,<sup>3</sup> that between Humbert, Dauphin of Vienne, and Maria, daughter of Bertrand del Balzo by Beatrice d'Anjou, a sister of King Robert.<sup>4</sup> This ceremony took place in the palace of Bertrand 'in platea Nidi, juxta Monasterium S. Maria Verginis.' Del Balzo, who represented the De Berre branch of this great Provençal family, had held several appointments of the highest distinction, such as that of Viceroy in Lombardy and Tuscany, and was pre-

<sup>1</sup> December 1331.

<sup>2</sup> Fol. 117, Epist. 705, 706, and 709. It would appear, moreover, that Prince John even asserted claims to some of the Tarentine possessions. The Pope in Epist. 1307 commands the King to interpose, and in Epist. 1306 (iii. Kal. June 1332) he both checks and warns the Prince.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Reg. 116, Arch. Secr. Vatic. Johann. XXII., Ep. 1294, 1296. Addressed respectively to Carobert and Humbert, concerning the possible extinction of the Delphinat for lack of legitimate heirs. Carobert had thus a fresh claim to the Pope's gratitude.

<sup>4</sup> Beatrice had been previously the spouse of Azzo, son of Obizzo II. of Ferrara.

sently to be created Chief-Justiciary of the kingdom. His royal spouse had died in 1320, and within a year of her decease he had taken to wife Margherita d'Aulnay,<sup>1</sup> the widowed Countess of Teano, by whom he had, among other children, a son, Francesco, who will likewise figure in this narrative. Various eminent kinsmen of his, such as Amelio del Balzo, Count of Alessano, Raimondo, Count of Soletto, and Bertrando, Count of Avellino, were present at this family concourse. Other notable guests were three sons of Philippa Catanese, the house-mistress of Joan and Maria, namely, Carlo di Cabannis, Vice-Seneschal, Raimondo, and Roberto, then an 'Abbate,' Chaplain to King Robert,<sup>2</sup> who assisted in official capacity. They are mentioned here on account of the terrible fate which overtook the two younger ones a few years later, actually at the hands of their present entertainer, Del Balzo.

King Carobert may have desired, as Szalay thinks,<sup>3</sup> to pay a personal visit to the Pontiff at Avignon, or to winter in Dalmatia; but the affairs of Poland imperatively demanded his return to Hungary, and the significant advice of the Pontiff, more than once repeated in letters to both kings, tended in the same direction. Moreover, the apparently satisfactory adjustment of relations with Naples now permitted his energy to be devoted to securing for his eldest son, Louis, the desired crown of Poland, to which John of Bohemia had likewise laid claim. Indeed, it had been on this latter account that Carobert's deceased son, Charles, had been affianced to Anna, the Bohemian King's daughter. As the latter monarch, like himself, was both powerful and crafty, Carobert observed unremitting tact in dealing with him, constantly holding out to him the idea of uniting his eldest surviving son, Louis, with his neighbour's grand-

<sup>1</sup> Ital. Alnetto. Neapolitan writers are certainly incorrect in placing this union ten years later.

<sup>2</sup> Later, preferring the profitable secular functions of Seneschal, he laid aside holy orders.

<sup>3</sup> Geschichte von Hungarn, xi. 170.

daughter. The birth of a third son, Stephen, to Queen Elizabeth now made it possible for Carobert to forego the design formerly entertained of wedding Louis to Joan or Maria of Naples. A letter of the Pope to King Robert, dated 8th November 1333 (that is, six weeks after the betrothal of Andrew and Joan), summed up the stipulations between the rulers of Naples and Hungary, stating that if Joan should die before the consummation of her marriage, Andrew shall be united to Maria. If Andrew dies, Joan shall be united to another son of Carobert ('quem ipse Rex elegerit'). If, however, both Joan and Andrew should die, 'then, in that case, shall another son of the King of Hungary ('quem nunc habet') (Stephen) be conducted to the kingdom of Naples and united to Maria: all which things have already been pondered and arranged between you.' It will thus be observed that in any case Maria was bound to wed one or other—Louis, Andrew, or Stephen—and, in view of mishap to her sister, to whom she was heiress-presumptive, she was to be looked upon as a reserve claim for Hungary in rebinding to itself the House of Naples.

Thus, becoming the hotbed of family contentions, it is manifest the Court of Naples would scarcely profit by the access thereto of Hungarians. It is true Hungarians had settled there long before, owing, of course, to the union of Charles II. with Maria of Hungary, but it is not probable they were at any time numerous. Maria had been dead more than ten years. Although there was an Italian community at Buda, it could not yet be said that there was a community of Magyars at Naples. There were now numbers of officials, attendants, and servants, forming the suite of Andrew, over and above Nicholas Drugeth,<sup>1</sup> and three

<sup>1</sup> The Drugeth family, members of which figure at the Courts of Naples and Hungary at this period, was not of Hungarian origin, but Provençal. Canon Pór (Nagy Lagos. i. 24) speaks of a Philip Drugeth (I know not upon what authority) as having been a companion to Charles of Anjou. There certainly was a Guyot Druget in that king's palace in 1277.

Hungarian ladies, Margherita, Elena, and Isabella, the latter of whom acted as nurse to Andrew.

The nationality of Fra Roberto, the Mendicant confessor of Andrew, was Italian. There is no sufficient reason to disbelieve that he did obtain an unpleasant ascendancy at court at a later day, seeing how powerful a focus of Mendicancy Naples had become under the active patronage of the King and Queen. It is quite certain that any one exercising his influential functions could lead a troubled career there. Much would depend upon his hold over Queen Sancia. He would surely have to combat, perhaps succumb to, labyrinthine intrigues at headquarters. But it is probable that his appointment was due to that lady.

Owing, however, to Petrarch's graphic, and substantially accurate, if over-coloured, description of him, his demerits may have been overrated, though it might be rash to attempt to discover attractions in these dervish-like Mendicants. The poet's account will be considered in its proper place.

No sooner had Carobert departed than King Robert felt himself called upon to deal with the grave differences which had ruffled the dignity of his court, by reason of the quarrels occurring between the two Houses of Taranto and Durazzo. Doubtless the guardians of Andrew soon made themselves aware of the nature of these differences; likewise duly marked the increasing retirement as well as the religious preoccupations of the King. Nor would the rivalries between Agnes, Duchess of Durazzo (who could boast, if not royal birth, of having an opulent and influential cardinal for brother), and Catherine of Taranto (Empress-titular), each residing in a palace in the immediate neighbourhood of Castel Nuovo, escape them. Finally they would note the advancing official importance of Charles Artois, Count of St. Agatha, the King's natural son, who, following the paternal example, was laying by treasure.

In face of the Pontifical designs and the matrimonial compact with Hungary, these two princesses would be forced

to look beyond Naples to obtain wives for their sons. Nevertheless, it is impossible to doubt that the peculiar position now occupied by Joan and Maria, placed, as these were, in their very midst, and in daily contact with one or other of them and their children, must incessantly have exercised their maternal minds; and consequently, during the last eight years of King Robert's life, ambitious dreams, which at first had seemed vague and tenuous, consolidated themselves into very ominous realities.

If Joan was now caught away beyond their matrimonial purview, the future of Maria, at least, was not quite so definitely settled. One or other of Carobert's other sons, Louis or Stephen, might perchance die. Were not the young Princes of Taranto next of kin? and were not their estates geographically far more contiguous? John, Duke of Durazzo, had died, leaving Agnes to calculate chances and discuss the interests of their family with her brother, Cardinal Talleyrand. Moreover, John XXII. was no more, and a new Pontiff, Jacques Fournier, occupied the chair of St. Peter as Benedict XII.

It may readily be surmised that the introduction of Hungarian officials, who differed not alone in language from their Provençal and Neapolitan confrères at the court, but who were familiar with the long and burning differences obtaining there, and were resolved to press the claims of Hungary at the expense of Naples, did not tend to tranquillise the disturbed atmosphere. Their master, King Carobert, was also an Angevin, whose prevailing passions were conquest and splendour, and under his festive energetic rule Hungary had effected proud and promising advances. Had he valued the finer qualities of his subjects above a craving to extend his dominions, Hungary perhaps might have surpassed in distinction any contemporary nation.

It will be remembered that her prospects, which had been so shining under certain sovereigns of the Arpád dynasty, had been eclipsed by prolonged civil wars. From

their effects she was now in a fair way of recovery. That she considered herself far in advance of her neighbours is not unlikely. Hibernia has often done so, to whose children the Magyars have not unfelicitously been likened.<sup>1</sup> Equilibrium has never been a conspicuous attainment of the genius of either people. It is probable, for these reasons, that every manifestation of Hungarian authority at Naples would have been jealously discussed, if not resented, there, especially among those who had motives for misliking the coming of Andrew. Thus, much of the future happiness of Naples and of Hungary may be said to have depended upon the harmony preserved in the bringing up of Joan and Andrew, and the suppression of the mischievous intrigues which constantly gathered among the Princes and courtiers around them.

I shall now pass to closer consideration of the condition of the kingdom of Naples at this time. Two features have already been sufficiently adverted to, namely, that it had become the natural refuge of the spiritual Franciscans, and that it was the Ophir and Egypt at once of the Tuscan merchant and of the Holy See.

Although no inconsiderable portion of the writings both of Petrarch and Boccaccio vividly record the violence and corruption of their age, both authors agree in designating the times of King Robert 'happy,' meaning, doubtless, the latter years of his reign. If these be compared with those which immediately followed his decease, as far as Naples and Florence were concerned, their statement is not unjustifiable. As a benignant Mæcenas, King Robert shed a golden lustre around him upon all such as loved learning. While Petrarch was fortunate enough in finding there valuable friends in such men as Giovanni Barrile, Marco Barbato di Sulmona, and Paolo da Perugia, to Boccaccio Naples became the luxurious shrine of his passions, intellectual and physical. Parthenope was consecrate to Virgil,

<sup>1</sup> By my lamented friend, Sir Richard Burton.

but it was rendered celestial by the presence of Fiammetta. Nevertheless, it requires no arduous research in order to assure ourselves that we must attach a strictly limited sense to the epithet 'happy,' as used by these favoured sons of genius.

Feudalism died hard, and that which lived by the sword could only perish by it. Oppression of people, more and more bent upon gaining their independence, was constantly provoking sanguinary reprisals. A country like Apulia, especially favourable both by nature and tradition to the calling of the brigand, could scarcely fail to distinguish itself in this respect. Even the measures taken for the suppression of brigandage not seldom conduced to its increase, as when, in 1329, King Robert ordered that the peasants in the district of Amalfi should be armed in order that they might destroy the brigands on St. Angelo without mercy.<sup>1</sup> To ensure their personal safety, merchants and envoys travelled armed<sup>2</sup> and in companies, by set routes and passes; and the disarming of the population along such routes contributed to the security desired. As honorary Lord of Florence and financial figure-head of Guelphdom, Robert was bound to provide for the safety of her merchants. It was a matter in which his interest was deeply concerned, and for many years he succeeded. But precisely during those years in which he more and more devoted himself to meditative pursuits, the edicts against 'malandrini' suspiciously multiply. As the King was inclined to clemency, and the usual mode of dealing with culprits<sup>3</sup> consisted in granting free pardon to them, provided they should take part in the recurrent expeditions for the recovery of Sicily, it is not to be wondered that they multiplied. In spite of these things, the realm of Naples (at least during the struggle for the Empire until 1327) was more secure for the

<sup>1</sup> As a rule, a salutary law of his prohibited the carrying of arms unlicensed.

<sup>2</sup> Reg. Angioni, n. 258, f. 84.

<sup>3</sup> Earlier in his reign the King not only exacted the death penalty, when satisfied of its justice, but passed a law precluding its commutability by fine.

wayfarer than other parts of Italy, and far more safe than were the thoroughfares of Rome. It naturally witnessed no faction fights comparable to those of the Neri and Bianchi at Florence, or of the Orsini and Colonna in the city of Cæsar.

After that period, however, crimes of violence steadily increased. Beginning with vendette in great families such as the Gaetani<sup>1</sup> and Ceccano, we come to highway murders of court-dignitaries and Papal envoys, and, finally, ferocious insurrections in small towns. In 1335 Nicholas de Joinville, Count of St. Angelo, a royal chamberlain, was murdered while travelling in the Valle di Fortori.<sup>2</sup> In March 1342 Benedict XII. admonishes Robert to do justice upon the caitiffs who have set upon Raimondo de Chameraco and Pontius de Pereto of Chartres, two canons of the Church, and robbed them of silver vases, monies, and much else.<sup>3</sup> Later, as will be shown, a Bishop of Casino with much gold falls victim. Of family-factions, it is only necessary to direct attention here to that of the Pipini and Della Marra, as it is at once illustrative of the period under consideration, and of serious significance to this narrative.

Giovanni Pipini, a distinguished captain under Charles II., in that monarch's reign exterminated the remnant of the Saracen colony formerly planted by the Emperor Frederick II. at Lucera. Richly recompensed for this achievement by his sovereign, he added to his feuds by purchasing in 1309 the countship of Minerbino. His son Niccolo married an heiress, Giovanna da Altamura, Countess of Vico, while his three daughters became respectively united to Niccolo della Marra, Adenulfo d'Aquino, and Gasso di Diniziaco, Count of Terlizzi, later Marshal of the realm. Dying in 1332, Niccolo Pipini left three sons, Giovanni, Pietro,<sup>4</sup> and Ludovico. These have been fitly designated the scourge of Apulia.

<sup>1</sup> March 1328.

<sup>2</sup> The Grand Justiciary, Amelio del Balzo, his father-in-law, was ordered to proceed against the culprits and their protectors. Reg. Roberti, 1335, l. x. f. 14.

<sup>3</sup> Reg. Arch. Vatic. Secr. Anno vii. Ep. 32, 34, 54.

<sup>4</sup> Pietro was Count of Vico; Ludovico, Count of Potenza.

We are provided with documentary evidence<sup>1</sup> showing that a few months before their father Niccolo's death, he was regarded with favour at Avignon, but not at Naples. These differences of regard were due to dissension between him and his son-in-law, Gasso, Count of Terlizzi.<sup>2</sup> Soon after his decease, his family and that of Della Marra were at open quarrel, so that in a short time the province of Capitanata became terrorised through the feud. Tommaso San Severino, Count of Marsico, and other influential barons, their relatives by marriage, sided with Della Marra, but town after town was sacked and burnt by the triumphant Pipini. At length, outraged by their audacity, King Robert summoned the brothers to Naples to answer for their misdeeds.<sup>3</sup> It was certainly not fortunate for them that the man now commanded to bring them dead or alive to the capital was at once their maternal uncle by marriage, and their bitter foe, the Count of Terlizzi, against whom four years before they had instituted charges of violence.<sup>4</sup> They found themselves able, however, to defy both the King's edict and their old enemy. It speaks for the increasing insecurity, due in no small measure to the relaxed administration of Mendicant-loving Sancia, that they continued their excesses until February 1341, even when the personal intervention of that Queen<sup>5</sup> had restored tolerable relations between the opposing families, and a compact had been signed in the royal presence.

Nevertheless, within a few months of this happy con-

<sup>1</sup> Arch. Vatic. Secr. 21st Sept. 1331, Ep. 1248. To Robert, asking and desiring goodwill toward Nicholas, son of Giovanni Pipini. 'Te obsequiose fidei poscentibus meritis rogamus, requirimus, et hortamur, quatenus ipsum Comitem benevolo favore prosequimur, ejusque negocia perpensius literas commendat.' A similar letter is likewise addressed to the Princes of Taranto and Durazzo (Achaia), and to the Empress-titular, Catherine of Taranto.

<sup>2</sup> Married Margherita Pipini.

<sup>3</sup> November 16, 1339.

<sup>4</sup> 'De quadam violentia commissa der Gassum de Diniziaco, Comitem Terlizzi, ac Generalem Capitaneum Terræ Bari, contra ipsos Pipinos.' Reg. Roberti, 1335, Lit. D. f. 252.

<sup>5</sup> One of the main points of the feud between these families arose from the purchase of certain lands from Queen Sancia by the Pipini.

clusion, the Pipini resumed operations, and the King ordered his Justiciary-General to pronounce a decree of confiscation against them, at the same time despatching Ruggiero di San Severino, Count of Mileto, and Raimondo del Balzo,<sup>1</sup> Count of Soletto, with armed forces to capture both them and their stronghold at Minorbino.

After sustaining a lengthy siege, they surrendered, and were conducted to Naples. Their mother, the Countess of Altamura and Vico, vainly besought the royal clemency on their behalf. Though their lives were spared, they were sentenced to perpetual captivity in Castel Capuano.<sup>2</sup> It is probable they owed this mitigation to the re-intercession of the Queen, or to the King's remembrance of the services rendered by their grandsire to Charles I. and II. Their extensive estates were now divided, and those not sold to Brancaccio, Archbishop of Trani, were bestowed upon Giacomo Capano, Egidio di Bevania,<sup>3</sup> Raimondo del Balzo, and Niccolo Alunno d'Alife,<sup>4</sup> all of them prominent public functionaries.

In spite of this sentence, the Pipini lived to enact far more important parts in the national drama a few years later, when their mother turned to Cardinal Colonna, Petrarch's friend, who influenced Clement VI. in their favour, and by procuring their release, brought the calamities of the realm to a crisis.

The increasing diffusion of legal learning, therefore, contrasted oddly with the increasingly defective administration of Justice. Such individuals as Ruggiero di Agerola<sup>5</sup> and

<sup>1</sup> The mother of Raimondo del Balzo was Jacquolina della Marra; so the royal favour went entirely with the Della Marra family; possibly too far.

<sup>2</sup> They were tried before the Corte della Vicaria by Giovanni Lando di Capua. Reg. 1340, A. n. 312, f. 173.

<sup>3</sup> Egidio di Bevagna was appointed executor to a Will of Niccolo Acciajuoli, dated 1338.

<sup>4</sup> In presenting a portion of their property at Foggia to Alunno, the King describes the culprits,—'Qui in regno nostro Siciliæ movere guerram, publice presumpserunt.'

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Decamerone, Giorno iii. 10.

Mascambroni terrorised the mountain districts about Sorrento and Amalfi and the neighbourhood of Beneventum<sup>1</sup> with impunity, although the archives of Rome and Tuscany at this period present more lurid accounts of highway crimes than do those of Naples. That the exactions of the Church, of the princes and feudal barons, and, not least, of the usurious Tuscan merchants, all contributed to enthrone calamity, it is impossible to doubt.

It may be questioned if ever Pontiff was so shrewd a financier as John XXII. His capacity outdistanced in results all possible rivalry. He died 4th December 1334, aged ninety; and when Philippo Villani, associate of the Bardi Company, was ordered to make an inventory of the deceased Pontiff's effects, there were discovered plate and jewels to the value of seven millions, besides no less than eighteen millions of gold florins.<sup>2</sup> Giovanni Villani merely declares, 'He loved our city, saving when we refused to obey his Legate;' and again, 'He forgot the saying, "Lay not up treasure," &c.' But this is not the place to dwell upon the character of this vigorous and learned, though narrow, greedy, and truculent despot, who in his long pontificate degraded the Holy See further than any of his Avignonese predecessors; and this he did at the very period when it was of overwhelming importance it should have stood out in noble relief against the corruption of decadent feudalism.

His crusade against Louis of Bavaria and his fierce persecution of the Fraticelli were continued by his Cistercian successor, who, however, in regard to the first, acted according to the dictation of Philip of Valois, and in regard to the second, limited his persecution in the kingdom of Naples to complaints and mandates which he knew would not be carried out. Of a far more benign disposition than John,

<sup>1</sup> Beneventum, however, was Church territory.

<sup>2</sup> Five florins went to the ounce of gold, as John continually reminded King Robert in regard to the tribute annually due from Naples to the Holy See.

Benedict found himself bound hand and foot by vigilant masters. He therefore made a hopeless attempt to reform the clergy, whom the Franciscan Penitentiary of John XXII., Alvaro Pelayo, had already with good reason described as completely secularised.

A not unimportant effect at Naples, due to the submissive attitude of the new Pontiff to the Valois monarch, manifested itself in the increasing ascendancy of Catherine of Taranto, whose authority and ambition must already have aroused uneasiness in Hungary, where the means of thwarting it had been found. Contrary to contemporary custom, both she and Agnes of Durazzo continued widows. Perhaps, it will not be unfitting very briefly to consider the status of high-born women and marriage in the period under consideration.

In regarding the fourteenth century, one must of course be careful not to apply to it the level of morality attained in later ages. In the matter of re-marriage, for example, a year of mourning (as the Roman law prescribed) seems to have been considered the utmost necessary period for the survivor to observe. Frequently the prince or princess, if not spontaneously requesting the Holy See for a fresh dispensation, is prompted by the Holy See to do so within but a few months of bereavement. Nobody appears to have considered the proceeding unbecoming. With regard to the royal house of Naples, the Holy See naturally considered itself matrimonial agent and trustee.

The number of royal, and less than royal individuals, male and female, who were wedded three and even four times would make a formidable list. It is not to be denied that wars and epidemics contributed to shape this usage. In cases where children were especially desired for succession or for alliances, the practice has often been excused, even in our own time. In days when the average duration of life was shorter, people set greater store by children. Charles of Valois, King Philip's father, for instance, had married three times. King Charles le Bel had done like-

wise. Had Queen Sancia followed Violante of Aragon to the grave, it is not to be doubted King Robert would have taken a third partner, and yet would not have been called 'Solomon' on that account. In all probability his ministers and the Holy See would emphatically have counselled him to do so. It has been seen that his son, Charles of Calabria, within a few months of the death of Catherine of Austria, sought a fresh union. The Pope had even shown himself desirous that it should be celebrated sooner than the extreme youth of Maria of Valois rendered advisable. The tragic case, likewise, of Matilda of Hainault, has been laid bare in the preceding pages. I especially advert to this custom because no little injustice on the score of her remarriages has been heaped upon King Robert's successor. It is not sought, however, to show that a princess could not, if she so willed, remain a widow, as, in fact, did Catherine of Taranto, but merely that for a royal lady, who was actually reigning sovereign, it was considered impolitic to do so. In fact, the conditions laid down in the Constitution of the realm of Naples decreed re-marriage for female rulers. In consequence, no sooner was it rumoured that a widow occupied a throne, than every eligible prince proffered devotion, and bribed the Curia in order to obtain Pontifical favour for his project. If his offer was disdained by the lady, the unsuccessful suitor was sometimes transformed into an unscrupulous vilifier of the object of his adoration. Such was the unenviable outlook for unpartnered queens in the days of chivalry, the good old times.

It cannot be said that delicacy pervaded the education of women in this age. It was an age which stimulated every desire, while it removed a great many wholesome scruples. In most respects the ladies of the courts of France and Naples, by reason of their great wealth, their rivalry, and their love of magnificence, enjoyed more freedom and luxury than their compeers in other realms. The concentration of such courtly splendour was especially to be discovered at Naples, where the various sons of King

Charles II. had held their respective courts, uniting on festal occasions in the more extended displays at the parent Castel Nuovo. 'Joyful fairings divert our city, richer in them even than Mother Rome ever was,' writes the author of 'Fiammetta.' Dances, games, tournaments, and banquets succeeded one another in emulous profusion.

More and more permitted the advantages of education enjoyed by their brothers, ladies of high rank were enabled to become interested in, if not critical students of, art and literature, and to appreciate the talents of those who enjoyed the patronage of the court. Latin was their diplomatic and scholastic medium, and they did not leave law entirely to the jurists, any more than they left poetry to the scholars. At a date but little later, the same could be said of eminent courtesans. Readers will recall how Aretino speaks of one 'who knows her Petrarch and Boccaccio by heart, and beautiful passages from Virgil, Horace, and Ovid;'<sup>1</sup> but vernacular Provençal, the language of the troubadour, and current Italian enjoyed sufficient favour. Of mental amusements none seems, after love-rhyming, to have so commended itself as the telling and hearing stories, unless preference should be given to actual representations of allegories and mysteries, of which King Robert was a zealous patron.<sup>2</sup> The lowness of morality and the hardness of character exposed to its influence made it possible for ladies to listen unshocked to any adroitly turned obliquity, however scandalous. A dexterous story-teller would then relate *vivâ voce* what Zola or Sarah Grand will now merely print, but the manner of narration then excited more curiosity and admiration than the matter. Boccaccio justifies his own license precisely as does the modern Parisian poet, or his feeble English imitator, by declaring that the

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *Ragionamento del Zoppino*, 327.

<sup>2</sup> Actors and mountebanks received constant encouragement at the court of Naples. Six tari were paid in June 1335 to 'certis marinariis Apulis saltantibus in presentia Regia ad modum Apuliæ, et tres uncii (15 fiorini) uno Istrioni familiari illorum de Flisco.' Reg. 1335, n. 283, f. 127. In 1324 Robert paid Heinrich, the German, a violinist, five fiorini per month. Reg. 256, f. 40.

style of expression subdues and crystallises the impropriety. The tales were not primarily intended as incentives to immorality, but as means of humorous entertainment. He did not, however, hypocritically add, as do his affected echoers of to-day, 'To the pure all things are pure,' 'Art for Art's sake,' &c., then plunge his readers up to the ears in filth, and finally shed over them a cleansing douche of fashionable tears. That age was making, not unmaking. It had to plead its youth, not its degeneration.

Again, illegitimacy was glorified. Boccaccio himself was a bastard, so was Niccolo Acciajuoli. Petrarch, the purist critic, rejoiced in his illicit issue. Was not Fiammetta herself the result of an obscure kingly liaison? Was not Charles Artois, King Robert's acknowledged offspring, brought up in the Castel Nuovo, repeatedly advanced to high position and command, and finally named one of the guardians of the future Sovereign in his father's Will? Truly the nations of Europe had little right to judge one another hardly in those days, and it is amusing to find Florentine Villani<sup>1</sup> rebuking Naples. Paris might as justly rebuke Buda-Pesth. Moreover, as the galling yoke of the Papacy pressed harder upon Naples than upon Florence, there should have been more excuse for the former. Dante, with searching sentence, calls himself 'Florentini natione, non moribus.' Moreover (without excusing either city), is it to be marvelled at that, in passionately emulating antiquity, the Italians of the fourteenth century should reproduce the unblushing evil as

<sup>1</sup> According to his own writings, and others of their contemporaries, Florence would not have been safe for the very angels. With regard to fashionable luxuries of costume, it is true that Florence enacted a statute which forbade ladies wearing 'treccie di seta gialla e bianca, le quali portavano in luogo dei capelli innanzi al viso' (Giovanni Villani, x. c. 10); but Villani's own wife was fined for infringing this very statute. The ladies of Florence entreated Maria of Calabria (Valois) to repeal the Act, and succeeded in getting their desire. The Angevin had long set the fashion of 'biondi crini'; and, though Charles of Calabria was black-haired, his children, and several of the Tarantine family, in spite of the Spanish blood in them, were conspicuous for their yellow locks. The early frescoes in the churches of Sta. Croce and Sta. Maria Novella, in Florence, reveal the prevailing favourite colour. Cf. Boccaccio for Fiammetta, and in Eclog. iv., 'Flavosque leones.'

well as the good of the Pagan life, that became for them their ancestral ideal?

Again, that virtuous standards were not extinguished in this corrupt age, contemporary evidence assures us. In 1335 a certain Joanela di Gennaro, wife of Niccolo Piscopo, complains to the authorities that Messer Jacobello Fusco insists upon roaming beneath her windows, 'cantando et cantari faciendo matinas, et fidem conjugalem sollicitabat.' The offence of snatching a kiss from a woman was severely punished by a statute of Robert's making.

What with the manifold ejaculations of vendors advertising their wares, and still more sinister sounds, which easily penetrated the poorly-glazed or oil-skinned windows, the ear enjoyed little repose. Further, the catch-penny was daily and nightly to be heard bawling or wailing, to the accompaniment of viol or mandoline, ballads of artificial, mostly of indecent, passion. There was as little repose for the eye as for the ear. At the date already adverted to, King Robert (once, we recollect, himself the reprimanded associator with 'delicatos et molles') found it necessary to issue an edict denouncing the fantastic and effeminate modes of costume prevailing. In it he complained that young men wore their hair so abundantly and so untidily that, what with bushy beards, their faces were almost concealed, thereby rendering themselves repulsive to behold, and showing themselves ungrateful to their Creator. He inveighed also at the indecency of the fashions adopted by stout as well as by thin persons, young and old, by which they rendered themselves ridiculous, and contrasted ill with their more discreet forbears.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Thirty years later St. Bridget of Sweden writes on the same subject, censuring the people at Naples:—'Quod per inhonestas formas vestimentorum, corpora hominum et mulierum deformantur a statu suo, et hoc gentes faciunt propter superbiam, et ut videantur pulchriores et lasciviores in corporibus suis, quam ego Deus creavi eos, et ut etiam sic videntes citius provocentur, et inflammantur ad Carnalem concupiscentiam. Ideo certissime scias, quod quoties deliniunt facies suas colore stybio et extraneo, toties diminuitur eis infusio aliqua sancti Spiritus, et diabolus magis appropinquat eis; quoties vero ornant se vestibus indecentibus et inordinatis, et taliter deformant sua corpora,' &c.—Lib. vii. cap. 27. Card. Turrecremata.

Still more egregious folly, 'they wear their hair affectedly, as though imitating Arab hermits or philosophers.' He then proceeded to invoke the sentence of the Maccabees upon those who vaunt Grecian conceits, citing a gloss upon the words in Exodus: 'Surrexit Rex novus, qui ignorabat Rex. Rex novus, scilicet ingratus, qui ignorabat beneficia Joseph, vel Rex novus Diabolus, qui novitatibus gaudet.' He warned the poorer sort that he would follow up his ordinances in the matter with penalties, and finally caused the edict to be affixed as usual to the great gate of Castel Nuovo, to the Curia Vicaria, and to the door of San Gennaro.<sup>1</sup>

The voice of vanity proved, however, to be far more powerful than that of the most learned of kings. The spirit of experiment had been thoroughly aroused, and costume, among other things, faithfully advertised the fact. In our days fashion imposes uniformity, merely creating or repeating huge successive waves of monotony. In those days it imposed differentiation. The simpler, more sober beauty of attire which had prevailed in the earliest years of the century, the perfect period of decorated Gothic architecture, had given way to excess in embellishment. The degrading conflict between Church and Empire, the elaboration of heraldry and coat-armour, the keener commercial intercommunication of the various industrial centres, all tended to accentuate the tendency. Each province, each town, each district of a town, each class and each profession, tended to specialisation in apparel. The whole of Europe and portions of the East were laid under contribution for the service of costume. The bazaars of Gaza and Tunis, of Seville and Byzantium, as well as the markets of Arras, Flanders, and Wiltshire, yielded their treasures, festive or severe. Ethereal lawn from Cadiz was contrasted with drowsy silks from Shiraz, or solid cloth from England; and the result, it may be believed, was not so much beauty as bewilderment.

<sup>1</sup> January 15, 1335.

## CHAPTER XX

### THE LAST YEARS OF KING ROBERT

HAVING now, with the accession of a <sup>third</sup> ~~fourth~~ Pontiff, anchored the Holy See at Avignon, past any apparent hope of return to Rome, the King of France dictated the attitude he wished observed toward the Empire. Benedict, who was in favour of reconciliation with Louis of Bavaria, was menaced by violent remonstrance. The shrewd and meditative Pontiff pointed out to Philip that if he prevented the proffered submission of Louis to the Holy See, that monarch, who had defeated John of Bohemia, would certainly ally himself with Edward III. of England, who was eager to attack France. Philip foolishly scorned the counsel; and the words of Benedict were soon substantiated. Edward and the Emperor promptly making friends, met at Coblenz amid twenty thousand knights, before whom the former arraigned his cousin Philip as the usurper of Normandy, Aquitaine, and Anjou, which he declared by right to belong to himself. Louis thereupon pronounced Philip to be under the ban of the Empire, and both sovereigns sent him their respective challenges. Although this alliance was not of an enduring nature, and did not lead to that outbreak which ten years later culminated in the battle of Crecy, it marked a new phase of the old struggle, portending a fresh distribution of political forces in Europe.

King Robert could not but be deeply concerned at the embittered relations between France and England. Anything likely to dim the splendour of France must

obviously affect the welfare of the House of Provence and Naples. Moreover, Edward III. was borrowing enormous sums from Florence, the purpose of which could hardly be misunderstood. Further, the Hainaulters were allying themselves with Edward, whose Queen was herself a princess of Hainault. In their minds the name of Naples was doubtless connected with the cruel fate of Matilda not a score of years previously. Froissart states that King Robert endeavoured earnestly to bring about peace between the foes. This is confirmed by the archives. Philip of Valois came to Provence in order to consult the Pontiff, and was received at Nice by Filippo di Sanguinetto, Seneschal of Provence, on the part of Robert. After encountering the French King, the seneschal was commanded to appoint a deputy-seneschal and hasten to Naples. Meanwhile Robert and Dionysio di Borgo were busy forecasting King Philip's fortune, and they discovered that he would be wise not to engage the enemy whenever commanded by King Edward in person.

Benedict, like his predecessors, was entreated by the citizens of Rome to restore to her the Holy See. Unlike them, however, he sincerely wished to do so, and wrote to his petitioners lamenting the duress in which the Holy See lay at the feet of France. In spite of his non-compliance, the citizens in 1337 conferred upon him the lordship of the Eternal City, which he accepted. Nor did he yield this to King Robert, but himself named the rectors of the Papal patrimony, and governors of the Campagna to the Senate. In fact, ardently desirous of peace, he set himself to undo, if possible, the disastrous machinations of his predecessor, and among the most important of his efforts must be reckoned the reconciliation of the Holy See with the Visconti.

Of the enormous treasure hoarded by John, Benedict devoted a hundred thousand fiorini to the use of the cardinals, some of whom were busy building their palaces

at Villeneuve across the Rhone, while at Avignon itself began to rise the renowned Château des Papes.<sup>1</sup>

The remainder of King Robert's life must be considered politically unfortunate, and full of dark omen to the kingdom. Weakness, due to the increasing laxity and the corruption of administration at Naples, was making itself evident at distant points of the royal territories. Genoa had annulled his Signiory, and created a Doge of her own.<sup>2</sup> Asti had been seized by the Marquis of Montferrat. The King was glad to make peace with Lucchino Visconti, lest, by prolonging differences, he should lose still more. Edict after edict was vainly issued against plunderers in the kingdom itself. The Papal attention having been called by merchants attached to the various banking-societies<sup>3</sup> to the insecurity prevailing there, Benedict tried to restore justice and extirpate brigandage. But his endeavours were futile. Robert was absorbed in other interests.<sup>4</sup> He was intent upon giving the Pope interpretation of a vision.<sup>5</sup> Nevertheless, the recovery of Sicily had not lost attraction for him. That lay upon his conscience; and while he induced the Holy See to threaten King Peter for disregarding the treaty of Caltabellota, he col-

<sup>1</sup> After the designs of Pierre Poisson de Mirepoix, whose brother Jean was likewise employed by Benedict to restore St. Peter's at Rome, at a cost of 80,000 florini. Cf. Documents Nouveaux, M. E. Müntz, Soc. Nationale des Antiquaires de France, 1890.

<sup>2</sup> Simone Boccanegra.

<sup>3</sup> The other score of companies failed between 1341-1345, when Florence attempted to turn Ghibelline and make cause with the Emperor. Then the wealth of Naples became patent; confidence broke down, and her rich men withdrew their capital from Florence.

<sup>4</sup> In none more ardently than in laying up treasure, the pursuit of which his contemporaries attribute to his avarice. His will distinctly devises it to be made use of for the recovery of Sicily; and this throws a better appearance on the matter. But it is permissible to recall that his late friend, the Avignonese millionaire, made similar pretence, that his hoards were destined to finance a crusade. 'In quella regge incoronata il quale di doni di Pallade copioso, cupido di ricchezze, et avaro di quelle, meritevolmente Mida da Mida si puo nominare.'—*Ameto*, 72.

<sup>5</sup> Arch. Secr. Vatic. Bened. XII. Reg. 130 (1335), Ep. 112, xiii. Kal. Apr. 'Et pia interpretatione regia super visione illa.'

lected yet another fleet in 1338, and despatched it against him under command of Charles of Durazzo and Raimondo del Balzo. But this achieved no more than previous attempts had. Taormina, indeed, was sacked: but pestilence attacked the Neapolitan forces, and the inglorious undertaking was relinquished. In the following year, however, it was renewed under Marzano, Count of Squillace, and Charles Artois, when Lipari<sup>1</sup> and Messina were captured. Further than this neither Robert nor Benedict prevailed. This wasteful expedition probably contributed no small share in causing the island-king, like Edward III. of England, to repudiate his vast debt to King Robert's financial allies, the Bardi and Peruzzi, who now found themselves overwhelmed in unexampled commercial disaster, from which Naples bitterly suffered. The increasing troubles and dissensions at home further contributed to the failure of Robert's last attempt of all against Sicily, undertaken on the death of Peter,<sup>2</sup> in 1342; and when his own death occurred in 1343, Sicily felt relieved, while completing sixty years of her separation from the crown of Naples, and thereby seeming to stamp the Aragonese sovereignty with quasi-authenticity.

In more ways than one did the ambitions of the respective Neapolitan Angevin Princes, who should have been the buttresses of it, now weaken the central sovereignty. Owing to the natural desire on the part of the Tarantini and Durazzeschi to realise their claims in Albania and Achaia (an ambition which their Tuscan bankers naturally favoured), these princes could not be utilised, as their respective sires had been, as viceroys in Tuscany or Piedmont, and the population of those countries had reason to complain of ill-chosen Provençal nobles, who were often deputed to act as their substitutes. We find Bertrando del Balzo, Count of Montescaglioso,<sup>3</sup> once more captain of a

<sup>1</sup> Perhaps Boccaccio refers to this in Canto xliii., *Amorosa Visione*.

<sup>2</sup> Peter was succeeded by Luigi, a boy of four years, August 15, 1342.

<sup>3</sup> In this league Florence was bound to contribute 800, Bologna 500, Perugia

fresh Tuscan-Neapolitan league in 1336, with seven hundred horsemen, but henceforward no actual prince of the House fulfilling any viceregal appointment.

In that year Charles of Durazzo and his brother Louis organised an expedition against his refractory Albanian subjects, which obtained the favour of the King of Hungary. This resulting successfully, a treaty was signed by Andrea Masaccio, Despot of Albania, with King Robert in July the following year, at Casasana by Castellamare.<sup>1</sup>

Two years later, the more grasping demands of Catherine and her son Robert of Taranto set afloat a still more formidable expedition, and they departed with Niccolo Acciajuoli, their chancellor, from Brindisi, on what proved to be a three years' absence in Morea. The younger princes, Louis and Philip, likewise accompanied their mother. That encounters there with Turk and Catalan were upon no great scale was probably owing to the financial adroitness of Acciajuoli. Acciajuoli was rewarded for his prosperous achievements with rich fiefs, and upon their return to Naples in 1341 he wisely obtained the King's ratification to these Greek and Ionian grants—grants which led, later in the century, to the establishment of the ducal sovereignty of the Acciajuoli over Corinth.

The subject of this expedition brings me back to Boccaccio direct; for on Acciajuoli's return, his friend wrote him a welcoming letter, and one of no little significance, as revealing the terms of intimacy then enjoyed by the author of 'Fiammetta' with the trustee and confidant of the Empress-titular and her family. The letter is dated August 28, 1341. The style plainly shows that the Classic revival had seriously set in. He tells Niccolo that the departure of Æneas was not more distressing to Dido than to himself had been Niccolo's; nor was the return less delightful, or more

400, Siena and other cities 600 soldiers. The league was to last one year, if not dissolved by common consent.

<sup>1</sup> The King's favourite new villa.

smilingly awaited, than was that of Ulysses by Penelope. But the revivalist romancer then proceeds to more extravagant lengths, and declares that, being now assured of that return, he is overjoyed in the shadow-land of his troubles, even as were the saints in Limbo on hearing from St. John the coming of Christ. 'Oh, how abounding with pleasure to me is your home-coming! May He who is the giver of all that is good grant you all that your heart desires!' He signs himself 'Il vostro Giovanni di Boccaccio da Certaldo, e inimico della Fortuna, la debitor reverenza premissa, vi si raccomanda.'<sup>1</sup>

Allowing for the mannered hyperbolism of the poet and his period, it is not difficult to perceive that the prosperous Niccolo has a friend who is in distress, who has been beholden to him for favours, and will scarcely refuse to be beholden to him again. The pursuit of love-making and romancing had failed to provide for his necessities. The virulence of Boccaccio's malice toward Acciajuoli at a later date was probably intensified by the recollection of early favours now received at his hands. As Acciajuoli's sister Andrea had then become the second wife of Charles Artois, who was busily laying by wealth, the friendship of Acciajuoli might prove a golden key. In the year 1342, however, the year in which Boccaccio is thought by some to have left Naples, Niccolo Acciajuoli and Giovanni Barrile<sup>2</sup> were sent as ambassadors to conclude a treaty with Florence on the part of King Robert, and it is possible that Boccaccio, later on himself employed as diplomatist, may have accompanied them. It may be pointed out that both Boccaccio's father and Giovanni Villani, who was suspiciously hostile to Acciajuoli,<sup>3</sup> were associates of the ill-fated Bardi firm with

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *Nouvelles Recherches Historiques*, ii. 114, J. A. Buchon. Codex 38, Plut. 42, Bibl. Laurentiana. *Lettres de Fran. Nelli*, Henri Cochin, Paris, 1892.

<sup>2</sup> In January 30, 1347, Niccolo Barrile was appointed Seneschal in Piedmont. Giovanni occupied a similar position in Provence; from which, however, he was compelled to retire.

<sup>3</sup> Lib. xii. cap. lxxv.

whom the Acciajuoli had now ceased to be closely allied. Owing to its Levantine developments and to the bad debts of the Bardi with England, the Acciajuoli soon surpassed them. Whatever may have caused the bitter quarrel between these young friends, there is some reason to fear that wounded *amour-propre* was at the bottom of it, and not political motives. It is noteworthy that while the lover of Fiammetta vilifies his former Æneas and Ulysses and scorns his patronage, Petrarch, a more balanced critic of men, lauds Acciajuoli as a great public character, and even praises the style of his letters. But poets are seldom saner in their wrath than in their pleasures, and their judgments must be received with reserve. The Villani, apparently without any personal cause of complaint against Acciajuoli, quarrel with him for his love of display and luxury of living, and rather gladly hand on the gossip which scandalously connected Acciajuoli with the reputation of the widow, Catherine of Taranto, who at this period was past forty years of age, and several years his senior.<sup>1</sup>

A more remarkable figure now arrests attention in the person of the bard of Vacluse himself, who, in January 1337, for the first time visited the Eternal City, under protection of the Colonna, and there, to his astonishment, discovered what travellers sometimes discover to-day, that 'Nowhere is Rome so little known as at Rome.'<sup>2</sup> He has left us graphic pictures of the deplorable condition of the city, and told how he used to climb up over the desolate ruins of the Baths of Diocletian and survey the wonderful prospect. Moreover, he was thereby moved to indite a versified epistle to Pope Benedict entreating him to return.<sup>3</sup> Three years later,<sup>4</sup> at Vacluse, he declares himself to have received simultaneous invitations from the Senate of Rome and the University of Paris to accept at

<sup>1</sup> 'Infra gli altri suoi amadori tenea messer Nicola Acciajuoli, nostro cittadino, per suo amico, ed ella il fece cavaliere e fecelo motto ricco e grande.' Loc. cit.

<sup>2</sup> Lett. Famil. vi. 2.

<sup>3</sup> Carm. i. Epist. 5.

<sup>4</sup> August 30, 1340.

their hands the laurel. His affection for his Colonna patrons decided him in favour of Rome. In the following March, desirous, he tells us, of obtaining the judgment of the Solomon of the Age as to his worthiness of the high honour about to be conferred upon him, the poet journeyed to Naples, where, welcomed and honoured by the King, he was struck with the contrast between the simple, almost ascetic life of Sancia and Robert, and the abandoned rush of empty pleasures indulged in by the rest of the court.<sup>1</sup> The meeting proved agreeable and honourable to both monarch and poet. When, on the third day, Petrarch reasoned with him concerning the various qualities of the great poets, the King, overcome with delight, confessed himself regretful at having neglected the noble art, and naming him his chaplain,<sup>2</sup> gave him the mantle he was wearing, and 'with most benign countenance asked a double gift of me.' In fact, Robert desired him to address some verses to him, and asked that his Latin epic 'Africa' should be dedicated to him. A truly unique meeting and culmination! Petrarch duly records his pleasure. 'He kept me from mid-day until evening; the subject of converse was ever expanding; time seemed brief. The same was repeated on the following days.'<sup>3</sup> It is, however, probable that the warmth generated by this complimentary fusion of congenial spirits distorted the somewhat vainglorious poet's estimate of his patron.

Advised to examine the remarkable environs of Naples, Petrarch visited the Grotto of Posilippo and the reputed tomb of Virgil; but not in company with the King, as De Sade<sup>4</sup> permitted himself to state. On an occasion,

<sup>1</sup> Lett. Famil. Ep. i.

<sup>2</sup> 'Clericum et familiarem nostrum domesticum.' Reg. Ang. Robert. 1340. A. n. 321, fol. 56, t. This was a very usual kind of honour. Thus we read in a MS. of 1335, 'Bartolommeo Caracciolo de Carafa, de Neapolis, Clerico Jurisperito, Consiliario, et Capellano, et fideli nostro.' *Bibliot. Palatina, Firenze, MS., xxvi. 7, 29.*

<sup>3</sup> Op. cit. Rer. Memor. 11,469.

<sup>4</sup> *Memoires, i. lib. xi. 439, De Sade.*

however, at court, the King questioned him as to his opinion concerning the famous Grotto and the prevalent belief that Virgil had formed it by means of magic incantations. 'Playfully I replied I had never read that Virgil had been a stone-mason. Whereupon, approving by a solemn nod, he stated that there were traces of tools there rather than of magic.'<sup>1</sup> Robert wished Petrarch to receive the laurel crown at Naples from his own hands; but the poet preferred to identify his glory with the Eternal City, which he re-entered on April 6, 1341, taking with him a rich mantle given him by Robert,<sup>2</sup> and a sonnet he had composed in praise of the ancient Romans, and which he recited at the ceremony, together with a discourse headed by a passage from Virgil.<sup>3</sup> After that Stefano Colonna gave a splendid banquet in honour of the Laureate in his palace by S. Apostoli. It is significant of the condition of public security that Giovanni Barrile, who now accompanied the poet to Rome, fell into the hands of brigands near Anagni; while the poet himself, on leaving the city, encountered banditti who compelled him to flee thither again<sup>4</sup> for an escort, with which he finally departed.

By this time the young heiress to the throne had attained adolescence, and abundant evidences, not merely of gossiping chroniclers, but of contemporary artists, confirm the statement that Joan was gifted with unusual comeliness. If we

<sup>1</sup> *Itinerario Syriaco*. It is well known that the people held Virgil to have founded and built the very walls of Naples, besides having been the maker of the bronze fly that adorned a window of Castle Capuano, and a bronze horse, part of which was melted into bells in 1322 while the King was in Provence. *Cf. Vergilio nel Medio-Evo*. D. Comparetti.

<sup>2</sup> 'Perocchè tutta al Siculo Regnante Appartenea la lode. E chi son io Da meritarla, se dal Re benigno non mi venia per sua bontà concessa? Onde al festivo di la regia veste mi ricoverse; il donator gentile Ricordandomi, e sua tanta bontade; vesta che, tolta dal proprio fianco, avvolse quel magnanimo Sire al fianco mio.' *Traduction from the Latin by Cesare Arici, vol. ii. p. 99. Petrarca, ediz. Rossetti.*

<sup>3</sup> *Se me Parnasi deserta per ardua dulcis Raptat amor. Georgic III. 291. Cf. Scritti Inediti de Fr. Petrarca. Attilio de Hortis, 1874.*

<sup>4</sup> *Cf. Ep. Fam. iv. 8. To Barbato di Sulmona.*

examine the frescoes in Sta. Maria del Incoronata, now thought to be the work of Roberto di Odoriso,<sup>1</sup> a Giottesque artist, and painted during her lifetime, we shall not find ourselves in the unfortunate predicament which so often has befallen admirers of reputed historical beauties. The Queen's countenance in these much-damaged frescoes exhibits truly happy proportions, with amiable eyes and a strong, clear chin; at once bearing out the poet's description in 'De Claris Mulieribus'—'la bellissima presenza e l'allegria faccia,'—the expression 'Miræ pulchritudinis' of the hostile chronicler, Domenico de Gravina, and a passage preserved in a rough poem of the time—

'Giovanna Regina,  
Grassa né magra, bella el viso tondo,  
Dotata bene de la virtù divina,  
D'Animo grato, benigno, jocondo.'<sup>2</sup>

Moreover, at a later day, the susceptible Chevalier de Brantôme mentions having seen a portrait of her, which appeared to him more divine than human. 'She is represented in a splendid gown of crimson velvet embroidered with gold and silver lace. This robe is almost in the exact fashion of the ladies of our day upon great occasions which is called "Boulonnaise," adorned with many tags of gold. On her head she wears a bonnet upon a cushion. In truth, this fine picture so well displays her beauty, sweetness, and majesty, that one becomes enamoured of her mere image.'<sup>3</sup>

Andrew of Hungary had now attained his fifteenth year and Joan was entering her seventeenth, while the devout Sancia (upon whom, as Pope Clement assures us, the task of educating Joan and Maria had devolved) had been doing her best to fit them for their future dignities. On Easter Day,

<sup>1</sup> At a later date patronised by Carlo (Durazzo) III. of Naples.

<sup>2</sup> Arch. Storico Napol. v. p. 617.

<sup>3</sup> It is manifest, therefore, that whatever was precisely the nature of the malady termed 'variola' from which Joan and Maria suffered in 1336, their attractions did not lose by it. Reg. Ang. 1335, n. 301, f. 139 t.

1342, King Robert invested Andrew with the insignia of knighthood,<sup>1</sup> moreover, appointing that four days later their actual matrimony should be celebrated. The deaths of Pope Benedict<sup>2</sup> and the King of Hungary,<sup>3</sup> however, caused its postponement; further, King Robert was himself ailing. The 'Chronicon Siculum' is probably correct in assigning this ceremony to the month of August 1342. Neapolitan historians relate that it was magnificently celebrated in presence of all the royal people, together with the chief prelates and magnates of the realm:—a truly memorable occasion for the kingdoms of Hungary and Naples, albeit Baluze rightly declares that this union, like the rod of Moses, which turned into a snake, was the cause of upheaval and destruction to the kingdom.<sup>4</sup> But indeed it will be seen that something further contributed to such a disaster, namely, the position occupied by Joan's sister Maria.

It has been shown that by the agreement of John XXII. with the Kings of Naples and Hungary the two sisters were bound to marry sons of Carobert. But owing to Carobert's ambitious design upon Poland, to the successful issue of which the Bohemian royal family must necessarily contribute, that King had now pledged his eldest son, Louis, in marriage to Margaret, grand-daughter of King John. As, however, this lady was extremely young, it was agreed the union should not take place until she had attained suitable years. Unless, therefore, Margaret should die, which was not probable, Louis was now out of any practicable range of consideration with regard to Maria of Naples. Now, his youngest brother, Stephen, was as much as four years younger than Maria, and therefore but nine years old, while she was fourteen, rendering marriage between them at

<sup>1</sup> Cavalieri were invested with surcoats of green wool, lined with skin, which were costly. That given to Giacomo Capano, a favourite of Robert, afterwards advanced by Joan in 1344, cost forty-five florini d'oro. According to some, green, the colour sacred to the Moslem, was unlucky.

<sup>2</sup> April 25, 1342.

<sup>3</sup> July 15.

<sup>4</sup> Vitæ Pontif. Clem. VI. Vit. tert. i. 290.

any rate very undesirable ; in fact, it does not seem at this time to have been even suggested. Thus, then, it came about that Maria was condemned to remain reserved as a mere substitute for Joan, or else for Margaret of Bohemia, should either of these die. This position naturally rendered her a tempting prize for her thwarted Neapolitan cousins. In fairness it may be admitted that their aspirations were not unjustifiable under such peculiarly tantalising circumstances.

With respect to Andrew, now fifteen years of age, but little is to be known, save that he was manifestly no suitable partner for his consort—a woman in years (although but eighteen months his senior), before he had ceased to be a mere boy, and the tool of his aggressive advisers. Important among the latter figured the Mendicant Friar Robert,<sup>1</sup> his confessor. It has sometimes been questioned, not only whether Petrarch's account of the latter is rhetorically unexaggerated, but whether a mere Mendicant friar could have possibly acquired the influence and authority attributed to him by the poet in his letters to Cardinal Colonna. I venture to think that the evidence already given, of the extraordinary protection and patronage afforded by the King and Queen of Naples to the 'Fratres de paupere vita' at court, the Mendicancy of the Queen's own brother, Philip of Majorca, the triumph of Fra Gagliano and Pietro di Cadeneto over Pope John, point conclusively to its veracity, and that, subtract what we may for bias against the Friars on the part of the poet, the portrait is drawn from the living model.

On the 21st July 1342, Louis of Anjou was crowned King of Hungary at Stuhlweissemburg by the Archbishop of Gran ; his uncle, Casimir, King of Poland, and Charles of Moravia<sup>2</sup> (father of his betrothed Margaret) taking part in the splendid ceremony.<sup>3</sup> He thus commenced his vigo-

<sup>1</sup> Fra Roberto, Franciscano, was assigned four ounces of gold 'propter devota servigia Dominæ Reginæ' (Sancia), 1336, Reg. n. 209, f. 549 ; and again, Reg. 210, f. 236, 'propter impensa per eum devota servigia.'

<sup>2</sup> Charles IV.

<sup>3</sup> Fejér, Codex Dipl. ix. pt. i. 58, 169.

rous reign but two months after the accession of the new Pontiff, Clement VI.

To the shrewd and honest, but timid and peace-loving Cistercian, Benedict, who had died in April, had succeeded Pierre Rogier,<sup>1</sup> Seigneur de Rosiers, Cardinal of SS. Nereo and Achilleo. In him the Sacred College elected as their chief a man of noble lineage, a benign, pleasure-loving prelate; not without mental distinction and vigour, and of decidedly humane disposition,<sup>2</sup> but one addicted to felicities. He determined, accordingly, to live more magnificently than any of his predecessors. 'The court of Avignon became the most splendid, perhaps the gayest, in Christendom. The Provençals might almost think their brilliant courts of chivalry restored to power and enjoyment. The Papal palace was increased both in extent and magnificence. The Pope was more than royal in the number and attire of his retainers. The Papal stud of horses<sup>3</sup> commanded general admiration. The life of Clement was a constant succession of ecclesiastical pomps, gorgeous receptions, and luxurious banquets. Ladies were admitted freely to the court, and the Pope mingled with ease in the gallant intercourse.'<sup>4</sup> Cecile de Comminges, Countess of Turenne, was generally reputed to be his mistress.

His relations with the Angevin courts of France, Naples, and Hungary promised well. The name of Clement had agreeable associations, at any rate, to the two former. At his coronation, the Duke of Normandy, heir of King Philip, held his stirrup, assisted by the Dauphin of Vienne and the Dukes of Bourbon and Burgundy. King Robert testified pleasure at his election by presenting costumes of azure cloth to the running couriers who brought him news of it. Clement

<sup>1</sup> Born 1291-2; elected May 7, 1342; crowned May 19, in the Church of the Dominicans. Died December 6, 1352.

<sup>2</sup> 'Nulli major inest Clementia, nomen ab ipsis Dignum rebus habet.' Carm. Petrarca.

<sup>3</sup> M. Villani, lib. iii. c. 43.

<sup>4</sup> Milman, Lat. Christ., vii. 452; Papon, Hist. Provence, iii. 194.

was careful to recall to King Carobert, that while he had occupied a lower grade in the Church he had shown marked predilection to him and his kingdom,<sup>1</sup> which now would be paternally emphasised.<sup>2</sup>

To King Robert was despatched Aimery de Châlus,<sup>3</sup> Cardinal of St. Martino in Montibus (a near relation of the Pontiff), in order to receive from him the renewed oath of homage to the Holy See. In the deed of homage occurs one especial provision in regard to the possible contingency of an unmarried lady occupying the throne, which illustrates the dislike by the people of that period of feminine sovereignty. It seemed to them a prime necessity to have a king to govern as well as to defend the kingdom. 'Et si quod si forte, deficientibus masculis, contingeret femina innuptarum in regno succedere, illa maritabitur personæ qui ad ipsius Regni regimen aut defensionem existat idonea; Romani, tamen, Pontificis consilio prius super hoc requisito; nec nubet nisi viro Catholico et Ecclesiæ Romanæ devoto. Et si contra hoc fieret, licebit eidem Romano Pontifici contra ipsam ad privationem predictorum Regni et terræ, sine figura iudicii procedere, si hoc ei videbitur expedire.' From this enactment the custom of what we should call immodestly hasty royal marriages derived especial encouragement at Naples. The matter has been previously adverted to, but it is touched on again here in order to show documentarily that the repeated marriages of Queen Joan and other sovereigns were neither contrary to custom nor indicative of exceptional carnality, but were actually imposed by hereditary conditions directly emanating from the Holy See.<sup>4</sup>

It should be remarked that this document, containing provisions for most of the possible contingencies of succes-

<sup>1</sup> *Vetera Monumenta Hist. Hungar. Sacram*, A. Theiner, 648, 12 Kal. June 1342.

<sup>2</sup> Clement had resided at Paris, and assisted at the marriage of John of Bohemia. He had held the Abbacy of Fécamp and the Archbishopric of Rouen.

<sup>3</sup> Aimery de Chastellux, Bishop of Chartres, Archbishop of Ravenna, Cardinal of Silvestro and San Martino in Montibus. Died 1349.

<sup>4</sup> Arch. Secr. Vatic. fol. 147, Clem. VI. Anno 1.

sion, makes no sort of allusion to Hungarian claims, but adhering to precedent, leaves almost everything in the power of the Suzerain Pontiff. It will be recollected that although the object of the Hungarian marriages proposed by John XXII. was to re-unite the severed branches of the House of Anjou, the contract by which the daughters of Charles of Calabria were to be united to sons of Carobert by no means stipulated that either of these ladies should forfeit her hereditary rights to the crown and government of the kingdom of Naples. It was devised as a palliative for a dangerous dynastic variance, not as the redress for, or revision of, a Pontifical and suzerain judgment. Hence, unless Andrew should predecease his elder brother, Louis, King of Hungary, there could be no chance of Louis becoming King of Naples also, even if he were to renounce Margaret of Bohemia for Maria, Joan's sister. King Robert (though not, as Villani and Canon Pór<sup>1</sup> state, eighty years of age, but sixty-four) was visibly nearing his grave. He had it in his power, if the Holy See had concurred, to leave Andrew and Joan his joint-heirs, but he was equally able to do otherwise. But the Holy See prompted no such course, neither does it appear that Robert ever contemplated proposing it.

In June of this year the Florentines saw fit once more to have recourse to royalty, and without the knowledge of King Robert elected as their governor Walter VI., titular Duke of Athens, his nephew by marriage. As it proved, this was a disastrous choice. When Robert was informed of the event, he wrote a timely letter of advice to the Duke.<sup>2</sup> His prudent counsels were, however, addressed in vain, and catastrophe soon followed the appointment.

As soon as the new year commenced, the attention of the young King of Hungary, who was already carrying out certain reforms in coinage and taxation initiated by his

<sup>1</sup> Nagy. Lajos 1326-1382, irta Pór Antal. Buda-Pest, 1892, vol. i. p. 43.

<sup>2</sup> A transcription from the Latin original into the vulgar idiom is given by G. Villani, lib. xii. cap. 4. Two other versions are to be found in the Laurentian Library, Codex 38, Plut. 42, Codex 49, Plut. 40, p. 118.

father, was forcibly attracted toward Naples and its affairs. On the 19th of January King Robert, attended to the last by the faithful Sancia, and surrounded by relatives to whom he vainly counselled concord, breathed farewell to the world of wealth and learning which he had so long governed and misgoverned, and to the age which, in the hyperbole of flattering poets, he had rendered glorious.<sup>1</sup> 'Since he is dead,' wrote Petrarch anon, 'flowers have lost their scent, apples their flavour. It is death to survive (Argus) him.'

'Pastorum Rex Argus erat; cui lumina centum  
Lyncea, cui centum vigiles cum sensibus aures  
Centum artes, centumque manus, centumque lacerti,  
Lingua sed una fuit.'—(Eclog. II. Petrarca.)

So sang the grateful would-be Virgil of the fourteenth century of his Augustus:—

'Pax inerat fronti, purgabat nubila verbo.  
Ille abiit, fortuna suos mutata fatigat.'

The King, habited as a Franciscan friar, was interred behind the altar in the splendid Church of Sta. Chiara, where, at the command of his successor, two Florentine sculptors, Paccio and Giovanni,<sup>2</sup> presently constructed the magnificent canopy-tomb still to be seen there.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Bartolommeo Caracciolo says Robert was sixty-eight years of age when he died. Cron. Parthenope. He was, in fact, only sixty-four.

<sup>2</sup> 'Marmorarios fratres.' Reg. Johann. I. lit. F. fol. 8, Feb. 23, 1343.

<sup>3</sup> 'The king is there four times represented: first seated on a throne with the globe and sceptre in his hands; then lying on a sarcophagus in the garb of a Franciscan monk with a crown upon his head and a cross upon his breast, while angels hold back the heavy curtain folds that they may look down upon him; thirdly, as standing upon the front of the sarcophagus in low relief, with his two wives Violante and Sancia, his son Duke Charles with his wife Marie de Valois, and their daughter Queen Joanna; and fourthly, as kneeling with Queen Sancia before the Madonna, to whom they are presented by St. Francis and Sta. Chiara. Though grand in its general effect, the Gothic tomb is coarsely sculptured, while the figures about it are cold, lifeless, and of little value apart from their decorative office. The same may be said of the monument of Duke Charles (d. 1328), who is represented by a recumbent effigy robed in a royal mantle, painted blue, and decorated with golden lilies, and in a relief on the front of his sarcophagus seated in the midst of his councillors and vassals. Below it are winged figures of the virtues, &c.' Cf. Perkins, 'Tuscan Sculptors.'

## SUMMARY—KING ROBERT

I. GIOVANNI VILLANI, no lover of the Angevin, dowers King Robert with every virtue, regretfully admitting, however, that his character in his later years was tainted by avarice. He declares him to have been the wisest monarch in Christendom for five hundred years—that is to say, since Charlemagne. Boccaccio, while admitting the avarice, in one passage declares Robert rich in the gifts of Pallas, while in another he accords him the name of Solomon. *Convenevole da Prato*,<sup>1</sup> the master of Petrarch, glorified and extolled him as the prospective sovereign of a united Italy. The poet last named, however, went to far greater lengths of laudation. As Zumbini states, 'He never alludes to the King but with hyperbole.'<sup>2</sup> Not merely was Robert a Solomon and king of kings, he was the morning-star of the age, and worthy of epical treatment.

'Tu quoque Trinacriæ moderator maxime regni,  
Hesperiaëque decus atque ævi gloria nostri.'

In one of his letters to Barbato, Petrarch likens Robert to Plato, the divine. In the last days of his life Petrarch looked back with equal delight perhaps to no other moments than to those passed with Robert at Naples. Niccolo d'Alife boasted of having picked up a few crumbs of erudition that had fallen from the King's table. Another writer, Donato degli Albanzani, terms him 'optimus physicus et astrologus,' another 'verus philosophus'; and when he died, his loss was mourned by the learned with impassioned strains, the sincerity of which need not be suspected.

'Solus ego afflicto mœrens in litore mansi.'<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Signor d'Ancona, however, denies that *Convenevole* was the author of the poem often attributed to him. Cf. *Rivista Italiana di Scienze e Lettere*, anno fasc. 2, i. Milano, 1874.

<sup>2</sup> *Studi sul Petrarca*, p. 87, di B. Zumbini, Napoli, 1878.

<sup>3</sup> *Eclog. 11*, Petrarca.

2. Nevertheless, barely a century later, in his 'Italia Illustrata,' Flavio Biondo, an eminent humanist and historian, informs us that this wonder and pride of men had passed into a mere name, that hardly a learned man of that day would know anything of King Robert if Petrarch had not written so frequently and affectionately about him. Truly a surprising statement, but in all probability substantially an accurate one! Still stranger, perhaps the same might have been said of two other highly belauded Neapolitan admirations of Petrarch, namely, of Barrile, and Barbato of Sulmona, the second Ovid.

3. The facts taken thus, assuredly present a remarkable instance of the instability of reputation. In all likelihood the memory of Can Grande della Scala, who had protected Dante, Giotto, and other intellectual Ghibellines (and the men of talent in that age did mostly belong to the Imperial faction), was kept at least as fresh. He likewise had revered intellectual excellence of various kinds, and doubtless appreciated a ready wit as well as a brilliant scholar; but then Can Grande had no pretensions to be considered a man of letters himself, far less a bibliophile, wizard, or sage. He cherished masters of the pen and the brush, but himself elected to live by the sword. The latter promised to satisfy his thirst for fame during life; the former might be relied upon to keep his memory in perpetual blossom. Obversely, however, with King Robert, who had been likewise a warrior (though certainly not a successful one); he not only drew around him men of genius as a veritable Augustus, but himself wrote books on law, philosophy, theology, and perhaps geography; was regarded as an authority upon medicine and astrology, and a sapient interpreter of dreams. Moreover, in addition to these encyclopædic attainments, he was a collector of plants and books, and a lover of bindings: a munificent employer of copyists from Arabic, Greek, and Latin MSS., of translators of the same, and of caligraphists; to all of whom he gave liberal wages. Naples therefore in his reign became a famous emporium of learning, centred by the Castel Nuovo, a royal mine of wisdom and 'place of the understanding'; rich in her Benedictine stores—La Cava, on one side, and Monte-Cassino on the other;—with her own university, and its chairs of Civil and Canon Law and Astronomy; with neighbouring Salerno and the famous School of Medicine; with her traditions of Thomas Aquinas, Arnaldo di Vilanova, and Michael Scot, Pietro della Vigna, and their illustrious master, Frederick; with those, likewise, of the earlier lettered court of Duke John and Greek learning; and finally, still richer, with the associations

of Ovid at Sulmona, and lastly, above all, of Virgil, buried in her midst.

4. In addition to these advantages, and favourable to their expansion in various directions under King Robert, as the figure-head of Guelphdom, Naples was brought into closest intimacy with Florence, with the methodical tenacity of the Tuscan intellect. Under him, as sovereign Count of Provence and head of the Italian branch of Anjou, she was brought into closer affinity and sympathy with France, and the luminous mobility of the Gaul, than she had ever experienced before; while the Greek and Byzantine aspirations of the king's nephews of Taranto and Durazzo, encouraged by the bankers of Oltr' Arno, rendered her the focus of Eastern and Western ideas, the intellectual lens which collected the rays of Oriental as well as Occidental wisdom.

5. With such qualifications, with such achievements, and upon such unrivalled vantage-ground, then, how did it happen that in so short a space as a century, King Robert's illustrious reputation became so completely occulted?

6. In the writer's belief, the only satisfactory response is to be found by estimating his actual intellectual relationship to the movement which may be said to have grown to consciousness only during his later years, and to have attained full vigour only after his decease.

7. On the other hand, it may be objected that one age is the indisputable begetter of that which immediately follows it; that periods of history and their influences, intellectual and political, do not break off short any more than do completed centuries; and therefore that a personage of marked and widely acknowledged individuality passing away at the conclusion of one period or the commencement of a fresh one, must inevitably leave an impress of too decided a character to be easily erased.

8. There is, however, an exception to every rule, and it is the exception which applies in this instance. The Latin revival of learning had been a protracted one: the Classic revival, that lifting of the long-fallen curtain from classic antiquity on the part of the Italians of the fourteenth century, followed immediately by a child-like self-identification with the idyllic and heroic surroundings and events thereby revealed, took place by comparison very suddenly. It was truly rather a rapid and unique transition than a process of steady evolution. It was, therefore, not so much the child of the preceding age as a magnificent disclosure occurring midway in its mortal life, as if a man should have actually found out and opened up the

way to the terrestrial paradise. It was a contingency pregnant with revolution, by reason of its bounden tendency to emphasise certain movements of the age and to modify or divert others.

9. Now, although Robert's enthusiastic appreciation of Petrarch, his desire to crown him laureate and to have 'Africa' dedicated to him, may be allowed to manifest his sympathy with classic antiquity, his personal contact with the poet took place only five years before his own death, when, therefore, the king was nearly sixty years of age. There is reason to believe that this meeting constituted Robert's real but too tardy baptism as a child of the Renaissance; that although presumably he had studied the copies of Cicero, Seneca, and Livy which he had purchased in preceding years, he had hitherto felt no hearty fervour for classical studies, never (as had certain young and scarcely-noticed talents around him) attained positive fusion with the antique world. After that moment, however, the 'Umanisti' might have adorned the ideal bridge wherewith they were linking mediævalism and the brighter regions of classic history with a spectral figure of 'Serenissimus Rex Robertus' conventionalised in the manner of the Janus on Ponte Quattro-Capi at Rome.

10. For the real note of the Renaissance was its uncompromising adoration of heroic and idyllic antiquity, and indeed it may be said to have become transfigured to the likeness of that upon which it fed. By its very nature it involved the profoundest interest in rationalistic Paganism and the overleaping of all ecclesiastical restrictions with regard to secular studies. But the demoralisation of the Church had already, to a great extent, rendered those restrictions a dead letter. There were consequently not wanting many who were ready to dismiss with contempt the old-fashioned, well-worn notions of the Fathers and the Christian poets: although there were others who viewed, if not with antagonism, with suspicion and distrust any attempt to press the traditions of classic Paganism into familiar communion with patristic theology. Others again failed to perceive the importance of drawing any nice distinctions between one form of forbidden speculativeness and another. It was clear that the more and more prevailing Averroistic philosophy, by stimulating the spirit of free inquiry, was ever warring, and not vainly, upon theological prescription. It had, in fact, undermined it in some directions to a further extent than many learned men were aware who endeavoured to reconcile both to the satisfaction of their elastic consciences. In corroboration of this, it is noteworthy that, in spite of their unrestrained admiration for Robert's various learning, within but a short time of his death both Boccaccio and Petrarch themselves manifest

trenchant hostility to no less than four of his most salient predilections, namely, to Averroism,<sup>1</sup> to professors of medicine, to astrology, and to mendicant Franciscanism.

11. When, therefore, the disorganisation, due to manifold debasement in the Church, by superinducing a general relaxation of the religious sentiment, had led, and even compelled, conscientious men to take refuge in reason rather than seek it fruitlessly in dogmatised faith, it followed that they would wander groping in the twilight directed by the experimental rather than by the theological spirit. But as with Dante, so with King Robert, Theology had stood as the vigilant angelic guardian at the gate of knowledge. The poet, however, had not feared to meet the searching gaze of the cherubim, but the monarch in his Franciscan habit had quailed. Robert was the true offspring of Scholastic Theology, a politico-theological philosopher belonging to the close of the Middle Ages. A Scholastic theologian he remained to the end of his life. Intellectually, however, he lacked the mettle which gives enterprise, the mobility which accommodates.

12. Nevertheless, it is certain that some small measure of contemporary emancipation was his. He was not absolutely the thrall of theology, any more than politically he was the obsequious vassal of the Holy See. Wherein then did his emancipation consist, and whence did it arise? It had at least two sources: firstly, the peculiar attitude which he found himself, and Guelphic Naples with him, compelled to observe toward the Germanic Empire and feudalism; and secondly, the position which, both as hereditary patron and foster-child of spiritual Franciscanism, he felt constrained to adopt toward the Holy See in the schism of the favourite Order. Each of these influences constituted an emphatic severance from long-established authority, a marked relaxation of allegiance. In the one case, he found himself discussing the question of the independence of nations, and backed by the fully developed vigour of the civil law; in the other, he found himself championing that side of a bitter theological controversy which had already been condemned by the Church. These serious breakings away from mediæval tradition needs must, by provoking a ferment of contrasts and comparisons, have tended to widen the intellectual prospect, and by so doing liberalise it.

13. Had Robert possessed a fraction of Dante's creative faculty, or a spark of Boccaccio's humour, it is impossible to calculate what advantages might not have resulted to the New Learning and to Italy generally. But, with similar encyclopædic tendencies of mind, he

<sup>1</sup> It will be clearly perceived that Humanism by no means connoted Averroism.

remained merely receptive and pedantic, without that touch of originality and heroism which might have rendered his effort or influence enduring. For is it not easy to perceive how such assemblages of variously gifted men as from all parts were gathered by him at Naples must have favoured idiosyncrasy, prompted individualism in delineation, and by so doing have helped to revive the art of Biography? Of this influence, however, there is no trace in the writings of Robert himself. It appears for the first time, and with virginal exquisiteness, in the 'Ameto' of Boccaccio, rich, as is our own 'Faerie Queen,' in personal descriptions and painter-like beauties of detail.

14. As a pre-eminent encourager of commerce, as a clarifier of civil jurisprudence, as a zealous patron of religious art, as a multiplier of valuable, as well as worthless works, as an illustrious but not critical collector of miscellaneous learning, and lastly, as a liberal and kindly Mæcenas, King Robert has probably not received due credit from posterity. On the other hand, if the foregoing approaches in any measurable degree toward a correct estimate of him, surprise need scarcely be felt at the statement of Flavio Biondo. Humanism, in fact, could not recognise in him a direct ancestor. He had been no devotee of antiquity; not even a brilliant Latinist.

15. Of the style of his sermons writes a modern student of the subject, whose work has been cited more than once: 'So defective in design, so wanting in warmth are these harangues, that they appear to me rather to be sketches than finished compositions, outlines which the speaker intended to fill in with his voice. The peroration, and often the conclusion, consists merely of a string of biblical sentences interspersed with citations from Aristotle, Seneca, Sallust, Cicero, and Valerius Maximus;' <sup>1</sup> and again, 'The most perfect work remaining to us of Robert is his treatise on the "Poverty of Christ and the Apostles," which is contained in a Codex belonging to the National Library at Paris.' Signor Siracusa likewise points out that Robert had extensive, but not profound, knowledge, and that he sometimes quotes at second-hand. This had, however, been a common practice at least from the time of Abelard, who himself confesses having resorted to it. At any rate, he regarded his sermons with a pride that was affectionate; and in them he poured out the best he had to give. Nevertheless, the manneristic scholasticism of which they are compacted at no point gives way to

<sup>1</sup> *L'Ingegno, il Sapere, e gl' intendimenti di Roberto d'Angio*, p. 50. G. Siracusa, 1891.

spontaneous effusion of clear sentiment. No record has come down to us of the effects created by their recital; nor has any chronicled: 'At this point I was so overcome by weeping, that I could endure no longer to listen,' or that the preacher's voice was melodious, or that it echoed through the noble nave of Sta. Chiara. But there are the sermons with dust and dry-as-dust upon them on the shelves of the Marciana awaiting readers.

16. To have been abounding in inexact erudition, then; to have been familiar with Church history and legend; to have been a learned contemporary with Dante; to have enacted a law which precluded any of his subjects becoming a judge who was not a lettered lawyer; to have established that excommunicated persons could bear valid testimony and did not lose civil rights, and that justices at their will might hold tribunals even in feudal baronies; to have adjudged the Empire moribund, and have vastly assisted at its humiliation; to have antagonised such a pontiff as John XXII. in a dogma; to have been glorified by the dedication to him of important works on medicine, astrology, and poetry; to have interpreted dreams; to have had chapels frescoed for him by Giotto; and lastly, to have offered to personally crown Petrarch;—all this was yet insufficient to ensure, even to a powerful monarch, the posthumous reputation for which he ardently yearned. For that, one thing was necessary, namely, to have had all his aspirations stamped with the superscription of the new Period, so as to have rendered them contributive to the fertilisation and development of humanism. Thus approved, a literary man of far more modest station, riches, and attainments than King Robert might have confidently entrusted his renown to posterity.

His sacra Magnanimi requiescunt ossa Roberti.  
 Mens cælum generosa petit, nunc gloria regum  
 Interiit, nostrique ruit decor unicus ævi.  
 Militiæ flos summus erat, specimenque vetustæ  
 Indolis; egregius bello, sed pacis amicus.  
 Hoc duce barbaricum poteras Hierosolyma collo  
 Excussisse jugum, poteras hoc arma movente  
 Pellere pestiferos Trinacria serva tyrannos.  
 Rex erat ambabus, mors impia clausit ubique  
 Libertatis iter, merito genuit utraque tellus,  
 Servitio damnata feror; hæc gratia linguæ;  
 Nec minor ingenii laus hunc quam gloria dextra  
 Extulerat, siluit sacræ tuba maxima legis.  
 Qui superest alius Naturæ conscius usquam.  
 Herbarumque potens nitidi spectator Olympi.

? genuit

Morte sua vidua septem concorditer artes  
 Et Musæ flevere novem, dulcedine morum  
 Angelicus, factisque fuit, patientia templum  
 Pectoris hujus habens, illo pereunte peribat.  
 Omnis in hoc Virtus secum jacet orba sepulcro.  
 Acceptus fuit ille Deo, venerabilis Orbi,  
 Transcenditque hominem gemitu prohibente maligno,  
 Digna nequit calamus, tanto præconia Regi  
 Reddere, sed terras canit hunc sua fama per omnes  
 Æternumque canet nullum tacitura per ævum.<sup>1</sup>

*Epist. Poet.* 8, II. PETRARCA.

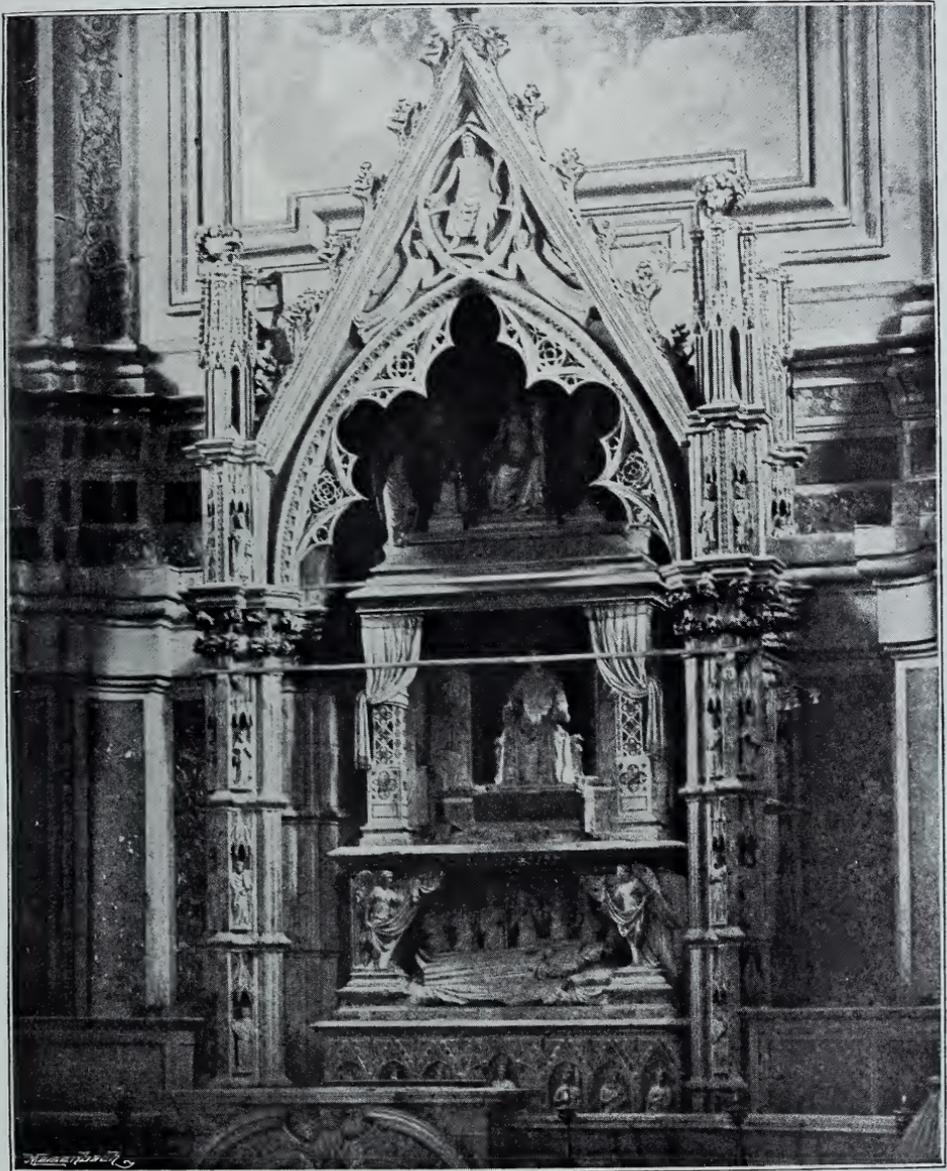
‘Jam mihi Parthenopem, sic Rex jubet altus Olympi,  
 Invisam mors sæva facit; mea gloria quondam,  
 Nunc domus exilii est.’

*Epistola metrica a M. BARBATO, 1343.*

<sup>1</sup> On King Robert's monument in Sta. Chiara is inscribed—

‘Cernite Robertum regem virtute refertum,’

which has alternately been attributed to Petrarch, and denied to be his writing. Concerning the above hexametric epitaph, see ‘Rendiconti dei Lincei,’ vol. vi., sem. 2<sup>o</sup>, serie 4), where the subject is ably handled by G. B. Siracusa. Cf. *Epist. Ad Seniles*, lib. 10, ad Donatum. *Rerum Memorab.*, lib. 2.



TOMB OF KING ROBERT IN STA. CHIARA, NAPLES (1343).

*By Florentine Sculptors.*

*To face p. 278.*



J O A N I



# J O A N I

## CHAPTER I

### THE KING'S WILL

IF the Hungarians expected, as some have averred,<sup>1</sup> that upon the death of Robert the crown and authority would devolve upon Andrew rather than upon his wife, in virtue of his descent from Carlo Martello, they must indeed have been disappointed, probably deeply chagrined. Probably many of them, as well as of the Neapolitans and Provençals, did not approve of female government; but there is no reason to believe that any one outside of Hungary desired Naples to become one of her provinces; though many would have been glad to feel that the old variance was securely, and not superficially at an end. Naples, however, naturally drew rather toward France than toward Hungary; and the influence of the Valois, who had resented the exclusion of the House of Taranto from the matrimonial path to the throne, had made itself felt during the interval of Benedict's pontificate.

By his will<sup>2</sup> Robert appointed the eldest of his two

<sup>1</sup> Matteo Villani, c. ix., goes so far astray as to state that King Robert desired to restore the realm to the line of Carlo Martello out of remorse, and had treated of the foregone matrimonial alliance between Joan and Andrew with that view. The Pontifical correspondence between all the parties concerned is entirely at variance with this view. Moreover, it is clear such restitution could not lie in King Robert's power. It could belong solely to the Holy See as suzerain; and the author of the matrimonial treaty was not the King, but Pope John XXII., whose letters make no hint of any such stipulation. That treaty had in view that a grandson, not a son, of Carobert should arise to be King of Naples.

<sup>2</sup> Lünig, Cod. Dipl., tom. ii. lxxxii.

grand-daughters successor to his crown, and heiress to all his dominions,<sup>1</sup> including Provence, Forcalquier, most of the Piedmontese possessions, the unrestored island of Sicily, and the regal title of Jerusalem. In case of her decease without issue, these were to pass directly and entirely to Maria, her sister. As Joan was under eighteen years, and the government of so young a sovereign, moreover, that of a woman, was fraught with peculiar peril, her minority, and that both of Andrew and Maria, was to be considered at an end only when they should have reached twenty-five years. Meanwhile, the Government was to be vested in a Supreme Council, headed by Queen Sancia, and composed of Philip de Cabassoles, Bishop of Cavaillon, Vice-Chancellor of the realm (on behalf of the suzerain Holy See); Charles Artois, Count of St. Agata (King Robert's natural son); Goffredo Marzano, Count of Squillace (Admiral of the kingdom); and Philippo di Sanguinetto, Count of Altomonte (Seneschal in Provence). If Joan should die, Andrew, Duke of Calabria, was to enjoy the Principality of Salerno. Finally, with reference to Maria, the directions were likewise explicit.<sup>2</sup> If, on account of certain stipulations which influence the King (of Hungary),<sup>3</sup> his union with Maria shall not take place, then this lady is to be united to the Duke of Normandy, heir to the throne of France, or failing him, to his younger brother.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> 'Hæredem universalem.'

<sup>2</sup> 'Item voluit et ordinavit, quod Domina Maria prefata debeat matrimonialiter contrahere cum Inclyto Principe Domino Ludovico presente Rege Hungariæ, propter certas conditiones secretas quos ipsum Dominum Regem novit, sicut expressit, quod, si dictum matrimonium, aliquod impedimentum recipierit, propter matrimonium, quod ponitur juratum ac firmatum inter ipsum Dominum Regem Hungariæ et Regem Bohemiæ, vel ejus filiam, nubere debeat cum primogenito Excellentis Domini, Joannis Ducis Normandiæ, primogeniti Illustris Domini Philippi presentis Regis Francorum, vel in ejus defectu, cum secundo-genito Regis Franciæ supradicti.'

<sup>3</sup> *i.e.*, his present engagement to Margaret of Bohemia.

<sup>4</sup> To her are likewise bequeathed certain lands:—'Hæredem dumtaxat instituit in comitatu Albæ necnon Justiciaratu Vallis Gratis et Terræ Jordanæ, cum terris, castris, hominibus et vassallis, ac in unciis triginta millibus in pecunia, tempore sui maritagii per competentes terminos exhibendis, de quibus eam contentam esse voluit.'

It will not be contested that the effect aimed at by this distribution was to continue and protect the tenure of the vassal kingdom in the junior Neapolitan line, according to the decisions of Boniface VIII. and Clement V. in favour of Robert himself, and by no manner of means to make a younger son of the King of Hungary supreme sovereign at Naples. Had Charles of Calabria survived, he must inevitably have succeeded his father on the throne, and his legitimate offspring were the natural heirs. Practically, therefore, the marriage of Joan and Andrew had effected reconciliation, but no one supposed it had effected amalgamation, with Hungary, far less any undoing of the former decisions of the Holy See; nor is there reason to suppose that King Robert made this Will without consulting the source whence he and his forbears derived their tenure of the realm.<sup>1</sup>

By Article 6 of the original agreement of their common ancestor, Charles of Anjou, with Clement IV., it had been established that the inheriting monarch should not personally administer the government of Naples unless the age of eighteen had been attained, and that during all minorities the Holy See should administer it.

Mindful of this agreement, therefore, the King, with all devotion, reverence, and courtesy, commends to the Pope and the Sacred College Queen Sancia, Joan, Andrew, and Maria, together with the kingdom, the county of Provence, and all his other lands and goods, in order that, by their favour and help, these may be sustained, cared for, and shielded from harm.<sup>2</sup> The Supreme Council appointed was, it is clear, designed to be of assistance to the Holy See, not to usurp its authority.

For the rest, but little more needs to be noticed concerning the contents of the Will, except that Joan, Maria, and Andrew were declared, while under the prescribed age

<sup>1</sup> The will is dated January 7th, therefore but twelve days before his decease. 'Licet ægrotans corpore, sanæ tamen mentis existens, recte loquens et ordinate dispositus,' &c.

<sup>2</sup> 'Manuteneantur, defensentur, et a noxiis preserventur.'

of majority, to be incapable of making contracts, grants, or alienations of any sort or kind, with or without the consent of the above-named administrators.

Robert directs that his money-treasure, which is in Castel Nuovo, shall be used for the recuperation of Sicily, or for the defence of the realm.<sup>1</sup> Finally, he wishes and commands that, for the better fulfilling and sound carrying out of his intentions, any two of his before-named executors shall enjoy free and full authority and power to make use of his goods and chattels of every kind,<sup>2</sup> also profits, rents, crops, &c.

The last item is of interest: 'Joan, Andrew, and Maria, considering themselves adult, and such from their appearance it is manifest they are, have promised and sworn by corporal touch of the Holy Gospel, in the presence of the said King, of our judge (Niccolo d'Alife), notary (Mapillo Rufolo), and the undersigned witnesses, to keep firmly and inviolably, and at no time soever, by themselves or by means of others, to do or act contrary to any of the aforesaid bequests and conditions.'

There follow the names of the witnesses:—Niccolo d'Alife (judex), Mapillo Rufolo (the notary), Fra Guglielmo, Bishop of Salon (Sancia's confessor), Fra Giovanni de Bertolio (Joan's confessor), Giovanni Grillo (proto-notary), Fra Roberto de Mileto (Andrew's confessor), Dominus Petrus Benedeti<sup>3</sup> ('magister capellæ'), Egidius de Bevania,<sup>4</sup> Dominus Guido de Cavillon, Dominus Hugo de Figueria, Magister Giovanni di Arianco, Bartolommeo di Biscato (physician), Raimondo di Roca, and Audibert, his son (familiares).

<sup>1</sup> 'In casibus opportunis.'

<sup>2</sup> 'Bona ejus omnia mobilia, ubicumque et in quibuscumque consistentia, &c., sicut melius pro executione integra dicti testamenti, viderint expedire.'

<sup>3</sup> Pietro Bandetto, King Robert's 'Elemosiniero.'

<sup>4</sup> In 1345, March 23, Queen Joan recommends Egidio di Bevania, 'Cavaliere et maestro rationale,' of the Grand Court of her Curia, to the Commune at Florence for the post of 'Giudice de Mercanzia,' he having been an executor of King Robert's will.

The Will was read and copied in the chamber of Queen Sancia in Castel Nuovo on January 27, eight days after the King's death, there being present Pietro di Cadeneto; Goffredo, Count of Squillace; Giovanni di Lando da Capua;<sup>1</sup> Gualterio di San Giorgio; and Roberto di Ponziaco, Professor of Civil Law.

Briefly, therefore, Andrew is regarded in it as King-consort only; Joan as Queen-regnant, protected by the Queen-dowager and a representative council; Maria is not at liberty to wed any one but Louis of Hungary, although the latter remains betrothed to Margaret of Bohemia, who is even now being brought up in Hungary.<sup>2</sup>

In view of the extreme youth of Joan, of Andrew and of Maria, of the increasing turbulence of the nobility, and of the ambitions of the Princes of Taranto and Durazzo, it cannot be denied that these precautions were necessary.

Nevertheless, the Will pleased no one. It caused annoyance in Hungary because it forced Queen Elizabeth to see that her son must choose between Maria of Naples and Margaret of Bohemia. As he was strictly affianced to the latter, one of the Neapolitan princes would most probably obtain the former. The crown of Naples, that should have been Carobert's, therefore—recovery of which by Hungary had seemed, if not imminent, at least no distant possibility—was slipping beyond her grasp.

But the individuals not least disappointed on realising the state of affairs were doubtless Joan and Andrew, who found themselves left to enjoy nothing but the mere trappings of royalty. Very well pleased, on the other hand, were their immediate servitors, who were each of them assured of advance to higher offices of State. Before the close of the month, Joan, with consent of Sancia and the Council, wrote to Hugo del Balzo, Count of Avellino, in Provence, desiring him to take the formal oath of homage

<sup>1</sup> Son of Bartolommeo da Capua.

<sup>2</sup> Stephen, Andrew's younger brother, is not referred to in the Will.

for her to Clement, coupled with the request that he would recognise her husband, the Duke of Calabria, as King of Sicily,<sup>1</sup> not, of course, as equal in authority to herself, but as being King-consort.

Now, if we might rely on a document purporting to have been addressed by King Louis of Hungary to his allies of Bohemia—namely, to King John and his son, Charles of Moravia—that monarch is found giving them a very different account of King Robert's testamentary arrangements. In it he states that Robert, while still in the flesh, sane in mind and body, with careful forethought settled and ordained that his dearest brother, Andrew, Lord-Duke of Calabria, should lawfully and immediately succeed him in the kingdom of Sicily, in the presence of the primates and barons of that realm, who each and all with one voice adopted him King with due solemnity.<sup>2</sup> The king is made to entreat his allies to interpose in Andrew's behalf by letters and writings ('*litteras et scripturas efficaces*'), not to the Holy See, but to the said '*primates et barones, aliosque nobiles*' of Naples, directing them to obey, submit to, and maintain him as their rightful sovereign ('*utpote legitimo Domino Regi ipsorum*'), and continue steadfastly so to do.

But, besides the improbability of any sovereign omitting all reference to the suzerain Holy See, to which the realm of his ancestors pertained, there is internal evidence that the letter is one of several rhetorical exercises which have found their way into the literature of this subject and period. The present epistle vaguely begins, '*Amici Carissimi, Non est nobis incognitum*'—a truly unusual commencement for so momentous an occasion. Two lines further, by an oversight, the supposed writer designates King Robert '*privignus noster*' (our stepson). Further down, by another little oversight, he addresses the Neapolitan primates and barons by mistake for his royal and dearest friends, and writes '*vestro legitimo*

<sup>1</sup> Reg. Invent. B. 1209, 287. Bouches du Rhone.

<sup>2</sup> Fejér, Codex Diplom., tom. ix. vol. 7, Suppl.

Domino.' Finally, he forgets to date his letter. The pendant to this epistle, equally dateless, purports to be addressed by Charles of Moravia to Clement in consequence of the above, and will be found both in Fejér as well as in the *Codex Diplomaticus Moraviæ*.

That these letters are fabrications<sup>1</sup> does not, I think, admit of doubt. Nevertheless, their composition may have been suggested by some very imperfect knowledge of the circumstances of the situation. King Robert, as far as in him lay, had fulfilled the design of Pope John XXII. with regard to the relations of his grand-daughters with Carobert's sons, but obviously the Polish ambitions of Carobert had prevented as complete a fulfilment of them on his part. Here was the rub. Robert had not done, nor had he agreed to do, anything further than fulfil the marriages. The letters of Pope John do not once so much as mention the settlement of Robert's crown upon Andrew, but merely the advisability of the projected unions between the two families, in order to avoid perils and cancel past ill-feeling. That, later on, King Louis and his mother, finding Pope Clement VI. by no means disposed to undo the former rulings of the Holy See in regard to the separation of the crowns of Hungary and Naples, or to make Andrew actual sovereign over his wife's head, did address themselves to every possible means, including wholesale bribery, in order to gain over the Sacred College to their design, is equally true. The patent fact remains that the first person who wrote begging Clement to raise Andrew to the kingly title was not Louis nor Elizabeth, but Queen Joan herself.

<sup>1</sup> There seems to have been a brisk trade in fraudulent documents at this time. Clement, later on, finds it necessary to warn the King of Hungary against letters forged in the name of Joan, which were being circulated in northern Italy. The Pontiff himself was looked upon as fair game, for a false Bull of his, granting indulgences for the Jubilee of 1350, was published, bearing date of June 27, 1346. The reader will likewise recall the case of Robert, Count of Artois, who endeavoured to support his claims against Philip of Valois in England by similar means.

## CHAPTER II

### THE QUEEN-MOTHER OF HUNGARY

THE motive of the Queen in doing this, with the consent of her trustees and ministers, was probably threefold. It would gratify her husband and herself; it would be tactfully complimentary to Hungary, and it would put the Queen into closer *rapport* with the Holy See, and thereby be likely to bring about reduction of the long minority imposed upon her and Andrew. It will be duly shown that the reiterated argument of King Louis and Queen Elizabeth pressing for the elevation of Andrew to both kingly title and sovereignty was based upon no such shifty foundation as that stated in the pretended epistle of King Louis, nor because Andrew was the consort of Joan, but upon the original ground of grievance, namely, that the crown of Naples belonged by right to none but the heirs of Carlo Martello.

A fresh element of disturbance and disruption now arose by reason of the failure of the Buonacorsi, followed by several more Florentine banking-societies, including that of the Acciajuoli. Queen Sancia, herself a creditor of the former company, sent Niccolo d'Avellino to Florence to claim from the bankrupts 559 ounces of gold.<sup>1</sup> On August 25 Sancia and Joan jointly addressed a letter to the Priori and Gonfalonieri, stating that magnates, prelates, counts, and all classes at Naples are facing great hardships on account of the dissolution of the Company, and asking for preference in satisfaction.

At this chosen moment there was being brought to a successful issue by Agnes, Duchess of Durazzo, a dexterous

<sup>1</sup> Capitoli, Class x. 258, August 15, 1343.

scheme, which, at a stroke, should establish her son Charles in immediate propinquity to the throne. Perceiving that Maria could not be united to Louis of Hungary, Agnes had beheld in her the desired prize for her own family. For the purpose of carrying out a marriage between her son and Maria, she duly consulted Joan and Sancia, who approved of her procuring the necessary dispensation from Clement by means of her brother, Cardinal Talleyrand-Perigord.<sup>1</sup> Clement not venturing openly to advertise the dispensation, lest by so doing he should irritate Hungary, had recourse to subterfuge, and issued (as he afterwards told King Louis) a dispensation of a general sort to the Duke of Durazzo, which permitted him to wed any noble lady not within the first or second grade of affinity, no especial individual being named.<sup>2</sup> In consequence, on March 26, 1343, only two months after King Robert's decease, Maria was betrothed to him at Castel Nuovo, in the presence of the two Queens, the Bishop of Cavaillon, Charles Artois, Niccolo d'Alife, and the other guardian-administrators of the realm. Nevertheless, Agnes having so free a hand at Avignon, did not limit operations merely to obtaining the dispensation. In order, probably, to make sure that nothing untoward should supervene on the part of her rival, Catherine of Taranto, or of the Hungarians, to preclude success, she obtained licenses for herself and her sons whereby they were to be permitted to select whatsoever priests pleased them, who should be empowered to confess them and to administer mass or any of the sacraments, even in prohibited places of worship. She likewise procured liberty for herself to enter the convents of every Order.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Elie Talleyrand de Perigord, Bishop of Albano and Auxerre; created Cardinal San Pierre des Liens, 1331; died 1364. By his influence Clement had been raised to the Pontificate.

<sup>2</sup> A. Theiner, *Monum. Hung.*, vol. i. p. 718.

<sup>3</sup> These licenses were all granted at Avignon on Feb. 26, 1343. *Cf.* Arch. Vatic. Secr. Aven. Suppl. pt. 11, Anno i. Clem. VI. fol. 59 and 89. This evidence has not before been adduced, if known.

The only important persons, as might be surmised, who had not honoured the betrothal at Castel Nuovo with their presence were Catherine and her family, and their absence may have been closely connected with a sinister event, which now certainly followed. It may fairly be conjectured that Agnes feared some counterplot to her careful designs, for her son contrived, by means of Margherita di Ceccano,<sup>1</sup> one of the ladies-in-waiting on Maria, to inveigle the latter into the 'Ospizio Durazzescho,' where doubtless the sacrament of marriage was celebrated by one of the priests above referred to. The chroniclers, beginning with Domenico di Gravina (some with their usual '*ut fertur*,' some without it), declare that the Duke likewise consummated the union there.<sup>2</sup> This incident, however, produced an explosion of indignation on the part of Sancia, Joan, and others, against Agnes, Maria, and the entire Durazzo family, in consequence of which all parties at once addressed themselves in forcible terms to Avignon. Clement's replies are remarkable, both as revealing the conscious duplicity of his action in the affair, and as throwing much light upon an ugly incident, which has hitherto been a stumbling-block to writers upon the subject. I am, of course, aware that such a charge is easy to bring, but this one it will be impossible to refute. The Pope's own words shall be witness against him.

Clement at once reproaches the two Queens sharply for having interfered to prevent the solemnisation of the said marriage in the Duke of Durazzo's palace, adding that he is greatly annoyed at the scandal thus caused, 'which will delight the rivals and enemies of the royal house.' 'We have granted a dispensation for this union *on account of the benefit to be expected from it*. You, Sancia, have educated these betrothed ones even as a mother; while to

<sup>1</sup> Niece of another Cardinal and former Archbishop of Naples, Annibaldo Ceccano, then Cardinal of Tusculum, created 1327, died 1350.

<sup>2</sup> 'Lo duca di Durazzo semi se sotto Madama Maria ad forza.' MSS. Giornali Napol. 'Ut fertur cognoscens carnaliter, et eam in palatio suo retinens.' Chron. Dom. di Gravina, op. cit. in Muratori.

you, Joan, none is so near as your own sister. Wherefore they ought to be honoured in their nuptials by you. In their honour your own is intimately concerned. For the future be better advised towards them, and give no further encouragement to odium.' Ten days later he acknowledges the receipt of long letters from Joan, containing details of what had been done by Agnes of Durazzo and her son, and he proceeds to press upon her the duty of finding excuse for the fault committed by the young couple 'by reason of their tender years.'<sup>1</sup> 'You, as her only sister, nourished and educated beneath the same roof, should palliate these things so imprudently done and guide her back to the path of honour and favour. For the honour and well-being of your sister and her husband concern you most nearly, as also do their adversities. For which reason it behoves you almost maternally to take consideration for them; they, on their part, to hold themselves loyally and reverently toward you. We would not, however, have you unaware that twice already we have written to each and all concerned, using not a little invective, persuading them with fatherly advice to humble themselves and appease you, that thereby the entire royal house may prosper at the commencement of your reign in the unity of concord.'<sup>2</sup>

The envoys of Sancia and Joan to Avignon on this occasion are noticeable, namely, Hugo del Balzo, Tommaso San Severino, and Roberto di Cabannis. The former being Seneschal of Provence, did not return to Naples, so that Clement writes, 'We have heard them duly and return answer by Thomas and Robert. Whatever can be done *with honesty and justice* shall be.'<sup>3</sup>

To Maria herself he wrote, 'The marriage did please and

<sup>1</sup> 'Quæ in aliis ætate proventis forent procul dubio reprehensibilia, et severiter corrigenda.'

<sup>2</sup> 'Glutino pacis,' Arch. Vatic. Secr. Clem. VI. An. xi. Ep. 68, 4 Id. Junii 1343.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid. Ep. 61, 4 Kal. Junii 1343.

does please us ; but it would please us more but for these sinister occurrences. Appease Joan advisedly. Peace ought rather to be increased than diminished by this union.’<sup>1</sup> He bade Agnes not to count on his further favour if she does not effect reconciliation with and humble herself to the Queen.<sup>2</sup>

But now some further light is thrown upon the background of this drama. As might be expected, the person most bitterly chagrined at the success of Agnes was Catherine of Taranto. Accordingly the Pope informs her in two distinct letters that the discord has been imputed to her machinations and those of her son Robert ; that the Holy See had none but beneficent intentions in granting the dispensation, certainly no desire to stimulate rivalry.<sup>3</sup> He finally adjures both of them, as props of the royal house, to use their best strength for its support.

Early in January following, almost on her own fifteenth birthday, the wretched Maria di Durazzo brought forth a son, who died soon after birth.

Now, when King Louis and his Queen-mother ventured to call Clement to account for having granted that dispensation in face of the old matrimonial compact between King Robert and King Carobert, this was his deliberate reply to the latter : ‘ As to the arrangement of King Robert that his two grand-daughters should be united to two of your sons, we have never counteracted it ; but we did concede to Charles, Duke of Durazzo, a dispensation of a general sort, by which he could marry any noble lady not within first or second grade of affinity ; no especial person, however, being named therein. Under this dispensation, *we being entirely unaware (of his intention)*, he married the second daughter of Charles, Duke of Calabria.’<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Arch. Vatic. Secr. Clem. VI. An. xi. Ep. 61, Nonis Junii 1343.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid. Ep. 60.

<sup>3</sup> ‘ Quæ forsan tibi imputarentur a multis.’ Ibid. Reg. Ep. 39, 98 ; xi. Kal.

July 1343.

<sup>4</sup> ‘ Qui pretextu dispensationis hujus modi, nobis ignorantibus, cum dilecta in

Thus the plot of Agnes and Cardinal Talleyrand succeeded, and thus the Pontiff juggled; but at what a cost! To the already bitter hate of Catherine of Taranto she had now added the animosity of Sancia and Joan. However, she seems to have been satisfied, for she wrote her brother a letter of profuse thanks for his exertions, as well as for his present efforts on behalf of Queen Joan,<sup>1</sup> and ceded certain of her inherited rights to their brother, Archibald, Count of Perigord, in recognition of her profitable success.

From the foregoing it is plain that, in order to bring about the needed reconciliation with Joan, Agnes adroitly determined to put the Cardinal's influence to work with Clement on behalf of the Queen, who, we know, desired Andrew to be given the kingly title, but could not achieve it. Nevertheless, the vigorous individuality Joan now declared would seem to have impressed Clement, since he begins to address letters to her apart from Sancia on important matters of state, such as the treaty to be negotiated with Sicily,<sup>2</sup> and another matter which must now be fully noticed, namely, the proposed liberation of the imprisoned Pipini.<sup>3</sup>

King Robert's Will contained a clause to the effect that on the day of his decease all those in prison should be released, excepting highway robbers and other state-proclaimed persons—those guilty, that is to say, of *lèse-majesté*.

Taking advantage of this, Giovanna, Countess of Altamura, laid a petition before the Royal Curia<sup>4</sup> at Naples for the release of her three sons, whom, it will be recollected, were undergoing sentence of perpetual imprisonment 'for

*Christo filia, Maria, secundo-genita Caroli, &c., matrimonium contraxit.* Mon. Hungar., vol. i. p. 718, A. Theiner.

<sup>1</sup> 'Pro laboribus aliis quos subit, et subit ad presens, pro negotiis inclitæ Dominæ Joannæ.' Cf. Baluzius, *Vitæ Papar. Aven.*, 11, 628.

<sup>2</sup> Arch. Vatic. Secr. Ep. 181, July 25, 1343.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid. Ep. 136, July 10.

<sup>4</sup> 'Exceptis malandrinis, et aliis publicis diffamatis, necnon aliis singulis quibuscunque hostibus, et illi sine juris prejudicio.' Lünig, *Cod. Dipl.*, vol. ii. p. 1117. 'La Corte della Vicaria libero la madre e condannò li figli; nè vale il rammemorare i servigi prestati alla casa Regale dall'loro avo e Padre, perche da

kindling civil war.' Queen Sancia, who had formerly pleaded with King Robert for them, did not now see fit to include these firebrands in the category of the releasible. It is manifest the clause in the King's Will pointed against them in no uncertain manner, they being the most notable state-criminals at the date of his will-making; moreover, they were surviving their crimes by merciful commutation of a well-merited death-sentence.

Finding her petition rejected at Naples, the Countess transferred her complaint to Avignon, and there, by bribery, worked upon the feelings of Cardinal Colonna. In consequence, Clement wrote on July 10, asking each of the Queens to look favourably upon the case, 'nevertheless with due regard to law and justice.'<sup>1</sup> Joan returned answer she was unable to accede to the request, instancing the desperate wilfulness of the culprits and the patience that already had been exercised to the utmost in dealing with them.<sup>2</sup> This called forth a stronger representation from Clement on the 28th August,<sup>3</sup> in which he was driven to suggest that in sentencing them the late King had been unduly influenced by asseverations on the part of their rivals, on account of which they had appealed to the Holy See. Further, he reminded her that originally the King had likewise imprisoned their mother the Countess herself, and had despoiled her of dower and goods, but that being afterwards pronounced not guilty by the Royal Curia, she had been set at liberty and her property had been restored. 'Moreover, the said Count (Giovanni) and his brothers have

*quelli non dovean degenerare. Se contro detti fratelli (Pipini) si volesse caminar debitamente secondo il Testamento (del Rè Roberto) suddetto, sarebbero stati degni di morte. Fu costretta Giovanna negar nell' esecuzione, rappresentando motivi che cio li proibivano, rispondendoli, che si degnasse ammetter li sue scuse, se si opponeva al suo gusto, perche era ben che sapesse che sin dal tempo che viveva il Rè Roberto, questi fratelli con pazza ostinazione,' &c., &c. MS. Niccolo d'Alife, pp. 57, 58.*

<sup>1</sup> Arch. Vatic. Secr. Ep. 136.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. MS. Niccolo d'Alife, p. 57.

<sup>3</sup> Arch. Vatic. Secr. Ep. 291. 'Pro parte dilectorum filiorum nobilium virorum Johannis Pipini, Palatini, et Minerbini comites, et fratrum suorum.'

declared their innocence of those things for which they are being detained.' The Pope then proceeded to distort the provision referred to in the Will, and to request their release, not merely on account of the Queen's reverence for the Holy See, but out of consideration for the piety, fairness, *salutæ que animæ*, of the said King Robert.

Unable, in spite of these subtle manœuvres, to obtain their release, Cardinal Colonna resolved upon despatching a special envoy to Naples in order to plead their cause with the two Queens and the Council. The individual selected for this purpose was no less a personage than Francesco Petrarca, who, in consequence, arrived at Naples early in November. What he saw, learned, and accomplished, we shall see anon.

The remaining event of primary importance to this narrative belonging to this year of grace 1343 is the visit paid to Naples by Elizabeth, the mother of Andrew, who came resolute to bring about the coronation of her son as the direct descendant of Charles Martel, and to visit the Eternal City and pay her devotions at the shrine of the holy Apostles.

Leaving Visegrad on the 8th June, with an immense train of nobles and attendants, and carrying with her 17,000 marks,<sup>1</sup> she crossed the Adriatic from Zeng to Manfredonia. Among her attendants, besides the widow of the Palatine-Count V. Drugeth, was Count Nicholas Geletfia, the Bishops of Neitra and Eger, and Paul Nagy-Martoni. She reached Naples on July 25 with four hundred followers, who found lodging in the palace of Marino Filomarino, hard by the Castel Nuovo.<sup>2</sup>

The coming of Elizabeth with such an imposing retinue was well devised to stimulate the cause she had at heart.

<sup>1</sup> Thuróczy says boldly 'habens secum ad sex milliones Florenorum in aureo et argento.' Chron. pt. iii. c. iv. 27,000 silver marks. Pór. op. cit. p. 46.

<sup>2</sup> Chron. Parthenope, iii. c. 17. Marino Filomarino, son of Matteo Filomarino, Keeper of the Privy Seal and Grand Chancellor under King Robert 1310.

So far as the mere coronation of Andrew as the consort of Joan went, the Queens were already upon her side. Her aim, however, far transcended theirs. They learned this later on. But she took to heart at Naples three things: firstly, that her designs were somewhat suspected in high places, notably by Catherine of Taranto, her natural enemy, and that lady's sons, Robert and Louis; secondly, that there was perilous division between the two Queens and the house of Durazzo; lastly, that her specie would be better expended at Avignon—that is to say, she would be able to effect nothing without sending both envoys and douceurs to the Curia. Accordingly, she despatched thither the Bishop of Neitra (Fra Vito), Thomas Raph,<sup>1</sup> the Count-Palatine, Nicholas Geletfia, and Paul Nagy-Martoni.

It may be doubted whether Elizabeth during her seven weeks' sojourn at Naples, previous to her own pilgrimage to Rome, saw much of Joan, for the latter had fallen ill in July, and passed her convalescence in the palace called 'Casa Sana,' near Castellamare. At the close of August Clement congratulated her on restoration to health, and commended her piety for having requested indulgence '*in mortis articulo.*'<sup>2</sup>

Elizabeth perceived but too clearly that a throng of ambitious officials who had inundated the court, were conducting affairs with shameless obliquity, little regarding the authority or advantage of the Queen-Regent and Joan, and that in this chaos of corruption her Hungarian cause had slender chance of success unless drastic measures were at once employed. The account of the condition of Naples, as given to the Curia at Avignon by the Hungarian envoys, would have made interesting reading. It is noteworthy that Joan and Sancia despatched envoys simultaneously, still praying Clement to concede Andrew's coronation, which shows how blinded both as yet were to Queen Elizabeth's actual design. Moreover, there was present at

<sup>1</sup> Csőr Tamás Liptai (Lupton).

<sup>2</sup> August 28, 1343.

Avignon for the same purpose Humbert,<sup>1</sup> Dauphin of Vienne, Andrew's first cousin.

After hearing them the Pope blandly wrote to Queen Elizabeth, to Sancia and Joan, stating that as the Cardinals had shown themselves '*unanimes et concordés*,' and the various envoys had been heard, 'We therefore intend to apply ourselves to the furthering of the business, so that equally by God and justice it shall be carried through.'<sup>2</sup> Among the Cardinals, three were especially interested in the inmost affairs of Naples. Cardinal Talleyrand,<sup>3</sup> to whom Clement mainly was indebted for his elevation, had at heart the aspirations of his nephew, Charles of Durazzo; Cardinal Giovanni Colonna desired the liberation of the Pipini; while Cardinal Aimeric, the Pontiff's own kinsman, aspired to the lucrative dignity of Apostolic Legate to the kingdom.

At Rome, whither Queen Elizabeth now conveniently betook herself, she was welcomed by the Orsini and Colonna, and was conducted to St. Peter's and to the Pantheon, where was then kept St. Veronica's handkerchief. She twice ascended the Scala Santa, and finally made many magnificent presents to the shrine of the blessed Apostles, after which she returned to Naples.

Clement writes to her again on October 26, congratulating her upon her devotion, and telling her how much good he anticipates from her visit to Naples. The immediate effect of the report made by Elizabeth's envoys was now manifested to Sancia and Joan by a letter and a bull from Avignon,

<sup>1</sup> Son of Beatrice d'Anjou, sister of King Carobert.

<sup>2</sup> Arch. Secr. Vat. Ep. 450, 451.

<sup>3</sup> Elie de Perigord

m. 1. Philippe Lomagne.

2. Brunisinda de Foix.

Archibald.

Agnes,  
m. John, D. of Durazzo.

Talleyrand (Card.),  
died 1364.

Charles, m. Maria d'Anjou.

Louis, m. Margherita di San Severino (Corigliano).

Robert, k. at Poitiers.

wherein Clement stated that, after mature deliberation, he had resolved to abrogate the Council of Guardians and depute a Legate to administer the Government of Naples, in the person of his relative, Aimeric, Cardinal of St. Martino in Montibus, then acting Legate in Tuscany.<sup>1</sup> In the accompanying bull (November 28, 1343) he declares that King Robert had no business to constitute such a Governing Council, although in another bull of January 14, 1345, he designates that King's will 'according to law' (*legitime*). While inhibiting the Council, he forbids Joan the exercise of supreme authority, whether with or without its consent. In fact, while the Queen of Hungary found in the Dowager-Queen of Naples, Charles Artois, and their colleagues, serious obstacles to her ambition, the Holy See viewed with extreme displeasure the hoard of the late monarch flowing into secular coffers, and, if Petrarch points correctly, into the pockets of the Mendicant Friars. Anticipating their royal displeasure, he begs them not be vexed or surprised, but consoled and cheered by the coming of the Cardinal, so much will it benefit the kingdom.<sup>2</sup> Aimeric had visited King Robert at Naples in the previous year, in order to receive the King's homage upon the elevation of Clement.

However wise such a measure may seem at first sight, there were circumstances attaching to it in those days and at that moment which might be held not a little to qualify its wisdom. In the eyes of the Queen's subjects, already burthened with the insatiable rapacity of the Church and the scarcely inferior greed of their own elaborate officialdom, the advent of a Cardinal-Legate, deputed to rule them, amounted to little short of a public calamity. The doings of Da Prato, Bertrand de Poyet, and other Cardinal-Legates, in Tuscany, in Lombardy, and the Marches, were particularly green in the memory of that generation; but to Sancia

<sup>1</sup> Arch. Secr. Vatic. Anno. II. Ep. 387.

<sup>2</sup> On September 5 the Queen wrote to Clement, begging him not to fulfil his project.

and to Joan the appointment portended further diminution of what measure of power the present Council permitted them, and that at the very moment when Joan was resolving upon vigorous emancipation. Sancia, we must remember, had been accustomed to rule. To render Aimeric's mission still less palatable to her and the people, he was charged to adopt fresh measures against the Fraticelli. On the other hand, however, he was to receive Joan's oath of homage and to give her alone the customary investiture.

It may be imagined this especial result of Queen Elizabeth's visit did not tend to increase affection between mother-in-law and daughter-in-law. It became fully evident that Elizabeth was resolved on procuring Andrew's coronation, not upon the same grounds with Sancia, Joan, and the Council, but to raise her son beyond mere kingly title to the supreme sovereignty, co-equal with the declared and acknowledged heir of King Robert and Charles of Calabria, namely, with Joan herself. The Hungarian policy was at last unmasked.

With what family strife, party intrigue, private ambition, and the possible liberation of the Pipini (whose properties, it will not be forgotten, had been divided among several of the highest court-functionaries), the outlook became unmistakably ominous. Nor is it surprising that, on December 1,<sup>1</sup> Joan (doubtless at Sancia's prompting) wrote vigorously to Clement, praying him to treat no further with the Hungarian envoys concerning the coronation of Andrew and the administration of her kingdom.<sup>2</sup> While her letter was on its way to Avignon, Clement's bull reached Naples.

Henceforward the cleavage between the Hungarian party and the native courtiers was not merely definite, but was very sure to deepen; and did it not inevitably involve variance

<sup>1</sup> The day Petrarch wrote his account of the gladiatorial games at Naples to Cardinal Giovanni Colonna, and five days after the great storm.

<sup>2</sup> The letter was presented at Avignon on December 19 by Ugo del Balzo and the Count of Ariano. Reg. B. 176, f. 14, Bouches du Rhône.

between Joan and Andrew? Queen Elizabeth's successful action had elated the Hungarians, and these would have been more than human had they not betrayed the fact; but the Hungarians have rarely suffered from political modesty or from excess of tact, and there is little likelihood they concealed their dangerous delight upon this promising occasion for evincing it.

Doubtless wishing to secure favour with the Curia by all possible means, as well as to manifest a pleasant power of being troublesome to their opponents, certain of the advisers of Andrew now saw fit to espouse the cause of the imprisoned Pipini; others, it will be seen, did not; among them the mendicant, Fra Roberto.

At the commencement of the now waning year,<sup>1</sup> Petrarch had indited to his accomplished friend, Barbato di Sulmona, at Naples, an eloquent threnode on the death of King Robert. In that letter he had given reasons for entertaining anxiety on account of the realm and its future welfare: 'So much do I fear from the youthfulness of the Queen and her consort, from the age and ideas (religious) of the Queen-Dowager (Sancia),<sup>2</sup> and especially from the administration and manners of the courtiers. Please God I shall prove a false prophet! Methinks I see two lambs confided to the guardianship of a herd of wolves, and a realm without a ruler; for one cannot give the name of king to him who must govern according to the discretion of others, and is continually exposed to the inhumanity of such people.' This passage proves the writer to have been a capable judge of affairs, an accurate if rhetorical describer, and no mean political prophet.

Little did he foresee, however, that in the autumn of the same year he would be destined to witness a preternatural physical tempest such as is pictured in his famous account, as well as the ominous beginnings of a political tempest

<sup>1</sup> 1343.

<sup>2</sup> Her Fraticellian persuasions. The poet shared the aversion from the Franciscan Order with many others of his cultivated contemporaries.

which he himself was destined unwittingly to stimulate. We must cleave to him here.

The poet of Vacluse had reached Naples for the second time, then, in the first days of November, and taken up his lodging in the Convent of San Lorenzo. In Andrew, just approaching his sixteenth birthday, he found, as might be expected, 'the mildest of men,'<sup>1</sup> and therefore one he might hope to influence in the motive of his mission. Andrew seemed to him a youth full of promise, though his circumstances demanded anything but the mildest of dispositions, if indeed he was to play the part Hungary was prompting. Of Andrew's confessor, however, Fra Roberto, the Mendicant, we obtain this remarkable picture:—'I presented myself before the two Queens; moreover, was admitted to their deliberations. Ah! what infamy, what abomination! Heaven banish such a pestilence from beneath the sky of Italy! I might have expected Christ to be held in scorn at Memphis, Babylon, or perhaps in Mecca! Pity for thee, O noblest Parthenope! grips my heart to think thou should'st be likened to one of these! Here is to be found neither pity, truth, nor faith. I encountered a deformed creature, barefooted, hoodless, vain-glorious in his poverty, degenerate through his sensuality; in fact, a homunculus, bald and rubicund, with bloated limbs, wrapped in a sordid garment, and as it were expressly in rags, who, as if enthroned in self-conscious sanctity, insolently laughed to scorn not only your advices, but also those of the Sovereign Pontiff. . . . His arrogance is based upon the wealth he has amassed; and, as all here reckon, his hoard and habit scarcely accord. Would you hear his revered name? He is called "Robert." Ay, in place of the noblest of kings, till lately the glory of our age, has arisen this Robert, who contrariwise will be the disgrace of it. Nor will I henceforth hold it a fable they relate of a serpent able to be generated from a buried corpse, since from the royal sepulchre has

<sup>1</sup> 'Mitissimus homo.'—*Petrarca*.

issued this reptile.<sup>1</sup> O unutterable shame! and who is he that has thus dared to usurp thy throne, best of Monarchs? . . . I behold a fresh sort of tyranny. It is not encircled with a crown, not robed in purple, nor girt with a sword; but it is covered with a dirty mantle, and not even thus completely, but, as I said before, incompletely. The shoulders, moreover, are not bent so much by age as by hypocrisy. As he walks through the royal apartments, sternly frowning and supporting himself with a staff, he expresses himself sometimes rather by gloomy taciturnity than by speech. He oppresses the meek, tramples justice under foot, and profanes everything, disregarding right, human or divine; and as though he were a new Tifis or another Palinurus, he turns the helm of the tossing vessel of state,<sup>2</sup> which, believe me, will not make much way before she founders. Although there are numbers, they lack courage, excepting Philip (de Cabassoles), Bishop of Cavaillon, who alone stands up on the side of justice. But what should a single lamb effect in the midst of wolves except flee, if the chance presents itself, or make for the fold? And indeed he (Philip) turns it over thoughtfully; but compassion for the tottering realm and recollection of *the last entreaties of the King* are as two chains which restrain him there. . . . He has set his face against evil schemes, and, with shrewd foresight, while reproving the audacity of others, of his own interests he makes less account than of the general undoing, which, even should he be able to retard, he cannot prevent. Since things are come to this pass, that I believe nothing may be looked for from amiable arguments, particularly as long as this Robert lives, who, both by his extreme baseness and the peculiar fashion of his raiment, is pre-eminent among the monstrosities of the court,

<sup>1</sup> We have seen his name in the royal Will, as well as in a payment, previously quoted, made to him by Sancia.

<sup>2</sup> Veritably the Fraticellian Minorites, good and bad, may well have felt Sancia to be in their clutches, when two of her brothers had become actual Mendicants.

I think you would do rightly to communicate these things and others contained in my previous and more private correspondence with you to the Pontiff, whom you may also advise that his words would be listened to with more reverence in Susa or Damascus, among the Paynim, than in Christian Naples. . . . I have on three or four occasions visited the prison of Castle Capuano,<sup>1</sup> and seen your protégés (the Pipini), who have set their hope entirely upon you. The justness of their cause, which should be their chief support, turns to their damage, since nothing is so perilous as to treat of justice with a corrupt judge. Add to this, the unhappy ones have no more bitter foe than him (Niccolo d'Alife), who has grown rich and arrogant with possession of their property, and who naturally is interested in the detention of those who, if free, would endeavour to recover from him. Thus tyranny hangs by the skirt of avarice. . . . Thus it is their enemies are well provided at their cost. I have seen them in fetters. Infamous thing! O easy and rapid turn of Fortune's wheel! For the rest, just as it shocks one to see their prison, so it is gratifying to mark their magnanimity in enduring it. While you live they have no reason to despair. . . . If they trust to clemency here, they will expire in prison. The Queen-Dowager, formerly the royal consort, is the most unhappy of widows. She confesses to feeling pity, but declares herself unable to do anything. Cleopatra (Joan) and Ptolemy (Andrew) would feel likewise minded, if Pothinus (Fra Roberto) and Achillas (Raimondo del Balzo) would concur. Conceive how I regard such a condition of affairs. I need not tell you. But patience! and although I know what answer I shall be given, I shall obey and await it. Farewell!''<sup>2</sup>

Thus Petrarch, envoy, augur, and rhetorician; but, allowing liberally for the exaggerations of a special pleader, it must be admitted history contains no more lifelike portrait of a Mendicant protégé of the court of Naples. It simply

<sup>1</sup> La Vicaria to-day.

<sup>2</sup> Hist. Inquis., vol. iii. p. 133, H. S. Lea.

represents a prosperous specimen of the more degenerated self-styled followers of St. Francis. Rightly does a modern historian speak of the antagonism between John XXII. and the spiritual Franciscans and Fraticelli as having led them to a senseless pride in their pauper superiority. This letter of Petrarch is an official document, the solid substance of which carries conviction. The persecuted Mendicants, so long protected by Sancia and Robert, were now become rapacious parasites. Within two months of the despatch of this letter, the widowed Queen-Dowager, deprived of authority, retired into a Franciscan<sup>1</sup> convent she had herself raised and endowed, leaving Joan to face the storms of State, alone, and there she ended her weary days in July 1345.

With such a pilot as Fra Roberto, it need scarcely be marvelled if the royal pupil suffered; nevertheless, until this time, Andrew, being but sixteen, had exercised no sort of authority, and from what Petrarch saw of him, while working successfully upon his juvenile feelings in behalf of some of the most notorious miscreants in the kingdom, he pronounced him to be noble-minded.<sup>2</sup> Later on, directed by the aggressive policy pursued by Hungary for the purpose of Magyarising Naples and dominating the legitimate sovereign, it is probable Andrew became ill-advised, and did use such harsh measures as compelled Boccaccio, while pitying his fate, to admit that he governed '*nimum durus*,'<sup>3</sup> and made Matteo Villani chronicle that 'sometimes toward the Queen and sometimes toward the magnates he employed threats, which contributed, with other causes, to hasten his cruel and violent death.'<sup>4</sup>

Petrarch in another letter, dated December 1, once more alludes to Fra Roberto, declaring to Cardinal Colonna

<sup>1</sup> St. Croce.

<sup>2</sup> 'Puer alti animi.' Lib. v. Ep. 6, Famil.

<sup>3</sup> Eclog. iv. 'Alexis, qui gregibus nimum durus, silvisque molestus imperitans, abiit, crudeli funere pulsus.'

<sup>4</sup> Lib. i. cap. 9, M. Villani.

that he hopes to be released from the bonds which detain him at Naples, and possibly to carry his negotiations to a successful issue, 'if the venomous reptile does not succeed in empoisoning the minds already moved to compassion.'<sup>1</sup> Clearly, however, Fra Roberto was well-advised in recommending Andrew and the Queen not to release the Pipini.

But though the poet's compassion well became the deputed advocate for the release of the imprisoned rebels, we may rest assured that the latter were quite unworthy of it. That sparing their lives, King Robert acted with singular if reluctant clemency, cannot be gainsaid; that he acted with wisdom in handing over their confiscated estates to his officials, certain of whom were close kinsmen of the Della Marra, with whom the Pipini had waged the fatal strife, may be questioned. Such a course was not unusual. Consequently that these officials should view the proposal to liberate the Pipini with the utmost disfavour was but natural. Raimondo del Balzo, Count of Soleto, was Marshal of the kingdom, and his mother had been Jacquolina della Marra. Giacomo Capano, upon whom King Robert had conferred a portion of the forfeited property, had been knighted by Andrew himself in March. Niccolo d'Alife, now Chief-Justice, who, in spite of the above bitter reference to him, became a life-long friend and correspondent of Petrarch, had received their Foggian estates; and it is probable that Gasso di Diniziaco, Count of Terlizzi (whose first wife was an aunt of the Pipini, and whose present wife was a daughter of the stewardess of the royal household, Philippa Catanese), likewise benefited by the downfall of his hostile connections. Egidio di Bevania, to whom another Pipini property had been given, had been one of the witnesses of the King's Will. Raimondo Mayrat, one of Andrew's officials, was yet another gainer by the forfeiture of their fiefs.

<sup>1</sup> 'Non si sarebbe uno Psyllo guatandolo della sua venifica natura aveduto piu prontamente, chi' io non facessi all' udirlo.'

Further, it has been made manifest by the foregoing that Fra Roberto was bitterly opposed to the object of Petrarch's mission, and shared the view of the two Queens and the majority of the Council. Who then was he who possessed sufficient influence to prevail over Andrew in face of this mentor? who among the Council? This near-sighted individual was Philip de Cabassoles, Bishop of Cavaillon, the Vice-Chancellor, 'who alone stands up on the side of justice.'

Cautious, perhaps, of drawing upon himself the enmity of the powerful Del Balzo family, the poet takes adroit refuge in a historical and learned disguise, and refers to Raimondo, the commander-in-chief, as Achillas, the commander of the Egyptian troops, one of the murderers of Pompey. I think Pothinus, however, who was the eunuch-guardian of the youthful Ptolemy, is happiest of the allusions, and hitting off the Mendicant Friar possibly suggested the brace of comparisons to Petrarch.<sup>1</sup>

The application of the name of the masterful Egyptian queen to Joan becomes strained, seeing that Petrarch shows us that the latter possessed no power at all. As regards her personal charms, however, it might carry more happily. Giovanni Villani, by his allegations concerning Joan, would constrain us to look upon her as a vicious sovereign. But it must be taken into consideration that he employs '*sic fertur*' and '*sic dicitur*,' and he is also, like other less interesting and also less trustworthy chroniclers, a catering gossip, mindful of his not too pure-minded Florentines, who have to be entertained, and, moreover, that he is no favourer of the Angevins.

But over and above such considerations, the Villani family had cause for vituperating Naples. By the former withdrawal of Neapolitan capital the Bardi and Peruzzi had been partly ruined, although the heaviest blows had been dealt them by Sicily and England. Unable to recover from these last, they now suddenly remembered that King Robert

<sup>1</sup> Cæsar, Bell. Civ., iii. 108, 112; Lucan, viii. 484, x. 333.

must have owed them 'decem millium unciarum monete Carlenorum argenti, vel circa,' and they appealed to Clement, at this somewhat late date, for its recovery from Joan.<sup>1</sup> The Pope writing about it to her declares, 'If their statements be true, it concerns the honour of your Majesty to see to the matter and pay.' But over and above these personal reasons, there had been ample causes for Florentine displeasure with the Angevin, in spite of the immense enrichment derived by the Republic from the realm of Naples. But Florence was not the sole sufferer now. Naples and the royal family had bitterly suffered, and were suffering, by the financial failures at Florence.<sup>2</sup> But I shall not occupy more time in adverting to unproven scandals, easily originated under such conditions of affairs, and impossible to refute. Many of the stories attached to the name and fame of Queen Joan certainly have no better foundation in fact than those which have accumulated around those of Tiberius or of Virgil. There has grown up beside the real personage a legendary story; and very much of both the Tiberian legend and that of Joan, is certainly due to inventive heightenings on the part of politically hostile chroniclers. At any rate, the Villani were associates of the ruined Bardi,<sup>3</sup> and the Queen dared to demur to meeting their claim. When Cardinal-Legate Aimeric reached Naples in order to take up his appointment in May 1344, he held it among his instructions from Avignon to go into the problem of this debt and its solution with the Queen.

The Pipini were liberated by Andrew at the commencement of the following July (1344), or a little earlier, by which time the cause of the latter had effected very dangerous divisions at Naples, to which this unwise measure could not but add emphasis. The consequences of it will be duly

<sup>1</sup> Arch. Vatic. Secr. Ep. 766, February 25, 1344.

<sup>2</sup> Besides the Buonacorsi, the Acciajuoli now came to grief; the Apostolic Chamber and the Bishop of Sabina being large creditors. The Holy See finding it impossible to make the Florentines compel the Acciajuoli to pay the Bishop, placed their city under interdict. This remained in force until February 28, 1347.

<sup>3</sup> Giovanni Villani was now imprisoned. His bitterness explains itself.

traced. Meantime, the seeds of coming disasters had been thickly sown, as Clement expresses it, 'by the enemy of the human race,' himself quite unconsciously acting as the official agent of that time-honoured personage.

If Boccaccio has left us pictures displaying the gayer aspects of the court and fashionable life at Naples, his great contemporary has given us the more tragic ones.

Petrarch's description of the great storm<sup>1</sup> which completed the destruction of Amalfi during this his second stay at Naples is too well known to need further reference. The city without King Robert, having become a place of gloom and annoyance to him, he wishes to distance himself from it. 'But the Queen's commands detain me. The master whom I mourn, while dying bade me obey him.' The Queen created him 'Capellanus,' as King Robert had done; and proud of his fresh honour, in company of Barbato and Barrile, he made various interesting excursions in the environs, to Baia and Cumæ, and a second visit to Virgil's tomb.

As for the city, he states that even the most influential ministers of the council were not safe in the streets at night, which were held by armed bands of young ruffians, who attacked passers-by without distinction. It was necessary to fight or die. 'Can it be wondered in such a place (he asks), that a sort of gladiatorial games are still celebrated which neither parental authority, the weight of the law, nor the majesty of royalty avails to put down?' He might have added, 'nor the Pontifical bull,' had it not been that the mild Benedict XII. had suspended the interdicts launched at this entertainment by his two predecessors.<sup>2</sup>

Within three months of the date upon which John XXII. had granted dispensation for the infantine matrimonial contract between Joan and Andrew, I find he had granted absolution, at the special entreaty of King Robert, to several prominent nobles at Naples. These had incurred

<sup>1</sup> 'Insignem tempestatem.'

<sup>2</sup> Clement V. prohibited these games, Sept. 14, 1313. Reg. Clem. V. 10,043. Reg. Clem. VI. Secret. Anno viii. Epist. 38, July 23, 1349.

his excommunication by witnessing the 'spectaculum sive ludum' in the locality there called 'Carbonara;'<sup>1</sup> and they were enjoined to swear by the Holy Gospel to avoid the spot in future. That the interdict was little feared is proved by the fact that, in the last year of that Pontiff's life, he wrote vehemently to the King to punish those who attended the '*damnosum ludum*,' and reminds him that excommunication is the penalty.<sup>2</sup>

'The place set apart (says Petrarch) for this sort of butchery is close to the town, and is called "Carbonara,"—name truly appropriate to its associations. I betook myself thither one day. The Queen and the boy-King, Andrew, were present. (The latter promises to become noble-minded should the contested crown come to be placed on his brows.) There was assembled the élite of Naples, than which none more refined and brilliant could anywhere be found. The populace thronged to the show from all quarters. Such an illustrious gathering raised my utmost expectations, when behold, as if for some particularly joyous event, a shout of universal applause rose to the sky. I turned my gaze, and lo! a most comely youth transfixed by a pitiless blade<sup>3</sup> had fallen at my very feet. I shuddered, stupefied. Then, giving spurs to my steed, and reproving the guile of my comrades, the brutality of the lookers-on, as well as the folly of the combatants, I turned my back upon the fiendish spectacle.'<sup>4</sup>

Thus the more humanely refined mind of a brutal period was quite as much scandalised at the cold-blooded game of death in the arena as Boniface VIII. had been at the custom, which had crept in with the last Crusade, of boiling, dismembering, and distributing the bodies of de-

<sup>1</sup> Arch. Secr. Vatic. Johann. XXII. fol. 116, Ep. 1226. To the Archbishop of Capua, xv. Kal. Apr. Anno xvi. = 1332.

The locality adjoins the church of St. Giovanni in Carbonara. Again in Reg. 117, Ep. 679, John commands Robert to punish those who have lately attended the '*periculosum et damnosum ludum*.' May 23, 1333.

<sup>2</sup> Fol. 117, Ep. 679, ix. Kal. Mai, Anno xvii.

<sup>3</sup> '*Rigido mucrone transfossus*.'

<sup>4</sup> '*Tetrum et tartareum spectaculum*.' Lib. v. Ep. 6, Dec. 1, 1343.

ceased Angevin princes and princesses.<sup>1</sup> It should be recollected, perhaps, that only in the preceding century had supervened any constitutional restriction of the gladiatorial champions who hired themselves out to decide wagers of battle. The Emperor Frederick II. had vainly endeavoured to suppress the practice in his Neapolitan dominions. Much later Queen Joan's great-great-uncle, Louis IX., had won praise from the Monk of St. Denis for suppressing it in France. Perhaps the lines dividing these '*hastiludis*' from the tournament, which prevailed wherever the House of Anjou held rule, were not unfrequently allowed to become hazy.

The favourite tournament-ground in Naples at this time was the Piazza delle Corréggie, situate in the fashionable centre of the city. It was there Boccaccio had admired the young princes of Taranto, the alumni of his friend Niccolo Acciajuoli; and it was there, likewise, that the notary Domenico di Gravina reports<sup>2</sup> that after their liberation the Pipini aroused fresh odium against themselves. 'Being puffed up with triumph, they began to live luxuriously, riding in royal state, holding jousts, and appearing in the presence of the Queen and Andrew with loftier banners than their own.'<sup>3</sup>

Having protested vigorously to the Pope against his sending a Legate in the person of Cardinal Aimeric, and seeing clearly that her crown and rights were directly menaced by the Hungarians under cover of adroitly procuring what she herself had affectionately advocated, namely, the raising of Andrew to the kingly title, Clement replied consolingly that he was resolved to send Aimeric, but that if she and Andrew conformed to the latter in his administration, both of them should be duly

<sup>1</sup> See his bull '*Detestandæ Feritatis Abusum*.'

<sup>2</sup> Chron. D. di Gravina in Muratori, 554, D.E.

<sup>3</sup> As Gravina lived in the neighbourhood of Altamura and Minerbino, he is likely to have been interested in the actual part played by these adventurous local nobles, while his frequent and gross inaccuracies show conclusively that his account was written from memory, perhaps several years after the events he records.

crowned and anointed; nevertheless, that the oath of homage should be exacted from her alone just as the same Legate had received it from King Robert a little more than a year before.<sup>1</sup> A few days later, on the 22nd of the month, the Pope wrote to Louis of Hungary to the same effect, namely, that after due deliberation, both privately and in Consistory, he had decided to send Aimeric to administer the government of the realm for a certain period, and that as it is desirable to save the Queen and Andrew the trouble and expense of coming to Avignon, if Andrew will admit and subscribe to necessary conditions and precautions, he shall receive coronation and inunction at the Legate's hands at Naples. To Louis, in a later letter, he still uses the phrase 'velut vir suus,' as her husband, corresponding to 'tanquam vir tuus' in his letter to Joan. This makes it clear that he does not intend to derogate from Joan's just rights in giving Andrew<sup>2</sup> a purely nominal honour.

But this was by no means agreeable to the present aim of Hungary. Andrew ought to be virtual administrative sovereign, with equal, if not superior, power to his wife. The old claims, tracing back to Carlo Martello, must be forced vigorously to the front, and money must be used freely. The Holy See must be persuaded to undo its former decisions.

Under such circumstances, had Joan been a weak, ease-loving, or vicious woman, she must have succumbed to the forces arrayed against her, and have become either a convenient puppet to the imperious Queen Elizabeth, or else a mere nonentity. Quite the contrary proved actually the case. From the moment she perceived the true drift of things, the ambitious mettle of her more puissant ancestors seems to have been aroused in her, showing that long

<sup>1</sup> Arch. Vatic. Secr. Clem. VI. Anno i. fol. 1, Ep. 3; Anno xi. Ep. 676, Feb. 10, 1344. 'Nihilominus a te sola recipiatur homagium et fidelitatis iuramentum ad quæ prestanda pro dicto regno et terris citra Farum, nobis et Ecclesiæ prefatæ teneris astricta.'

<sup>2</sup> 'Qui prefatus Rex (Andreas) ejusdem Johannæ Reginæ ad quam regnum Siciliæ predictum a successione claræ memoriæ Roberti, Regis Siciliæ, avi sui pervenisse noscitur, vir existit.'

residence at Naples had not yet succeeded in entirely sapping Angevin virility. Moreover, if at sixteen she was, as she was described, 'light-hearted and pleasure-loving,' now, at eighteen, cares and responsibilities began to effect modifications in her character, which probably gave her beauty a more serious cast. If, too, the succession to a throne thus ominously environed with intrigue, even by a sovereign matured in statecraft, would have been fraught with almost insuperable danger, the succession to it by an inexperienced girl of seventeen, however courageous and determined to defend her right, could portend nothing short of disaster. What we may call the legend of Joan, Queen of Naples, usually ascribes the disastrous state of the court and town of Naples to the evil character of the Queen. Documentary evidence of a nature not merely satisfactory, but abundant, will, I think, have convinced the reader that this ascription, at any rate, is totally incorrect; and, indeed, considering her extreme youth, it would be strange were it not so. The condition of Naples had worsened steadily throughout the last fifteen years of King Robert's life—in fact, had deteriorated with the relaxation of his rule and the ascendancy of the Mendicants. The minor causes of that relaxation had been first of all grief due to the death of his only son; secondly, his increasing absorption in meditative studies, religious and secular; thirdly, the ambition of the various princes of the House of Anjou; and lastly, the fermenting corruption of official life. The major causes were the decline of feudalism and the financial disasters at Florence in 1339 and 1342.

While the Queen chafed at the lengthening of her minority, she showed no disrespect to her grandfather's bequests, but used whatever authority she could command to strictly fulfil them. It has been objected by some that had Joan been minded to better the complicated condition of affairs, she should have made a clearance of several of the grasping officials whom she found placed

about her; for instance, Charles Artois, the King's natural son,<sup>1</sup> who was amassing wealth; Raimondo del Balzo, Giacomo Capano, Martuccio d'Ariano, and certain of the already highly advanced Catanian family.

With regard to Charles Artois, his birth and position as a governor appointed, as well as his wealth and connection with the Acciajuoli by marriage, would have rendered his dismissal impossible. Indeed, with regard to him and all the others without exception, a clause in the late King's will, to which Joan and Andrew had been sworn, commanded both the Queen herself and the governing Council to *retain and prefer to all others in the service of herself, her sister, and Andrew, all 'officiales aut familiares' whatsoever their rank or condition.*<sup>2</sup>

This being known to the said 'officiales aut familiares,' it cannot be wondered their claims proved burdensome to her and the State; that we find the royal treasury heavily drawn upon to meet their voracity, and promotions crowding on one another, from those of Giacomo Capano within two months of Robert's death, and Raimondo Mayrat, Andrew's '*scutifer familiaris*,' in July 1343, to the sums of money demanded and obtained by united request of the Pope and Philip of Valois for Robert of Taranto, on the ground that, as titular-Emperor, he was not able to make display appropriate to his rank.<sup>3</sup> Later followed the advancement of Charles Artois to the Grand Chancellorship, May 20, 1345.

<sup>1</sup> 'Consiliarii pessimi, magnates præfati semper visi fuerunt regis Robertum magnum usurpare thesaurum.' Chron. D. di Gravina.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Cod. Dipl., Lünig, tom. ii. p. 1117. It was for this reason that Gravina was enabled to write 'Et totum regnum Neapolitana civitas devorabat, ibique toti regnum, thesaurum peritabat' (Cf. Chron. cit.). And for the same, that Matteo Villani harshly declares that Joan now governed 'tutto il regno con piu lasciva e vana, che virtuosa larghezza,' c. 9. Each of those mentioned in the will was given promotion within a few months of the King's death—promotion which could not be denied them.

<sup>3</sup> Arch. Vatic. Secr. Anno ii. Ep. 479, Nov. 11, 1343. This, I take it, was the *douceur* demanded for the advantage gained over the Taranto family by that of Durazzo.

While the breach between the Hungarian party and the Queen was thus developing, in January 1344 Maria of Durazzo had given birth to a son, which, as has been mentioned, nearly cost her her life.<sup>1</sup> As Joan had no child of her own, the advent of a son to her presumptive successor was not likely to heal the dissension which had arisen between them. The infant died, however, soon after its birth, and the Pope used the occasion to foster reconciliation between the sisters.<sup>2</sup> There were not wanting other reasons why the division between the Durazzo family and the Queen should be modified. It became their common interest to postpone Andrew's advancement. But there seemed to be some likelihood that Joan's marriage would prove childless, in which event the probabilities of a Durazzo succeeding to the throne were by no means extremely remote. On this account, Louis of Durazzo, the younger brother of Charles, was utilised as envoy to the Curia by his mother, Agnes, in order to keep up close communication with Cardinal Talleyrand, who, as it were, held a watching brief on their behalf. That a partial reconciliation between Joan and Maria, possibly on this ground, did take place seems certain, for on June 3, 1344, Louis of Durazzo and Ugo del Balzo, Count of Avellino and Seneschal in Provence, received a letter from the Queen acquainting them that Cardinal Aimeric had entered her kingdom against her will, that she had first of all vainly despatched Roberto San Severino to persuade him to return, and finally, that she and Andrew had gone to Aversa to meet him.<sup>3</sup>

Thus, while the Tuscan sculptors, Paccio and Giovanni, were raising the sumptuous monument of King Robert in Sta. Chiara, and the Queen-Dowager was dividing her time between political affairs and the Mendicants, the ship of State, as the poet had predicted, was fast urging to disaster.

The appointment of the Legate was justifiable by appear-

<sup>1</sup> 'Vehementer dolores partus.' Arch. Vatic. Secr. Epist. 770.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid. Epist. 770, v. Kal. Martii, 1344.

<sup>3</sup> Reg. B. 176, f. 30, Bouches du Rhône.

ances, while, as Clement informed Ruggiero di San Severino, Archbishop of Naples, it was a measure calculated as much to serve the interests of the Holy See as to assist the young Queen.<sup>1</sup> But it was an unpopular measure for various reasons; with the Queen herself, who felt it to be another encroachment upon her position, as well as a wound to her *amour-propre*; with the Council, who felt they should be called upon to account for their doings; and with the people, who not unreasonably regarded Legates with traditional aversion. In March,<sup>2</sup> Clement, entitling Andrew nominal King of Sicily, pressed him to exert himself more vigorously to control the unruly magnates, just as Petrarch and himself had been using their utmost endeavour, and with eminently successful result, even to let loose the most turbulent of them all from the dungeons of Castel Capuano. A month later the Queen again wrote to Ugo del Balzo, bidding him inform her faithful Marseillais that, owing to faction and rebellion prevailing at Naples, she was unable to visit their city and swear to the Articles of the Peace. In consequence of this, certain deputies of that city came to Naples and received the Queen's oath.

Another passing glimpse at the actual state of Naples is afforded by a letter conceding special powers to Gasso, Count of Terlizzi, governor of the city, who found himself precluded from dealing with any culprits who could claim privilege of royal service. Therein it is stated that the town<sup>3</sup> is oppressed by sedition and discord; that, being set on, the citizens frequently rush to arms, and sometimes murder is the result; that neither respect for that which is right, nor the fear of penalties, closes the door to these crimes, but rather that ease of escape and excess of clemency facilitate their commission.

More interesting, however, is a glimpse obtained of the

<sup>1</sup> Arch. Vatic. Secr. Epist. 850, April 6, 1344.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid. Epist. 783, March 2, 1344.

<sup>3</sup> 'Seditionibus et commotionibus lacessita, adeo quod cives ejusdem instigati frequenter ad arma concurrerent et interdum ad cædes et vulnera . . . prosilirent. Nec virtutis amor, nec pænarum formido viam delictis et insolentiis præcluderent,' &c.—MS. Niccolo d'Alife, p. 329.

Queen's own mind, showing that, in spite of the dissension aroused between her claims and those of Andrew, her feeling for him was dutiful, if not affectionate.<sup>1</sup> "Your Holiness (*Benignitas*) will deign to call to mind kindly my steadfast and immutable purpose not to make over the administration (of the realm) to my revered lord and husband; for it must reasonably be understood that there is none living who will strive after his advantage and honour as I shall; and when I know how to arrange our respective affairs, that will be made manifest to all." There is no touch of insincerity observable here!

It is related that, before returning to Visegrad, Queen Elizabeth manifested anxiety, as well she might, as to the safety of Andrew, and that she entertained the idea of taking him back to Hungary with her. Her action had certainly increased his insecurity. Gravina states that she was dissuaded from her design by the tearful entreaties of the Queen, whom, however, he blackens by terming her expressions deceitful, quite ignorant that this took place not after, but before any serious quarrel had occurred between Andrew and his wife, and a year and three-quarters before the death of the former. Strange to say, in coupling with the Queen's entreaties those of Agnes of Durazzo, he ascribes to the latter honest motives. For the motives of Catherine of Taranto he uses harsh, but not undeserved terms.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Letter of Joan to Clement VI.: 'Dignetur vestra Benignitas commemorari clementer intentionem meam incommutabiliter perseverantem circa non concedendam Administrationem in Reverendo Domino, viro meo; nam, sicut presupponi rationabiliter debet non est persona vivens in mundo quem tantum affectet quantum ego ipsius commodum et honorem: et quando expedire cognovero conditionibus suis et meis, id cunctis, patere poterit effectum.' Fol. 25, MS. cit.

<sup>2</sup> Gravina. As a contemporary of the events and personages he writes of, value must always attach to Gravina's account. It is true that, when an attempt was made to form an estimate of the Queen's character in her arduous position, Gravina's narrative was launched explosively at the present writer by reviewers on both sides of the water, as if the words of any mediæval chronicler whomsoever were to be accepted as infallible truth, as documentary evidence, or as exact doctrine. Am I to believe King Robert was eighty years of age because Villani tells me so (and Canon Pór follows him), when I can prove that he did not live to be sixty-five? Am I to believe Gravina when he tells me Andrew was twelve

Elizabeth especially commended her son to the care of Bertrando del Balzo, Count of Montescaglioso, whose daughter, we remember, was the wife of the Dauphin of Vienne, Andrew's first cousin. Del Balzo, through the death of Gentile Orsini, had lately been created Grand-Justiciary by Joan, and practically he had become the first noble in the kingdom. Nevertheless, he was not on the administrative Council, which fact, added to that of his being past middle age, may have been another recommendation in the Hungarian Queen's eyes.

It may be taken for granted that though the departure years of age when brought from Hungary to Naples, while I can prove that he had attained not half that age? These are but a few glaring fundamental delusions. In truth, I am reminded more sympathetically of the words of the great man whose loss we so lately have had to deplore: 'Such narratives, while veracious as to the main event, may and do exhibit various degrees of unconscious and conscious misrepresentation, suppression, and invention, till they hardly become distinguishable from pure fiction.'\* Still more am I reminded that in his Preface to Gravina's Chronicle, Muratori openly warns us that the author vehemently inclines himself toward the Hungarians, considers their rights and praises their deeds, so that, at any rate, those things which he relates concerning the opposite side and Queen Joan must be sometimes accepted with reserve. When over and above this prudent hint we take into consideration the lengthy and academical orations which he so glibly and liberally puts into the mouths of his characters, there is need to be doubly upon our guard.

And who, then, was this Gravina? But little is known of him beyond what he himself permits us to know. He calls himself 'Notarius,' speaks freely of his legal associates, and of the ills suffered by his own family through the death of Andrew. After undertaking to chronicle in a bitter but graphic manner some of the initial events of the Queen's reign, he dwindles off into the petty affairs relative to the town and district of Gravina during the period of the Hungarian invasion, detailing the local litigations arising therefrom, and the complications at Altamura owing to the return thither of the Pipini, who by that period had won fresh distinctions of the former kind, and had ingratiated themselves with King Louis of Hungary.

This, then, is a valuable portion of his narrative. Perhaps, too, owing to the fact of the town of Gravina having given a baronial title to the Durazzo princes,† its chronicler could afford to show some mitigation of disfavour toward their doings. I confess I share fully the doubts expressed to me by Professor Giuseppe de Blasis as to whether Gravina ever was at Naples at all, and, at any rate, I fully concur with him that portions of the Chronicle were indited some years after the events related in it took place. There will be further occasion to question the accuracy of some of Gravina's most explicit statements.

\* Science and Hebrew Tradition, vi. 202, T. H. Huxley.

† In 1296 Raimondo Berengario, fifth son of Charles II., as Lord of Altamura, paid seven ounces of gold (annual) to the Bishop of Gravina, due by convention for lands held. Tom. vii. 129, Chioccarelli.

of Joan's mother-in-law<sup>1</sup> was a blow to the Hungarian party at Naples, it afforded corresponding relief to Joan herself. Elizabeth had brought affairs to a perilous pass in a most determined manner, and was not likely to rest content. But at any rate, she had displayed her hand; and that being so, with praiseworthy decision Joan wrote to Clement and the magnates of Provence, declaring every procuration given by her to the Hungarian ambassadors to be null and void.<sup>2</sup> It is noteworthy that this letter was dated three days after Queen Sancia's retirement to Sta. Maria della Croce as 'Sister Clara.'

The play of interests between Buda, Avignon, and Naples continuing active without intermission, it is necessary to re-advert to those of the two houses of Taranto and Durazzo. Catherine and her son Robert had not been idle. It could not have been satisfactory to them that the breach between the Queen and the Durazzo family should have been mended. Their obvious course, however, was to show their own antipathy to Andrew and the Hungarian policy, and thereby draw the Queen more powerfully to themselves; but their high-handed proceedings in certain other matters tended in another direction.

Since their expeditions for the substantiation of Ionian and Achaian claims, their Marshal in Achaia had administered their dominion. This individual was another Bertrand del Balzo, Lord of Courtheson and Gaudissart, son of Raymond III., Prince of Orange. In reward for services Catherine had granted him certain territorial concessions. When, however, he had realised possession thereof, Catherine and her son violently deprived him of it. Del Balzo had appealed to Avignon, and Clement wrote to Joan to have the matter settled in Del Balzo's favour. The quarrel was

<sup>1</sup> Joan directed on Feb. 25, 1344, that three galleys should be held ready to transport Queen Elizabeth and her retinue across the Adriatic. The Queen-mother of Hungary now took occasion to visit the shrine of St. Nicholas at Bari.

<sup>2</sup> Jan. 24, 1344. Cf. *Inventaire Chronologique des Chartes de la Maison de Baux*. L. Barthélemy, 1882, 1243, p. 357.

embittered by the incarceration of Del Balzo's sons by order of Catherine.<sup>1</sup> Wishing, perhaps, to give Andrew at least a voice in the affairs of state (though more probably, by pretending to do so, desiring to soothe and flatter Hungarian susceptibility), Clement wrote to him to use his good offices in settling this difficulty in the following manner.<sup>2</sup> But what could be more ridiculous than to expect a lad under seventeen, brought up in such a nest of intrigue, to prevail with the elderly Catherine of Valois, his natural enemy? and this, too, a year before the same Pontiff warns him to behave as becomes a prince of ripe character and to put away childish things.<sup>3</sup> It would seem, however, that quarrels of this kind were almost the only matters the Pope concerned Andrew with beyond juggling with him about his coronation. A few months later we find Clement again asking him to aid the Legate 'cum auxiliis, consiliis, et favoribus optimis' in compelling justice from the powerful Gaetani, Counts of Fondi, who had overawed Cassino, and committed nocturnal outrages in other towns. In August of this year, 1344, Robert of Taranto was called to account by Clement for having likewise appropriated the goods and chattels of a certain noble of the name of Taldo Taldi, and was peremptorily commanded to restore them.<sup>4</sup>

An event of importance with regard to the Durazzo family was the death of Agnes, who left the interests of her three sons to the guardianship of their uncle, Cardinal Talleyrand, of whose labours at Avignon in delaying the proposed coronation of Andrew, the King and Queen-mother of Hungary now became fully cognisant. The death of Agnes, though doubtless a satisfaction to Catherine of Taranto, could effect no alteration in the policy of the Duke

<sup>1</sup> Arch. Vatic. Secr. Ep. 196, Anno ii. July 29, 1343.

<sup>2</sup> Arch. Vatic. Secr. Ep. 165, Anno iii. July 25, 1344.

<sup>3</sup> 'Sicut decet Principem maturis intendens moribus et puerilia, quasque dimittens.' Sept. 21, 1345. A letter, be it observed, which was despatched three days after Andrew was actually dead. Cf. Ep. 407, Anno iv.

<sup>4</sup> Arch. Vatic. Secr. Ep. 345, 346, 347, Anno iii.

her son.<sup>1</sup> The latter, as dissensions between the party of Andrew and that of Joan became more emphatic, more and more drew toward the former, and thus cloaked his enmity.<sup>2</sup>

In June or July Joan herself again fell ill, but we learn of her restoration to health in August, to which date in consequence Clement had deferred the ceremony of her coronation and homage-rendering to Cardinal Aimeric. This took place in the church of Sta. Chiara on August 26th and 31st, in the presence of Andrew, the Taranto and Durazzo families, and all the chief prelates and nobles of the land, including Charles Artois, Roberto di Ponziaco, Niccolo d'Alife, Tommaso Lupton, Hungarian envoy, the Pipini, and their foes—Gasso, Count of Terlizzi, and Raimondo del Balzo.<sup>3</sup>

Clement utilised the Queen's recovery to urge better relations between husband and wife, and their future avoidance of differences,<sup>4</sup> although, if Andrew was being encouraged by his mother, brother, and the Pipini, who now owed their liberation to him,<sup>5</sup> to hope for more than the delegated authority of King-consort, the coronation of Joan alone, in his presence and that of his Hungarian courtiers, could have proved nothing short of irritating. The reason for not crowning Andrew likewise at this time was that Clement and the Sacred College had resolved to grant Andrew coronation upon certain already stated conditions,<sup>6</sup> and these conditions had

<sup>1</sup> Scandal reached Gravina that she had succumbed to poison administered by Sancia de Cabannis, and he makes a long and exceedingly nasty story out of it, the nastiness of which is only equalled by its improbability. Cf. D. di Gravina, 221.

<sup>2</sup> M. Villani, lib. i. c. 11. G. Villani, lib. xii. c. 112. See also Gravina, 'Ipse autem Dux (Andreas) semper consilio Ducis Duratii utebatur.'

<sup>3</sup> Ex. Regest. Aimericus, Anno 1344, Lit. H. fol. 58. Cf. Reg. Clem. VI. Anno iii. Ep. 90.

<sup>4</sup> 'Ex odiis dissentionibus, si, quod absit, ab illo qui est fautor malorum omnium, premitterentur.' Epist. 239, 240.

<sup>5</sup> Epist. 194, 195, Anno iii. Aug. 24, 1344: 'Quia tamen noviter liberationem predictorum nobilium audivimus.'

<sup>6</sup> That he should swear obedience to the Legate, and that, in the case of Joan dying without issue, the kingdom should revert to Maria di Durazzo. Epist. 662, Anno 1344, Feb. 2. To Andrew: 'Si protestationes et cautelas, idoneis admitteris et compleveris,' 676, s. d. To Joan: 'Si tamen eidem (Legato) per te, Regemque prefatum, virum tuum, super eadem administratione plene pareatur, sicut indubie supponimus et speramus, et non aliter cum effectum, tibi et viro

proved unacceptable to the court of Hungary, because that court in turn desired his coronation upon grounds which were equally unacceptable by the Holy See. In the prescribed form of homage and vassalage taken by Joan, Andrew was not so much as referred to.

Believing that opposition at Avignon might be overcome by judicious, if lavish, use of bribes, these were freely resorted to, and though the actual sums paid by Louis of Hungary are perhaps not to be discovered, he is stated by Hungarian authorities to have levied fresh taxes for the purpose,<sup>1</sup> while Albertus Argentinensis declares the sum paid was 80,000 florins of gold.<sup>2</sup> He was at any rate prepared to fulfil every promise made in his name by his envoys at Avignon. Every nerve was to be strained in order to consummate what he had been brought up to regard as an ancestral cause; and but for the opposition of Cardinal Talleyrand and the anti-Hungarian party, it may perhaps be taken for granted he might have succeeded in doing so.

Whereas, then, Joan was at first a prime and eager mover in advancing her husband to the kingly title, when once made aware that her husband's family, of which he was not the eldest son, would be content with nothing less than his appropriating the administrative, she as eagerly opposed what she could not but regard as a violent invasion of her own rights. As yet they had no offspring. It will be admitted, I think, that her attitude was both correct and vigorous, and such as in a man would have commanded sympathetic respect. This by no means, however, connotes that King Louis was blameworthy. Instead of waiting until a son of Andrew should succeed Joan, he and his mother desired Andrew to be made actual monarch, brushing Joan aside.

tuo prefato coronatio et inunctio impendantur predictæ, ac nihilominus, a te sola recipiatur homagium et fidelitatis juramentum, ad quæ prestanda pro dicto Regno et terris citra Farum, nobis et Ecclesiæ prefatæ teneris astricta.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Thuróczy, iii. 4; Bonfinius, D. ii. lib. 10; Fejér, ix. 1, 220, Cod. Dip.

<sup>2</sup> Tom. ii. 138, Albert Argentin.

## CHAPTER III

### THE LEGATE GOVERNS

JOAN, in spite of her protest at the appointment<sup>1</sup> of a Legate, signed her proclamation acknowledging Cardinal Aimeric as Regent, admitting her crown to be held from the Holy See. She accordingly received the solemn investiture, while Andrew signed the proclamation as a mere witness under the courtesy-title of King of Jerusalem and Sicily. Now, it will be evident that had the original compact of John XXII. been fulfilled—that is to say, had Louis, King Carobert's eldest son, been united to Joan—the coronation of Louis as co-equal with Joan, had it been pressed for, could not well have been refused him. He was not yet married. Margaret of Moravia was under agreement to marry him at the end of four years dating from March 1342. It is obvious, therefore, that should Andrew die meanwhile, by breaking this agreement, Louis might still claim Joan's hand, and Joan might be obliged to acknowledge his claim. That was the cruel part of the compact. Maria, by her marriage with Charles of Durazzo, had evaded it successfully, though not without exciting acute irritation in Hungary. This, however, may have been partly allayed by the consideration that Stephen, Andrew's remaining younger brother, was too young to be thought of as her partner.

Thus, though Joan was under no promise to share sovereignty with any one, it is difficult to suppose she could have escaped doing so had she been united to Louis instead

<sup>1</sup> Pietro di Cadeneto and Ugo del Balzo (Seneschal of Provence) had presented her protest, dated September 5, 1343, in which she declared that the appointment was contrary to Agreement in the Convention between Charles I. and the Holy See. Reg. B. 176, f. 20. Bouches-du-Rhone.

of to Andrew. Until, therefore, Hungary, by bribing the Holy See, could force Joan to hand over her rights and responsibilities to Andrew, the old convention was of no avail towards recovering Naples to Carobert's line. This was the sore point; but the fault clearly enough had originated in Carobert's overweening ambition to secure Poland to his heir. The wiser heads at Naples, Niccolo d'Alife and Andrea d'Isernia (No. 2), the able successors of Bartolommeo da Capua, doubtless understood this, and watched every turn of affairs. They were aware how money was lavished by the Hungarian party at Naples, as well as at Avignon, in order to circumvent that of the Queen, which, however divided in itself, presented a powerful front, and was practically a Valois party.

The coming of a Cardinal-Legate under such circumstances, empowered to set aside Queen and Council, to revoke all donations and concessions made by Joan and Sancia, and, moreover, to force them actually to receive the Pipini,<sup>1</sup> could prove nothing less than an open humiliation to Joan and a source of embitterment to the members of the Council. Moreover, unless he should conduct affairs in a paternal and considerate manner toward the Queen, it was certain that any acute overshadowing of her would be translated as a triumph for Andrew and Queen Elizabeth, and the Legate would be looked upon at court not merely with suspicion and distaste, but with abhorrence. But did this Legate differ from other legates? He had visited Naples in the previous year, and although a kinsman of the Pontiff, he had not succeeded in creating a favourable impression. The Queen had disapproved and finally protested against his coming as illegal. Clement had described him already as '*zelator fervidus*,' and for that reason charged him as an efficient person to eradicate heresy<sup>2</sup> from the realm, to spy upon Jews who affirmed themselves to have been converted, or had reverted to Judaism, and, on pretence of a crusade against the Turks,

<sup>1</sup> Reg. Clem. VI. Anno iii. Secret. Epist. 22, 61, 90, 141-147, 193, 195, 221.

<sup>2</sup> '*Sed totaliter extirpet.*' Ep. 221, August 20, 1344.

to impose a 'triennial tenth' upon the people. In fact, he had opened to Aimeric an easy avenue to wealth at the expense of Naples. For Cardinal-Legates (especially those from Avignon) were not content with merely free quarters<sup>1</sup> and the supply of necessaries; they were usually adepts at various methods of farming out their jurisdiction, and received heavy payments for every letter they wrote.

In the previous century Robert Grosseteste, Bishop of Lincoln, had informed Innocent IV. that the Curia was the source of all vileness, which rendered the priesthood a reproach to Christianity. Alexander IV. had described the corruption of the people as proceeding from the clergy. What it had become in the age of Clement VI. can be understood by reading the accounts of Pelayo and Petrarch. In short, the advent of a Legate was looked upon as a national calamity, only less so than the coming of the Plague or the Pontiff himself. Whatever was bad and corrupt at Naples could not but become far worse by the holy importation from Avignon. The Queen would have to stand aside, and see her people ground down by a prelate intent certainly on preventing the oblique administration of her trustees, but only in order to enrich himself and the Curia. To Aimeric was, moreover, delegated power of excommunication. The revocation of small territorial concessions and forfeitures was a measure, if carried out, alone sufficient to convulse the kingdom. It was evil enough that the Pipini should have been liberated by Andrew in order to win over to his interest Cardinal Colonna; that these rebels should be returned the lands and titles they had forfeited, and which had been now for some years enjoyed by high officials of the realm, was to give crime an extra triumph; and it accounts for the statement of Gravina that their arrogance after liberation knew no bounds. Nevertheless, Raimondo del Balzo refused to surrender the title of Minorbino, and successfully retained it. He had paid King Robert fifteen thousand florins for the castle and estate.

<sup>1</sup> 'Reverendissimis patribus Cardinalibus dumtaxat exceptis.'

The unique Codex in the possession of Canon Camera, compiled by the Marchese San Giovanni<sup>1</sup> in the first half of the seventeenth century, from volumes of original State documents now lost, but once in the keeping of no less a personage than Niccolo d'Alife, Joan's Chancellor, and which, by the present owner's favour, I have been permitted to study, besides containing numbers of the Queen's letters, includes a connective commentary upon them. Sometimes a letter is adduced in entirety, sometimes in fragments only, and occasionally it is only referred to. One has, therefore, to be grateful for mere gleams. As, however, this MS. abridgment was not made for the purpose of publication, it remains an embodiment of independent views—views arising in the mind of the compiler from the evidence contained in the mass of documents before him. This resource, in spite of the use made of the letters by the late Matteo Camera, has not been adequately utilised in illustrating the subject; and owing to the occasional oversights of that lamented annalist, to whom its treasures became first known, even the letters printed by him reveal not merely misreadings, but some appear chronologically misplaced, and in one important instance with entirely supposititious attributions.

I shall now quote a passage from the above-mentioned commentary which bears on the position of the Queen and the Cardinal-Legate. I do this with the more pleasure as it presents us with a view differing from the conventional one that the Queen was an abandoned, cruel, and irreligious woman, whom the good and gentle Cardinal was wisely sent to correct.

'There was sent to the realm for its administration an Apostolic Legate. Joan, therefore, using the title, but not enjoying the exercise of Sovereign power, bewailed her misfortune, whereby, at the mandate of the Pontiff, on account of her pretended ill-behaviour,<sup>2</sup> the government was entirely taken out of her hands; the government of a realm for which

<sup>1</sup> Marcello Bonaito, 1632-1717.

<sup>2</sup> 'Per causa di suoi pretesi mali portamenti.'

her ancestors had undergone so much,—at least, so history says. She therefore complains to the Pope, begging him not to lend so ready an ear to the many harsh attacks on her reputation, to recall the Legate in due course, as he had promised to do, and to repeal the processes against her for concessions and alienations, and declare her innocence.<sup>1</sup> Nevertheless she was content to share the administration as Queen with the Legate for six months, as had been settled by his Holiness.<sup>2</sup>

In proof of her endeavour, however futile, to act with the Cardinal for embettering the condition of Naples, and particularly for dealing with crimes of violence, then terribly prevalent there, we have both the order issued by the Cardinal and that by Joan herself simultaneously, giving commands to Gasso, Count of Terlizzi, as captain of the city. In these frequently the same phrases occur, but the Queen's injunction is sometimes the more peremptory and exacting of the two.

Unfortunately, Terlizzi found his efforts neutralised. This came about (according to the Codex), not because he lacked men qualified in number and will to fulfil his orders, but because those whom he found it necessary to deal with were too highly placed to permit his dealing with them, namely, 'those who enjoyed the protection of princes of the royal family, and were of the household of the husband of the Queen,'<sup>3</sup> *i.e.*, the favourites of the late King, who could not be got rid of, and those of Andrew.

Thus we see the curtain lift, and glance for a moment

<sup>1</sup> 'Che cessi pur una volta di porger si pronto l'udito a tanti rigorosi contra la sua fama, e risolva come gli havea dato parola a rimuover del regno il Legato, a rivotar i Processi contro di lei, et a dichiarar la sua Innocenza.' MS. fol. 25.

<sup>2</sup> 'E con tutto cio si contentava di prender l'administrazione come Regina insieme col Legato per sei mesi conforme ordinava la Santita sua.' Ibid.

<sup>3</sup> 'Stava governando la Città di Napoli il Conte di Terlizzi, marescallo del Regno, destinato a tal governo per gli gran tumulti, sedizioni, e rivolte, che regnavano in quella Città; per le quale giornalmente succedavano stragi, inconvenienti, e morti, onde bisognava al Conte assoluta autorità per riparare a tanti mali, e come semplice Capitano gl'era vietato usare li rigori, e particolarmente

at the hostility to Joan's sovereignty kept alive by the agents of Elizabeth of Hungary. How keenly must the Pipini have relished the game they could now take so prominent a part in! The High-court alone could deal with them, if it dared to do so. Terlizzi, therefore, asked for extraordinary powers, and these were not denied him. Nevertheless, he seems to have found his position too perilous to allow him to act resolutely. Well, indeed, might Camera remark, that 'the conferring of the royal diadem upon Joan alone greatly embittered Andrew, her husband, and not less enraged his brother (King) Louis afar off, who secretly set himself to create embarrassments for his sister-in-law.'<sup>1</sup> He might have added with equal truth, that the intrigues of Andrew and his relatives to usurp Joan's rightful sovereignty very naturally embittered her.

It was from this period, therefore, that cleavage between the supporters of Hungarian pretensions, and those whose gospel was King Robert's Will and their hereditary right, became dangerously accentuated; the family of Taranto siding with Joan, while the Duke of Durazzo (probably to recover Hungarian and Papal favour) affected to sympathise with Andrew<sup>2</sup> and Cardinal Aimeric. In fact, Clement thanked the Duke for assisting Aimeric, and begged him to continue doing so.<sup>3</sup> Many of the courtiers of Joan and Andrew now fell foul of one another. An important, though not the only long-established group of domestic functionaries in Castel Nuovo, was that headed by Philippa

contro quello che godevano il privilegio delli Regali, e li domestici del sposo della Regina. Pero supplicò la Regina li dispensarsi di potersi servire delle rite expriminenze della gran Corte della Vicaria, per curar dunque à tanti inconvenienti li fu concessa la facultà.' Fol. 329, MS. cit. See also Regest. Aimericus, 1344, lit. B. fol. 94, 95.

<sup>1</sup> Elucubrazioni Storico-diplomatiche su Giovanna I<sup>a</sup>. Salerno, 1889, p. 32.

<sup>2</sup> 'Ipse autem Dux (Andreas) semper concilio ducis Duratii utebatur, et quasi continuo morabantur simul equitabant et simul semper gaudebant.' D. di Gravina, op. cit.

<sup>3</sup> Clem. VI. Secr. Ep. 151, Anno iii. July 18, 1344. He was likewise endeavouring, unsuccessfully, to procure for himself the Duchy of Calabria.

Catanese, now quite an old woman. It comprised Raimondo, the Seneschal, and Sancia di Cabannis, Countess of Morcone, her grand-daughter;<sup>1</sup> Carlo di Gambatesa, the latter's husband; Roberto di Cabannis,<sup>2</sup> then Count of Eboli, and Sigelgaita,<sup>3</sup> his wife; Margherita (di Ceccano), wife of Carlo di Cabannis; Giovanni Poboselli,<sup>4</sup> and Pietro and Umfredo di Montefusco, officials in the service of Andrew.

It will be recollected that Margherita di Ceccano assisted in the abduction of Maria, the Queen's sister, which had so incensed Joan. Roberto di Cabannis was a practised envoy between Naples and Avignon, as well as acting Grand Seneschal. Besides these, there were Pietro di Pino, Cecco di Quinserino, Bertoldo Bulgari,<sup>5</sup> Conrado Catanzaro, and others. This formed the official head-centre in populous Castel Nuovo hostile to Andrew's claims. With it were sympathetically allied Charles Artois, Count of St. Agata and Montedorisio, and his son Bertrand; Gasso, Count of Terlizzi, and Mambriccio di Tropea, Master of the Horse.<sup>6</sup>

Probably, though less openly, were connected Catherine of Taranto and her sons, Robert (now styling himself Emperor), and Louis, his younger brother. Into it entered none of the clan Del Balzo; and Charles Artois was the only one of the former councillors whose name is so associated. Finally, there was the Durazzo group.

The former group naturally used its own methods to foster the dissensions between the royal couple, thereby provoking Andrew and his friends to tilt at the prerogative of Joan. To this Andrew was constantly pushed by reason

<sup>1</sup> Daughter of Carlo di Cabannis.

<sup>2</sup> Grand Seneschal of the kingdom.

<sup>3</sup> Filomarino.

<sup>4</sup> 'Sicci ostiarii' = ignorant doorkeepers, porters.

<sup>5</sup> Doubtless a near relative of Boccaccio's friend, Marino Bulgaro, 'origine sclavus, et a juventate sua nauticæ artis peritissimus,' who used to frequent the court of King Robert. In 1338, Anna, Empress of Bulgaria, a kinswoman of Robert through his mother, Maria of Hungary, was residing at Naples. In the previous year the archives of Naples record the arrival of five Bulgarian courtiers.

<sup>6</sup> This group was mainly composed of officials dependent upon the Grand Seneschal. Cf. Giannone, lib. xi. 6, 7; lib. xxi. 6, 1.

of the negotiations with which his mother and brother pestered Avignon. Bishops,<sup>1</sup> professors of civil law, and licentiates were continually passing to and fro in the perennial cause. The bitterness of Andrew's supporters and advisers, who now looked in vain for highest advancement at Naples, may be allowed to account for any shortcomings his immature character may have now manifested. He was, in any case, but seventeen years of age, while Joan was herself not yet nineteen. What was the nature of the puerilities which Clement urged him to put away is not stated; but Gravina, the chronicler partial to the Hungarians, does not forbear to disclose that Andrew caused to be painted a banner on which were represented an axe and a stake—it was presumed, to warn his enemies of what they might expect when he should succeed in obtaining power, which, says the above writer, he openly displayed in public.<sup>2</sup> Certainly, be it confessed, this was the least tactful means devisable for reconciling refractory subjects. But it would probably be unfair to admit that this device originated with himself. Possibly this may have been a device more familiar in Hungary than in Naples, as it is recorded that the army of Hungarians which later on descended to invade Naples carried a banner on which Andrew's murder was represented. In any case, it was not a common one at Naples, and Rienzi had not yet employed it at Rome.

Taken, however, with other statements regarding the conduct of the Hungarians in Italy, the judgment of those who have pronounced them barbarous seems to be not a little justified, however resented by certain of their admirers to-day, who forget that Hungary at this period had only recently emerged from prolonged civil wars, by which her advances in civilisation had received serious check. Gravina, at any rate, does not disguise the fact that three years later,

<sup>1</sup> Bishops of Neitra and Ceneda.

<sup>2</sup> 'Præter arma sua regalia depingi fecit quandam manarum et cippum, quod omnibus publice demonstravit.' Chron. Dom. di Gravina.

in 1348, the invaders of Naples martyred their innocent prisoners with every kind of torment, drawing teeth and cutting off noses and hands.<sup>1</sup> 'Nor was any mercy shown by the invaders for the people. Assuredly it was unheard-of and utterly cruel.'

Whatever apprehension foes to Andrew's claim might entertain as to his ultimate success, so long as there appeared no likelihood of proximate realisation, they could indulge in ridicule. Early in the following spring, however, there ensued an improvement in the relations between Joan and her husband, and in the commencement of summer it became known that the Queen had expectations of becoming a mother. As a natural result, the prospects of Andrew greatly brightened, and the probable advance of his authority began to inspire very grave meditation in his opponents.

Onward from the autumn of 1344, Cardinal Aimeric had continued administering the affairs of the realm, evidently to Papal satisfaction, if not to that of the Queen and her subjects. It must, in justice to him, be conceded that, with all its emoluments (and these were large), the appointment was a singularly thorny one, the most dangerous part of his duty being to practically revoke the lavish distribution of all kinds of donations, alienations, and pensions drawn from Sancia and Joan by voracious crown-officers, by cleric and lay functionaries, and by that too-numerous domestic staff<sup>2</sup> with which the realm had been left burdened. The Will of

<sup>1</sup> 'Il Gravina, cronista di parte Unghera, racconta con vivi colori le inumanità orribili che commettevano questi soldati sfrenati quando prendevano e distruggevano qualche terra o borgata; i poveri prigionieri erano martoriati con ogni tormento; si strappavano loro denti, si tagliavano loro mani e naso.' Storia delle Signorie Ital., Cipolla, p. 106; D. di Gravina, Chron., p. 716; S. R. Italic., vol. xii. 'Miseri autem, qui ferebantur captivi, diversis tormentis oppressi, evulsionibus dentium, mutilatione manuum, narilumque truncatione sequuta, pecuniis oportebat eos redimere corporis sui salutem. Eratque tanta miserorum copia captivorum, quod singulis noctibus, tota quasi, nocte dolore pessimæ ligaturæ membrorum ululatas eorum et inexcusabilis planctus crescebat in ærem, nec ulla erat compassio apud illos. Solum autem eorum erat refugium forma nummi.'

<sup>2</sup> 'Rursus amantissima filia, cujusdam edicti per te facti super revocatione

King Robert had been sworn to irrevocably by his heirs, and under it the said functionaries, '*of whatever estate or condition,*' were '*to be retained and preferred to all others.*' Accordingly, the youthful sovereign had been rarely pillaged.<sup>1</sup> It was impossible for a girl so circumstanced and environed to evade the innumerable claims made upon her. In fact, Clement himself assisted many individuals to obtain the fulfilment of pretended money promises of King Robert, and secured valuable territorial advancements<sup>2</sup> from Joan for his own brother, Guillaume, Viscomte de Beaufort,<sup>3</sup> for his nephew, Guillaume de la Tour,<sup>4</sup> and for the Legate, under consideration. Aimeric's orders were to proclaim null and void all grants of baronies, lands, castles, villas, and honours that had been obtained from the Queen and Sancia; but he was not forbidden to accept some for himself. It was natural his task should be thwarted unless he could retain at

inefrenatæ multitudinis magistrorum rationalium Judicium Curia Vicariæ, Advocatorum, procuratorum fisci, et pauperum auditorum rationum, et summaria Scriptorum archivi, et aliorum officialium, quos post obitum Claræ memoriæ Roberti Regis minus consultæ deputaveras, tenore diligentius intellecto tuam exinde circumspectionem prudentiam multipliciter in Domino commendantes . . . exhortamur Edictum hujusmodi tenaciter observare procurans,' &c. May 14, 1345, Secr. Ep. 1060, Anno iii. Clem. VI. fol. 138. It is evident the lawyers pillaged Joan quite as successfully as any other class of the professional community. They were grateful to her, however.

<sup>1</sup> Clement acknowledges this in the following passage: 'Quamquam autem, nos dudum post generalem revocationem a nobis factam de officialibus quos Rex prefatus (Robert) in sua ultimo dispositione, in nostrum et Ecclesiæ Romanæ, ad quos dicti Regni administratio post obitum Regis predicti, te filia dilectissima, in tali juvenili constituta etate quod de facili posteras circumveniri et decipi, pertinebat, prejudicium, deputarat, propter honorem quorundam ex eisdem officialibus, et ad tuam instantiam etiam duxerimus de patientia Sedis Apostolicæ tolerandum, quod ipsi in officiis dummodo a recipiendis abstinerent stipendiis remanerent, tamen postmodum tu restituta tibi per nos ex certis causis administratione dicti Regni, magnos officiales, utpote magistram justitiarium, constabulum, admiratum, et si qui sint tales alii stipendiare pinguiter curavisti, et stipendia hujusmodi de tua camera non absque tuis et Regni tui magnis incommodis solvi facias, quamquam tempore dicti Regis, Avi tui, officiales ipsi stipendia . . . aliunde non reciperent,' &c. Reg. 140, Epist. 1225, April 29, 1347.

<sup>2</sup> Châteaux des Mées et du Lauzet, March 20, 1345, Reg. B. 1431, f. 4, Bouches du Rhône.

<sup>3</sup> Epist. 955, 956, Anno iii. Reg. Secr. Clem. VI. April 8, 1345.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid. July 18, 1344.

Naples a powerful executive for a long period; and even thus, what might he hope to achieve when his very presence there was a humiliation to the Queen, to the Council, and to the trustees? Local prelates, such as the Archbishops of Capua and Naples, were themselves too much interested in thwarting him to heartily co-operate. Perhaps it was for this reason that William, Archbishop of Brindisi, was deputed to do so. Had not the financial disasters at Florence produced calamities at Naples, affecting every one, from Queen Sancia downwards?

Nevertheless, Clement had conceded to Joan that if the Cardinal-Legate was fully obeyed, his governance should be strictly temporary. It would appear that the Queen, when blamed by Clement for having so lavishly fulfilled the duties imposed on her in regard to crown-servitors, pointed out to him how tied and bound she had perforce been. Late in November the previous year, listening to her entreaty to cancel the appointment of the Legate, on the ground that, with riper experience, she herself would be able to govern her realm befittingly, he told her that if she wished to change her councillors, or to be released from certain conditions in the Will, he would grant her the necessary dispensation. But Joan refused to tamper with the Will, which she had been sworn to observe. This is important, as emphasising a certain conscientiousness which she manifested throughout her career. The Pope, therefore, at the end of six months, namely, in February 1345, removed the Legate, whom, he declared, had succeeded in governing '*pacifice et quiete.*' Aimeric quitted Naples, and a minor dignity in the person of the Bishop of Chartres was established as Papal Nuncio and adviser to the Queen; it being at the same time given her to understand, that while her minority should last she was to make no further concessions, donations of rents, perpetual pensions, &c., without taking counsel of the *wisest of her statesmen*, nor was she to squander or let go<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> 'Non consumas quomodolibet, vel committas.'

the treasure that had been laid by for defence of the kingdom and the recovery of Sicily by her predecessor.<sup>1</sup>

And now, while leaving the subject of Cardinal Aimeric, let us give a parting glance at his stipend, and consider if what Clement thought a moderate recompense could be so estimated by the people he had been charged to govern. The expenses of his legation were to be met by the Queen and the clergy. Clement, therefore, here informs the Queen how much she and they respectively shall pay to Aimeric. 'Although lately deciding that our dear son, Aimeric, &c., should depart sooner from your realm than proved possible to him, as your Serenity is aware, according to the weighty nature of the affairs committed to his charge, we ordained that he should receive from you 7000 florins, and from your clergy 8000. As, however, on account of his prolonged delay there, this sum may not suffice for his said expenses, we desire both yourself and the clergy each to pay him 2000 florins more.'<sup>2</sup> That is, in all Aimeric, over and above board and lodging, was to receive for his services 19,000 florins of gold, otherwise 3800 ounces of gold at five florins to the ounce.

When the Legate returned to Avignon, he must have had a great deal to communicate by word of mouth. He had not been at Naples without using his eyes. One good effect of his letters from headquarters was to make Clement aware of the fact that the dissensions between Joan and her husband were chiefly due to the too familiar intercourse with both of them of the group of castle officials before-mentioned, some of whom doubtless bore evil repute for other reasons, but all of whom, for their own sakes, were keenly interested in sustaining and fostering the Queen's opposition to the Hungarian claims. They had made themselves especially obnoxious to Aimeric; while Andrew and his retinue, on the other hand, made themselves designedly

<sup>1</sup> Secr. Epist. 462, Anno iii. December 19, 1344.

<sup>2</sup> Secr. Epist. 906, Clem. VI. Anno iii. April 18, 1345.

agreeable to him. From one or other reason, but probably from both, the Cardinal moved in Consistory that Andrew should be crowned and anointed, and Roberto di Cabannis, the Seneschal of Castel Nuovo, was summoned to Avignon to give account of affairs. Clement having been informed by Aimeric that certain betrothals had taken place between the children of Tommaso San Severino and of Gasso, Count of Terlizzi, with those of Roberto di Cabannis, forthwith ordered the Nuncio at Naples to forbid these projected alliances. As the letters containing this decision have not, to my knowledge, been so much as adverted to by any writer on the subject, and are important as throwing light on the intrigues of the Catanian family, at whose domestic mercy the royal couple to some extent must have been, I will quote from them.<sup>1</sup> 'It has come to our knowledge that, in consequence of certain betrothals entered upon and begun between certain of your (offspring) and the sons of the noble Roberto di Cabannis, various perils and evils (which at present we omit to describe) have already resulted to the King and Queen, and further, that if these matrimonial projects be carried out (they will involve) things which may not easily be retrieved or set at rest, which may be apprehended in the future. We therefore, not in any manner wishing to disguise, nor yet to permit such things, desire you, all things seriously considered, to dissolve these aforesaid betrothals as soon as possible.'

The purpose of the betrothals is manifest. Fearing to lose power if they remained an isolated and limited group, especially should Andrew be advanced, the Catanian family determined by means of marriages with other important court families, to cement and extend their influence in Castel Nuovo; in fact, to forge a complete and potent chain around the throne. Together with this drastic and well-aimed blow, however, Clement addressed a comprehensive epistle to the

<sup>1</sup> Secr. Epist. 752, 753, 755. To Gasso Diniziaco, Count of Terlizzi, Roberto di Cabannis, and Roberto di San Severino.

new Nuncio,<sup>1</sup> declaring that, as it is matter of common opinion that the quarrels of the King and Queen arise from the intimate cleaving to them of Philippa Catanese, Sancia di Cabannis (her grand-daughter), of Margherita di Ceccano, Sigilgaita Filomarino, of Roberto di Cabannis, Raimondo di Catania, Giovanni Poboselli, Pietro di Montefusco, and 'certain others whom we do not at present name,'<sup>2</sup> by whose means the entire realm is hurt and the laws are perverted, to the offending of God and dishonour of the State, the aforesaid are to be separated and to distance themselves from the King and Queen.<sup>3</sup>

This epistle was accompanied by a circular addressed individually to each member of the royal family, including Queen Sancia, Catherine of Taranto, Agnes of Durazzo, Margherita of Taranto, Niccolo d'Alife, Conrado Catanzaro, Roberto di Cabannis, Tommaso San Severino, the Bishop of Cavillon, Raimondo del Balzo, Count of Minorbino, Berardo di Aquino, Count of Laureto, Amelio del Balzo, Count of Avella, and the Archbishops of Naples, Capua, and Bari.

It is to be noted that from this period the letters from Avignon with reference to dissensions between Joan and Andrew become scarcer, and expressions in them convey the idea that better relations have ensued. In fact, it was very soon after this that the Queen discovered prospects of becoming a mother, an event which promised to bring about far-reaching changes in the aspect of affairs, possibly fraught with happiness to the Queen herself. She would appear to have thought so, for she warmly invoked the goodwill of Heaven and the saints, and registered vows which should be fulfilled if her pregnancy proved fortunate. She fulfilled them.<sup>4</sup> But Andrew had struck, or at least, seemed to have

<sup>1</sup> Secr. Epist. 751, Anno iii. January 30, 1345. To William, Bishop of Chartres.

<sup>2</sup> Charles Artois, and possibly still higher individuals, namely, Catherine of Taranto, and her sons.

<sup>3</sup> 'Separentur ac elongentur omnino a familiaritate, conversatione, et adhesionem Regis et Reginæ ipsorum.'

<sup>4</sup> *Vide* next page, Note 2.

struck an effective blow at the whole Catanian family. From this moment they plotted to murder him.

In regard to religious matters, Joan inherited devout, not to say superstitious tendencies, and Queen Sancia, to whom her education had been intrusted, had evidently fostered these tendencies. In support of this I shall again have recourse to the Codex of the Marchese Bonaito, that personage having been enabled, by documentary evidence now for the most part missing, to form a more substantial opinion about it than can be done now. He writes: 'Our Queen Joan was more pious than the general public believes, and was far from being fearless of God, as mendacious historians depict her to us, as may clearly be seen by these original documents, and especially in knowledge of God, from whom she thought every punishment came, and whom she deemed it necessary to appease by prayers. For this reason she invoked the offices of the Minor Friars, beseeching their Chapter to interpose earnest prayers to God in order that He should be merciful to her.'<sup>1</sup> Though the letter quoted below perhaps belongs to a slightly later period of her life than the year under consideration, it will well serve as a specimen of her tone of reflective meditation.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> MS. Cod. cit., p. 207.

<sup>2</sup> 'Sed quia frequenter humana fragilitas ex suæ corruptionis defectu ad consurgendum propriis meritis, quandoque non sufficit, divinæ miseratio quæ vult omnes salvos fieri, piæ providit quod posset in vera penititudine operibus caritatis suæ reparationi consulere, et orationum suffragiis, Divinam provocationem placare. Cum igitur navigantes nos hoc mare magnum conspiciamus imminere nobis variæ fluctuationis naufragium plus timendum, quæ apud Deum non possumus per proprium justificari meritum libenter adire studemus Dei famulorum auxilia, per quæ nostra purgari valeant in divinæ pietatis miseratione peccata, Velitis apud Misericordiarum Patrem humilis preces effundere, et orationum suffragia presentare, quibus nobis, et Regno Siciliae tot repetitis guerrearum discriminibus lacesito dignetur misericorditer compati, et in sustentatione sui baculi compassibiliter misereri, ut quæ juste pro peccatis nostris affligimus famulorum Dei multiplicatis intercessionibus liberemus.' MS. p. 287. Also compare Arch. Angio. Regest. Johann., 1347, Lit. F. fol. 155. 'Monasteriam Monialium S. Mariæ Magdalenaë de Neapoli, provisio pro exhibitione tuminis salis centum, propter earum paupertatem, et etiam ex quodam voto quod tempore partus nostri fecimus.'

But over and above such and other evidences of a religious turn of mind, there is preserved to us proof of the open-handed giving of alms to the poor people she encountered while on her rides through the city visiting various churches. Some of these are contained in the brief Appendix published at the end of M. Camera's 'Elucubrazioni.'<sup>1</sup> Furthermore, Clement and other Pontiffs more than once emphatically notice her religious tendencies.<sup>2</sup>

In spite of the check given to the Catanian group, Raimondo di Catania retained his office of Grand Seneschal, and Roberto di Cabannis, by a fortunate service rendered to the Pontiff's brother, preserved his own favour at Avignon.

As a consequence of the improved state of affairs, renewed sittings of the Sacred College decided Clement to draw up a distinct provision and appointment for the inunction and coronation of Andrew together with Joan, not, however, defrauding the latter of any of her sovereign rights, but strictly limiting Andrew and the Hungarians; infringement of which limitations would incur the penalty of excommunication. As there has been perpetuated much confusion upon this point, it will be as well to quote the actual conditions laid down upon the acceptance of which Andrew was to have received his coronation. From them it will be made manifest that all sting of rivalry, and all chance of infringing the rights of the Queen, was done away with. Practically the document is an acknowledgment of the decision of the Sacred College that Joan was in the right, and that Andrew could not usurp her hereditary honours in order to gratify his mother and brother, nor could he even share those honours except in the limited sense of King-Consort. Subjects would have to acknowledge and obey him as consort crowned and anointed of their Queen, though he acquired by such coronation and inunction no

<sup>1</sup> P. 333-335; also p. 5.

<sup>2</sup> 'Magnæ devotionis sinceritas, quam ad Deum et Sedem Apostolicam gerere dinosceris, nos inducat ut piis votis tuis quæ pia opera et animæ tuæ salutem respiciunt favorabiliter,' writes Clement to her, July 16, 1345.

proprietary right whatever, nor could he become successor to the throne should Joan de cease. On the contrary, in the event of her dying without children, Maria di Durazzo and her children would still inherit, 'and it should be as if the Holy See had not conceded the said coronation and inunction.'

The so-called claims of a junior representative of Carlo Martello, such as was Andrew, had been finally abandoned in the Consistory. They are not even alluded to in the bull of Andrew's coronation. If, on the other hand, Andrew should become a father, his child would be the heir to the throne.

Should he accept the conditions, therefore, Andrew was to be crowned without further delay, and he was to sign and seal to them previous to the solemn rite. The coronation ceremony was delegated to the Bishop of Chartres. In a private letter despatched so as to immediately follow the above, Clement directed the Bishop's attention to the advisability of bringing together all those to whom these conditions were matter of special concern, over and above the King and Queen, and, amity having been established between them, to proceed with the ceremony; 'but if these parties shall not quickly agree, the solemn ceremony is not on that account to be postponed further.'

This shows Clement foresaw that the event would not please all parties, would not reconcile all the jealous susceptibilities re-aroused by even the semblance of Andrew's elevation to supreme power. It reveals likewise that the Holy See knew itself distrusted, and that the probity of its declared motive in granting the long-delayed ceremony would be questioned. And whose susceptibilities were to be soothed and allayed by it? Not those surely of Maria and Charles of Durazzo. Their rights, which had been fully acknowledged in the arrangement, were not likely to be called in question, except by Hungarians. It was, however, different with Catherine of Taranto and her sons, upon whom both Andrew and Charles of Durazzo had stolen marches. Were they to be disregarded and lost sight of on this great

occasion? Not entirely. In naming Maria of Durazzo and her children, Clement and the Cardinals did not omit to insert and repeat the phrase '*seu alios.*' In none of his resolutions upon the subject does the Pope seem to have entertained the idea of the kingdom reverting to the Hungarian branch, and his conduct demonstrates that the Sacred College had arrived at the conclusion that the claims of the descendants of Carlo Martello to the crown of Naples could not and should not be acknowledged to the detriment of the heirs of Charles of Calabria. The value, therefore, of the stroke achieved by Agnes of Durazzo through Cardinal Talleyrand was made fully manifest. It had secured Naples to descendants of Charles, Duke of Calabria, while it had advanced the Duke of Durazzo one step nearer the throne and in front of his Tarantine cousins, who, of course, represented an elder branch.

The reader may recall that as far back as 1332 the proximity of the latter to the throne had sufficed to make their parents and Philip of Valois resentful of measures then undertaken by Pope John XXII. for the purpose of obviating perilous differences between King Carobert and his uncle King Robert. The successful abduction and marriage of Maria by Charles of Durazzo had filled their cup of ill-fortune, and deprived them of their one remaining chance of sharing in the sovereignty. The resulting bitterness had abundantly declared itself upon that occasion; in fact, the cause of the quarrel between the Queen and Maria had been attributed to Catherine of Taranto, not only by general report, but by the Pontiff himself; and this signified that Catherine's intrigues had obliged her rival, Agnes of Durazzo, to resort to the stratagem of abducting Maria. This abduction had been carried out, and Maria had given birth to offspring before her sister and sovereign.

Compelled thus to occupy this isolated position at Naples, Catherine, so to speak, held a sort of watching brief, narrowly observing every turn and fluctuation of affairs at

Court, looking after her wealth and estates, and forwarding the interests of her sons, especially the so-called Imperial interests in Achaia and Ionia, which pertained to Robert, the eldest of them. Louis, her second son, under the especial guidance of Niccolo Acciajuoli, had distinguished himself before the close of King Robert's life in a military suppression of Calabrian rebels. Margaret, their sister, had been bespoken years before in treaties of marriage, but she still remained single.

Philip, the youngest son, was in no sense of mature years at this period. Gifted with a full share of Valois ambition from her father, it was certain that, in the event of Charles of Durazzo dying, Catherine would endeavour to secure his widow for one of her sons; or, more agreeably still, should Andrew die, the path to the throne itself would be re-opened, and she would not scruple to use any possible means to capture the Queen's hand. It seems unnecessary to question the statements of contemporary writers regarding the part she played in the tragedy about to be related. Her motives were obvious. Gravina declares without circumlocution, '*Cogitabat de nece dicti Ducis Andreae ut consequenter Reginam ipsam in uxorem tradere filio suo, Principi Tarentino;*' and although the authority of that writer, taken alone, can rarely be accepted without grave hesitation, in this instance he is borne out by other and unquestionable evidence; and it must be confessed that both the anterior and subsequent course of Catherine's actions render suspicion as against her exceedingly serious. She could afford to play with politics. Nevertheless, I am inclined to believe that the actual conspiracy to assassinate Andrew, however regarded by them, did not originate with any one of the royal people, but in the Catanian family and Gasso di Terlizzi, with whom joined a number of other officials, many of whom either had already suffered deprivation of estate or privilege through their animosity to the Pipini and to Andrew, or who, having been seriously undermined

at Avignon, had reason to fear further losses should Andrew ultimately win his way and become their ruler.<sup>1</sup>

Moreover, has it not been shown that the betrothals of certain of their sons and daughters had been annulled by the Holy See? The number and quality of the conspirators, the flight and escape of certain among them after the murder, as well as the diabolical ferocity with which it was executed, all point to the conclusion that the feeling aroused against Andrew had become widespread, and that the conspiracy was formulated with an elaboration and extent quite unnecessary for his mere removal, had only Catherine, the Queen, or the Princes been resolved to get rid of him.<sup>2</sup> Carlo di Gambatesa and Sancia di Cabannis, his wife, with others, had, it appears, plotted to poison Andrew earlier in the year 1345; evidently, as a revenge for the blow struck at them by the Holy See.

Again, it is not easy to suppose that, if the Queen had planned it, the murder would have been permitted to take place under the very roof where she was sleeping, or at a moment so critical to her as when she was within three months of her confinement, and was living in improved relations with Andrew. The first prospect of maternal happiness, the increase in her personal importance, and the cutting out of the Durazzo family by the birth of an heir to her own throne, could not but have acted generously upon one whose most conspicuous defects were acknowledged to have been those of amiable inexperience, who was described by those who knew her as gay and open-hearted, and whose youth and generosity had been abused in every direction by rapacious relatives, guardians, and courtiers. I may be quite wrong, but if I am not, these circumstances would have acted powerfully in Andrew's favour at the

<sup>1</sup> 'Quand' alcuni baroni del reame già conoscendo la fierezza del giovine reale, et dubitando forse del meritato sdegno, se avvenisse ch' egli (Andrea) fosse coronato, segretamente incomminciarono con ogni sforzo dar opra che non si coronasse et congiurarono contra il re Andrea.'—*Libro Nono, Uomini Illustri*, Boccaccio.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Decasibus Vir. Illust. Boccaccio: 'Quum quidam ex regni proceribus jam precognitam in se severitatem regii juvenis et forte meritam indignationem timerent.'

hands of his wife. Beauty and intelligence are perhaps the frailest evidences which can be put forward in favour of a defendant, though they have often been pressed into service for raising doubt as to criminality. If, therefore, the Queen had to rely upon those only, the case in her favour would be weaker than it is. Andrew was not the husband of her own choosing, and family ambitions, of which he was made the puppet, had created as well as emphasised their matrimonial dissensions. But matters had taken a more favourable turn since the spring, and it is quite possible that their improved relations contributed in some measure in determining the minds of the assassins to get rid of him. Certainly a moment for the crime more unfriendly to Joan, and means more clumsy and cumbrous for its perpetration, could not have been chosen.

It was the custom of the Court (then in mourning for the recent death of Queen Sancia) to spend the hot months at one or other of the royal resorts outside the capital. In July<sup>1</sup> it had accompanied the Queen to Casa Sana at Castellamare. Thence, early in September, it moved to Aversa—no remote or unfrequented place, as is often stated, but well populated, and barely ten miles from the capital; moreover, a favourite resort of royalty since the days of the Norman kings. She and Andrew had been there before, probably many times. The Queen seems to have transacted business of State there as usual.<sup>2</sup> On the night of the 18th of the month, how-

<sup>1</sup> While Joan was absent from Naples, Queen Sancia departed this life, July 28, 1345, in the Convent of Sta. Croce, leaving behind her the reputation of a saint, although a saint of doubtful orthodoxy. Upon her death, friends and relatives laid rapacious hands upon her goods, bequests, documents, books, and writings, so that her executors complained to Avignon that they could not proceed with her will. (*Cf.* Arch. Secr. Reg. 138, Epist. 318, 319.) The Bishop of Chartres was charged therefore to proceed in the matter of recovery and to employ the censure. A little later, one of the books belonging to Sancia turning up, proved to be the writing of Michele da Cesena, and the Pope sent orders it should be destroyed. *Cf.* Arch. Secr. Vat. Reg. Clem. VI. An. v. Ep. 340, August 1346.

<sup>2</sup> On the 15th she confirmed certain privileges granted by Robert and Sancia to the Convent of Sta. Chiara. Reg. Anglo. Anno 1345, B. f. 4. It is not perhaps insignificant that the Queen finds it necessary to renew an ordinance of King Robert, at this time, forbidding 'mulieres vitæ levis' to take up their abode within a prescribed distance of the castle and monastery at Aversa. Reg. 1345, A. n. 349.

ever (the anniversary of Andrew's original arrival in Naples), the Queen having some time since retired, Andrew himself being in the act of divesting himself for the night, Tommaso, son of Pace Mambriccio di Tropea,<sup>1</sup> summoned him from his room into a passage leading toward the garden, on the pretence, according to some accounts, that a messenger had brought him important tidings from the capital. Having thus allured him into their clutches, several assassins fell upon him, gagged him, in spite of violent struggles, strangled him, and finally threw his body into the garden, where it was discovered a little later by his Hungarian nurse.

Gravina and certain other chroniclers, having had presented to them so promising an occasion, were not behind-hand in making the most of it; indeed, embroidered the story with varieties of fanciful details, &c., purposely pointed to inculcate the Queen. Fortunately, there remain to us documents of extreme interest and value, which, dating within a day or two of the actual occurrence, render those other accounts not only superfluous, but display for us the freedom indulged in by their writers. It is from these documents I have preferred to form my views. Doubtless, however, very various stories did fly abroad, and underwent the usual transmutation in the telling, according to the fancy or political tendency of the narrator. Indeed, this is evidenced by the fact that they contradict one another flatly in most serious features—a circumstance of no small significance.

Pope Clement himself, describing the death of Andrew, informed the Cardinal to whom he addressed his account, that 'thus, by the reports of many, we had it.' He proceeds: 'Immediately he was summoned by them, he went into the gallery or promenade which is before the chamber. (Then) certain ones placed their hands over his mouth, so that he

<sup>1</sup> October 23, 1343, Joan wrote to the Signoria on behalf of 'Pax Mambricitus,' 'Cavaliere e Ciambellano,' who had journeyed to Florence as a broken creditor of the Buonacorsi, in hope of obtaining satisfaction, but he had had to return unsatisfied. (Arch. Fior. Capitoli, 258.) He is referred to earlier in a Papal letter, dated November 24, 1342 (Anno i. Clem. VI.): 'Johannæ de Mileto, uxori delecti filii nobilis Viri, Pacis Mombritii, milites Tropiensis.'

could not cry out, and in this act they so pressed the iron gauntlets that their print and character were manifest after death. Others placed a rope round his neck, in order to strangle him, and this likewise left its mark; others<sup>1</sup> . . . (I must leave this sentence to the Latin); while others tore out his hair, dragged him, and threw him into the garden. Some say that with the rope with which they had strangled him they swung him, as if hanging, over the garden. Some (also) got him under their knees [“*et ad compassionem cordis oppresserunt*”]; and we heard that this likewise left external traces. It was further related to us that they intended to throw him into a deep well (even as St. Jeremy was thrown into a pit),<sup>2</sup> and thereafter to give it out he had left the kingdom by counsel of some of those who were loyal to him, who had resolved to kidnap him and send him to the King of Hungary. . . . And this they would have carried out had not his nurse quickly come upon the scene.’<sup>3</sup> So that there were two parties: some murderously resolved, and some who did not approve of the actual killing, but merely desired to expel Andrew! Other evidence will be adduced to subdivide the former party.

It is obvious that among so many details, though conveying one distinct central picture, there was room for plentiful variation by laying colour or emphasis upon one point or another, and detail of the crime was only to be deduced from circumstantial evidence or else from confessions of the actual assassins. According to the account just quoted, many viewed the corpse of Andrew. The facts remain over, that Andrew, late as it was, had not yet retired into bed; that as soon as was possible he was gagged, to prevent his

<sup>1</sup> ‘*Alii vero receperunt eum per genitalia, et adeo traxerunt, quod multi qui dicebant se vidisse retulerunt mihi quod transcendebant genua.*’ Also *cf.* Chron Mutinens, S.R.I., Muratori.

<sup>2</sup> The author of the MS. sermon (Cod. Vat. Lat. 4376), which I have copied from the original, and which seems to have been indited for the first anniversary of Andrew’s death, aptly recalls the case of Joseph: ‘*Venite; occidamus eum, et mittamus eum in cisternam veterem; dicemus quod fera pessima devoravit eum.*’

<sup>3</sup> *Cf.* Baluzius, *Vitæ Pont.*, vol. ii. p. 86.

calling out, then throttled, and his body was thrown over a balcony at the end of the passage into the garden. Finally, his Hungarian nurse, as the Queen and the Pontiff both wrote, came upon the scene, the assassins fled, and the body was found by her, possibly still warm, but lifeless.

Let us now turn to a still more important document, namely, the Queen's own description of the circumstances,<sup>1</sup> so far as professedly known to herself, contained in a letter to her allies, 'the nobles, statesmen, and Governing Council of the Republic of Florence.'

'An unutterable crime,<sup>2</sup> a prodigious iniquity, a sin inexpiable, hateful to God and horrifying to mortality, perpetrated with inhuman ferocity and the shedding of innocent blood, by the hands of miscreants, has been committed on the person of our hitherto lord and husband [Andrew].

<sup>1</sup> One of many she wrote on the occasion, but, as far as I know, the only one extant.

<sup>2</sup> 'Infandum scelus, scelesta nefas, piaculare flagitium, Deo abominabile, mundoque horrendum, in persona quondam Domini . . . viri nostri, per impiorum dexterarum sanguinis effusione cruentas, immani severitate commissum, ad notitiam vestram, gementes et flentes, ac doloribus vehementibus saucie, vidimus perferendum. Dum quidem octavodecimo hujus mensis, ipse quondam Dominus, vir noster, tarde, hora intrandi cubiculum, descendisset ad quemdam parvum contiguum gaifo aule nostri Hospitii in Aversa (imprudenter et incaute, immo juveniliter, sicut frequenter, ibi et alibi, suspecta hora abire consueverat nullius in hoc acquiescens consilio, sed tantum sequens motus precipites juventutis, non admittens socium, sed ostium post se firmans); nosque expectassemus eundem, jamque in ipso cubiculo captæ fuisset a somno ex mora nimia quam trahebat; nutrix sua, bona et honesta domina, ipsum cum candela cepit anxie querere, et tandem prope murum dicti parci eum reperit jugulatum. De quo quantum nobis legendum occurrat, nos cogitare non possumus, neque in cor posset ascendere alicujus. Et licet de illo nequam inauditi hujus sceleris patratore querit, quantum exquiri et considerari potuit, crudelis facta justitia, tamen respectu malignitatis presumpte omnis rigiditas debet facilitas reputari.

'Ad causam namque instigationis suæ nequam ipse patratore adduxit, quod versus inferendum sibi mortis supplicium, ex provocatione ipsius quondam domini . . . viri nostri, propter sua demerita contra eum cogitavit, sicut Alter Judas, desperationis ausum, quem tantum modo cum uno famulo, non adhuc reperto, peregrina iniquitate perfecit. Cum igitur in tanti casu eventu sint undique nobis angustie, nihilominus in Deo ac Sancta Matre Ecclesia, Domina nostra, aliisque amicis devotis et fidelibus nostris fiducia sincera speramus quod nobis, in tanta nostre afflictionis tristitia, divine miserationis consilium, et sue pietatis gratia non deerunt.

'Data, Aversa, sub anulo nostro secreto die xxii. September. xiiii. Indict.'

‘On the 18th of this month, our lord and husband, late at the hour of retiring, would have gone down to a certain garden adjoining the gallery of our palace at Aversa, unwisely and unsuspecting, boy-like rather (as often, both there and elsewhere, at doubtful hours, he was wont to do), taking no advice, merely following the rash impulse of youth, not permitting a companion, but closing the door after him. We had been awaiting him, and owing to his too long delay, had been some time overtaken by sleep. His nurse, a good and respected woman, took a light to search anxiously (for him), and at length discovered him close to the wall of the said garden, strangled. It is impossible for us to describe our tribulation. And albeit from the vile perpetrator of this unheard-of crime is sought by stern justice done (already) whatever can be extracted or ascertained; nevertheless, viewing the atrocity of his deed, the severity must be considered mild.<sup>1</sup> . . . He carried out his outlandish crime with the aid of a menial who is not yet caught. The villain adduced for motive of his setting on, that he had brought upon himself the punishment of death by designing against our former lord and husband, “*ex provocatione ipsius propter sua demerita,*” &c.

‘When, therefore, we find ourselves, in consequence of such a disaster, environed by perplexities, it is our trust, relying on God, Holy Church, and our faithful subjects and allies, that the guidance of divine mercy and the grace of God’s pity will not be lacking to us. (Dated at Aversa, on September 22, under our secret seal.)’

Now, it is remarkable that not one among the several chroniclers mentions this prompt seizure and punishment of one of the red-handed culprits, but one and all attribute guilty designing neglect to the Queen. It must be remembered, however, that most of them lived beyond the kingdom,

<sup>1</sup> Here occurs a curious passage given in the above text of the document, which seems to mean that Andrew had condemned the man to death on account of his crimes, and that the latter, like another Judas, bent upon a desperate venture, found there was nothing left to do but to kill Andrew (?).

and many were Anti-Angevin Ghibellines. Villani (in trouble himself) errs with them upon this occasion, and endeavours to make matters look blacker against Joan by assuring us that she hastened from Aversa on the day after the crime. But it is patent from the date and place afforded by the above letter, that the Queen did no such thing. On the contrary, she remained at Aversa for some days, and by no means hurried thus indecently from the spot. It has been suggested (so chronic has become animosity to the Queen's reputation,—or, rather, so potent is the influence of the legend made up of as many as five distinct Joans of Naples), that the contents of this document not being borne out by the accounts of the chroniclers, the Queen wrote falsely. It does not tally, forsooth, with Gravina's account, nor with the Chronicle of Este. For instance, these chronicles, it is averred, however hostile to Naples, could scarcely have overlooked the significant fact (so much in the Queen's favour), of the execution of one of the assassins within a day or so of Andrew's murder. The letter has been, therefore, sneered at as a tissue of lies; although it is conceded perforce that Villani must have erred in his statement as to the Queen quitting Aversa.

The now-printed *Chronicon Siculum*, however, and let me add the *Diary of Donato Acciajuoli*, emphatically come to the advantage of Joan, both accounts fully corroborating her statement. Thus, each records on September 20, 1345 (that is, two days after Andrew's murder, and therefore two days previous to the despatch of the Queen's letter) that *Thomasius Morbicii* (Tommaso Mambriccio) was caught, put to the torture by Charles Artois and the Marshal, Gasso, Count of Terlizzi, and finally, his tongue being removed so that he could not blab of them, he was drawn on a car through the town of Aversa to his death.<sup>1</sup> In spite of his fanciful picturing of the murder for the entertainment

<sup>1</sup> *Chron. Siculum*, p. 7. Also, 'Die ii. post mortem dicte Domini Regis fuit captus Tomasius domini Pacis, et fuit tanalatus et positus in uno carro in Aversa . . . et sicut dictus Tomasius non potuisset dicere complices et fautores . . .

of readers, Giovanni Bazzano (the contemporary author of the Modena Chronicle) narrates that the Queen was considered 'guiltless and free of blame.'<sup>1</sup> This, although not altogether probable, is by no means impossible, inasmuch as it has been shown the Holy See had defined so carefully for Andrew the narrow limits of authority he was to be permitted to exercise, that neither the Queen nor her sister could have had much to apprehend from further aggressiveness on his part.<sup>2</sup> The Catanian family and Terlizzi might, however, have had much to fear, and anyhow had much to avenge. Further, the Queen's iterative expressions of horror are perceived to be fully justified in view of the awful details contained in the letter of the Pontiff himself, one especial point of which, by the way, is included in Bazzano's account, alone among the chronicles.<sup>3</sup>

To me, I confess, it is impossible, while reading the Queen's letter, to doubt the good faith of the writer. Joan practically avers that the murderer of Andrew had perpetrated the crime out of desperation, having been himself quasi-condemned by Andrew.<sup>4</sup> She does not, observe, rush in to any extravagant expressions of lamentation. This has, again, been used to blacken her. It would not, however, be to her discredit, horrified as she was, if she did not go into prolonged or extravagant lamentation over the

quum exiret de castro Aversæ, exciderunt sibi linguam de gutture.' MS. Cron. di Donato Acciajuoli.

<sup>1</sup> 'Quem omino sanxerunt, immunem et innocentem.' In Muratori, S.R.I. tom. xv. 612, Chron. Mutin.

<sup>2</sup> This, however, would not as yet have been known to their servitors, though it had been fully written to themselves.

<sup>3</sup> 'Tunc Comes Ebulus, proditor, cum duobus aliis, posuit manum ad testiculos Regis., trahendo fortiter.' Chron. Mutin. op. cit.

<sup>4</sup> The phrase used by Boccaccio in his fourth Eclogue, '*nimum durus*,' perhaps refers to this. Andrew, he says, governed too harshly and had to yield. 'Alessi e da commiserarsi; ma dovette cedere, perchè troppo duramente governava.' 'Miserandus Alexis

"Qui gregibus nimum durus, silvisque molestus  
Imperitans abiit, crudeli funere pulsus."

Villani also mentions that Andrew took to using to the Queen and the Barons '*parole di minacce*.'

death of a husband whose selection had not been referred to her choice ; who, backed by ambitious and reckless advisers, openly making themselves her enemies, had for two years past augmented her overwhelming embarrassments by taking every occasion to invade her rights. It was unlikely, perhaps not possible, she could ever have spontaneously loved Andrew ; and his death, while it shocked her very greatly (and, without doubt, in the particular condition of her health, perilously), could not be matter for her more than temporary, if acute, distress.

Indeed, the only hypocritical expression of any such regret on her part known to the writer is that contained in a letter included in 'Epistolæ Principum,' supposed to be addressed by Joan to King Louis of Hungary, but the apocryphal nature of this hackneyed document was exposed long ago by Fejér,<sup>1</sup> Pray, and others. It contains words to the effect, 'I have always dearly loved King Andrew, my excellent husband, and he, as long as he lived, always associated with me without strife.' This letter, and the well-known laconic reply to it, quoted by Costanzo and a score of others, with truly significant variations, are obviously rhetorical fabrications, having for purpose the damaging of the cause and character of Joan, and inducing us to admire the immeasurable veracity of the Hungarian. They are perhaps the work of under-secretaries. I shall therefore dismiss them with this brief reference ; for their authors did not, in thus manufacturing evidence, reckon upon a letter of the Queen's being produced, nor upon the advent of an age critical in the recognition of historical forgeries. That it should have been deemed necessary to darken the Queen's imperilled position by fabrications of this sort does not redound to the credit of her enemies. It

<sup>1</sup> 'L. L. K.,' a contributor to *Notes and Queries*, to whom the present writer is indebted for unmeasured and possibly well-deserved severities, carelessly quoted this forged letter against Joan and the writer. Cf. 8 Ser. *N. and Q.*, p. 511, 1894. I am, however, indebted to him for his criticism ; but though, like himself, I am a student of the fourteenth century, I have no desire to become 'a Flagellant.'

is unmistakably clear that in Andrew's assassination their Hungarian leaders perceived not merely a crime demanding vengeance, but saw a kingdom which had been long and vainly struggled for slipping away from their grasp.

Will it be credited that the good and faithful Hungarian nurse of Andrew, she who discovered his mangled corpse in the garden on that eventful night, actually remained in the Queen's service, nursed her in her subsequent confinement in December, and undertook the care of the infant then born to her? Such, however, was the case, and Isabella Ungara,<sup>1</sup> together with Caterina Galasso, were appointed chief among his guardians in Castello dell' Ovo, which palace was especially assigned to the heir to the throne.

Having received the Queen's letter relating the murder of her husband, Clement returned answer to her: 'We have received your Majesty's letters containing expression of your intense grief at this terrible occurrence, the diabolical death of King Andrew, your husband, and to some extent describing the manner of it. Not without great bitterness of heart, while condoling with you, dearest daughter, we prepare to reply. Truly, we do not wonder that you bewail such a deplorable event, outrageous to God and shocking to the whole world, nor that, having thus lost so distinguished a husband, you bewail the estate of widowhood. Who, indeed, tied in any manner of link by affinity of blood, affection, or subjection to the said King, would be of so iron a heart, so hard a nature, as not to join with us in being perturbed at this fearful and monstrous crime? Who in human shape could put aside his natural sympathies to such a degree as to restrain bitter tears on hearing that a prince so inoffensive, so God-pleasing and agreeable to mankind, has been delivered over

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Letter of Clement VI. Cf. also Reg. Ang. An. 1345-6, Lit. D. fol. 127, 135. 'Isabelle Ungare, Cambellana, et Nicolao, eius filio, familiaribus, concessio annue provisionis unciarum 30, pro servitiis quæ prestat in educatione spectabilis Ducis Calabriae primogeniti nostri, et ibi Catherina Galasso, Cambellana familiaris, uxor dicti Nicolai.'

to so cruel a death by guilty sons of Belial, the nurslings of perdition? Moreover, shall not reflection as to time, place, and manner of this awful crime excite amazement in the hearers, considering that where most safety might be relied on, the snare of death awaited him,—even at the bloodthirsty hands of those by whom he was hoping to be protected from the plots of others.<sup>1</sup> Nevertheless, we do not write thus in order to re-picture the awful incident so as to re-arouse in you affliction which has not lightly distressed you, and which we believe still distresses; but rather we enlarge upon these things because of the regard borne by us to the said Prince; the enormity of the crime to be expiated, and the dread of disturbance in your dominion (which of necessity would agitate us), do not permit us to keep our grief within bounds. We further write to counsel you to take proper precautions regarding yourself and the one yet unborn (of whom you have made mention, and in consequence of whom we derive joy and consolation, even as you similarly should feel consoled). Also, be sedulously on your guard as to whom you trust, and whom you ought to avoid.’<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> ‘Quorum preterea mentes audientium consideratis loco, tempore, ac modo hujusmodi horrendæ mortis exempli pernicies, non excitet in stuporem, dum ubi sperari debebat plena securitas, ibi mortis laqueus est paratus, dum intantum Principem a cruentis illorum manibus per quos ab aliorum insidiis defendi debere sperabat.’ Arch. Secr. Ep. 435, a. 4.

*Cf.* also, ‘Homines impii interfecerunt virum innoxium in domo sua : sed nunc quem sanguinem ejus de manu vestra, et auferam vos de terra.’ 2 Regum. L.

This is the text of a sermon ‘In morte Regis Andreae,’ written and probably preached in Naples on the first anniversary of the death (Cod. Lat. Vatic. 4376).

This interesting document, of which I have made a complete copy, commences : ‘Crudele spectaculum hodie in anniversaria lugubris necis memoria Regis Andreae, Illustrissimi Principis est ante mentis nostræ oculos constitutum, quod nobis insigniter describitur’ (Lib. Regum. 21). ‘Tetenderunt ei insidias servi sui, et interfecerunt Regem in domo sua : percussit autem populos terræ omnis qui conjuraverunt contra Regem. Et ponitur in ista figura prava machinatio per livoris stimulum, cum dicitur : tetenderunt ei insidias,’ &c., &c.

<sup>2</sup> Arch. Secr. Vatic. Clem. VI. Anno iv. Epist. 435, Oct. 10. ‘Hoc etiam scribimus, ut te ex alieno periculo cautam reddens personam tuam et conceptum quem geris in utero, ut scripsisti, de quo gaudem et consolationem recipimus, sicut et tu debes etiam consolari, prudenter et diligenter studeas et caveas a quorum familiaritate abstinere debeas, quorumque fidelitati fiducialiter te committas.’

Writing two days later to King Louis of Hungary, Queen Elizabeth, and Stephen, Clement describes Andrew as having been violently done to death by 'a most infamous faction at a moment when, in spite of pertinent objections (raised), we had commanded his inunction and coronation with the kingly diadem.'<sup>1</sup>

This I believe to have been the truth, namely, that Mambriccio and another (or 'others') were the tools of a very extensive faction, certain members of which had either suffered and expected to suffer further serious losses, which, rightly or wrongly, were attributed to the machinations of the party represented by Andrew, or to Andrew himself, and that in Mambriccio, a desperate bankrupt, they found a willing instrument. But among many questions which here present themselves is this — What were the faithful Hungarians, Andrew's bodyguard, doing? Where was Niccolo Geletfia, who afterwards passed through Florence, and was regarded as a trustworthy narrator by his interviewer, Villani?<sup>2</sup> We

<sup>1</sup> 'Tunc nequissima factione sceleratorum subtraxit de medio, cum non obstantibus quorundam coloratis contradicentibus profecto quantum in nobis erat negotio ipsum inungi mandaverimus atque diademate Regio coronari. Consolabitur, ut speramus, in prole ex eadem Rege ac consorte sua, Siciliæ Regina, relicta pregnantæ prestante Domino nascitura, consolationem recipias, et ipsius bene placitum coaptas, carissimam in Christo filiam Elizabeth Reginam Hungariæ . . . et alios de domo tua.' III. Id., Oct. 1345.

'Sed heu impii Ministri tam nephande non differuntur principis adolescentiæ, nec corporis elegantia, nec generis excellentiæ, nec culminis eminentiæ, nec conjugis reverentiæ, nec federis complacentiæ, nec operis innocentia, ipsum sic immaniter peremerunt.' MS. sermon, Cod. Vat. Lat. 4376.

'Nam Rex iste precelsus erat illustrissime Reginæ Johanne matrimonialiter copulatus: ambo enim erant de una stirpe geniti, et ab ineunte pueritia, primo ut frater et soror, deinde ut vir et uxor, in simul enutriti. O quam nobile consortium, O quam pulchrum conjugium erat illud, quod fuit tam execrabiliter dissolutum, et hujus modi erat via viri in adolescentia sua (Proverbs 50).' MS. cit.

'Erat iste spectabilis juvenis nobiscum educatus, nobiscum conversatus, quasi natus nobiscum.' Ibid.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Giov. Villani, lib. xi. cap. 51: 'E quando egli (Andrea) fu morto, non ne fece clamore nè pianto come quella, che si disse palese e corse la fama, ch' ella il fece fare. E uno Messer Niccola Ungaro, balio del detto re Andreasso, passando per Firenze, che n'andava in Ungheria, il disse al nostro fratello suo grande acconto e dimestico a Napoli, per la forma per noi iscritta di sopra, il qual era uomo degno di fede e di grande autorità.'

may take it, he recorded nothing unfavourable to himself or to the Hungarians. But was there nothing unfavourable to be recorded? Here their partisan, Gravina, becomes luminous, and we seem to get near the truth. He writes: 'They had supped gaily, which, in sooth, was the cause of the profound grief of this realm.' So that the Hungarians had for once rendered themselves powerless to defend their royal master, whose assassins took full advantage of the drowsy tipplers.<sup>1</sup>

Over and above consideration of the facts, many of them, I believe, for the first time here presented, it may well be questioned at once whether, even in that age of violence, a wife of nineteen, a queen in her minority, a mother about to become, would have contrived the commission of a State-murder, both in time, place, and manner, so clumsily as to direct glaringly upon herself the suspicious attention which it would have been her very first interest to preclude? Moreover, it is beyond question the victim, since his coming in 1333, had formed the one insuperable obstacle to Valois ambition, represented by the mother of Robert and Louis of Taranto, as well as to the ambition of Cardinal Talleyrand, on behalf of his nephew, Charles of Durazzo—both of them wealthy middle-aged personages, who had lived and thriven in the atmosphere of Court and Curial intrigue, who had for years been conducting with increasing animosity a game certain to culminate in bloodshed. It is equally beyond question that Queen Elizabeth of Hungary, after having brought about a rupture between her son and Joan, owing to her unmasked desire to deprive the latter of her inheritance and hand it over to Andrew, made quite as significant, if far more defensible, moves on the fatal board.

<sup>1</sup> 'Et cœna parata discubuerunt cum magno gaudio, quod vere resultavit ad magnam tristitiam Regni hujus. Factisque ipso sero gaudiis plurimis, bonam noctis horam palpebris, paratis insidiis sue mortis, omnes de Hospitio Regis recesserunt, remanentibus tantum ibi fidelibus iis solitis cameram Regiam custodire.' Chron. Dom. di Gravina, tom. xii. S.R.I. Muratori.

The fact is patent that the Queen and Andrew, still in their teens, were forcibly converted into 'fell incensed points 'twixt mighty opposites.'

In fact we have no proof whatever connecting Joan with one or another of several conspiracies which had, for obvious reasons, been maturing against the life of her husband. At the same time, it is most improbable that she, or Andrew himself, or any one of the ten royal personages besides them at Naples, were ignorant that machinations against his life were actively stirring. Indeed, as Clement expressed it in the letter quoted, Andrew 'was hoping to be protected from the plots of others,' by the very men who murdered him. Further, if Andrew pursued the course Gravina has described and Boccaccio and Villani have corroborated—of dealing harshly,<sup>1</sup> and menacing his opponents by displaying painted insignia representing their punishment—the matter must have been frequently discussed in and out of court. Hungary, for convenient practical reasons, accused all the royal individuals of complicity, excepting none. The entire royal circle, when impugned, however, maintained a compact of silence. With regard to the Queen as their representative, every advantage that could be taken by Hungary to make her personally responsible for the crime was taken; but this was done in order to justify an invasion of her quasi-defenceless realm, which, as soon as aggressions elsewhere permitted, King Louis prepared to undertake. The first designation of the Queen as '*viricide*' occurs in a wrathful letter addressed to the Pontiff by her embittered and by no means blameless mother-in-law, Queen Elizabeth, several months after the murder.<sup>2</sup> None of her antagonistic relatives at Naples thus aspersed her.

<sup>1</sup> 'Usò parole di minacce . . . per lequali . . . s'avacciò la crudele e violente sua morte.' M. Villani, lib. i. c. 9.

<sup>2</sup> XVI. Kal. Aug., 1346. Clement replied to Elizabeth concerning her passionate remonstrances in the matter of Joan remaining Queen, 'quam esse sepius viricidam repetis.' Cf. Theiner, Monum. Hungar., tom. i. 717.



FRAGMENTARY PORTRAIT OF JOAN I.

*Fresco by Roberto di Oderisio (?) in S. M. l'Incoronata, Naples.*

*To face p. 354.*



## CHAPTER IV

### HUNGARY AND THE HOLY SEE *re* NAPLES

THE Pope, in deliberation with the Sacred College, resolved, but a fortnight after the event, that two Cardinals, those of San Clemente<sup>1</sup> and San Marco,<sup>2</sup> should be despatched to Naples furnished with plenary authority. The scope of their mission is not precisely given, but from a Pontifical letter already quoted, it is manifest they were to devote their attention to the amelioration of the condition into which the kingdom had fallen, and, in particular, to deal out vengeance upon those found guilty of Andrew's death. The Queen was helpless. The Executive Council included too many who had taken unfair advantage of her youth and inexperience. Some of the most important functionaries, Marzano, Count of Squillace, the San Severini, and Raimondo del Balzo, were absent on a fresh Sicilian expedition, but several others, more especially belonging to the Royal Household, had been implicated in the plot which had come to fruition. According to an assertion made by Louis of Hungary at a later date, there were two hundred persons engaged in that conspiracy. But his earliest informants were Hungarians, it must be remembered, whose occupation was suddenly gone, and whose rivals had thereby advantaged themselves, so that for this and other reasons we must accept the reported statements of that monarch with reserve. If, however, the conspiracy really was so extensive, the secrecy

<sup>1</sup> Pierre Bertrand, Bishop of Nevers, Cardinal of San Clemente, cr. 1331, died 1348.

<sup>2</sup> Bertrand de Deaulx, Archbishop of Embrun, Cardinal of San Marco, cr. 1337, died 1355.

maintained had been very remarkable, and is eloquent to us of resolved hate on the part of the conspirators toward Andrew.

Clement, recalling the Queen's words, wrote to King Louis, that no punishment could be considered excessive for such a crime, and that it should certainly not remain unpunished;<sup>1</sup> moreover, that judicial retribution in the case pertained exclusively to the Holy See.<sup>2</sup> It was thus the Holy See relieved the Queen of the responsibility of instituting the judicial inquiry. But that being the case, was not the Holy See immeasurably to be blamed, seeing that promptly acknowledging its responsibility, it delayed despatching the appointed plenipotentiaries until the middle of the following year, thereby provoking the Hungarians to take the law into their own hands, and, under pretext of chastising the assassins of Andrew, to seize the kingdom from the hands of his widow? Clement's excuse, however, was not wanting in point. The war between France and England had drained Avignon of Legates. Had King Louis not been engrossed at the time in a futile struggle with the Venetian Republic, under Andrea Dandolo,<sup>3</sup> for the possession of Zara, it cannot be doubted his warlike resolution would have taken effect more rapidly than was the case.

Other causes, however, contributed to shape that resolution and determine it. It became manifest Andrew was not regretted by the royal family at Naples, and he was aware that Andrew had barred the throne from the branches of Taranto and Durazzo, which, although mutually hostile, could not be real friends with him. Nevertheless, Charles of Durazzo, for some time past, had taken marked occasion to befriend that unfortunate prince; and although the sincerity of his affection may well be doubted, he and his had less to gain by the death of Andrew than by that of Joan, especially if, as was now extremely probable, the Queen should give birth to an heir to the throne. On the

<sup>1</sup> 'Quod non remanebit procul dubio, impunitum.'

<sup>2</sup> 'Quantum ad nos et Ecclesia pertinuerit.'

<sup>3</sup> Andrea Dandolo, Doge of Venice, 1342-1354.

other hand, the Empress Catherine and her eldest son, at acute variance as they were with one another, could not but be most deeply interested by the death of Andrew. For sixteen years had the intervening figure of Andrew tantalised her family aspirations, and now, for the first time, the matrimonial avenue to the throne promised to be reopened. Had she assisted to open it? Both her previous and subsequent conduct, it cannot be denied, gives serious colour to the presumption. That neither Catherine nor Robert, nor Louis of Taranto, would be troubled with scruples was certain. On the other hand, had not Andrew's murder been almost a certainty for causes independent of Catherine's animosity?

I now touch in passing one of many Neapolitan historical frauds. This, like the forged letters, has been devised in order to damage the memory rather than the cause of the Queen. In the epitaph or inscription in the Cathedral of Naples, professing to mark the remains of Andrew, it is stated that Ursillo Minutolo<sup>1</sup> fulfilled the neglected honours of the interment of Andrew by concealing his remains lest they should remain unburied. This inscription, dating from more than a later century, was placed there by Francesco Capece, a Canon of the Cathedral. Unfortunately for this statement, we have at least two contemporary notices which give it the lie, *i.e.*, that of Villani, who relates that Andrew's body was 'brought back to Naples and buried with the Princes,' and that of the 'Chronicon Siculum,' which states that the body was 'honourably interred.'<sup>2</sup> That these testimonies are trustworthy may be surmised from a document quoted in the note below, in which the Queen makes appointment of and provision for Sergio Gaito di

<sup>1</sup> Ursillo was a Canon of the Cathedral, and doubtless assisted in the funeral rites. His brother, Ciccione Minutolo, held the office of Justiciary for the Prince of Taranto in Bari. Between them they seem to have achieved considerable jobbery and consequent scandal over the canonries of S. Niccolo di Bari. *Cf.* Codex, cit. fol. 257. Also Theiner, *Monum. Hungar.*, tom. i. 1252, p. 817. Ursillo became a rebel, probably out of hope of gain, and was rewarded with a Hungarian preferment. Hence his calumination of Joan.

<sup>2</sup> 'Honorifice sepe litus.' *Chron. Sicul.* p. 7.

Amalfi to celebrate mass daily in the Chapel of St. Louis in the said Cathedral for the repose of Andrew's soul.<sup>1</sup>

It may be remembered that by the convention between John XXII., King Robert, and King Carobert, the decease of Andrew had been taken into consideration as a possibility, as likewise had been that of Joan and of Maria; moreover, in case of the decease of Andrew, Joan was not intended to become a free agent in the matter of re-marriage. On the contrary, she was bound to become the spouse of some one or other of Carobert's sons.

That being so, it becomes necessary to observe the present attitude of the two brothers of Andrew, namely, King Louis, the elder, and Stephen, Duke of Transylvania, the younger.

But Louis himself was pledged to wed Margaret of Moravia, and in the spring of 1346, when his four years' betrothal to her would be concluded, the union would take place. That Princess, for very definite political reasons, had been solemnly promised to him by the house of Luxemburg, had been sent to Hungary, and was being qualified for her destiny. Louis, therefore, could not claim Joan for himself. Here, then, was a veritable Gordian knot. Whose should she be? Was it not matter of certainty that her hand would be snatched at by Catherine of Taranto, or by one of her Valois cousins in France? There remained to be considered, nevertheless, his brother Stephen. Could he claim the Queen's hand?

It so befell that at the very moment when Andrew came to his untimely end, Stephen, at his mother's instigation, was in close treaty for marriage with a daughter of the excommunicated Emperor, Louis of Bavaria, and in consequence Clement was busily, if ineffectually, rebuking

<sup>1</sup> 'Presbitero Sergio Gaito di Amalfi statuto ad celebrandum quotidie divina officia in capella S. Ludovici majori ecclesie Neapolitanæ in qua corpus claræ memoriæ incliti Andreæ Regis Jerusalem et Siciliæ, Reverendi Domini Viri nostri, quiescit in Domino, pro anima dicti viri nostri, collatio dictæ capellæ cum assignatione gagiorum, ad rationem de tarenis septem et granis decem per mensem.' Ex. Reg. Anno 1345-6, D. fol. 127.

the King of Hungary for negotiating such a union,<sup>1</sup> absolutely refusing, on the part of the Holy See, to sanction it. Stephen, however, being some years younger than Andrew, could scarcely be looked upon as an appropriate partner for Joan. Nevertheless, the far from pleasant prospect of being called upon to marry another Hungarian kinsman may have given the Queen considerable uneasiness. A Queen without a consort was not to be tolerated in those days. Indeed, as has been shown, a Queen of Naples was bound by stipulations between the Holy See and the first Angevin sovereign to re-marry, if merely to obtain masculine protection for the realm, let alone the prevailing custom of an age wherein it is difficult to discover a sovereign, male or female, who entered the matrimonial state less than twice. Sooner or later, therefore, the Queen's matrimonial fate would have to be decided, and she realised her dilemma. The hand of the Queen of Naples by the original agreement of John XXII. could be pointed out for Stephen of Hungary as his legitimate prize. But neither the Holy See, nor Naples, nor the Emperor, desired to see him advance the claim.

If, on the other hand, the Queen refused to recognise any right of Hungary over her person, if she should dare to claim a right to select a partner for herself, it was a foregone conclusion that the wrath of long-tantalised Hungary would concentrate upon her. Disappointment after disappointment in regard to the recovery of the throne of Naples had been pondered at Buda and Visegrad to little purpose. Now by a most tragic pass that throne had been suddenly brought nearer than ever to possible acquisition, yet never had more unfavourable circumstances stood in the way of accomplishment. Moreover, the once flourishing kingdom of Naples had proceeded far upon the downward path. The wholesale collapse of the Florentine bankers had,

<sup>1</sup> Arch. Vatic. Secr. Epist. 532, Oct. 18, 1345. 'Ludovico Reg. Hungariæ ut a Ludovico Bavaro discedat, et ab ejus affinitate caveat.'

of course, increased its velocity. France was at deadliest feud with England. The battle of Crecy was to be fought within a few months. Every part of Europe was suffering bitterly from prevailing insecurity. Hungary had been jealously watching for the crown of Poland, that other time-honoured ambition of Carobert, and now of his widow and heir. In fact, the Angevins who wore the crown of King Stephen indulged inordinate territorial ambition, for which reason the Holy See more than ever approved the wisdom of Boniface VIII. and Clement V. in having decided the separation of Naples from Hungary.

That the unpromising problem of her future began to engage the Queen so soon as it did after Andrew's death, therefore, is scarcely a matter for surprise, especially taking into consideration the period in which her rôle was cast. She made no pretence of having been in love with him, nor did she deny the good qualities attributed to him by Clement and Petrarch. Possibly, now that he was gone, she thought more kindly of him. At any rate, the shock of his murder and the precarious condition of her health caused her to write to France imploring her grandmother, Matilda of Valois, to come to be with her at Naples.<sup>1</sup>

On November 13th, Clement wrote to her, and stated briefly the attitude he wished her to observe in the perilous situation, declaring that if, 'after the loss of such a consort, you feel your loneliness, and for the security of the realm you should desire to re-marry, be careful that the

<sup>1</sup> Unpublished letter of Clement VI. to King Philip of France, Nov. 5, 1345 : 'Ex serie litterarum carissime in Christo filiæ nostræ Johannæ, Regina Siciliæ, Illustris, neptis tuæ, nobis nuper exhibitæ percipimus, quod ipsa Regina in statu lugubri ad presens, pro dolor, constituta, dilecte in Christo filiæ, nobilis mulieris, Matildis, Comitisse Valesii, Aive suæ, consolationis et directionis dulcedine desiderans recreari, eidem Comitisse ut ad eam velit accidere dirigit affectuosissime preces suas. Cum autem statui dictæ Regiæ, regniq; sui habere, ad presens prefatæ Comitisse directionem et societatem admodum expediens extimetur, nos, ipsius Regiæ precibus inclinati, Regiam excellentiorum attentius deprecamur quantum ut prenominata Comitissa memoratæ Regiæ condescendat in hac parte votis et precibus favorem gratiosum exhibeat, et enadem Comitissam ad hoc clementer, inducant Regia Celsitudo.'

partner chosen be a personage suitable for the governance of the realm and devoted to the Church.'

It was obvious that if Joan should die in prospective childbirth, her sister, Maria of Durazzo, would immediately succeed her as queen. If she lived, however, and the child likewise survived, the Durazzo family would be pushed one step further from the succession. The latter, therefore, must now have had their feelings likewise wrought up to the highest pitch.

Again, Joan even now was but nineteen, and they could be certain, if she lived, she would re-marry, and either a Hungarian or one of their cousins of Taranto would secure her hand. Already, in December, Catherine of Taranto had been pressing her eldest son, Robert, upon the Queen's notice. News of all these things were conveyed with vigilant alacrity to Hungary, and we may imagine what expectations they excited there.

On December 25, the Queen brought forth a son,<sup>1</sup> to whom were given the names of Carlo Martello, in memory both of Andrew's grandfather, the Queen's great-uncle, and of her own maternal grandfather, Charles of Valois. For his nurse was appointed Isabella (Ungara). All went well, and letters announcing the event were sent to Hungary, Avignon,<sup>2</sup> and various allied courts. Pope Clement, having accepted the position of godfather, the infant at the time of his baptism was held at the font by Philip de Cabassoles,

<sup>1</sup> Letter of Joan to Clement VI.: 'Beatissime Pater, qui facit in domo sterilem matrem filiorum esse lætantem: hodie fœcundum meum uterum decursu statuti temporis exanimem ad partum, et dignatus est concedere super infuso suæ gratiæ munere puerum, cum salute mea, formositate membrisque perfectum, ut fidelibus meis de successore spes adepta resurgeret, et eorum corda sub tedio expectationis morosæ labentia posteritatis sua fiducia solidaret: quodque idem ad notitiam alme vestre Beatitudinis reverenter insinuare providi, ut me, ipsumque puerulum natum mihi, et datam filiam vestra Benignitas clementer foveat et successibus utriusque prospiciens eis in nomine Christi domini benedicat.' MS. Codex, Niccolo d'Alife.

<sup>2</sup> 'Excelsi dextera nostram sterilitatem, quæ sub decursu magni temporis spem nostre posteritatis ademerat in fecunditatem optatam pia miseratione commutans per partum cum solatio masculine proli emissum dignatus est ipse Rex eternus letiorum reddere.' MS. cit.

Bishop of Cavailon, still Chancellor of the realm,<sup>1</sup> and still Petrarch's friend.

The receipt of this news at the court of Hungary roused very definite sensations. The Queen-mother, rightly discerning that the safety of her first grandson—the heir to the throne of Naples—could not be ensured under such violent conditions as those which now obtained at Naples, demanded of Joan, as of Clement, that he should be brought to Hungary, in order to be reared according to her ideas. The Queen, however, fulfilling State ordinances, entrusted his keeping to Amelio del Balzo, Count of Avella, and Isabella Ungara, assigning him a special staff of courtiers and for residence the Castello del' Ovo.<sup>2</sup> This procedure, if purely reasonable on the one hand, was by no means calculated to satisfy Elizabeth.<sup>3</sup> It added chagrin to her grief at the loss of the crown.

<sup>1</sup> 'Quod nocte nativitatis Domenicæ proximo preteritæ post dolores tui partus anxios vita tibi comite filium, astantibus et presentibus tam delecta in Christo filia, Isabella Ungara, nutrice quondam Viri tui predicti, quam aliis nonnullis de magnatibus Regni et civitate Neapolitana nobilibus et honestis mulieribus in tua camera, et ante portam ipsius multis nobilibus existentibus, feliciter peperisti.' Epist. Clem. IV. to Joan (Codex Colbertina).

<sup>2</sup> Then very different in appearance to the venerable huddle of alterations which now confronts us; having, moreover, but a wooden drawbridge connecting it with the land.

<sup>3</sup> It is unfortunate that many of the letters exchanged by the courts of Hungary and Naples at this time have not come to light. At the close of December, the Count Arbei announced to the Council of Venice that the envoy of the King of Hungary had arrived at Zeng with letters which he desired to take to Naples, and the Council put no obstacle in the way of the envoy's journey. It is certain that Joan, in January following (1346), despatched the Bishop of Calvi and Andrea Pignatelli to the King of Hungary and Elizabeth, with certain Capitularies, doubtless relating chiefly to the care of the new-born heir to her throne, the question of her re-marriage, and the former binding matrimonial arrangements. These Capitularies must have occupied the long and serious attention of the Hungarian court. Moreover, for interested reasons, Joan and her advisers kept the matter hidden as far as was possible from the Pope. Clement, however, learned of these negotiations taking place, and wrote to the Queen demanding to be made accurately acquainted with the 'Capituli,' as well as the 'Responsiones' to the same, but not until August 1346. I give his letter: 'Intelleximus quod cum tu filia carissima vener. Frat. nost. Episc. Calvens. et dilectum filium nobilem virum Andream Pignatellum, Civem Neapolitanum, ad carissimum in Christo filium, Ludovicum Regem Hungariæ illustrem, Ambassiata certa eis

Meantime, owing to the scandalous delay in bringing the assassins to justice, the wrath of Hungary had been rising. Clement had declared that as jurisdiction in the affair pertained to the Holy See, the Cardinals of San Clemente and San Marco should be despatched to Naples in order to deal with it. There was the more reason for acting thus, seeing that the Queen herself could not be considered capable of coping with the lawlessness prevailing there. Clement actually advised the Bishop of Chartres of their appointment on October 24, 1345. Nevertheless, although three months had now elapsed since the murder, not one step had those prelates advanced toward Naples. Perhaps the tremendous issues pending between Philip of Valois and Edward III. of England and the troubles in Romagna may be advanced as excuses for their delay; but at Buda and Visegrad there could be no acceptable excuse. A most horrible state-crime had robbed Hungary of a prince, and that prince himself of a crown, for the obtaining of which infinite pains and enormous expense had been vainly incurred. The posthumous offspring of that prince was now heir to that crown; and it was resolved that his life should not be entrusted to the dangerous tide of Neapolitan affairs. It was unfortunate, therefore, that the child's mother did not elect to part with him. How could she be compelled to do so? It now became known, furthermore, that her hand was being freshly sought in marriage by Robert, Prince of Taranto. This was a new iniquity, and Hungary indignantly determined that the Queen had no right to pledge it. Were there not the old

*imposita destinasses, ea completa, dictus episcopus ad cariss. in Christo filiam nostram, Elizabeth, Reginam Hungariæ, accedit, et dictus nobilis cum capitulis responsione dicti Regis factam ad Ambassiatam hujusmodi continentibus ad tuæ Celsitudinis presentiam est reversus. Nos, igitur, volentes de predictis ambassiatâ et capitulis responsionis hujusmodi effici certiores, serenissimam tuam rogamus et hortamur attente quantum ea integraliter, nihil abscondito, palliato quolibet, vel remoto nobis quantocius mittere studeas, vel venerabili fratri nostro Guill. Epo. Casinens. cui super hoc scribimus per eum nobis mittendi celeriter facias assignari.* Arch. Vatic. Secr. Aug. 6, 1346.

compacts? King Louis and Elizabeth, more and more impatient at this tendency of affairs, addressed repeated remonstrances to the Sacred College, and presently Elizabeth designated her daughter-in-law a *viricide*, and used the involved accusation as a ground for not only demanding the custody of the heir to the throne, but absolute administration of the kingdom.

On February 1, 1346, Clement issued a bull addressed to the Archbishop of Estergom<sup>1</sup> and his suffragans declaring the assassins of Andrew and their accomplices to be under anathema. As, however, it was not yet precisely ascertained who these were, little satisfaction could be derived from the document.

In Naples, significant occurrences began to take place. Several important functionaries had become dangerously suspected by the people, who seem to have borne them no love. Charles of Durazzo, now associating himself with Robert of Taranto, in company of his own two brothers, Louis and Robert, and Ugo del Balzo, Seneschal of Provence, had taken upon his own authority during the Queen's lying-in, not only to compile process against the accused, but to lay violent hands upon Raimondo di Catania, the Seneschal. This proceeding, needless to say, however diplomatic, was illegal, and amounted to *lèse-majesté*. Having put Raimondo to the torture, he confessed that he had had foreknowledge of the crime, and had lent aid to others in its perpetration. Upon this, his self-constituted judges calling together some of the citizens, caused Raimondo to stand up before them and repeat his confession. Whereupon the wretched man named as accomplices Gasso, Count of Terlizzi; Roberto di Cabannis, Count of Eboli; Giovanni and Rostaino di Lagonesse, Niccolo di Melizzano, Philippa Catanese, and Sancia di Cabannis.

Now, owing to the late wars between the Emperor Louis and the Holy See, there had already been attracted to the falling kingdom flights of German, Hungarian, and other

<sup>1</sup> Strigonia.

adventurers,<sup>1</sup> seeking plunder and adventure, many of whom had attached themselves to the Neapolitan service, or to that of one or other of the minor royal houses. Charles of Durazzo had engaged the services of Fra Moriale, a young knight, nephew of Isnardo de la Motte, of Albarno in Provence, and Prior of the Order of St. John of Jerusalem at Capua. Backed, therefore, by these mercenaries, and taking advantage both of the Queen's condition and the clamour for victims, doubtless also actuated by more personal motives, he determined to hunt down the Catanian family and make of it a peace-offering to Hungary.

An armed mob, therefore, proceeded toward Castel Nuovo howling for Andrew's murderers. The suspects, however, had taken care to absent themselves. The wardens within the castle barred the entrances, and used every means in their power to keep out the assailants, who for several days and nights returned to the attack. Enraged at the futility of their efforts, the people now vented their wrath upon the Grand Chancellor, Charles Artois, who had likewise incurred suspicion, and hurried to his palace in another part of the city. But that personage had outwitted them by retiring to his castle at Sta. Agata dei Goti, some few miles away. Infuriated at his escape, they sacked and burned his palace (as also the house of his unoffending neighbour, Antonio di Genzano), and destroyed certain royal archives in his custody.

The other suspects, however, were all arrested, imprisoned in Castel Capuano, and put to torture in presence of the assembled princes, Ugo del Balzo, and Fra Moriale.

Against this the Queen and the Justiciaries vigorously protested, declaring that the two Princes had been guilty of treason in arrogating to themselves functions of the High-Court and the duties of the Holy See. They commanded them by word of the Papal Nuncio, and under threat of

<sup>1</sup> It would appear that the idea of invading Naples did not now enter the mind of Louis of Hungary for the first time.

penalties, to hand over their captives to Bertrando del Balzo, the Chief Justiciary, and the Justices of the Curia Magna, whom the Pontiff had empowered to investigate the crime.<sup>1</sup> The Princes, having accomplished their well-contrived manœuvre, now deemed it best to obey, and obtained the Queen's pardon.

By thus associating Robert of Taranto with himself, Charles of Durazzo had precluded the appearance of making an isolated bid for popularity, and on the whole (unless we accept the view taken in Hungary that the two endeavoured by so doing to screen their own guilt), it is difficult not to praise their desire to show that even they were scandalised by the tardy administration of justice. But it is not to be concealed that they may have had personal antipathies to Terlizzi and the Catanian family, which they knew were fully shared by the populace. At any rate, it was held by them that Philippa Catanese and Sancia di Cabannis were hindering the Queen from forwarding the course of justice, which, if guilty, doubtless they must have endeavoured to do. She would scarcely be likely to abandon such time-honoured courtiers unless convinced of their guilt. King Robert's Will practically bound her to protect them.

On the 19th of March, however, the Queen issued a bull by the hand of Pietro Ruggiero di San Severino, Archbishop of Bari, freely pardoning the princes and their followers for the said proceedings, admitting that they had been moved against the murderers of her husband by divine prompting.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> This action of the Queen has been often misinterpreted to her detriment, owing to the error of stating that Bertrand del Balzo, the Grand Justiciary, was the Del Balzo who allied himself on this occasion with the Duke of Durazzo. The documentary evidence plainly shows that it was his kinsman, Hugo, Count of Avellino. In the eyes of Bertrand, such a tribunal was without legal status, nor could its jurisdiction be recognised by the Holy See. Hence the edict, and its rider added by the Queen.

<sup>2</sup> 'Divina inspiratione commota contra quosdam proditores.' In another document Joan describes the populace as 'nec immerito concitatus.' As a

By us of a later age, the confessions wrung from suspects by means of bodily torment are naturally looked upon with serious suspicion, and it is unquestionable that with the guilty the innocent but too frequently must have

portion of this document is important, and is not correctly or fully given in Signor Camera's 'Elucubrazioni,' where alone it has appeared, I will subjoin it. It is dated March 16, 1346 :—

'Ad nostram noviter producta notitiam, quod dum pervenisset ad notitiam spectabilem virorum Roberti, Dei gratia Romanie Despoti, Achaye et Tarenti principis, necnon Caroli Ducis Duratii Regni Albanie, et Honoris Montis. S. Angeli, Domini, Comitisque Gravinæ, Ludovici, et Roberti, fratrum eorum carissimorum, fratrum nostrorum, quod de nece claræ memoriæ Domini Andree de Ungaria, Jerusalem et Sicilie regis illustris, viri nostri carissimi et Domini Reverendi, aliquæ personæ erant publice diffamata notabiliter et suspecte ; prefati fratres nostri tam ex aviditate vindicte quam cupiebant, et cupiunt de nece predictâ, vinculo sanguinis faciente, quo eidem Domino viro nostro et nobis certo ordine jungebantur, præter juris ordinem in Raymundum de Cathania, militem nostri Hospitii Senescallum, qui certis conjecturis precedentibus, sicut asseritur, contra eum suspectus exinde per eos verisimiliter credebatur, manus injecere, ipsumque tormentis et questionibus exponere curaverunt ; dictoque Raymundo confessante se prescium necis ejusdem, ad idque dedisse opus et operam unâ cum certis aliis, sicut fertur ; prefati fratres nostri Neapolitanum populum convocari fecerunt, ipsumque Raymundum statuerunt publice coram eis ; quodque prefato Raymundo præfatam confessionem suam coram dicto Populo Neapolitano, publice iterante, et nominante inter alios ipsius necis prescios, seu suspectos, virum nobilem Gassum de Dinisiaco, Terlitio Comitem, ac Regni Sicilie Marescallum, Robertum de Cabannis, Comitem Eboli, magnum Regni Sicilie Senescallum, illos de Lagonissa, quos nominaliter expressit ; Nicolaum de Melaczano, hostiarium, Phillippam de Cathaniâ, magistram, et mulierem nobilem, Sanciam de Cabannis, Comitissam Murconis, sociam, et familiarem nostram, qui nobiscum in Castro-Novo Neapolis morabantur ; quive processum inquisitionis faciente de nece Regis supradicta dicebantur apud nos multipliciter impedire, fuit adeo graviter ex hoc dictus populus Neapolitanus, nec immerito concitatus, quod manu armata cum seditione et tumultu unâ cum certis aliis familiaribus et armigeris dictorum fratrum nostrorum, usque ad ostium dicti Castri nostri novi, iteratis vicibus venientes, et petentes nominatos eosdem sibi dari, veluti proditores ; cum illos sic facile dare nequiremus eisdem, in dictum Castrum acerbissime insultarunt, projicientes contra Castrum ipsum et homines existentes ibidem, lapides, lanceas, et quadrellos, cum diversis generibus balistarum, ac ostium primum pontis Castri ejusdem ignis incendio concremantes, et tamdiu predictis insultibus institerunt, quosque prefati Comites Terlitii et Eboli, Joannes et Rostaynus de Lagonissa, Nicolaus de Melaczano, et Comitissa fuerunt dictis fratribus nostris, seu statutis eorum, dicto que Neapolitano populo, assignati, captivi postmodum, sicut accepimus ; quod dum prefati captivi per eos in carcere tenerentur ad indagandum de nece predictâ certius veritatem, fuerunt per ipsos ex dictis captivis aliqui divis expositi questionibus et tormentis, concurrentibus ad premissa cum eisdem Principe, et Duce, et fratribus, sicut subauditur, viris nobilibus Ugone de Baucio, Avellini Comite, Religioso viro, fratre Morreali, &c.

suffered. For what utterance may not be drawn from the average man or woman by the deliberate infliction of tortures, when those tortures may not be avoided save by uttering precisely that which is wished to be elicited? In the present instance it would be rash to assert that the application of torture did not elicit a great deal of truth concerning the actors and their accomplices in the great tragedy at Aversa; but, on the other hand, it is impossible either to assert that it did not implicate, and consequently condemn to awful deaths, some who were absolutely innocent. Indeed, in such a case it was more than probable, it is almost certain, that the final list of the condemned must have included some who were guiltless, but whose proximity by kinship or office to those intimately concerned in the crime afforded not only some presumption against them, but gave them slender chance of escape if once merely named, far less if arrested. At the same time, if we may feel sure that much actual fact was elicited concerning the perpetrators of the crime, we may be certain that many of the real culprits were among those who presently suffered the horrible penalties inflicted by the laws and usages of a barbarous age; and among these, perhaps, the majority of the Catanian family will be included.

An incident which now occurred at Florence proved to be not without bearings upon the important attitude observed toward Naples by the Commune of that city during this critical period,—an incident which had the effect of yet further diverting her Guelphic sympathies from her ally, the vassal of the Holy See.

Among the many notable creditors of the Society of the Acciajuoli when it failed in 1343 had been the Spanish Cardinal, Pietro of Sta. Sabina. Unable to recover his money, he appealed to Avignon, and Clement wrote on October 9 asking the Government of Florence to compel the members of the defaulting company to quit the debt. But the company happened also to owe the sum of 7475 fiorini

to the Apostolic Chamber, and 754 to the Cardinal of Sta. Prisca. The letter produced no result. Not finding his application successful, the Spanish prelate committed the case of his debt to Fra Pietro of Aquila, Inquisitor for Tuscany. Florence had just shaken off the tyranny of the Duke of Athens, and was in an extremely sensitive humour. The wily, but rash, Inquisitor took occasion, while a certain Silvestro Baroncelli, a member of the firm, was leaving the palace of the Commune under guard, to claim him as a prisoner, and to make the guard of the Podesta arrest him in the name of the Holy Office. Upon learning what had occurred, the Priori and the Gonfalonier took vigorous measures to secure the immediate release of the captive, further expressing their indignation by causing the hands of those who had carried out the Inquisitor's order to be struck off. The Inquisitor fled to Siena.

The result of this event was that the interdict was again launched at Florence, and it was not removed until February 1347. Meanwhile, however, the Commune despatched a serious embassy to Avignon with the money owing to the Cardinal, to lay their bitter complaint against the aforesaid Inquisitor before the Pontiff. One of the arguments used by them bore peculiar and telling significance. They stated that should redress not be forthcoming, their country was prepared to favour the Hungarian invasion of Naples.<sup>1</sup>

Closer note must now be taken of the Tarantine intrigue which was fast developing to a crisis, and which contributed more than anything to sustain the bitterness in Hungary and to impel King Louis to action.

<sup>1</sup> This Fra Pietro of Aquila, among other iniquities, added to his income the proceeds arising from granting licenses to carry arms, by which his revenue was increased at the rate of 1000 florins a year. Villani records (xii. c. 58) that in two years this creature had extorted more than 7000 florins under the pretext of heresy. Boccaccio likewise refers to him and his operations. At length the Nuncio at Lucca prosecuted him for having embezzled monies due to the Apostolic Chamber. He was cited to appear, refused, and was excommunicated. However, on February 12, 1347, doubtless by influence of the Cardinal of Sta. Sabina, he was promoted to the Bishopric of St. Angelo dei Lombardi.

Catherine of Taranto had urged her brother, the King of France, to put pressure upon Clement, so as to obtain dispensation for the union of her son Robert with Joan; and a lively correspondence between Pope and King was being exchanged relative to this proposal. Meanwhile, made aware of this, the King of Hungary (who had just espoused Margaret of Moravia), and his mother, were entreating Clement to refuse his permission, and furthermore to compel Joan to surrender the heir of the kingdom to their custody. Between the two cross-fires Clement may well have been doubtful how to act. His main desire was to displease no one and to profit the Holy See.

Meanwhile the Queen herself, in no way anxious that her hand should be disposed of either as Catherine or as Hungary pleased, wrote to Clement that she had no wish to marry Robert of Taranto, however solicitous the latter might be for the union; in fact, she went so far as to state she had promised herself to his brother, Louis,<sup>1</sup> on which account she besought the favour of the Holy See.

Now, Clement himself, as well as King Philip (probably most other people likewise), considered that the condition of affairs in the vassal kingdom obviously needed masculine domination.<sup>2</sup> He was therefore disposed to grant a request which promised a solution for several difficulties. On the other hand, Louis of Hungary was importunate in his entreaties to Clement to deny any such dispensation,

<sup>1</sup> 'Quia Johanna, pacta interveniente solenni premiserat se cum delecto filio nobile viro, Ludovico di Taranto, nato tuo, matrimonium contracturam.' Clement VI. to Catherine of Taranto, June 22, 1346.

<sup>2</sup> 'Ut cum pro utiliori et decentiori regimine Regni Siciliae videretur expediens quod Regina predicta cum dilecto filio nobili viro Ludovico de Tarento, Germano dicti Principis (Robertus), contraheret, et super hoc Regina ipsa pretendens causas aliquas tangentes utilitatem hujusmodi et ipsam honestatem, tuæ Celsitudini scripsit super eodem matrimonio inter ipsam et Ludovicum contrahendo predictum, nos prebere assensum nostrum et optimam dispensationem concedere dignaremur. . . . Proh Dolor . . . fluctuationibus periculis et scandalosisurbationibus. Nam Magnates et Barones sunt divisi. Raptores, latrones et malandrini, discurrunt impune.' Clement VI. to Philip of Valois, March 30, 1346. Epist. 1014, Arch. Secr. Vatic. Anno iv.

declaring that Joan herself and the entire Angevin group at Naples, including Margaret and Maria di Taranto, as well as their brothers, had all been concerned in his brother's murder, and therefore that the kingdom ought at once to be transferred with the infant heir to his administration.

In view of this fierce conflict of interests, Clement judged it safest to temporise. The King of Hungary refused to receive Galhard, Bishop of Wesprim, a Papal Nuncio, although Clement wrote urgently to Queen Margaret to persuade her husband not to persist in that refusal.<sup>1</sup>

Now Louis of Taranto, under the direction of Niccolo Acciajuoli, aspired hopefully to the Queen's hand, and Acciajuoli was resolute to win for him both her and the crown of Naples. Rumour had even reached Avignon that Louis had even promised that, should his union with the Queen be effected, certain Castle officials suspected of complicity in the murder should go unpunished. Clement does not state this as a positive fact, but it is far from improbable; and it informs us very definitely with how little scruple political capital was being manufactured out of Andrew's death. He observes that as Robert of Taranto had not been on good terms with his mother, Catherine, for some time past, the aspiration of Louis should rather be countenanced. 'Nevertheless, we do not mean to hurry, but to maturely deliberate what ought to be done.'

It is this attitude of Acciajuoli designing the advancement of his favourite Louis of Taranto which not unnaturally contributed to bring his name into intimate union with the rumours which blackened so many reputations at Naples, which later afforded Boccaccio opportunity for vituperating the friend from whom personal differences had then bitterly divided him. But this was not the sole ground for aspersing Acciajuoli, and connecting him with the tragedy at Aversa. His sister Andreina was now second wife of Charles Artois, and Artois had fled to his castle, and that

<sup>1</sup> Arch. Secr. Vat. Epist. Anno iv. 1013.

castle was a fief of Catherine of Taranto. It will be duly observed that when Bertrando del Balzo, the Justiciary, demanded of Catherine the surrender of the Count and his son, whom she and Louis had made their prisoners, he met with a haughty refusal, the Empress-titular declaring that, if necessary, she would do justice upon them herself. It is difficult for two reasons, therefore, to believe that she acted thus but by advice of Acciajuoli. Firstly, because Acciajuoli would naturally desire to secure his sister, if not from the distress of losing the father of her children, from the consequences of forfeiture of his possessions; and, secondly, he would advise Catherine and Louis to be adroitly beforehand with the voracious Papal Legate, and so secure for themselves the lion's share.

We thus see Philip of Valois behind the scenes consistently favouring his sister and nephews at Naples against the pretensions of Hungary. Philip's antagonist, and presently his vanquisher, Edward III. of England, who had recently ruined half Tuscany and Naples by repudiating his debts, was at this moment addressing Louis of Hungary, and spurring him on to invasion by writing: 'We will freely give both counsel and assistance towards avenging such a crime'<sup>1</sup> (Andrew's murder). It is noteworthy that although Edward had thus brought down the chief banking houses of Florence some six years before, the Acciajuoli, whose trade had now become so extensive in Levantine directions, had not collapsed upon that occasion. They had failed in a later crisis. The Bardi and Peruzzi had been utterly broken; Giovanni Villani and others were actually in prison. By force of tact and energy, however, Niccolo Acciajuoli was presently destined to restore not only the mercantile status of his Society and its profitable relations with the Holy See, but to crown his favourite ward, and to render vain all the vast efforts of Hungary for finally conquering and absorbing Naples.

<sup>1</sup> 'Daremus libenter consilium et juvamen . . . ad vindicandum tantum scelus.' Cf. Rymer, *Fœdera*, ed. 3, Holmes. Hag. Comit. March 8, 1346.

On the 14th of March Clement informed the King of Hungary that God and conscience alike forbade him to dethrone Joan and hand over her realm either to him or to his brother Stephen, seeing that she had received her crown by lawful inheritance, had duly taken the necessary oath of homage, and that whatsoever suspicions might be entertained against her, she had neither confessed nor been convicted of complicity in the crime which Louis and his mother laid to her charge. Nevertheless, he proceeded exasperatingly, supposing that should she confess or be found guilty, and should she in consequence be dethroned, King Louis must clearly understand that the crown of Naples would in such case revert, not to Hungary, but to the Holy See, albeit the King and Duke Stephen should be shown every consideration. As to the re-marriage of Joan, Clement had no intention to concede the essential dispensation. Regarding the King's complaint that the coronation of Andrew had been delayed for years, the consideration of that affair had been an arduous one and without precedent, involving many subtle and delicate points of law, consequently arguments consuming much time and attention at a moment when even weightier matters burdened the shoulders of the Holy See. With respect to the King's flagrant accusation against Cardinal Talleyrand,<sup>1</sup> while admitting that this prelate had forwarded the interests of his nephew, Charles, Duke of Durazzo, the King was to know that he was a virtuous and distinguished man, of most illustrious birth, and that he wronged him greatly in attributing to him any connection with so shocking a crime. Waxing even indignant, on behalf of the man who had raised him to the Pontificate, the benign Clement continued, 'Cease, therefore, we beg of you, to bespot his honour, or in any way to blacken his house.'

Louis and his mother having large designs in view,

<sup>1</sup> Whom Louis considered to have been one of the devisers direct of his brother's murder.

were in no mood to make discriminations, but to maintain one sweeping general charge. Cardinal Talleyrand, all his nephews, and the entire house of Taranto, including the daughters Margherita and Maria, were all 'vehementer suspectis,' while Joan was able to be shown by patent signs 'et rationibus probabiliis' to be a viricide. The advantage of so comprehensive a charge was obvious. It would preclude any individual among the royalties at Naples advancing a claim to the throne, while under it could be matured plans for invading Naples and setting at nought the Holy See.

In face of the cruel and criminal intrigues, the degraded conditions into which had fallen both Naples and the Church, it is impossible not to sympathise with the vigorous young King even in making political capital out of his grief and chagrin. He informed Clement, moreover (so Clement related to Joan), that he especially suspected Louis of Taranto of the murder of Andrew, because of his frequent visits to the Castel Nuovo. The Pontiff, however, assures the Queen that he believes that suspicion to have had no true foundation. It was certainly somewhat late in the day to advance it had there not been urgent reasons for doing so. The throne of Naples, in order to be obtained, would have to be forcibly taken from Joan, and to find the excuse for doing that, her character, and those of all his kinsfolk there, must be blackened. It is, however, scarcely possible to suppose that a cruel mob, ravenous for victims, greedy of executing any justifiable vengeance for the murder of Andrew, such as the rabble of Naples had shown itself to be, would have tolerated his girl-widow as their ruler for a day had they known solid grounds for convicting her of the crime. She, however, does not appear to have taken, or needed to take, the slightest precaution against any one, or to have been in any dread of being accused of it. Gravina, followed by Professor de Blasiis, Canon Pôr, and others, states that she shut herself up 'out of remorse of conscience.' If Joan had been the ferocious

monster these gentlemen quite fancifully pictured her to have been, may it not be fairly questioned whether she could have possessed that tender thing called conscience which they by oversight attribute to her? In November, probably feeling worn out with the strain she had undergone, and being within six weeks of her confinement, she complained of her loneliness, and entreated the Pontiff that her grandmother, Matilda of Valois, might be allowed to come to be with her from France. It will be recollected that until the middle of this year she had enjoyed the continual advice and guiding affection of Queen Sancia. But the latter had died in July. At any rate, there is not to be found one word approaching to remorse in her letters and rescripts referring to the murder, but merely, as far as I know, simple, short, and emphatic expressions of horror at it. She at no time of her life confessed to having had aught to do with it, and at a much later day indignantly resented the imputation. She pardoned and excused the Princes who had offended her by interfering with the course of the law and seizing several of the royal officials, on the ground of the atrocity of the crime and their natural impatience at its tardy retribution.<sup>1</sup> She, however, dismissed the officious Ugo del Balzo from his Seneschalship in Provence. But other motives may have influenced her in this.

That Joan should bewail the actual loss of Andrew

<sup>1</sup> 'Nos igitur advertentes, quod licet impertinentur quoad ad Tribunalis et Judicii ordinem predicta acta, et commissa fuerint per eosdem fratres nostros, eorumque ministros de mandato ipsorum, ac prefatum Neapolitanum populum, et alios suprascriptos; quia tamen hæc et omnia, tanti acerbitas sceleris impunitasque tardata, quibus per eos ordo expectari non poterat rationabiliter palliant et excusant quodque tam prefati fratres nostri quam idem Neapolitanum populum ad mandatum nostrum per Nuncium oretenus eis factum humiliter et reverenter captivos omnes eosdem viro nobili Bertrando de Baucio, Comiti Montiscaveosi, Regni Siciliae Magistro Justitiario, et Judicibus Magnae Curiae dilectis consiliariis familiaribus et fidelibus nostris presto et liberaliter assignarunt per ipsam Magnam Curiam rigide secundum Justitiam puniendos, memoratos Principem, Ducem, eorumque ministros, Comites, Barones, Milites, Judices, notarios, familiares, complices, sequaces, &c. &c. speciali gratia liberamus absolvimus et in perpetuo quittamus.' March 19, 1346. Cf. M. Camera, op. cit., pp. 49-50.

was not to be expected. His death, however, had plunged her into new and far more odious difficulties than before, from which herself, with the whole realm, must inevitably suffer. Indeed, nothing more obviously calculated to break the peace, to engulf fortunes, and to prevent the recovery of Naples from past maladministration, could possibly have been devised than this murder.

It is not a little significant, however, of the gravity of the charge preferred by King Louis against Cardinal Talleyrand, that in one of the Consistories held at this time the Cardinal of Porto (de Comminges),<sup>1</sup> with certain of the Gascon Cardinals, openly accused that prelate of having had a share in the murder of Andrew. Talleyrand thereupon rose to his feet in order to strike De Comminges. 'The Pope and the other Cardinals parted them with difficulty. They retired in sullen wrath; each fortified his palace and armed his retainers. It was long before they were brought even to the outward show of amity.'<sup>2</sup>

Nothing, save the assassination of Joan herself perhaps, could have been more gratifying to the Hungarian advocates at Avignon, and this incident doubtless contributed to point the violent action of King Louis two years later in taking the life of Charles of Durazzo, whom he then declared to have been guilty of Andrew's assassination.

Thus, then, the charge of viricide launched against Joan some months after the murder grew up rather in Hungary than in Naples, and was formulated by her mother-in-law, Elizabeth. It has been sometimes stated that the notion was put into their minds by Charles of Durazzo himself, with a view of securing the dethronement of the Queen in favour of his own wife, Maria, or at any rate to make a virtuous show of zeal, and thereby ingratiate himself with formidable Hungary. This is not improbable. He had had extremely bitter differences with Joan and Queen

<sup>1</sup> Jean Raymond de Comminges, Cardinal of Porto, cr. 1327, died 1348.

<sup>2</sup> Milman, *Latin Christianity*, vol. vii. p. 460.

Sancia. For that and other reasons he had intimately ingratiated himself with Andrew; but for all this he had vigorously intrigued at Avignon to prevent or postpone as long as possible Andrew's coronation. Manifestly, therefore, he had reasons for acting with caution and profound uneasiness.

There was yet another ground for his enmity against the Queen at this crisis, namely, it had become obvious that Acciajuoli and Catherine of Taranto, backed by the head of the House of Valois, were resolved to secure Joan's hand for one or other of Catherine's sons, and that Joan herself was likely to acquiesce. Catherine at this time bitterly complained to the Pontiff that numbers of her letters and those of her sons to him were prevented reaching him. She promised to afford an armed escort for his Legate, Cardinal Bertrand. In turn, Clement asked her for every assistance in her power in order to aid the Justices at Naples, and for restoring harmony in the royal circle. He was determined, he wrote, that not only the guilty, but all who are suspected in connection with the murder should be duly brought to trial; and he had come to the conclusion that the proceedings must take place at Naples rather than at Avignon: 'the truth being the more easily to be unmasked in those parts where the crime was committed;' and that Bertrando del Balzo would be the most proper and reliable personage to carry out the Papal Commission.

For the rest, respecting the union of her son and Joan, he declared himself unable as yet to decide anything definite. He would wait until the Cardinal-Legate and the Bishop of Padua should have made their reports. Finally, he informed her (and this is important) that Charles of Durazzo was mightily incensed against her, '*leviore invidiæ, ireque calore accensus multa etiam contra te attemptaverat in cedula ipsa expressa, quæ nos honestatis in presentibus providimus silentiæ, relinquenda.*'<sup>1</sup> Charles, then, was filled with envy,

<sup>1</sup> Ep. 163, June 22, 1346, Arch. Secr. Vat. Clem. VI. '*Carissimæ in Christo filiæ, Catherinæ Imperatrici Constantinopolitani Illustri, &c.—Veniens pridem ad*

hatred, and malice at the successful progress of the designs of Catherine and Acciajuoli, of Louis of Taranto, and Joan ; consequently, it is not to be doubted he would have used every effort, both in Hungary, at Avignon, and Naples, in order to thwart and blacken them. As his own propinquity to the throne, and even his personal security, would probably avail him but little should Louis of Taranto wed Joan, his motives were patent. Furthermore, he was aware that nothing could infuriate threatening Hungary so bitterly against the Queen as to harp upon the idea of her re-marriage. There is at least probability that the Duke did darken his

nostram presentiam dilectus filius, Petrus de Capua, civis Neapolitanus, tuæ Cel-situdinis Nuncius nobis tuas litteras de credentia presentavit, et suam hujusmodi prosequendo credentiam quandam exhibuit cedulam multos articulos continentem. Nos igitur Nuncio et litteris predictis consideratione mittentis et ipsius missi probitatis obtenta solita benignitate receptis, et quæ ipse nuncius nobis explicare pro parte curavit verbotenus, et ipse littera ac cedula credentiæ per ipsum ut prefertur, exhibita continebant in effectu diligentius intellectis ad illa breviter et sub compendio respondemus. Primo namque cedula predicta credentiæ post tuam et natorum tuorum recommendationem devotam clarius describebat quod eo quia Carissima in Christo filia nostra Johanna, &c., pactor interveniente solenni premiserat se cum dilecto filio nobili viro Ludovico de Tarento, nato tuo, matrimonium contracturam, etsi hoc differetur, vel impediretur, eum ad certum statum promovere, sibi que de magnificis quibus posset statum tuum tenere, honorabiliter providere. Dilectus filius, nobilis vir Carolus, Dux Duratii livore invidiæ, iræque calore, succensus, multa etiam contra te attemptaverat in cedula ipsa expressa, quæ nos causa honestatis in presentibus providimus silentiæ. Relinquenda, sed profecta filia carissima, tam hujusmodi quam aliæ dissensiones et emulationes patentes et occultæ, quas inter illos de Domo et prosapia Regia, qui sicut claro junguntur sanguine, sic te tenere deberent indissolubiliter aliorum indemnitate connexos, ille hostis antiquis humani generis, qui primum scisma suscitavit in cælo procurare studuit, anxie nobis sunt multipliciter et moleste attendentes quod licet omni tempore indecentes ac reprehensibles essent merito discordiæ inter ipsos hiis tam temporibus quibusvis tam ipsis quam statui Domus Regiæ ac Regni pericula, pro dolor, gravia imminet, unitatis ipsorum concordia nedum esset expediens, immo necessaria procul dubio reputatur quia virtus (?) unita fortior esse noscitur se dispersa, et Salvator noster Regno in seipso diviso desolationis excidium terribiliter comminatur propter quod nos occurrere periculis quæ timentèr probabiliter ex divisione ipsorum paternæ solitudinis studiis cupientes Venerabilem fratrem nostrum Ildebrandinum, Episcopum Paduanum ante dilectum filium nostrum Bertrandum tit. Scti. Marci presbyterum Cardinalem, Apostol. Sedis, Legatum, ad partes illas in proximo profecturum, ad reformandam interim inter dissidentes eosdem pacis et unitatis concordiam providimus promittendum sperantes in Domino quod idem Episcopus, vir utique fidelitatis et probitatis maturitate conspicuus, amator veritatis, et justitiæ zelator, &c. &c.

opponents to their bitterest enemies, and he may have even gone the length of inviting these to invade the kingdom.

It was, therefore, a terrific irony of fate that the said enemy, eventually fulfilling such invitation, should then, out of the whole bevy of captured princes, select the Duke himself as the victim to be sacrificed to the manes of Andrew. Such, however, proved to be the case.

It has been seen that the cumbrous engine at Avignon was culpably clogged, and rendered incapable of befitting activity. It trundled along clumsily, like the fleshly giant it was. Clement excused the Holy See on account of the pressure of grave affairs, and it may be conceded that there

Super eo vero quod de dicto matrimonio faciebat primitus dicta cedula mentionem, scire te, filia dilectissima, volumus quod Regina prefata super contrahendo inter ipsam et dilectum filium nostrum, nobilem virum Robertum, primogenitum tuum, nobis etiam per suas patentes litteras supplicavit ut ad hac consensum nostrum prestare et dispensationem opportunam concedere dignaremur. Nos autem diligentius advertentes, quod super hiis quæ matrimonium dictæ Reginæ tangere possunt quomodolibet, erit cum magna ac matura deliberatione attenda qualitate presentis temporis procedendum, volumus et intendimus quod Legatus predictus, quem in kalendis mensis Augusti proximo futuri recessurum de Romana Curia credimus, et ad partes illius accessurum e vestigio, divina sibi gratia suffragante, se de hiis in partibus eisdem plenius informare procuret, nam ipse ibidem in schola experientiæ positus, videre certius poterit quid Reginæ et regno et illis de domo et progeniæ regiæ expediat in hac parte, qua quidem informatione habita et recepta, consulta deliberatione ordinabitur, quod honestius et utilius super hiis fuerit faciendum. Et nihilominus dictus Legatus super illis quæ Regina prefata dicto Ludovico, nato tuo, promississe dicitur faciet quod rationis equitas suadebit. Rursus cum de nece horribili claræ memoriæ Andreæ Regis Siciliae, per viam justitiæ ulciscenda in uno articulo dictæ credentiæ mentis haberetur, tuæ prudentiæ super hoc respondemus, quod licet nos qui morte Regis ejusdem peculiaris ecclesiæ filii plangimus cordialiter et dolemus, si is desideremus affectibus super ea justitiam exhiberi; et propterea quasdam personas, quæ de ipsa morte suspectæ, vel culpabiles, dicebantur, per processus nostros solenniter habitos citaverimus ut infra certum terminum prefixum eis super hoc coram nobis deberent personaliter comparere, deinde tamen considerantes attente quod in illis partibus in quibus sceleratissimum facinus mortis ejusdem patratum extitit plenius quam hic poterit veritas reperiri, dilecto filio, nobili viro, Bertrando de Baucio, Com. Montisscaveosi, viro utique circumspecto et provido, ac fervido justitiæ zelatori, sub certa forma providimus negocium hujusmodi committendum cui circa hæc velit quæsimus opportune tuæ Celsitudo assistere consiliis et favoribus opportunis. Processus autem super morte Regis predicti habitos, quos tibi mitti cum instantia petiisti tuo nuncio per Cancellariam nostram jussimus assignari. Porro eidem celsitudini tuæ super assistentia quam etiam cum armatorum hominorum non modico numero nobis pro dicto Legato liberaliter obtulisti gratiarum tibi referimus actiones, &c. xi. Kal. Junii 1346.

were better foundations for such excuse than might at first be suspected. With attention closely fixed upon the intrigues at Naples, it has perhaps escaped adequate notice how lowering the political sky showed itself all around, and a few of the salient points in support, if not in justification, of the Pontifical expressions may therefore be adduced.

The two Legates he had appointed to Naples, besides their Apulian mission, had been charged with reference to ameliorating the scandalous condition of Romagna, where one petty tyrant after another, naturally profiting by the absence of the Pontiff as well as by the recent intrigues of the King of Bohemia, raised himself to power at the expense both of the Church and the unfortunate inhabitants. The still excommunicated Emperor, Louis, was held to be in league with them and meditating a fresh descent upon Naples. That is to say, the kingdom of Naples, which, under King Robert, had been enabled to defy him, under the misrule of Joan's advisers, their opponents, and the Legates, offered him a desired opportunity for spoliation. Gangs of Germans, flying imperial banners, had already entered the kingdom and were adding to its many tribulations.<sup>1</sup>

Furthermore, Louis of Hungary, in defiance of the Pontifical rebuke, continued negotiation with the Emperor for his daughter's union with his brother, Stephen. The Emperor, therefore, if he and the Electors would consent, could greatly assist that King to conquer and appropriate Naples. But there inevitably arose the question, Would King Louis, if victorious, be likely to acknowledge the imperial overlordship, and do homage—homage which would mortally offend and upset Florence and all Guelphs and Angevins? Here, at any rate, was a conjunction of circumstances favourable for the Hungarian ambition; but it involved vigorous antagonism to the Holy See, and, in any case, sharing the spoil with the Emperor. France could do nothing. The most serious opponent to such a scheme would be Charles of Moravia,

<sup>1</sup> Cf. the Queen's edict against those Teutons, ordering their expulsion within eight days, dated at Naples, March 25, 1346. Camera, op. cit. p. 51.

son and heir of the blind John of Bohemia, and now the King of Hungary's father-in-law, who had been truckling pitifully for Pontifical favour in regard to his election as King of the Romans.

In Charles the Pope accordingly found a convenient tool. Both Charles and his father, having quarrelled with King Louis, had joined the army of Philip of Valois. But the battle of Crecy, at midsummer of this year (1346), witnessed the death of the father and the flight of the son. Moreover, King Edward III. of England, who won the battle, had himself been put forward as a candidate for the imperial crown, but his subjects had forbidden his acceptance of the responsibility. Extraneous conditions, therefore, were favourable to Hungary in much the same ratio as they were unfavourable to Naples.

Now, it was from those before-mentioned bodies of Teutons of the, so to speak, amateur advance-guard of the Emperor<sup>1</sup> which had entered the kingdom that Louis of Taranto and Charles of Durazzo had been respectively augmenting their forces. This increased Clement's uneasiness, and he had written to the Queen reprimanding her for suffering the presence of these aliens, to the evident peril of her realm, where they would be certain to subsist by exactions. 'And further, considering that whereas you may regard them as its defenders, they are in reality serpents nourished in your bosom, or, so to speak, seducers of your own proper forces, or otherwise their open antagonists,—we command you to permit those who have already entered your kingdom to remain there no longer, but to expel them, even as your predecessors would have done.'<sup>2</sup> As if, forsooth, the Queen and her rout of lawyers and mendicants could possibly prevent them!

<sup>1</sup> 'Certos stipendiarios merito domui et Regno tuus ab antiquo suspectos, arma et signa Imperialia quæ videre tui abhorrent subdita deferentes, qui sicut et eorum predecessores nunquam domum tuam Regiam dilexerunt, in regnum ipsum pateris introduci, et multe similes at intrandum Regnum cum armis cotidie, magis in tui et Regni ejusdem periculum qua subsidium innitantur.' Clement to Joan.

<sup>2</sup> Epist. 863, Arch. Secr. Vat., March 5, 1346, Anno iii.

The command obviously proved no easy matter of fulfilment. Nevertheless, it shows the alacrity of the Queen to do what lay in her power to follow the counsel given, that on the twenty-fifth of the same month she issued the edict previously referred to.<sup>1</sup>

In the midst of her difficulties, Joan seems to have relied on the very man whom Petrarch had formerly praised for his sense of justice, whom King Robert had appointed head of the Council, and who, moreover, must have known almost everything that had taken place and was taking place, namely, Philip de Cabassoles, Bishop of Cavillon. When, therefore, the Pope, after a personal audience accorded to that prelate, wrote to the Queen that he believed the attacks upon her character and that of Louis of Taranto to be unjustified (although he sharply pointed out to her that her intimacy with the Prince offered a natural target for detractors, and more especially for Louis of Hungary), we may fairly question if either Clement or the Bishop can have seriously regarded her as having consented to the murder. It is evident, however, that King Louis, made aware that Catherine's second son, as well as her eldest (Robert), had frequented Castel Nuovo during Andrew's lifetime, and now seeing them in rivalry for his widow's hand, naturally welcomed anything hostile uttered concerning her and them. All the princes had successfully obstructed the advancement of Andrew; Joan had done so without disguise. In so doing, they and she, by every means in their power, had thwarted him and the Hungarian policy. What was even darker infamy, they were not decent enough to simulate profound regret for that Prince's death. This was most certainly true. On the other hand, if no profound grief was manifested, surely this was because it was not felt; and if remorse was not shown by Joan,—and I do not find evidences of any

<sup>1</sup> 'Mandamus omnibus et singulis Theotonicis, seu Nationis Theotonice, seu aliis exteris secum miscentibus, specialiter in partibus Terræ Laboris, ad cujuscumque, seu quorumcumque, servitia militantibus, seu alia quavis causa et ratione, morantibus in Regno, noviter introductis, sub pena corporum,' &c.

such emotion,—it was because there was no convincing reason for her to feel it. Had a woman like Joan, youthful and open-handed, and with superstitiously religious tendencies, been guilty of so atrocious a crime, involving Papal anathema, it is well-nigh incredible that she could have long withheld her secret. But we have it from abundant evidence that she persistently treated the suspicions of Hungary with natural scorn; that her near kinsmen and others observed no reticence in proffering suit to her; that no kinsman, unless Charles of Durazzo, pointed the crime at her; that Clement some years after the event wrote, that though suspected vehemently by Hungary, she had at no time confessed guilt. One contemporary chronicler<sup>1</sup> tells us that she was held to be guiltless; an avowedly biassed one,<sup>2</sup> on the contrary, declares, but without adducing any evidence save presumption, that she was privy to the murder. Both give antagonistic details.

But that she made too brief a show of concern for Andrew's decease, even for those times, perhaps does more credit to her frankness than to her discretion. She and her relatives had been crossed perpetually by Andrew, and she did not trouble to pretend that she had loved him. Every one about her knew otherwise. It must be recollected that in her day persons of lower condition were sometimes executed for less emphatically circumstantial evidence than sufficed in the eyes of her mother-in-law and brother-in-law, set on by the Duke of Durazzo and the Pipini, to connect her with her husband's assassination. But this only the more makes it certain that at Naples, where the crime was the theme of constant discussion and of sermons, and where the populace had been deeply stirred by it, there must have been sufficiently weighty grounds for giving her the benefit of the doubt; otherwise neither her youth nor her critical condition would have saved her on returning from Aversa

<sup>1</sup> Chron. Mutinens. Giov. Bazzano, in Muratori, S.R.I.

<sup>2</sup> Dom di Gravina. Outside the kingdom, where every one was hoping to profit by the invasion of Naples, the general voice of the chroniclers is against her.

to the capital, or during the ensuing months. But we neither hear of any sort of attack being made upon her person, of any desertion of her or accusation made against her; nor was the word 'viricide' applied to her until her embittered mother-in-law launched it at her from Buda in a letter to Clement. Neither does there appear to have been any forsaking of her on the part of the Bishop of Cavaillon, who must have been intimately informed of the ins and outs of the case; for from him unquestionably the Pope duly received chief among many reports that were drafted to Avignon concerning the crime. Moreover, no moment could have been selected for the perpetration of the murder more ingeniously calculated to throw suspicion upon the Queen, and off the shoulders at once of Catherine of Taranto and Charles of Durazzo.

In spite of all this, it is impossible to declare Joan absolutely free from such culpability as may have attached to her for permitting such of her court officials as were declared enemies of Andrew and Hungarians to perceive that she would be indifferent as to what became of him. At the same time Andrew had his own Hungarian advisers, and he had his own bodyguard, whose duty it was to look after both his daily interests and guarantee his personal security; moreover, Joan's authority over her court officials must at that period have been much circumscribed. To have given her a fair chance, the whole staff should have been retired and pensioned after her accession. Nevertheless, even that measure would not have prevailed against the intrigues of the rival great-aunts. Moreover, and in spite of Petrarch's description of Andrew as the mildest of promising young men in 1343, it is practically certain that Andrew's advisers caused him to adopt measures in 1344 and 1345, so severe and high-handed toward his opponents, that even contemporaries who justly pitied him condemn their unreasonableness, and by so doing help us to understand the desperate position into which he drove the conspirators. If his aims should be satisfied, their occupation would be gone.

## CHAPTER V

### DISCOVERIES

QUEEN ELIZABETH showed herself to be well-informed, and to have profited by her travels, when she expressed herself sceptically to Clement as to the feasibility of administering justice at Naples in such a case. The Pope, in response to her resentful murmurings at the law's delay, calmly endeavoured to reassure her by reminding her that the Holy See had solved far more perplexing problems than this ; moreover, within that same realm. At the same time, he desired her clearly to understand that the case was one of such gravity that, although fully undertaking responsibility for its conduct, the Holy See, having never been wont to ground its judgment upon suspicions only, could not now presume so to decide. Obviously it was impracticable for a Pontiff living at Avignon to summon thither a crowned head, not only a scion of the reigning house of France, but sovereign-actual of Provence, on a charge of having committed one of the most atrocious crimes of the century. To have arraigned, and possibly condemned, upon French soil a batch of the nearest relatives of the King of France would have exacted an audacity, a virility of temper very foreign to the prevailing disposition of the Curia. Yet more impracticable was it that civil justice should in such case obtain valid account at Naples, where the highest representatives of the law were subjects and vassals of the aspersed sovereign.

With regard to the custody of Andrew's child, there were sensible grounds for Elizabeth's demands, seeing that the

condition to which Naples was reduced might imperil his existence. Moreover (source of tenfold rancour, maternal and filial), Joan was manifestly about to become the long-desired prize of Catherine of Taranto, and convey the crown to one of her sons. The House of France, by means of a cold-blooded murder, would thus defraud Hungary of her righteous aspiration. According to gossip recorded in a letter of the Pope to Philip of France, Louis of Taranto was even promising that those found guilty of Andrew's murder should not be punished if his desire to obtain the Queen in marriage should be fulfilled.<sup>1</sup> As long, however, as the child Carlo Martello lived, no Prince of Taranto or Durazzo could possibly claim the crown, even should he win the hand of Joan. It was therefore of paramount importance to obtain custody of him. We shall see that this was ultimately obtained by Charles of Durazzo, and then by King Louis.

But Joan and her councillors had not the remotest intention of surrendering him; and in this all Naples was probably with her. He therefore remained in charge of his governor, Amelio del Balzo.

To render affairs still more immedicable, facetious enemies of the various parties concerned now made entertainment out of their differences by manufacturing fraudulent letters in their respective names, which they put into circulation. It is not surprising, therefore, to find Clement entreating the King of Hungary not to listen to false rumours, and to beware of forged letters bearing Joan's signature and emanating from Lombardy.<sup>2</sup> There was great probability that Naples would be invaded. Every Ghibelline community longed for it; the Venetian merchant, to whom the Florentine had been preferred by King Robert, would regard such an operation with unqualified pleasure; while the Emperor, still under the Papal

<sup>1</sup> Arch. Secr. Vatic. Anno iv. Clem. VI. Epist. 1014, iii. Kal. Apr. 1346.

<sup>2</sup> Raynaldus, Costanzo, Colenuccio, and scores of others, have swallowed these letters whole.

interdict, might join hands with the Hungarian (though scarcely to take vengeance for Conradin), while the latter revenged himself for Andrew.

What, then, was the nature of the machinery of justice purposed to be set in motion at Naples by the Holy See, and which should display its forces to the entire satisfaction of Hungary?

First of all, Clement appointed Bertrando del Balzo chief of the Judicial Commission, and he was to be assisted by two representative citizens of Naples, chosen by the people. Who was Del Balzo? What were his qualifications?

He was, of course, the same Provençal magnate, formerly brother-in-law to King Robert, and now father-in-law to Humbert, Dauphin of Vienne, the same who had held so many and such various commands during forty years past. Moreover, to him Queen Elizabeth, on her departure from Naples, had especially commended the interests of Andrew.<sup>1</sup> Joan had fully recognised his merit and ambition by creating him Grand Justiciary of the realm. Perhaps, therefore, he was about equally interested in acting in the Hungarian interest and in the Neapolitan; and as far as trying charges against suspected officials and menials, provided he bore the upright character with which he was credited, there was little to object to in his selection. The two citizens of Naples would act in conjunction with him.

When, however, there had to be taken into account a wider extension of the prosecutive inquiry, and the entire royal circle, including the sovereign herself, was to be declared subject to his jurisdiction, should he deem her arraignment necessary, his appointment could only be considered farcical. For how could a subject, a vassal, and, moreover, an '*affinis*,' sit in judgment upon his sovereign? How should any royal personage submit to be cross-examined by a servant? Was Del Balzo not himself a member of the royal circle? Besides, might he not himself be included in the number of suspects, seeing that King Louis excepted

<sup>1</sup> '*Tanquam homini antiquo et seni, et fideli reliquit.*' D. de Gravina, 555 c.

none of his many relatives at Naples from the accusation, and asserted that over two hundred people had been implicated in the conspiracy. Later on, Clement realised the inadequacy of the tribunal. Meanwhile, however, he endeavoured to hasten the Cardinal of St. Marco, armed with Pontifical authority, in order to support Del Balzo. But being delayed by other commissions on his journey, the Cardinal did not reach Naples until August; and upon his tardy arrival nearly a year after the murder, he was ill-received by the people.

For this reception there may have been several reasons. Unfortunately Clement, besides clamouring for the annual tribute, was now exacting an inconvenient tax for the purpose of a fruitless crusade, headed by Del Balzo's son-in-law, Humbert, against the Turk. At any rate, so roughly was the Cardinal treated, that he was compelled to flee to Benevento, leaving Del Balzo, the Bishop of Padua, and the minor justices and citizens, to proceed as best they might with the inquiry. As far as executing several of the ringleaders and laying hands on still other suspects, Del Balzo had acted vigorously before the Cardinal had arrived. As soon, however, as he found, or imagined, it necessary to press his inquiries with the royal circle, he found his life was not safe, and he wrote to Clement that he dared not proceed. He does not say that the opposition came from any one in particular, but it is easy to perceive that it was from Captain-General the Prince of Taranto, and Catherine, who, having command of the troops, overawed him. Indeed, we have some account of Catherine's conduct from the mouth of Del Balzo himself. This, moreover, is addressed to Joan, whose edicts he acknowledges, grateful for assistance he has received from her.

He states that from the confessions made by Gasso, Count of Terlizzi, Roberto di Cabannis, Raimondo di Catania, Sancia di Cabannis, Niccolo di Melizzano, and several more, he has satisfactorily established that among the assassins were Charles Artois and his son Bertrand,

Conrado di Catanzaro, and Conrado di Umfredo di Montefusco; Charles Artois, and Conrado di Catanzaro with him, having actually assisted in the crime, the others likewise having been principals. He then proceeds to declare that the Pontiff has commanded that all who shall discover the culprits in hiding, no matter where, or under whatever condition, are to deliver them up to justice, and that any who shelter them, on what pretext soever, will do so under peril of major excommunication. He therefore entreats her to send out royal letters urging the Empress Catherine and Louis of Taranto, her son, to surrender to him Charles and Bertrand Artois and Conrado di Umfredo, of whose persons they have obtained possession. (According to Gravina, Catherine, together with her son Louis and Niccolo Acciajuoli, had literally besieged and taken Artois in his castle of St. Agata dei Goti, with a view to appropriate his wealth.<sup>1</sup>) On receiving Del Balzo's request for their deliverance to him, Catherine had proudly replied that she would deal with them herself.

The Queen obeyed, and issued a fresh edict, declaring that the above-mentioned individuals had been found guilty, were therefore public enemies and rebels, and that wherever found they were to be surrendered to Del Balzo. Gravina, erroneous as usual, states that Charles Artois died of desperation; the Chronicle of Este, still wider of the truth, states that both father and son died of poison in the night. More than one eminent contributor to the 'Archivio Storico' of Naples has declared that Charles died at the close of August or at the commencement of September 1346; while another declares that his body, one of great dimensions, was seen by him when a boy in the church where it had been entombed. The Vatican Archives refute once and for all most of these statements. In fact, Charles Artois survived until the following April (1347), when he fell a victim, not to desperation or the poison-cup, but to the gout. He stead-

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Chron. Dom. di Gravina.

fastly protested against the right of Del Balzo to try him, owing to former personal differences between them; moreover, he vehemently pleaded innocence, and demanded that he should be taken to Avignon and tried there.

Darker and darker fell the shadows around the Queen, as she completed her twentieth year. Renewed quarrels between the Duke of Durazzo and the Taranto family filled Naples with uproar, and the Holy See with extreme alarm. It was a tumult of recriminations, a quarrel for possession of the Queen. The Tarantini could point to the Durazzo intrigues at Avignon; the Durazzeschi could point to the princes and their mother, and perhaps brand them as regicides. But we do not find either of them actually accusing the Queen. At the same time it was to the interest of the entire circle that they should resist to the uttermost any judicial attempt to derogate from the royal dignity, and make it impossible for Del Balzo and the Legate to arraign them. Their attitude in resisting this mixed jurisdiction, if theoretically impolitic, might be easily justified. That resistance, however, could but deepen the suspicions entertained against them beyond Naples. The only personal complaint, however, made by Del Balzo regarded Catherine of Taranto, and her son Louis, for thus deliberately having withheld from his custody individuals he had declared (and the Queen herself in her edict had acquiesced in his declaration) to have committed the murder.

Robert of Taranto remained at Naples, calling himself Captain-General of the Queen's forces. Determined not to lose sight of Joan, and to outwit his brother Louis, he now took up his abode in Castel Nuovo, on the pretence that, as Captain-General, his duties were to reform the finances and administration, as well as to arrange for the defence and maintenance of the menaced kingdom. There, it seems certain, he terrorised the Queen; for whereas she had openly signified her decided preference for his brother, she now wrote letters asking Clement for dispensation for her

union with Robert. News of these doings duly reached Hungary and kept alive the old wrath, so that Elizabeth and the King overflowed with abuse of the Prince and the Queen, designating the latter viricide and adulteress, and the former Andrew's murderer. It would have been more satisfactory, however, had they advanced one solid proof in lieu of wild accusations.

By this time Clement had received from his agents at Naples, from those of the King of Hungary, as well as from all sorts of people, abundance of information. He had less than ever to fear from the now defeated Philip of France, and he had not a little to gain by deposing Joan if he deemed her guilty. Nevertheless, he repeats over and over again, that although gravely suspected in Hungary, the charge against her is in his opinion devoid of foundation, and that the Holy See could not proceed to depose a sovereign upon mere suspicion. If the King of Hungary possessed actual proofs of her complicity, he must produce them. To appease Hungary, concerning whose preparations he now showed emphatic solicitude, he was ready to go far and to do much. He permitted himself to tell Queen Elizabeth that he approved her arguments as to her obtaining the custody of Carlo Martello, and was indeed about to command that the child should be delivered over to Hildebrand, Bishop of Padua.<sup>1</sup> Although the behaviour of the two rival Princes of Taranto to one another was extremely scandalous, and beyond measure provocative to Hungary, nevertheless while calmly assuring King Louis that the Holy See would not grant dispensation for Joan's re-marriage with either of them,

<sup>1</sup> Epist. to Elizabeth of Hungary, July 17, 1346. 'Porro super custodia pueri, supradicti, nimirum Caroli a Joanna ex Andrea suscepti, diligentiam quam potuimus adhiberi fecimus hactenus et facere intendimus; ac super hoc, cum rem nostram et ejusdem Ecclesiæ reputemus agi principaliter in hac parte, venerabilem fratrum nostrum Ildebrandinum, Episcopum Paduanum, specialiter, ut ordinetur quod tuæ curæ ac custodiæ tradatur dictus puer, vel alias taliter ordinetur de ipso, quod cujuscumque periculosæ suspicionis tollatur, materia duximus destinandum.' Elizabeth evidently fancied the child might be poisoned by the Tarantini.

Clement privately wrote thus to Louis of Taranto: 'If you attend to our admonitions, and obey them by refraining from creating these present disturbances, we will do as favourably for you as can be in those affairs concerning which Catherine, your august mother, has written to us.'<sup>1</sup> In fact, the Pope intended to grant the desired dispensation for the Prince's union with the Queen as soon as he dared do so, and he thus gave him his secret encouragement and assurance.

The wishes of the House of Valois, it is evident, were to be humoured when opportunity should be favourable. Justified or not in her attitude, Hungary was neither beloved nor desired at Naples. Did Clement, in giving instructions to the Legate and Justiciary to proceed against the royalties if they deemed necessary, act sincerely? I venture to think that he did act so in this. He commanded that whatever should be elicited from them was to be kept secret, and forwarded to Avignon under seal. His alarm at the formidable combination then forging between the Empire, Hungary, Milan, Genoa, and Sicily, to fall upon Naples, could not be counterbalanced by any fear of Philip of Valois or Catherine of Taranto. He repeated over and over in his letters to the Cardinal and to Del Balzo that they were to make no exceptions whatsoever, but were to diligently inquire and discover whether the Queen or any of the royalties of either sex actually were 'culpabiles seu consci,'<sup>2</sup> and if it should be found that they had been so implicated, the finding was to be sent to Avignon. Judgment upon it was to be reserved for the Pontiff and the Sacred College. In order, moreover, to render the proceedings more practicable, he had taken the precaution of appealing to the citizens of Naples, who had

<sup>1</sup> 'Nos autem, si te ad hoc disposueris, et nostris monitis utique salubribus cum effectu parueris in hac parte, te favorabiliter prosequemur, et nihilominus super hiis quæ Carissima in Christo filia nostra Catherina Imperatrix, genetrix tua, nobis scripsit reperiemus quantum cum Deo fieri poterit favorabiles et benigni.' Ep. 60, Anno v. II. (Id. June 1345).

<sup>2</sup> 'Aut superea patrandæ dedissent auxilium, consilium, vel favorem.'

not shown themselves slow to indulge in acts of popular vengeance. Not merely did he forward them a written appeal detailing the perils which menaced their interests if justice for the crime were not exacted, but he had appointed that two trustworthy representatives from their number should take active share in Del Balzo's commission. And yet he disfavoured Hungary.

But in spite of all his endeavours, in spite of the terrible executions which must now be related, the royalties and lack of evidence proved too formidable for the Holy See, and the citizens either sided with their princes or were overawed by Robert of Taranto and his mercenaries. At any rate, one and all of the group, consisting of the Queen, nine princes and princesses, absolutely refused to respond to any arraignment.

Now, it must be confessed that here, divided in interests as they were, a favourable opportunity presented itself for one to betray the other if actual guilt hung upon any especial individual among them; for is it not evident how exceeding bitter were their dissensions? It is, therefore, surprising this was not utilised, and it would be interesting to know if Philip of Valois dictated this successful conspiracy of silence to his house.

The futility of the inquiry, however, could not but darken the shadow upon all whom it would have concerned; upon Clement, upon Naples, and upon the entire royal circle therein. The safety of Del Balzo could not but be uncertain after it had become known he had informed the Pope how Catherine had captured the two Artois and that she had refused to deliver them up; for Clement, only then penetrating the wiles of the lady who, in numerous letters, had keenly professed her desire to forward the aims of justice, wrote to the Nuncios at Naples (namely, the Bishops of Padua and Casino) that if, after presentation of their demands, Catherine still refused to surrender her prisoners, then they were to place herself, her territories, castles, lands, and goods, &c., under the interdict;<sup>1</sup> and of this decision all the other

<sup>1</sup> Ep. 601, a. 5, viii. Id. Oct. 1346. 'Si vero Imperatrix prefata premissis

royal persons, as well as the citizens of Naples, were duly informed.

Charles of Durazzo's former denunciations of Catherine, tainted though we know they were by personal hostility, may now have seemed in Clement's eyes well substantiated. It becomes therefore almost impossible to doubt that steadfast ambition to secure the throne of Naples for one or other of her sons, in which her brother, King Philip, had fully encouraged her, had prevailed with Catherine to take advantage of the acute discontent and hostility of menial officials toward Andrew to consent to, if not to directly urge on, his assassination. She had set on Charles Artois and his son Bertrand, who were her vassals. Finding them suspected and being hunted down, she became alarmed that, if caught, they might compromise her and her sons. Moreover, Charles, as Chancellor of the realm, and a son of King Robert, had amassed immense treasure, a share of which she determined to possess before the Church stepped in and swallowed it. She therefore acted traitress, made her accomplices and instruments her prisoners, appropriated their wealth, but most benignly refused to give them up to the Justiciary. All this at Sant' Agata dei Goti, not twenty miles from Naples, and not ten from Aversa!

But Catherine had yet other reasons for sparing the life of Artois. He was the husband of Andreina Acciajuoli, her Chancellor's sister. The latter, however, was not the mother of his son Bertrand. The last-named was finally delivered up to the Nuncio at Benevento in March 1347, where he either died or was put out of the way. Artois now lost no time in advancing a vigorous protest against Del Balzo, showing reasons, admitted to be valid by the Sacred College, why the Justiciary was quite unfit to act as his judge. What these reasons were I have been unable to discover. He was therefore detained at Benevento invalided. At the

*precibus, requisitionibus, et monitionibus, obtemperare cum effectu recusaret, quod absit, ipsam ad hoc auctoritate nostra processuram Ecclesiasticam apponere postposita compellatis.'*

very moment, however, in the autumn of 1346, when Catherine was about to be excommunicated, she unexpectedly died. Clement, writing to her son Robert, mentions her having quitted this life, 'in confessione fidei Catholicæ, receptis devotæ Sacramentis, etc., temporalis cursum finiverit vitæ suæ, ipsius animam, si forsân penis astringatur, purgatorii ut ab illis liberata, *acius ad gloriam transeat sempiternam piis operibus ut oblita non videatur erga eam filialis dilectio adjuvando.*'<sup>1</sup>

To return to the other culprits and their fate. Del Balzo and his colleagues had condemned to death the Count of Terlizzi, with all the arrested members, male and female, of the Catanian family. Still other suspects had escaped them. In the course of his inquiries he had elicited fresh information. There had been a further plot to poison Andrew by means of deadly potions,<sup>2</sup> and yet another to do him to death by means of witchcraft. Three plots, then, in all!

In consequence of these condemnations, early in August (1346) there had been erected along the shore adjoining Castello dell' Ovo a palisade enclosing a raised platform. Upon this, under the superintendence of Ugo del Balzo, the Seneschal of Provence, the public torments commenced.<sup>3</sup> Sancia di Cabannis, proving to be *enceinte*, was

<sup>1</sup> Arch. Secr. Vatic. Id. Nov. a. 5. Ep. 736. To Robert of Taranto.

<sup>2</sup> Arch. Secr. Anno v. Clem. VI. Ep. 306, to B. del Balzo. 'Verum quia ab aliquibus dicitur revocari, utrum, virtute commissionis predictæ, possis illos absolvere, qui de nece predicta delati innocentes existent, vel culpabiles, non poterunt reperiri. Nos, dubitationis hujusmodi scrupulum amputantes, declaramus intentionem nostram fuisse et esse quod sicut virtute commissionis ejusdem, tibi est attributa potestas de patratibus predicti sceleris justiciæ debitum exequendi, sic et innocentes, et non repertos culpabiles assistentibus tibi duobus predictis civibus absolvendi plenam obtineas potestatem. Sane quia quædam, ut asseritur, utriusque sexus personæ, ante necem dicti Regis, in ipsius mortem per venenum et potiones mortiferas, ac diversa maleficia nequiter fuerunt machinatæ, tibi tenore presentium committimus, et mandamus, quantum assistentibus tibi prefatis duobus civibus juxta forma commissionis per nos tibi factæ de hujusmodi flagitio inquiras diligentius veritatem, qua completa justitiam juxta datam tibi a Domino prudentiam faciendæ de malefactoribus hujusmodi non postponas.' August 1, 1346.

<sup>3</sup> 'Ac propter ipsius Philippæ mortem antequam esset de dicto crimine condemnatum in carcere ipsius Curie capta pro crimine supradicto.' Reg. C. 353, f. 24, August 1346.

remanded until December, when she is believed to have been burned, probably for sorcery. Her husband was remanded. Philippa succumbed to her tortures in the prison. Her head was severed and stuck above one of the city gates. Boccaccio relates (probably from hearsay) that the citizens tore and actually ate the hearts thrown from the bodies of Roberto di Cabannis<sup>1</sup> and Raimondo di Catania. Gravina seems to corroborate the statement by stating that the populace fell upon the dead bodies and roasted pieces in the fire. The Florentines, to be sure, had set them the example three years before on the occasion of the expulsion of the Duke of Athens. At any rate, Gasso di Terlizzi, Raimondo di Catania and Niccola di Melizzano were beaten and drawn through the city on the dreadful car,<sup>2</sup> their flesh being torn piecemeal by executioners with hot pincers as they proceeded.

Of the brothers Della Lagonessa,<sup>3</sup> Rostaino died in Castel Capuano after three months' imprisonment in chains,<sup>4</sup> still declaring his innocence. They had been accused of conspiring to poison Andrew. Relatives and friends tearfully protested their innocence to Clement,<sup>5</sup> who granted some small mitigation of circumstances, bidding Del Balzo exchange the dungeon for 'temporalem custodiam,'<sup>6</sup> unless he could decide one way or the other as to their guilt.

<sup>1</sup> As a matter of fact, Roberto di Cabannis was detained in prison, his guiltiness being subject to doubt. A letter from Clement to Charles of Durazzo (Arch. Secr. Vat. Reg. 141, Epist. 831), dated 12th November this year, speaks of him as remanded in chains, his guilt not yet proven.

<sup>2</sup> 'Die II. Mensis Augusti Neapoli tenaculati fuerunt Comes Ebuli et Comes Terlitii. Die VII. ejusdem Mensis lata fuit sententiatus Dominus Raimundus de Catania ad fustigationem et capitis truncationem: et Dominus notarius, Nicolaus, fuit tenaculatus . . . et alii non nominati etiam mala morte perierunt ad instantiam Summi Pontificis qui amaricatus fuit de morte dicti Domini Regis.' Cron. di Donato Acciajuoli, Codex Miscell. vol. i. xxv. 557, Bibliot. Firen.

<sup>3</sup> Signori d'Airola.

<sup>4</sup> 'Vinculorum acerbitate et aeris intemperiem.' Arch. Secr. Vatic. Ep. 368, Non. Aug. 1346.

<sup>5</sup> Giovanni della Lagonessa in 1343 bought a property of San Martino from Queen Sancia for four hundred fiorini. The Lagonessi were closely related to the Cantelmi, and so consanguineous with Charles Artois.

<sup>6</sup> Nonas Augusti 1346. Later, in October, Clement again writes to Del Balzo to decide the fate of Giovanni della Lagonessa: 'in miserabile scalaris carceris

The goods and possessions of the executed were appropriated, as usual, by the crown, though the Church took care later on to demand her full share. Clement, however, ordered the Bishop of Casino to direct the estates and monies of the Artois, and made it an especial point to warn Louis of Taranto to offer no impediment.<sup>1</sup> The said Bishop was further empowered to invoke the secular arm, if needed, for obtaining them. Louis nevertheless maintained his hold in spite of the menace.

Now I find that the Queen conferred a portion of the salary forfeited by the condemnation of Raimondo di Catania upon her own old nurse Mariella della Porta of Sorrento. Her words describing the conferment upon her are not insignificant: 'Ob demerita dicti Raymundi, dudum nostri hospitii Senescalli notati de tam detestando crimine mortis Regis, et propter gravis homicidii hujusmodi suæ culpæ demeritum, ad supplicium condemnati.'<sup>2</sup> She, then, was satisfied of his guilt, and felt no compunction.

Not a little light is thrown upon the Queen's position by observing that within a few weeks of Catherine's decease Clement ordered the Cardinal to force by spiritual threats her sons, Robert and Louis, to surrender to the Holy See territorial concessions which they had extorted and were still extorting from Joan.<sup>3</sup> Robert, as has been shown, before his mother's death, had forcibly taken up his abode in Castel Nuovo, and all efforts and arguments to persuade him to leave had proved useless. The Cardinal and the Nuncios,

ne ulterius maceretur.' October 12, 1346. He was finally released, and figured as a rebel later on.

<sup>1</sup> Ep. 615, 621, October 8, 1346. Nevertheless, in February 1347, Louis of Taranto had not surrendered either the person of Bertrand Artois, nor the Artois property; wherefore Clement ordered Guido, Bishop of Casino, to re-demand them from him. Cf. Ep. 958, 959, a. 5.

<sup>2</sup> Regest. Johann. 1345-46, A. fol. 66-69, B. fol. 101. It is also significant that the goods of Roberto di Cabannis were given to Matteo de Porta de Salerno, probably a near kinsman of Mariella. August 2, 1346. B. fol. 99, 128.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Regest. vol. 249, Johanna I., 1346, fol. 41. 'Johanna, etc., Ludovico di Taranto fratri nostro, etc., conceditur eidem castellania castri Bellividero, cum omnibus juribus,' &c. April 31, 1346.

Fol. 66, eidem, 'Et suis heredibus, conceditur redditus unciarum sex millium

as well as Papal epistles, failed not to represent boldly to him and to Joan inevitable inferences adverse to the latter's honour and to his own, which would be drawn in Hungary, and so would exasperate the King against Naples. But such representations availed nothing. Robert was anxious to prevent his brother Louis outwitting him, and the Queen's reputation was of small consequence to either.<sup>1</sup>

I have already drawn the conclusion that Robert of Taranto overawed Joan, and probably compelled her to ask for dispensation to marry him, and that much of her conduct was due to pressure from him. The 'Chronicon Siculum' seems to confirm this conclusion by recording that Robert, having to go forth the castle in order to celebrate the maternal obsequies at Montevergine, the Queen caused the gates to be closed and received the keys into her own keeping.<sup>2</sup> At the same period the Vatican correspondence reveals that she petitioned Clement to have the society of four sisters of Sta. Chiara to come and live with her. Clement conceded the request, informing her of his satisfaction that the Prince had left the castle, and that what applied to his presence there should equally apply to that of all the royal princes. The Holy See commanded that none of them should take up their abode there, and that the Legate should exercise entire control as to who entered and who did not enter it.<sup>3</sup>

per Curiam assignandarum cum bonis quæ sunt a civitate Salerni infra versus Provinciam Terræ Laboris.' May 30, 1346.

Vol. 354, fol. 43, 'Edictum ut universi pareant et obediant in omnibus spectabili viri Ludovico, Principi Tarentino.' April 4, 1346.

Fol. 96, 'Princeps Tarentinus (Robertus) Constituitur Capitaneus Generalis Regni.' April 4, 1346.

On October 3, same year, Joan made a concession to Philip of Taranto, the youngest of the three brothers. Cf. Camera, p. 66, op. cit. So that her three Tarentine cousins preyed very handsomely upon her.

<sup>1</sup> 'Conciossia ch' ogni minima dimestichezza che l' uomo abbia con le donne facilmente genera infamia à ciascuna donna honesta.' Lib. 9, Uomini Illustri. Boccaccio.

<sup>2</sup> XVIII. Octobris, 'Tum Domina Regina fecit licentiare omnes familiares dicti Imperatoris a Castro, et noluit quod dictus Imperator ulterius Castrum intraret, sed ipsa personaliter claudi fecit ostia dicti Castri, et claves in suis manibus recepit.' Chron. Sicul. c. 10.

<sup>3</sup> Ep. 698 (October 29, 1346), 699, 736 (November 13), 737.

## CHAPTER VI

### SIGNS OF STORM

As the development of better relations between the King of Hungary and the Venetian Republic, under Andrea Dandolo, became more assured (and the Venetians offered to assist him with boats in his invasion), more and more alarming became the rumours of his preparations for descent upon Naples. Less and less perturbation, too, did King Louis manifest as to the effect the interdict might have upon him should he defy the Holy See. Seriously threatened with it as he was, was he not amply fortified in the assurance of very general sympathy? Had not the Holy See become universally a byword for its flagrant demoralisation? Was there any country that wished well to Papally-protected, though Papally-oppressed, Naples? Had not the head of the house of Valois been ignominiously defeated at Crecy-field in the summer? Treaties were indeed being formulated with various Ghibelline princes up and down Northern and Central Italy. There was no lack either of ready-made traitors and adventurers in the kingdom itself, or of those who looked for profit by making friends with the strong. Foremost among these were the parricide and uxoricide Niccolo Gaetani, Count of Fondi, and the Pipini, who promised Louis every assistance.

On the other hand, in meditating measures for warding off the invasion, the Pope imagined this end might be attained by causing Carlo Martello to be transferred, not to Hungary, but to Aix in Provence,<sup>1</sup> of which county he

<sup>1</sup> 'Et puer predictus, quem Rex et Regina predicti Ungariæ filium legitimum et naturalem credunt et reputant Andreæ Regis prefati, quicquid Rex ipse Ungariæ confingere quandoque dicatur in contrarium, et ab aliquibus multi-

should receive the title, and forbidding Joan to re-marry until the inquiry into her conduct and that of the entire royal circle with regard to Andrew's murder should be completed. At the same time he wrote to Charles, now King of Bohemia, and other sovereigns, urging them to dissuade the King of Hungary from the aggression he contemplated.

Del Balzo, profusely complimented upon the ferocious punishment meted out by him, was informed, after long correspondence, that the petition of Charles Artois could not be gainsaid, and that the latter must be tried by another judge; nevertheless, he was gratefully assured that

loquii ne dicamus falsiloquii asseretur, transferretur ut Civitatem Aquensis in Provincia, ibidemque sub fideli et tuta custodia et diligentia, sicut decet et expedit intraretur, ut nos de ipsius ejusque statu certificari possemus frequenter. Comitatusque Provinciæ daretur eidem, et prefata Johanna Regina, suæ viduitatis honestatem observans, contineret a conjugalis copula, quosque completa esset inquisitio et justitia super ea ministrata. Rex predictus Ungariæ iram refrenaret accensam, et abstineret ab invasione, seu occupatione, predicta, et aliter eum non extimabat a suo proposito accepto super invasione et occupatione predictis quolibet retrahendi.' Ep. Clem. ad Cardinalem S<sup>ti</sup> Marci, 745, Nov. 28, 1346.

Clement turned over likewise in his mind the possibility of bringing about a betrothal between Carlo Martello and an infant daughter of Louis of Hungary.

'Ad ea quæ de contrahenda parentela pro inclito puero Carolo, primo et unigenito tuo, scire te volumus et optaremus ferventer ut ad obviandum inventibus periculis quæ Carissimi in Christo filii nostri, Ludovici Regis Hungariæ Illustris, et domus ejus commotio de medullis cordis sui non immerito prodiens tibi et regno tuo, sicut tua non ignorat prudentia comminatur, quicquid utiliter et honeste per viam parentelæ, vel alias, posset fieri tractaretur. Super quibus tua circumspectio diligentis meditationis studio videat quid agendum. Posset quidem casus contingere quod divino donatione filiam dicto Regi ex matrimonio, quod inter dictum primogenitum et filiam ipsam tractari valeret, et fieri ejusdem Regis, et illorum de domo sua totaliter animi placarentur. Ubi autem sub contrahenda parentela predicto primogenito, videretur cogente necessitate de presenti tractandum cum dilecto filio nobili viro, Johanne, primogenito Carissimi in Christo filii nostri, Philippi Regis Franciæ Illustris, Duce Normanniæ, de quo in tuis litteris fiebat mentio expedientiore tractatum hujusmodi crederemus. Et utinam ordinatio facta super custodia dicti pueri, de quo Vener. Frater. Noster. Ildebrandinus. Episc. Paduan. nobis scripsit, Regi prefato Ungariæ, ejusque matri, et aliis de domo sua Regia, possit et debeat esse grata, quia, si quod absit, sinistrum aliquod contingeret, verisimiliter est timendum quod gravius et vehementius, quam antea provocaretur et commoveretur Rex predictus.' Secr. Epist. 562, Sept. 23, 1346.

if really guilty, Artois and his son should not escape, 'not even were they allied by blood to ourselves' (Ep. Secr. 962). He was recommended, however, in no way to relax his efforts or to grow cool. The proceedings were not to be dropped; he was still to endeavour to persuade the Queen to permit the inquiry concerning her and the other royal people, 'of either sex,' to be held. It is more than probable that even her permission would have availed him nothing, could it have been obtained.

Truly, if one and all the royalties were determined to maintain a conspiracy of silence, and make it impossible for the Legate, Nuncios, and Justiciary to hold that inquiry, Louis of Hungary, except for his ambitions, was not unjustified in assuming that none of them had been innocent. It was, at any rate, certain that none of them would have moved a finger to save Andrew from his enemies; and in fraternal eyes was not that as black as guilt? It was, at least, convenient.

While it is not easy to fancy that any of them could have regretted Andrew, it is difficult to see how all of them could have been directly implicated in his death. Andrew had made many and bitter enemies. The motive for countenancing the murder among the princes would have been each one's respective greed for the crown. But then one assassin would have done the work as well as a dozen, probably much better. Besides, they would have afterwards turned upon one another. We do not learn that they did so. Yet here was a throng of magnates and officials, many of whom had served King Robert in various capacities not without honour; and here was that monarch's acknowledged son banded with them, perpetrating with inhuman ferocity a State crime of the first magnitude upon a prince of eighteen years, his own kinsman. Andrew, one would think, must have given extreme provocation for men placed like these to undertake the risk entailed by its commission, and one cannot but credit that story of his having displayed a threatening banner. Such a

coercive device might be considered legitimate, and it was not without example; but in the south of Italy, if not in Hungary, it would provoke certain retribution.

The assassins had long marked down their hated victim, and knew that the princes would have reason to be grateful to them for the thing they had sworn to do. But it does not appear that any one, except Catherine of Taranto and Louis, her son, showed them favour or gratitude.

When in February 1346 the Queen had fallen out with Robert of Taranto and Charles of Durazzo, it was not on behalf of the prisoners which their mob-following had secured, but because those two princes had taken upon themselves, by a most suspicious show of zeal, to supersede the laws of the realm, and usurp both authority and the duties of the Holy See. As the Papacy elected from the first to be responsible for the administration of justice in the case, it was welcome to be so. The Queen would render what assistance it asked of her, and it cannot be denied she did so as far as accepting the Justiciary's findings and backing them up with strongly-worded edicts. She does not appear to have begged for the lives of any one of the assassins, though she must have been horrified at the number of familiar faces that suddenly disappeared around her. The only ones respited besides Roberto and Sancia di Cabannis and Carlo di Gambatesa and his son, were the Della Lagonessa; and the Pontiff, not the Queen, interceded for them.

In the Court and out of it, people had perceived Andrew's advisers plunging him deeper and deeper into doom, and they must have felt sure that, sooner or later, there could be but one result from the difficulties which his attitude emphasised. When the conspiracy had resulted in his murder, many did not feel surprise, but it is certain that most were shocked with its suddenness and ferocity.

The main difference between the view here submitted and other views consists in the fact that the present writer,

rightly or wrongly, believes that there was more than one motive for the murder; that the various conspiracies did not originate with the Queen or her love for any one of her cousins, but rather in the intrigues to appropriate her crown on the part of her kinsmen of the rival houses of Taranto and Durazzo, coupled with the dread of Andrew's prospective power on the part of the courtiers.

That Joan was to a great extent the victim of her kinsmen and kinswomen cannot be questioned, nor do I doubt that more than one of the said princes did take advantage of the several conspiracies already formed against Andrew and gave some actual weight to them, disregarding inevitable consequences. Such an attitude, however, was manifestly contrary to the Queen's interests. From the evidence adduced, Andrew's murder, soon or late, was practically assured, independent of any higher consent; moreover, Joan's consent to it was not necessary. What, indeed, could a girl of nineteen achieve for or against the will of such a riotous crew of kinsfolk, with the astute Agnes of Durazzo and Catherine of Taranto for their alternate inspirers? Artois himself was more than old enough to be her father. Philippa Catanese was sixty-five years of age, while Roberto di Cabannis was of middle age and had been in holy orders, as also were the Count of Terlizzi and Raimondo di Catania. When King Louis of Hungary, two years later, as will be seen, made captive several of the princes, he put to death Charles of Durazzo, after an improvised court-martial, as having been allied with Artois in the murder, and he reserved Robert and Philip of Taranto and the younger brothers of the Duke for a long captivity. Had he captured Joan and Louis of Taranto, we may be certain he would have taken their lives. Yet we know that Joan and Charles of Durazzo were very bitter foes. Unfortunately it is impossible to separate the King's desire for vengeance from his desire to appropriate the kingdom. Joan's death or condemnation would at once remove the

chief obstacle to his ambition. He fancied he could then hope to govern Naples, at least as guardian for Andrew's child, while he lived.

Toward the close of the year the Queen issued an edict commanding her subjects to do homage to Carlo Martello, Duke of Calabria, as the acknowledged heir to her throne.<sup>1</sup> The object of this was to establish his clear right befittingly, and make the world witness that the child of Andrew was not slighted in his legitimate honour and prospect. It was, in short, a measure advised by the Cardinal of San Marco, acting upon instructions from Avignon, with a view contributive to appeasing Hungary by making Robert and Louis of Taranto and Charles of Durazzo openly acknowledge Andrew's child to be the future monarch of Naples. Queen Elizabeth, however, did not cease to urge and entreat Clement for the absolute handing over of the child to her keeping. Joan's next move, under the Cardinal's prompting, and doubtless to his profit, was to issue an edict annulling all demainal alienations and concessions made by her.<sup>2</sup> So intent upon enacting this had the Pope himself become, that he issued a bull actually depriving all those who refused to surrender their holdings of the right of ecclesiastical sepulture. Harassed in this manner, the Queen now began to try and cultivate closer relations with Clement, and we find him, early in the following year, thanking her for a ruby ring.<sup>3</sup> Now that she was relieved from the importunities of Robert of Taranto, she once more asked the Holy See to concede dispensation for her union with his brother, Louis; but Clement, while accepting the

<sup>1</sup> December 11, 1346.

<sup>2</sup> December 21, 1346.

<sup>3</sup> 'De pulchro et precioso anulo aureo cum lapide Balagii 2, tua magnificentia nobis misso quem intuitu devotionis mittentis quam in hoc solum . . . gratanter recepimus et benigne gratiarum exinde tuæ Celsitudinis referimus actiones.' January 20, 1347.

This present was certainly despatched with a view of obtaining Clement's consent to Joan's projected union with Louis of Taranto; but Clement was too much alarmed by the accounts of Hungarian preparations to grant it. He sent two separate letters thanking for it.

above gift, dared not give any definitive response. Louis of Taranto likewise addressed him for the same purpose, but to him Clement, not a little sarcastically, replied that he had hitherto deferred doing so (on account of its inexpediency and of the Queen's honour) in view of very similar entreaties made on the part of Robert, his elder brother—'qui, pro persona sua, etiam aspiravit ad hujusmodi matrimonium, sicut nosti.'

Clement then reasons paternally with Louis, drawing attention to the fact that the latter was still detaining prisoner Bertrand Artois and the goods of Charles. 'Many other evil murmurings reach us concerning you, and certainly if you now thus disobey us, not less would you be disposed to flout us should you become possessed of the reins of power.'<sup>1</sup> At the same time he states that he has written to his Nuncios at Naples that he has received also many entreaties from King Philip of France relative to this union, but that nevertheless he intends to postpone decision. Albeit he has been gratified by a letter received from the Queen stating that she is contented to leave the matter to the Pontifical<sup>2</sup> arbitrament.

Truly it would be difficult to find a youthful sovereign more disastrously placed by fortune; but if the weight of the blame for misrule cannot be altogether lifted from her shoulders, sufficient account has never been taken of her extreme youth.

That her sign-manual had been the means of assisting and accelerating the *débâcle* begun so many years before, cannot be denied; but when we consider the unscrupulous advantage taken of her by relatives, the

<sup>1</sup> Secr. Ep. 1007, February 22, 1347.

<sup>2</sup> 'Super tractatu vero matrimonii dictæ Reginæ et dilecti filii nobilis viri Ludovici de Taranto, tam ab ipsa quam Carissimo in Christo filio Nostro, Philippo, Rege Franciæ, Illustri, multas infestationes habuimus et habemus. Et tamen adhuc ex causis, quas te ignorare non credimus, pro utilitate Reginæ ac Regni negocium hujusmodi diferimus, nihil penitus super hoc concedendo, gratam habentes responsionem ipsius Reginæ quod super statu personæ suæ quo adhuc vult arbitrio nostro stare.' Ep. 960, February 17, 1347.

unwisdom of certain clauses in King Robert's Will, the rapacity of her experienced guardians, the voracity of the Holy See itself, it can seem little short of astonishing she should have survived sound in health and sane of mind. We have, however, some intelligent explanation of it from Boccaccio, who in later years, finding his riper estimate of the actual person decidedly favourable to Joan, wrote, 'She has suffered through the crimes of others, flight, exile, the rude and barbarous habits of her husbands, and through the envy of the great, bitter and undeserved opprobrium, against all which she has borne up with a strong heart, and, finally, by her invincible courage, has got the better of them.'<sup>1</sup> At another date likewise he is found writing to Andreina Acciajuoli, the widow of Charles Artois, enthusiastically belauding the Queen as a 'glory not only to her sex, but among sovereigns.'<sup>2</sup>

I shall here exemplify the devout feelings of the Queen by one of her own letters, which often exhibit freer command of thought and language than do those of Clement himself:<sup>3</sup> 'Navigantes hoc mare magnum, procellis plenum et innumeris fluctuationibus extruans, invocanda vidimus navitarum Christi suffragia, quæ nos misericorditer ad littora salutis dirigant, et nostram discriminosis agitationibus fatiscentem naviculam flantibus ventis sæe miserationis impellant; ea propter vos nautas Christi peritos, et mirifici germinis gloriosi Confessoris Beati Francisci alumnos, rogamus attente, ut devotione Regiæ domus nostræ erga vestrum ordine, piæ pensata, velitis apud Salvatorem nostrum humilia impertiri suffragia, quod nostra conditiones, et regni, quæ super navicula discriminosque navigationis versantur, dignetur tanquam miserator atque misericors prospicere ad salutem de superis, et ad ejus laudem et

<sup>1</sup> Cf. 'De Claris mulieribus.'

<sup>2</sup> 'Gloria non solo delli donne, ma dei Re altresì.' Andreina, the second wife of Charles Artois, afterwards married Roberto di Capua, Count of Altavilla, and grandson of Bartolommeo di Capua.

<sup>3</sup> To the Franciscans, N.D., MS. Niccolo d'Alife.

gloriam, et Santæ Ecclesiæ sponsa suæ prosperari mereantur in terris; nam, in tanta congregatione Justorum sperandum nobis est, quod Spiritus Sanctus illorum corda imbre gratiæ suæ repleat, et ad benedicendum nomini suo, varias linguas recta sapere in idemnitate concedat. Elimosinam autem qualem pro nunc possimus Caritati vestræ per ministrum vestræ Provinciæ Terræ Laboris presentialiter destinemus, quam dum vos reputaveritis gratam in seculo, Salvator ipse noster ad illam, sicut confidimus, acceptandam clementer condescendat in cælo.'

Again, in the midst of all the anxieties of 1346, we find her paying Angelo di Melfi nine ounces of gold for a copy of the Bible.<sup>1</sup> Throughout her life she seems never to have lost touch with the poor and infirm, which again is proof that her disposition was not at any rate of the unwashable ferocious cast certain writers have described.<sup>2</sup> Bonaito, the collector of her letters in the Codex cited, from which the above epistle is reproduced, breaks even into admiration in his seventeenth-century Italian: 'Hor considerati tali sensi di devotione, non si ha da confessare, che la Regina Giovanna sia stata nelle vertu Christiane e Cattoliche una delle piu fidele Principesse del mondo, vedendosi charamente risplendere a chiare prove nella fede, e nella carita, ad onta di chi professa lacerar' la fama, e la christianita dei morti.'<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Regest. 1346, lit. B. fol. 127.

<sup>2</sup> Camera goes so far as to say: 'Her heart was a truly inexhaustible fountain, alleviating all those who were wretched and in want. She was the benign benefactress of all the unhappy.' *Op. cit.*, p. 302. M. Villani, however, who could have no sympathy with careless giving, designates her largesse as 'vain and lascivious,' doubtless referring, however, to the alienations and donations which had so crippled the treasury at that period, and, moreover, he was not unmindful of the monies of his Bardi Company, so heavily involved at Naples.

<sup>3</sup> Not less remarkable than the foregoing is the following passage, written by Coluccio Salutati, the intimate friend of Petrarch, to King Charles III. (Durazzo), 1381.

*Cf. Epistolario.* 'Nullam tamen sexa femineo mulierem invenies, quæ cum ista tua Johanna, Karoli Ducis Calabriae filia, possit vel animi magnitudine, vel virtutibus, vel gloria, comparari. Habuit igitur istam tantæ benignitatis et clementiæ mulierem suis inceptis oppositam, quæ post inclyti Regis Roberti migrationem, jam abunde quadragesimum annum regni moderamen adepta,

Nevertheless, it will be asked, from what other period can be drawn more convincing exemplifications of the fact that the profession of piety is often but the convenient mask of a criminal nature. Moreover, was not much of the piety of the period merely the demon Superstition working by fits upon elastic human conscience, and being as spasmodically repulsed by speculative Reason? Religious devotion, like physical beauty, has ever been a fallacious evidence of character. Joan certainly was endowed with both in a marked degree, together with a naturally intelligent mind and an affable demeanour; but I do not therefore draw the conclusion that she was vicious or cruel. Had she been but half the vicious woman she has been fancifully depicted, had she indulged in one tenth of the liaisons charged to her by impurely unscrupulous detractors, her physical health must have completely given way. Instead of reigning for thirty-eight years, she might have reigned five. But there is sufficient evidence that she did not so indulge. Neither health, courage, nor self-possession ever seriously failed her, and to the heightenings of anti-Angevin chroniclers or sympathisers with Hungary, may assuredly be credited most of the many unsubstantiated tales that have been heaped against her reputation, and have now flowered into evil legends.

Papally-protected Naples had to pay for her past prosperity. Having, under Robert, made the fortunes of half Tuscany, later, and when enfeebled, few would say more for her than that she was still very excellent to pillage, or that the princes and magnates ought never to have been allowed the first spoils. Genoese, German, and Hungarian adventurers now determined to appropriate all that remained. Royal edicts and Papal bulls, not countersigned by the

*ipsum in humanitatis mansuetudine et justitiæ freno mira cum subditorum consolatione utilitateque omnium, cui semper consuluit, gubernavit.*

Yet again, the legist Angelus di Ubaldis terms Joan, 'Inclyta Regina,' *decus orbis, et unica lux Italiæ.* Cf. *Consiglia A. di Ubaldis*, p. 74, ed. Frankfort, 1575.

sword, proved ineffectual to restrain them; they were already playing off one native noble against another, and offering their services to the highest bidder. Joan was looked upon by them merely as the natural scapegoat for the delinquencies of a declining and bankrupt state, a state that was abhorred as much perhaps for its peculiar relationship to the Holy See, that had forsaken Rome and Italy, as for its own aggressions in Northern and Central Italy.

Again, it may be concluded that if Joan had been a triumphantly abandoned woman, she would not have been concerned as to slurs cast upon her reputation, especially at a period when the general moral atmosphere was so corrupt that there was very little to choose between Florence and Naples, Milan, Rome, or Avignon. It is rather surprising, therefore, to find her expressing proud solicitude about it, and what she knows to be said for or against her.<sup>1</sup> It was impossible that unpleasant conclusions should not have been drawn, subject as they might have been, and probably should have been, to merciful modification. Yet would it not be unfair to apply to that age the moral standards of later days? should we

<sup>1</sup> 'Solitæ Benignitatis affectu tua Regalis Excellentie binas recepimus litteras, tam de prolocuto inter te, filia Carissima, et dilectum filium Nobilem Virum, Robertum, principem Tarentinum, matrimonio ac accensu, et dispensatione nostris super eodem petitis; nec non detractionibus, quibus obloquentium mendosis labiis laceratam timebas apud nos famam tuam, et quibusdam aliis facientes serius mentionem, quarum serie diligentius intellecta, volumus filia dilectissima te tenere, quod et si libenter non aperimus hominibus mendacibus, et detractoribus, aures nostras contra te tamen, cui claritatem fame, honoris et nominis absque offuscatione oppositionis sinistrae cujuslibet clarius cupimus præfulgere, oblocutoribus quibusvis non accommodavimus nec accommodaremus faciliter credulas aures ipsas, nec ratione vel occasione talium distulimus, nec differimus, sed potius propter honorem tuum et commodum Regni tui elargiri consensum et dispensationem concedere postulatos. Tuam quidem excellentiam non credimus ignorare qualiter, C. in C. fil. nos Ludovicus, Rex Ungariæ, ac Genetrix sui, ad ultionem necis ejusdem potenter et terribiliter capiendam se asserentes disponere vehementer abhorre hujusmodi matrimonium nobis sepius discipserunt. . . . Preterea consideramus et attendimus super hiis precipue honorem et decentiam status tui, esse quidem infra temporis vidualis luctus adhuc dinosceris constituta infra quod decentia suadet honestis et honorabilibus viduatis a secundis nuptiis abstinere.' Ep. Clem. Arch. Secr. Vat. A. v. 321-322, August 5, 1346.

judge the actions reported of public characters by the stricter canons applied to those of private citizens? The aggrandisement of the House of Valois was the chief driving force in the rush for Joan's hand on the part of her kinsmen, and it imposed upon her a veritable ordeal of fire. It is certain that but for his growing fear of the Hungarian, Pope Clement would have opposed no obstacle to the wishes of Philip of Valois and the magnates of Naples, who were continually urging him to permit the Queen's re-marriage, regardless that such a union would be considered a defiance by the King of Hungary.

It has been observed that a significant change took place in Joan's attitude immediately after the decease of Catherine of Taranto. She had peremptorily locked the castle-gates upon Robert and received the keys into her own hands. Professor de Blasiis<sup>1</sup> describes this as quite a mystery, though I confess I am so dull as to fail in detecting the mystery, but see very clear evidence that Joan had been overawed by her unscrupulous kinsman, and thus manifested her sense of relief.

Louis of Taranto, if of less violent disposition than his brother, cannot be said to have contributed less than he did to embitter the state of affairs. By his determined detention of the two Artois, whom the populace of Naples would have lynched but for their flight, he had rekindled civic excitement against Andrew's murderers at a time when the agents of the King of Hungary were successfully canvassing assistance. One notable incident which took place in this connection soon after the opening of 1347 is illustrative of the pass to which things had arrived at Naples, where already in the previous August various sanguinary encounters had taken place between the nobles and the trading community.

On the 25th February<sup>2</sup> a certain Tommaso di Jacca, a trader, endeavoured to stir up the rabble against Enrico Caracciolo, Grand Chamberlain, by carrying toward the castle a banner on which was depicted the corpse of Andrew.

<sup>1</sup> Arch. Stor. Napol. Anno xii. p. 361.

<sup>2</sup> 1347.

His following amused themselves by execrating Caracciolo, the Queen, and others as the murderers of Andrew, challenging them to show themselves. Unexpectedly for them, Caracciolo appeared upon the scene attended by numerous kinsfolk and followers, put them to flight, and capturing Jacca, there and then hanged him beside a small bridge in front of Castel Nuovo. Rumour of this flying abroad, a more formidable mob,<sup>1</sup> frenzied for the fray, rushed upon the scene, vainly beat at the door of the castle, and finally retiring, carried off the corpse of Jacca upon a fork. Encountering as they retired a nobleman called Simonello Bulcano,<sup>2</sup> they killed him, says a chronicler, 'because he was a noble.'

This incident is interesting for various reasons. It has already been noticed that Andrew had utilised the device of a banner for terrorising his enemies. Within three months of the above incident, Niccola di Rienzi was to employ the same device in Rome, and at the same time chroniclers record that the Hungarian forces were carrying before them a precisely similar banner, representing the suspended body of Andrew.

'They killed Simonello because he was a noble.' This is significant as displaying the anti-feudal spirit that had by this saturated Naples, probably through her extended trade with Florence and Genoa, and which could now flourish amid the disruption. Six months previously civil strife had broken out between noble and tradesman. A year hence the King of Hungary endeavoured to revenge Jacca's death upon Enrico Caracciolo and his family.

The Cardinal of San Marco fearing the civic turbulence, took occasion to change his abode, and quitted the castle.

<sup>1</sup> 'Quod seito populus Neapolitanus cum furore maximo abcesserunt ad dictum castrum, et ibi portam fregerunt, et ligno suspensum a ponte levaverunt, et multas injurias Dominæ Reginæ intulerunt, quæ pro verecundia et pudore narrare non decet, ac etiam quemdam nobilem de Nido apud Corrigias crudeliter occiderunt.' Chron. Suss. 67.

<sup>2</sup> In 'La Caccia di Diana,' Canto ix., Boccaccio mentions ladies of both families, Caracciolo and Bulcano. 'Chiamo ancora Vannella Bolcana, e Linella Caracciola.' The house of the Bulcani was near the Porta Petruccia.

Clement wrote to him stating that he had received information concerning the hanging of Jacca,<sup>1</sup> advising the Cardinal not to run any risks, and that if he could not securely carry out his inquiries in the castle or city of Naples ('aut in domo dictæ Reginæ'), it would be necessary to do so elsewhere, whensoever it seemed to him most convenient.

Yet one more significant incident may here be related which occurred to the Nuncio, William, Bishop of Casino. This prelate had been especially busied concerning the Curial dealings with the Artois family. Charles Artois was just dead, and presumably such portion of his wealth as had remained unappropriated by Louis of Taranto, as well as some of the annual tribute of Naples to the Holy See, was in the Bishop's custody. He was conveying these by sea to Avignon. He had embarked at Naples in a hired galley on the third or fourth of May, and ran to anchorage for a night off Gaeta. Certain of the people of that town tried to induce him to honour them by coming ashore to sleep at the episcopal palace. Shortness of time or prudenee forbade him to accept the invitation. The owner of the galley,<sup>2</sup> and some of the escort were, however, persuaded to leave her; whereupon certain folk came off in boats, boarded, and then piratically looted her. They relieved the Bishop of his ring and mantle (the former of which he surrendered under threat of having his finger chopped off), together with ten thousand fiorini. Further, they put Guglielmo di Farsaco, his chaplain, to the torture. After four days' detention they allowed the unfortunate prelate to depart as best he might to Avignon.<sup>3</sup>

With regard to Bertrand del Balzo, whose hands Charles Artois had thus escaped before death, he was still being urged to prosecute his inquiries, although he had vindicated justice

<sup>1</sup> 'Quia vero propter horribilitatem suspensionis, illius hominis ac certas causas alias de Castro exeundo predicto tuam habitationem mutasti, satis conveniens esse credimus.' February 17, 1347.

<sup>2</sup> Perhaps by collusion with those on shore.

<sup>3</sup> Arch. Secr. Reg. 141, Clem. VI. Epist. 48.



## CHAPTER VII

### COLA DI RIENZI

It is now time to notice (at least as far as this narrative may be concerned) that renowned event which took place this year (1347) at Rome during the Feast of Pentecost, which may be said to have shaken the mirror in Europe's face, and permitted her to glance at her actual condition. During the absence of Stefano Colonna with forces at Corneto, Cola di Rienzi, in adroitly-devised collusion with the Papal Vicar, the Bishop of Orvieto, and aided by the citizens of Rome, struck the famous blow which caused the latter to confer on him the title of Tribune of the Roman Republic, together with the attributes of sovereign power.

Chief among his foes, naturally, became ranged the entire Colonna family, who, with the rest of the nobles, had been bewildered by the suddenness of their overthrow. The delusive tidings flew with the winds over Europe that the Eternal City was at last liberated from her tyrants by one heroic citizen, and that he had rehabilitated the ancient Republic. The Eternal City did him enthusiastic homage. He then sent out letters to all the principal cities of Italy, advising them that as Rome had freed herself, so likewise should they do, provided they united themselves to him. He invited them to send chosen deputies who should take part in a National Parliament appointed to be opened by him on the first of August. His messengers, furthermore, advised the King of France and the King of the Romans-elect, Charles IV., of his accession to power as arbiter of liberty, peace, and justice.

Had this noble initiative been maintained, and had the petty vanity of Rienzi not been fatally puffed up with the

amazing success of his designs, it is possible Italy might have been spared much of the ravage that ensued. He raised an army; he coined money; he decapitated a Cistercian monk and one of the Annibaldi; he hung an ex-senator, snatched from the arms of his young wife, to the balcony of his own palace; he mulcted defaulting magnates in heavy sums, abolished the title of Dominus or Don used by them, and committed numbers of them to the dungeons of the Capitol. Is it to be wondered that the populace recognised in such a person the Elected of God, or rather (as himself declared) the harbinger of the Holy Ghost?

In all these doings during his first three months of power, that is, from May until August 1347, Rienzi virtually acted upon his own initiative, although nominally in conjunction with the Papal Vicar. This new man, mimicking in some degree the Emperor Henry VII., professed to be neither Guelph nor Ghibelline, but Republican Tribune, Referee, and Arbiter-General of Universal Italy. Petrarch saluted him as the political incarnation of his historic ideal, and Rienzi caused the poet's letter to be read aloud in an assembly of the people.

In all this, however, the new man quite miscalculated the influence of the Church, and, while despising the corrupt Papacy for its desertion of Rome, he neglected to humour the monster by sufficient concession to its self-love. At first, Clement, who had once seen Rienzi at Avignon, was taken by surprise, as was every one else; but he became not so much displeased as hopeful that his action would favourably affect Italian, and particularly Neapolitan affairs.

The most notable among those who refused to do homage or render any sort of acknowledgment to the political luminary of the day were the Gaetani of Fondi and Giovanni di Vico, hereditary Prefect of Viterbo. The latter, however, having been menaced by the Tribune's forces under Niccolo Orsini, came to terms, and received back his prefecture, as it were, in vassalage to the uncrowned

Rienzi. All these adversaries were likewise foes of the Church; but the case of the Gaetani was more complicated. With them were now intimately associated Giovanni Pipini and his two brothers, whom Andrew, at the instance of Cardinal Colonna and Petrarch, had liberated three years before. At their old pursuits, they had been committing excesses in the neighbourhood of Terracina, under patronage of King Louis of Hungary. They were, in fact, undertaking the rôle of agents for that monarch, collecting bandits wherewith to augment his forces and so revenge themselves upon Naples. Rienzi now challenged these desperadoes, who, as strangely proved the case, became the means of his own downfall.

The Pipini defied the Tribune; and their old friend, Cardinal Colonna, who shared the hostility of his family toward the upstart, advised them to come to Avignon to lay their case before Clement. I find a letter of Clement to the Legate, dated July 27,<sup>1</sup> asking him for a safe-conduct for them. In it all three are named, Giovanni, Pietro, and Ludovico.<sup>2</sup> The Gaetani did not altogether escape vengeance; for Martino Gaetani, the before-mentioned ex-senator, was seized in his palace, sentenced to death for having plundered a vessel which had stranded at the Tiber's mouth, and executed.

Arrived at such proud height of authority, is it to be marvelled that the individuals chiefly concerned in the vendetta between Hungary and Naples should have now referred their respective causes to the Tribune? Louis of Hungary promptly despatched to him two rich embassies,<sup>3</sup> offering him alliance, and asking aid in behalf of his projected invasion of Naples, which kingdom he declared to have belonged to his father, Carobert. Louis of Bavaria

<sup>1</sup> Secr. Ep. 218, fol. 141.

<sup>2</sup> Clement and Cardinal Colonna now initiated, with their aid, the plan used later on by them for bringing about the downfall of Rienzi.

<sup>3</sup> The first reached Rome on August 4, 1347.

likewise sent envoys entreating Rienzi to intercede for him at Avignon. Robert of Taranto and Louis, each of them, speeded similar representatives, proffering friendship and entreating his favour. Charles of Durazzo,<sup>1</sup> at that time attempting to reduce Aquila, which, under Lallo Camponesco, had revolted to an Hungarian advance-guard, addressed affectionate letters to him begging for assistance against the invaders. Queen Joan speeded ambassadors to him for similar reasons; she, moreover, sent presents to the wife of the Tribune,<sup>2</sup>—all this, by the advice and consent, it is believed, of the Legate, Cardinal Bertrand, whom Clement had directed to establish a treaty with the Tribune and Roman people.<sup>3</sup>

Rienzi listened to all of them in turn, but recognising the peculiar position of Naples as the vassal of the Holy See, he found himself puzzled to attempt a decision. He therefore temporised, but showed a marked leaning to the powerful Louis of Hungary. At this Clement remonstrated, informing him that by so doing he had exceeded the limits of his authority. Papal confidence in him suffered a shock. In September, Rienzi, hoping to be able, yet not quite daring, to create himself actual Emperor, issued a pro-

<sup>1</sup> Letter of Joan to the Signoria of Florence, August 8, 1347:—*'Amici Carissimi, Solennes nostri nuncii ad vos et colligatos vobiscum de partibus Tusciæ, antiquos amicos Regiæ domus nostræ, instanter profecturi per Tribunal Urbis transitum faciendū, in actu expeditionis existunt; quorum adventum ad vestram notitiam providimus producendum, ut super hiis qui communem honorem et statum respexerint, in ipsorum adventu maturior et salubrior deliberatio, dante Domino, subsequatur; cum nullus sano iudicio inficiari valeat, quantum unio mutua prestiterit et favorit prestitis temporibus ad consecrationem status prosperi utrorumque. Quanquam autem amicitia vestræ latere non credimus, nihilominus duximus intimandum, quod spectabilis Dux Duracii, carissimus frater noster, feliciter Dei Gratiam militat cum nostro exercitu contra inobedientes Aquilanos, et certos alios de partibus Aprutinis, cujus voti successus, favente virtute divinæ dexteræ confiduntur.*

*'Data Neapoli, sub anulo nostro secreto, Die viii. Augusti xv. Indictionis.'* Arch. Fior. lib. xvi. p. 104.

<sup>2</sup> Rienzi himself tells us that Joan submitted herself and her realm to his protection. Cf. Papencordt, *'Urkunde.'*

<sup>3</sup> Cf. *Epist. Secr.*, fol. 141, 240-249.

nouncement that Provence, having constituted an ancient portion of the Empire, could not belong to Queen Joan,<sup>1</sup> and that she must cease henceforward to exercise sovereign or suzerain rights over it; truly an astounding decision, seeing that three generations of Joan's immediate ancestors had exercised these rights, Provence having been conveyed to Charles of Anjou by Beatrice Berenger, his first queen. Doubtless the idea emanated from Hungary and Bavaria. This was calculated to bring the Tribune into direct conflict with the Papacy and the Law.

In the midst of all this entanglement, Robert of Taranto obtained dispensation to marry Marie de Bourbon, daughter of Louis de Clermont and widow of Guy de Lusignan;<sup>2</sup> while Louis, his brother, urged by King Philip as well as by his mentor, Niccolo Acciajuoli, seeing that the long-desired Papal dispensation for his union with Joan, though practically promised,<sup>3</sup> had not arrived, and that the advance-guard of Hungary had already entered the realm, resolved to tarry no longer for it, and wedded the Queen on August 22 in Castel Nuovo. A fortnight later, Robert of Taranto celebrated his union with Marie in the church of San Giovanni Maggiore at Naples.<sup>4</sup>

The penalty which Louis of Taranto and the Queen risked by thus anticipating the dispensation was of course the interdict. For a month or more, however, the affair was hidden from Clement; but when it became certain he would learn of it, the Queen sent him envoys begging for

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Bull of Clement VI. iv. Id. Oct. 1347.

<sup>2</sup> Son of Hugo, King of Cyprus.

<sup>3</sup> On June 21 Clement had written to the Legate Bertrand: 'Et insuper quid tibi super licentia ac dispensatione pro parte dictæ Reginæ sæpius postulat, ut matrimonium contraheret concedendis expediens videretur, presertim cum tam per carissimum in Christo filium nostrum, Philippum, Regem Franciæ, Illustrem, quam quos-dam alios nobis imputari dicatur ex eo in defensio dicti Regni, quod Regina ipsa viro caret, qui defensionis hujusmodi caput esset.' The Pope proceeded to say that the Legate himself, being on the spot, will be the best judge for deciding the matter.

<sup>4</sup> Secr., fol. 141, Ep. 63.

the dispensation. The news, however, had preceded the envoys, who, on arrival, were closely questioned. For fear of consequences they denied the marriage altogether. Nevertheless, the Queen, of her own initiative, had meanwhile speeded a special emissary to fully acquaint Clement of her action, entreating his pardon and goodwill. Having lectured the envoys, the Pope made a form of bidding the Legate at Naples use his discretion in regard to the dispensation. Two days later he issued it actually himself,<sup>1</sup> which practically shows that he inwardly approved of the course they had taken, for which, however, he desired to bear no responsibility. Acciajuoli had felt and understood the pulse of the Holy See.

From these circumstances it is clear the view now obtained at Naples that a bold stroke would effect the family cohesion so desirable, so absolutely necessary, for national defence against the invader. It was a stroke, however, which, although he favoured it, Clement could not summon courage to make. Niccolo Acciajuoli, its adroit prompter, was rewarded for his audacity not only by donations from the Queen and Louis of Taranto, but presently by personal commendations from Avignon. This stroke may be shown to have made his fortune.

With a view of compassing unity between the families of Durazzo and Taranto, other marriages were now Pontifically projected. Margaret and Maria of Taranto, it was arranged, should be wedded to Louis and Robert of Durazzo, and the necessary dispensations for both these unions were actually issued in the autumn of 1347, although neither ever took place. Another betrothal especially calculated to soothe the wrath of Charles of Durazzo, mortified as he had been by news of the marriage of Joan with Louis, was that now arranged between the infant, Carlo Martello, and Joanna, the Duke's eldest daughter.<sup>2</sup> It was this which caused the

<sup>1</sup> Nov. 8, 1347, Epist. Secr. 762.

<sup>2</sup> Epist. Secr. 682, Oct. 23, 1347. In Epist. 655 are stated all conditions to be sworn to by Louis of Taranto in regard to the son of Andrew and Joan.

formal handing over of Carlo Martello from the Queen's custody to that of the Duke and Maria, an action not designed to appease but to divert the indignation of the Hungarian King and his mother.<sup>1</sup> The Cardinal-Legate, however, was deputed to exercise full discretion with regard to the child, and what could Joan do but acquiesce?

As long as Carlo Martello lived, therefore, Louis of Taranto could, of course, not count on becoming actual King of Naples. It will presently be seen that, by a strange destiny, the very person who removed this important obstacle for him was his mortal enemy, Louis of Hungary. But it is significant that neither King Louis nor Elizabeth clamoured for the recognition of Carlo Martello as King.

In spite of these things, Clement still counselled the Legate and the Justiciary to proceed, if possible, with the Inquiry as to the connection of the royal circle with the murder. If Del Balzo had meanwhile discovered any further evidence implicating them, he had not furnished it to Avignon. Clement asked the Legate to inform him if Del Balzo might, without risk, divulge the details of former proceedings carried out by him. If the Inquiry still proved impracticable in Naples, certain of the Sacred College advised that the Queen and princes should be summoned before them at Avignon. Del Balzo was silent even to the Pope. Why? Louis of Taranto was bribing him with his sister for daughter-in-law.

But if only as the father-in-law of the Dauphin of Vienne, as kinsman by marriage to the royal family, Del Balzo was

<sup>1</sup> It would seem that Humbert of Vienne had used no small endeavours to have this heir to the realm handed over to his guardianship. His motive, it cannot be doubted, was to deliver him over to Louis and Elizabeth:—

'Videretur utile quod dilecto filio nobili viro Karolo, Duce Duratii, ad quem specialiter pertinet de infante ipso curam habere sollicitam.'

But the Cardinal was to be consulted:—

'Tam de loco securo et tuto, ac personis idoneis fidelibus et devotis qui ipsum diligenter custodiant, fideliter nutriant, ac moribus instruant,' &c.—Epist. Secr. 755, Nov. 8, 1347. Nevertheless, it may be borne in mind that Humbert and his wife had been so unfortunate as to lose Andrew, their only child, who had fallen into the Rhone. The name of Andrew seemed wedded to calamity.

bound to proceed very cautiously. He was, however, a vassal and a crown officer, and for the Queen and princes to consent to be subjected to criminating interrogations by a servant and vassal was understood to be intolerable. Moreover, such an unprecedented interrogatory was calculated to confer dangerous pre-eminence ever after upon the servant and vassal.

But there was yet another motive for cautiousness on the part of the latter. Louis of Taranto had now fallen out personally with Del Balzo over the possession of the person of Charles Artois, and had not merely treated his office with contempt, but had commenced a legal process against him. For this Louis incurred the animosity of certain of the Queen's Provençal subjects. They entreated Clement to refuse his dispensation to Louis and the Queen, or, as an alternative, they begged him cause the Prince to forego his molestations and Joan to recall to favour his kinsman, Hugo, Count of Avellino, the Seneschal, whom she had dismissed.<sup>1</sup> Under such circumstances, Del Balzo doubtless perceived discretion to be the better part of valour, and permitted his judicial ardour to cool.

Fuller reference must here be made to the position now observed toward Naples by Humbert of Vienne.<sup>2</sup> In a former chapter we have noticed his marriage with Maria del Balzo in 1333, on which occasion his great-uncle King Robert had assigned him annually a thousand ounces of gold, and his father-in-law Del Balzo, '*sub titulo comitatus*,' had granted him the town of Andria in right of his wife. As Humbert's mother, Beatrice of Anjou, had been a daughter of Carlo Martello (1), he was first cousin to Louis, Andrew, and Stephen of Hungary. Moreover, as sovereign-lord of extensive territories in Provence and Calabria, he was doubly bound in homage to the throne of Naples and Provence. He had desired to dispose of Dauphigny to King Robert, but that King dying, he parted with it for

<sup>1</sup> Ep. Secr. 310, Sept. 3, 1347.

<sup>2</sup> Vienna Allobrogum.

120,000 fiorini to Philip, King of France. It will be seen thus in how apt a position Humbert was to act as an intermediary between the opposed sovereigns of Hungary and Naples in this prolonged crisis.

Humbert unfortunately had cause of quarrel with Joan on personal grounds. In November 1343 he had made over to his wife his annual Neapolitan crown-grant of the thousand ounces of gold. He had thereafter set out upon a farcical crusade against the Turk, during which he had burnt a few Moslem boats off Smyrna. His wife, falling ill, had died at Rhodes, leaving no issue. Humbert now claimed from Joan the thousand ounces he had formerly made over to his wife, and Joan refused his application. As it obviously behoved her to keep his friendship or secure his neutrality, it might have been wise to pay the money. It is probable the Queen was totally unable to do so.<sup>1</sup> Clement was in favour of her yielding, upon the ground that she could have no more redoubtable foe in Provence than Humbert. Upon the latter's influence with Louis of Hungary the Sacred College had leaned not a little already, hoping to persuade that monarch to refrain from invading Naples.

Charles of Durazzo, having failed to reduce Aquila, had fallen back upon Sulmona. Whereupon the Hungarian and German forces under the Bishop of Pecs,<sup>2</sup> a natural brother of King Louis, accepting the services of Lallo Camponesco, occupied Leonessa, Citta Ducale, Amatrice, and other places that had held out for the Queen. At Aquila the invaders doubtless called to mind how half a century before that town had witnessed the coronation by Celestine V. of Carlo Martello as King of Hungary. Lallo Camponesco, bent on self-aggrandisement, now rendered him-

<sup>1</sup> She had been obliged to pawn her crown for 600 ounces = 3000 fiorini d'oro, to Roberto da Capua, Count of Altavilla. Regest. 1346, C. n. 353, f. 169.

This Count was now the suitor, and later the husband, of Andreina, sister of Niccolo Acciajuoli and widow of Charles Artois.

<sup>2</sup> Largely augmented by additions sent by Obizzo d'Este III. of Ferrara, who was glad of the opportunity for gratifying old grudges against Naples.

self indispensable to the German and Hungarian captains, and made them masters of Chieti and Ortona. He likewise laid siege to Sulmona.<sup>1</sup>

Durazzo's indignation on learning of the union of Joan and Louis of Taranto having been moderated by the betrothal of his own daughter to the heir to the throne, he retired with his force upon Naples, leaving the Sulmonese to fight it out with Lallo and the Bishop. King Louis would find no arduous task in massacring the Apulian peasants with his trained soldiery; yet there may have been many besides the Venetians who perceived that his expedition would fail to achieve its major purpose, namely, the appropriation of the kingdom of Naples. In fact, the quarrel between Venice and Hungary over Zara had been the means of delaying the invasion of Naples. Had Louis proved victorious in it,<sup>2</sup> he would have crossed the Adriatic in 1346. On November 3, 1347, truce between them for eight years was duly signed, and the King lost no time in setting out, *via* Steiermark and Udine, for Southern Italy.

Louis of Taranto now addressed most urgent entreaties to the Florentines, reminding them of the many ties which bound them to his dynasty, and asking for aid against barbarous invaders, who with feline cunning crept through the Abruzzi, occupying town after town, and desolating wherever they went. But the Signoria hugged prudence rather than sentiment, and declined to make an enemy of the Hungarian. It was, moreover, interesting to watch what the latter power might effect against the Pope, from whose

<sup>1</sup> October 20, 1347. 'Ahi! la generosa città, che a te fu patria e ad Ovidio, venuta in mano di tali fra cui più che morire parve a lui duro soffrire vivendo l'esilio. . . . Deh! volgi, o Dio, l'ira tua sugli autori del delitto; i rei che di supplizio son degni ferisci ed abatti; ma pietà ti prenda de' fedeli e de' buoni: innocente è la misera plebe, innocente il sacro suolo d'Italia.' Petrarca to M. Barbato di Sulmona.

<sup>2</sup> July 1, 1346. Meanwhile Joan had tried to obtain the alliance of Venice against Louis, but, owing to Louis having given up his contention, the Republic courteously declined to incur his enmity.

interdict they had themselves been freed only in the preceding February. Clement confined himself to begging the Signoria not to lend assistance to the King of Hungary.<sup>1</sup>

In October (October 11, 1347) Louis lost his important ally the Emperor, who, while bear-hunting, had been seized with a fit of apoplexy. This event cleared the path to the imperial crown for the Papal candidate, the Hungarian King's own father-in-law, King Charles of Bohemia. It was an event, therefore, particularly auspicious to Clement, inasmuch as it occurred at the moment when, irritated by the high-handed violence of Rienzi, which now openly menaced both the prerogatives of the Holy See and the very existence of the German-Italian Empire, he had commanded Cardinal Bertrand to proceed from Naples to Rome, there to pronounce the deposition of Rienzi and to elect a fresh Senate.

While Clement's antagonism to the Tribune was influenced by the presence at Avignon of Rienzi's chief enemies, the Colonna Cardinals and other refugee members of that family, at Rome<sup>2</sup> it was assisted by the revolt of the Orsini, and the unsuccessful war commenced against them.

Causing Giordano and Rinaldo Orsini to be portrayed head downward on the walls of the Capitol (as traitors were wont to be represented), Rienzi issued at the head of a large force from the city, in order to beleaguer them in Marino.<sup>3</sup> Failing in this difficult enterprise, he returned and interviewed the Cardinal at the Vatican. It is doubtful if the nerve-tried Cardinal went further than to hint to him the gravity of the Papal indignation. He then fled to Montefiascone.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Capitoli Fior. vol. xvi.

<sup>2</sup> September 19, Rienzi informed the Florentines that he had cited Louis of Bavaria and Charles, self-styled King of the Romans, to appear before him; that he had made all Italians citizens of Rome, and that he was about to create a new Emperor.

<sup>3</sup> He likewise wrote to Florence demanding aid against them. Capitoli, November 9, 1347.

Meanwhile, in their stronghold at Palestrina, Agapito Colonna and his kinsmen compassed the ruin of Rienzi, and although this conspiracy resulted in their own sanguinary downfall in November, it originated a more successful one, contrived by Giovanni Pipini and his brothers, in collusion with the Cardinal-Legate and Luca Savelli.

It happened one day that the Pipini were busy collecting men-at-arms with a view to assist the King of Hungary. 'The Tribunal guard were fastening to the door of the church of Sant' Angelo a citation against the Savelli, when certain of the Neapolitan mercenaries attempted to hinder them. In consequence, Cola cited the Count of Minorbino (Giovanni Pipini) to appear before him. Instead of appearing, however, the Count and his bravoes barricaded themselves in the Circus Flaminius, close to San Salvatore in Pensilis; then, causing the alarm-bell of Sant' Angelo to be sounded, he cried out, "Citizens, citizens! death to the Tribune!"'

In answer to the bell of the Capitol, now sounded by Rienzi, but five of his bands responded. The citizens and his Orsini partisans made no sign. He then despatched a German captain to assail the barricade; but the latter was slain, and Rienzi fancied all would be lost. 'The Liberator of Rome and Italy trembled before a handful of Hungarian lances. His morbid imagination pictured the entire city in revolt; but so far from being the case was this, that had he but taken resolute action, he could easily have vanquished his opponents. Rienzi lacked courage; he owned the timidity of a child; he could scarcely utter a word.' On Dec. 15 he fled to the Celestine monastery at Maiella, in the neighbourhood of Sulmona.<sup>1</sup>

In losing the Emperor, King Louis had certainly lost a useful ally both as against Avignon and Naples, but he did

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Muratori, *Antiq. Italicae*, vol. iii. pp. 240-548. Gibbon, tom. xii. p. 331. Gregorovius, vol. vi.

not thereby forfeit the support of the Ghibelline tyrants in Romagna. By the fall of Rienzi he may be said to have actually gained, for did it not magnify his friends, the Pipini and Colonna? In vain Clement despatched Petrarch to Verona, and showered letters upon the Carrara of Padua, the Gonzaga of Mantua, the Malatesta of Rimini, the Este of Ferrara, the Ordellassi of Forli, and the Trinci of Foligno, warning or entreating them by conventional Curial eloquence, against receiving or resisting the King of Hungary. The scribes at Avignon must have grimly smiled while arduously drafting these letters. Louis had knighthoods, money, land, and spears wherewith to influence his not-too-desirable friends; moreover, there was the kingdom of Naples which was to become his own. Her provinces should be made to pay for aid rendered him.

Only at Faenza and Foligno did he encounter any resistance, and that at Foligno<sup>1</sup> only amounted to the remonstrance of the ubiquitous Cardinal Bertrand. Flushed with pride at the downfall of Rienzi, and standing with Clement's Bull in his hand, the prelate formally forbade the King to enter the realm of his ancestors, endeavouring further to convince him that but two individuals yet surviving (escaped) had been implicated in the murder of Andrew.<sup>2</sup> To this King Louis responded he was well aware that, instead of two only, there were two hundred; that his cause was a just one, and that the interdict touched him not. He then conferred knighthood upon certain gentlemen of Foligno, and received envoys from Perugia, who had come for the purpose of conveying him the goodwill and sympathy of their commune,<sup>3</sup> just as, four days previously, at Forli, he had received the envoys from Florence.<sup>4</sup> He presently set forth for Aquila, which he reached on December 23,

<sup>1</sup> December 17, 1347.

<sup>2</sup> Conrado di Umfredo di Montefusco and another.

<sup>3</sup> Arch. Stor. Ital. I Ser., vol. xvi., Chron. Graziani.

<sup>4</sup> Gior. Villani, lib. xii. c. 7, December 13, 1347.

where, being welcomed by the rebels, Lallo Camponesco and Tommaso d'Aquino, Count of Loreto, he spent Christmas.

The news of the King's defiance caused the utmost consternation at Avignon, rendering more emphatic the divisions prevailing among the Cardinals. Louis had at last startled the Curia out of its uneasy sleep; but it found itself perfectly impotent; its strength was gone. Letters were indited, but not sent; elaborated, and then toned down; conceived in a spirit of wounded fury, and then watered down with the milk of resignation. Philip of Valois was consulted, but he was unable to render assistance.

On December 27 Louis occupied Sulmona, and there appointed Conrad Wolfhardt his governor. He then left for Benevento, the darling city of the Pontiffs, with his entire forces.

## CHAPTER VIII

### THE AVENGER

THE Queen's forces under Louis of Taranto and Charles of Durazzo, Fra Moriale and Niccolo Acciajuoli, had now fallen back along the Liris upon Capua in order to check the hostile advance. But the harmony of action at last brought about among the princes had come too late. Their mercenaries, between betraying traditional dread of the northerner and entertaining delusive prospects of reward for defection, melted away. Resistance soon appeared hopeless.

In this crisis, advised by her Ministers, the Queen announced her intention of releasing them and her subjects generally from their responsibilities and retreating to her Provençal dominions. She counselled them to offer no resistance to the King of Hungary, and appointed Goffredo Marzano, Count of Squillace, Niccolo d'Alife, Tommaso San Severino, and Francesco del Balzo, the aforesaid son of the Justiciary, administrators in conjunction with the deputies of the Cardinal-Legate and the Archbishop of Naples.

On January 15, 1348, in company of a few chosen friends and officers of the court, marshalled by the chamberlains Enrico and Niccolo Caracciolo and Giovanni di Raimo, she embarked in one of three triremes under command of Jacques de Colbert, and set sail for Provence.

No sooner had the Queen set forth than Louis of Taranto and Acciajuoli reached Naples. Finding she had already departed, they likewise took boat and held for Tuscany. After two or three days of somewhat serious exposure, they made Porto Ercole on the Maremman shore, where they landed.

Within but two days of the Queen's departure Amelio del Balzo found it prudent to surrender the Castel dell'Ovo, with the custody of the infant Carlo Martello, to a Hungarian nobleman sent forward to receive them by King Louis, who having reached Aversa, was occupied examining his forces and deciding plans. On the 19th, Robert of Taranto, Charles and Robert of Durazzo, proceeded thither in order to make terms with their powerful cousin, and, according to most accounts, they were not ill-received. A day later Philip of Taranto and Louis of Durazzo followed them, and all supped with the King. On the 22nd, however, to their surprise, they found themselves made prisoners; and that night, writes a chronicler, Fra Moriale going over to the enemy, with the aid of Hungarians, sacked the villa, as well as the town palace in Naples, of the Duke of Durazzo, whence his frightened Duchess fled, embracing her two infants, to the convent of Sta. Croce.

Meanwhile, a military tribunal had been constituted by King Louis, upon whose deliberations grim vengeance was to follow. Charles, Duke of Durazzo, was arraigned as having been intimately concerned in the murder of Andrew, as having, by means of Cardinal Talleyrand's procurement, married Maria, who had been bound by olden treaty to either King Louis or one of his brothers; furthermore, as having caused the heir to the throne to be betrothed to his own child. Upon one or all of these charges, and perhaps also upon others,<sup>1</sup> he was found guilty and sentenced to death. He was then permitted to see his confessor and to make his will.

On the 23rd<sup>2</sup> the King with his staff proceeded to revisit

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Villani.

<sup>2</sup> 'Die xxiii. predicti mensis Rex fecit truncari caput Domino Duci Duratii in gaifo (sive verono, more Florentino) in quo fuit mortus Rex Andreas prope ecclesiam Sancti Petri de Magellis. Truncavit quoque caput quodam Cumanus.' This chronicler proceeds to details, and tells us that none was permitted to touch the bodies for four hours; after which, by the King's command, four friars

the scene of the murder, causing the condemned man, bound and seated on a mule, to accompany them. Arrived at the gallery of the building in which the death-struggle of Andrew had taken place, an executioner struck off the Duke's head, and then hurled his trunk over the balcony into the pleasaunce below. After this the King rode to Naples. The body of the Duke, after being left for four hours, was taken up by the friars, and transferred to San Lorenzo Maggiore at Naples, where it was interred.<sup>1</sup>

Since the death of Andrew many events had taken place calculated to startle observers whose attention was directed upon Naples. It might now be said that the execution of Conradin by Charles I., and the living death in the Castel dell' Ovo of the three sons of Manfred, and that of Matilda of Hainault during the two succeeding reigns, was being avenged by sanguinary disruption in the dynasty. Every German who desired to do so might embrue his sword with Apulian blood. Neither Henry VII. nor Louis IV. had been able to gratify the yearning of their Teuton veterans for revenging Benevento and Tagliacozzo. Now after eighty years the opportunity had arrived, and it was not to be wasted. Now, too, could the House of Este wipe out in blood the assassination of their young Duke Francesco in the days of King Robert's sovereignty over Ferrara. Nevertheless, no incident created so profound a sensation as this execution of Charles, Duke of Durazzo. Nor were contemporary judgments upon the occurrence by any means favourable to King Louis. Villani, who, for manifest reasons, was no friend to

(Celestines) took up the Duke's body and buried it, 'cum quatuor candelis.' MS. Cron. Donato Acciajuoli, Bibliot. Nazion. Florence.

<sup>1</sup> The tomb stands to the left of the choir. The chroniclers relate this ragedy with richest possible variety, highly suitable for public consumption. Villani, Gravina, and the hostile chronicler of Este, put the glibbest of orations in the mouths of the principals, and show that they must all have been represented by special reporters at the execution. Unfortunately for one and all, it seems that the Duke was not taken so completely by surprise as they relate, but was accorded some sort of tribunal, confession, testamentary opportunities, &c., as became a gentleman.

the Angevins of Naples, and seldom lost an opportunity to blacken them, states that the Duke was considered to have been implicated less than the other Princes (*i.e.*, of Taranto) in the murder. Clement and his Cardinals asseverated his absolute innocence, grounding their defence of him, however, only upon the fact of his zeal in having captured and punished the suspected criminals. Even among the Ghibelline allies of Hungary astonishment was expressed at the treacherous manner with which King Louis treated his too confiding kinsmen.

The same extemporaneous tribunal decreed the captivity and deportation of the four arrested Princes. In consequence, on February 12th these were despatched by sea, *via* Ortona, to Slavonia, in company with the infant Carlo Martello; the last destined to succumb, perhaps to change of climate and diet, the former condemned to four years wholesome incarceration at Visegrad.

Upon entering Naples, King Louis, posing as a conqueror, demanded a ransom from the citizens. The exasperation of the people, however, seems to have caused him to withdraw this exaction, and endeavour to conciliate those whom he chose to pronounce his subjects. Henceforward he styled and signed himself King of Jerusalem and Sicily, as well as King of Hungary, and sent envoys with letters to Avignon to inform Clement that he was quite ready to be crowned King of Naples.

Meanwhile the galleys had reached Nice, whence the Queen set out overland for Avignon. But the royal cavalcade had not proceeded far when certain highly-placed Provençal Barons, with a view to acquiring particular concessions, taking advantage of her plight, detained her at Roches-des-Arnauds, near Sisteron. In fact, they had grievances. It had been rumoured among them that in her necessitous condition she was intending to alienate Provence to the Duke of Normandy. Moreover, they wished to protest effectually against the appointment of Italian officials to

posts of public importance in Provence.<sup>1</sup> Further, owing to letters from Humbert of Vienne, they had learned of the desire of King Louis to lay hands on the Caraccioli. The latter they now sent under arrest to Noyers, but did not deliver them to their foes. The Queen herself they escorted as far as Aix,<sup>2</sup> and there compelled her to swear 'super sancta Dei evangelia,' in presence of Berenger (the Syndic), Reynaud de Ventimiglia, Raymond d'Agout (Count of Soult), and Isnard de Pontèves, that she would not in future appoint any but native Provençals to administer her government in Provence and Forcalquier. It does not appear that any Del Balzo was among them.

Meanwhile Joan carried on an active correspondence with Avignon, refraining, however, from fully opening her mind to Clement until she could go thither in person. The Pope retarded her advent on account of the presence at Avignon of special ambassadors from Louis of Hungary. Nevertheless, he negotiated with the Barons for the Queen's release, and despatched to her Beranger, Duc de Bourbon, with other influential nobles.<sup>3</sup> The Caraccioli were now handed over to Ugo Roger de Beaufort, professor of civil law, and Clement's brother, for the purpose of a judicial inquiry with regard to their alleged implication in the murder of Andrew. They were detained four months pending arrival of evidence upon which to convict them. Nobody, however, appeared even then, and no substantiation of the charge being to hand by the middle of June, Clement ordered their liberation.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> It will be recalled that the Queen had removed Ugo del Balzo from his post of Seneschal.

<sup>2</sup> February 17, 1348. Cf. Archives de Tarascon, fasc. 3.

<sup>3</sup> 'Poteris ad Castrum Raynardi, vel Sanctum Remigium, te conferre, ubi cum te fore contigerit Duce Dicto, perponimus ad te illuc mittere aliquos, quibus mentem tuam poteris fiducialiter aperire. Et ibi etiam de adventu tuo ad nos poteris ordinari!' Secr. Ep. 1160, February 15, 1348.

<sup>4</sup> Secr. Ep. 98, A. 7, June 19, 1348, to Hugo Roger. Also cf. Index Bullarum. Clem. VI. tom. xliii. X. Kal. Maii. Aven. :—'Mandatum Hugonis Rogerii Civi. Aven. Juris Civilis Professori, quatenus inquirens diligentius veritatem facias justitiæ complementum super deditioe Nobilium Virorum Henrici Caraczoli, Nicolai Caraczoli, militum Hospitii Johannæ Reginæ Siciliæ, Senescalli, Marini, Bulcani,

Upon the execution of her husband, the Duchess of Durazzo, with her children and Marie de Bourbon (wife of Robert of Taranto), had taken refuge in the cloisters of Sta. Croce, whence the latter, accompanied by Gualterio di Caracciolo, escaped to Florence, where she was sheltered by the Peruzzi. The former, disguised as a friar, reached Montefiascone, and was speeded by the Legate to Avignon.

Louis of Taranto and Niccolo Acciajuoli, after being cared for by certain of the Tolomei of Siena, found rest in an Acciajuoli villa at Montegufoni in Val di Pesa. Niccolo endeavoured to procure the admission of his master into Florence, but the Commune, in fear of incensing the King of Hungary, sent messengers to forbid him coming. In consequence, accompanied by Angelo Acciajuoli (the famous Bishop of Florence, who, five years before, had brought about the expulsion of the Duke of Athens), they journeyed, *via* Volterra, to Porta Pisano, whence on February 11 they embarked for Aigues-Mortes. Arriving there safely, they travelled by Beaucaire to Villeneuve-les-Avignon, and took up their abode in the palace of Cardinal Orsini. On March 15 the Queen herself joined them.

Acciajuoli has himself summed up for us the situation of affairs in a valuable document from which I transcribe. 'When first the King of Hungary invaded this realm (Naples), it became expedient for the Queen and my Lord the King, whose welfare I had clung to so steadfastly and hopefully, to quit the kingdom, both by reason (to speak politely) of the shiftiness of her own subjects, and because the princes, magnates, and almost all the people, were willing to obey the said King of Hungary. I alone, relinquishing

Palgani, Capibe et Cobatii, Crespini de Neapoli ac Johannis de Raimo, et Cubelli, valleti, guardarobi, Reginæ prefatæ, laicorum continente, quod olim nobiles de Comitatu Provinciæ ex quadam, ut dicebant, audita fama, quod ipsi fuerant conscii, vel culpabiles de morte claræ Memoræ Andreæ Siciliæ Regis, ipsos ceperunt, et tandem eos tanquam Pontificis subditos et Pontificem eundem remiserunt, sicque de mandato ipsius Pontificis in Carcere Castri de Novis (Chateau-neuf) Aven. Dioces. ex tunc detenti fuerunt, et etiam detinentur captivi, nec aliquis apparuit eos accusare volens.'

everything I possessed in the realm, which amounted to no small reckoning, followed their fortune. . . . In those times the ground would seem to quake at the mere mention of that King's name, as the Clementine and other Cardinals and courtiers well knew. The Queen was pregnant and still lacking Apostolic dispensation, while my master was young and inexperienced. It fell, then, to my lot, in default of any one better, to endeavour by every possible means to end the cruel disorder and destructive embroilment of their affairs. Within the space of five months or thereabouts, by God's will and *the uninterrupted favour of Pope Clement*, they were able triumphantly to re-enter their capital with eighteen armed galleys, an hundred and twenty-eight horse-soldiers (picked Germans), and "vi. paghe di brigante de piedi stipiendiate."<sup>1</sup>

It is here necessary to notice the visitation of Europe by that pestilence known to all time as 'the Black Death,' and which acted as a godsend to the affairs of Naples. The Dalmatian coast had been attacked by it in the first half of December 1347.<sup>2</sup> It reached Ragusa a month later. Spalatro and Sebenico became victims early in March, and thence it spread rapidly through Carinthia into Hungary, where it continued raging until June 1349. It had attacked Messina in Sicily<sup>3</sup> as far back as October. Nevertheless Naples did not receive it until the close of April, when it speedily decimated her population and made havoc in the Hungarian forces, forcing King Louis to retire across the sea before the summer heats.

It is believed upon reliable evidence, that the Black Death independently reached Genoa in a merchant vessel hailing from Trebizond or other Euxine port in December

<sup>1</sup> Tanfani, Vita N. A., pp. 214-215; Arch. Fior. Bibliot. Laurenz. (Plut. 61, Cod. 13).

<sup>2</sup> Farlati, Illyricum Sacrum, iii. 24; Das Grosse Sterben, Lechner, 21-22; Fejér, Cod. Dipl., tom. ix. vol. vii. Doc. 34.

<sup>3</sup> Bibliotheca Scriptorum qui res in Sicilia gestas retulere, tom. i. 562-564, Gregorio.

1347. Thence it had been communicated to Marseilles, whence it spread to Aix, Arles, and Avignon, where, making light of every barrier, its ravages prevailed with appalling vigour for several months. Although it was first noticed at Avignon in January, it did not attain its full virulence until the close of March—that is, just after Queen Joan had arrived there.

The Pope, acting on the advice of his astrologer-physician, Guy de Chauliac, caused fires to be kept blazing in the streets and open places. ‘As for myself (wrote that worthy doctor), in order to avoid infamy, I dared not go away; nevertheless, I was in perpetual dread.’<sup>1</sup> In a short space the mortality assumed such proportions that the cemeteries could not contain the dead; wherefore Clement felt it necessary to consecrate the Rhone, wherein the corpses were then thrown in great numbers. The Sacred College was not spared. Cardinal Colonna and seven of his colleagues succumbed, together with throngs of monks and the members of the English College. Laura de Sade, the goddess of Petrarch’s idolatry, fell a victim early in the year, and was buried in the Church of St. Clair. As a rule, however, the victims were the poor and needy.

In spite of the epidemic and of the disastrous condition of her affairs, the Queen of Naples was received by the Pope with becoming royal state, and presently, accompanied by her husband, entered the Curia, as she had been desirous to do. When the King of Hungary learned of this, he remonstrated with Clement for having accorded her any reception. The Pope once more resorted to prevarication, and responded that he had not wished her to come, and had sent both letters and envoys to dissuade her from coming. The Cardinals, nevertheless, had argued that as sovereign of Provence she ought to be received in a becoming manner.

Now, as Joan had been released and speeded from Aix

<sup>1</sup> Anglada, *Malades Éteintes*, p. 413.

to Avignon by Clement's personal command, and had been the recipient of letters from him pointing out how she should arrange her journey,<sup>1</sup> we may adjudge the value of the Pontifical denial. Further, Clement stated to the King that she had been received by only a few cardinals and nobles, that no marked favour was shown her; finally, that he had commanded her through Stephen, Archbishop of Arles, to appear before the Curia within a specified time, to answer the charge made against her by King Louis, but that on account of this she took offence 'ut verisimiliter credimus,' and left the Curia without calling on Clement, or even seeing him.

It is proper to mention that this response to the King of Hungary's remonstrance belongs to the following year, 1349, and some allowance may be made for Clement. But it happens that in a letter dated March 23, 1348 (that is, but a few days after Joan's arrival), he had written quite a different account to Bertrand, the Legate. In that he stated that Joan had offered to take homage anew, together with her husband, both of them begging the full grace of Papal dispensation for their union. Having conferred with his Cardinals, Clement declared that he had come to the conclusion that her request could not conveniently be refused.<sup>2</sup> With regard to the accusations, he proposed to hold a judicial inquiry, although he entertained doubts as to achieving any result, seeing that he had been given to understand that the Queen and Louis were resolved not to submit to such process until King Louis of Hungary should have restored the various properties of which he had most illegally despoiled their kinsfolk. There also occurs a letter dated three days before this, on March 20, addressed to the Dauphin, in which the Pope begs that prince to forego his own claims

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *Secr. Epist.* 1160, Feb. 15, 1348.

<sup>2</sup> 'Videtur quod non possumus illam commode denegari; maxima quum dicta Regina sit gravida, et in quinto mense gravidationis existere asseratur.' *Secr. Epist.* 1258, A. 1348.

upon Naples, or at least to defer them, declaring that the wretched state of poverty to which the Queen has been brought could not but excite his compassion. Again, but a few weeks previously, Clement had explicitly informed Niccolò Acciajuoli that he was favourably inclined to Louis of Taranto, and that although the Society of the Acciajuoli, of which Niccolò was a prominent member, still remained under interdict,<sup>1</sup> he and Louis might come and go without any hindrance to and from the Curia. In a letter to Joan herself, dated in the middle of May, he informed her of his most earnest desire to help her, 'quantum cum deo possumus, teque favoribus prosequimur graciosis;' that he and the Sacred College had determined to allow her to dispose of the '*decima*' raised in her realm for the purpose of fighting the Moslem, in order to meet her necessities.

After such evidences of direct and manifold favour accorded, it is obviously impossible to put any faith in the account given a year later to Louis of Hungary. Indeed, the Queen made a decidedly satisfactory impression on the Pope and Cardinals, and was permitted to do very much as she liked. Baluzius tells us that both Joan and Louis came into the Curia together, and that the Pope received her benignly. We may accept this, therefore, as a fact, especially seeing that within a fortnight of her arrival Clement conferred upon her husband the Golden Rose,<sup>2</sup> and acknowledged him

<sup>1</sup> In the previous year Clement had absolved Florence from the interdict under which she lay owing to her having refused to assist Pietro, Bishop of S. Angelo, in recovering monies owed to him by the Acciajuoli. Possibly gratitude for the action of Angelo Acciajuoli, their own Bishop, in heading the successful rising against Walter, Duke of Athens, in 1343, influenced the Commune in favour of the debtors. The Company had likewise owed to the Apostolic Chamber on February 7, 1344, 7475 fiorini d'oro. (Capitoli xvi.)

It may be worthy of notice that on May 21, 1348, while Acciajuoli and his kinsman the Bishop were together in Avignon, Clement wrote to the Commune of Florence asking it to cancel the statute offering a reward of 10,000 fiorini to any one who would bring the head of the Duke of Athens. This was done doubtless at the instance of Joan and Louis of Taranto, the Duchess of Athens being Beatrice, half-sister to the latter.

<sup>2</sup> On March 30, 1348, being 'Lætare,' in the Cathedral of Avignon.

Count of Provence and King of Jerusalem—a smart and annoying retaliation on the pressing presumption of the King of Hungary, who was now styling himself by those titles.<sup>1</sup> But Acciajuoli was bent upon yet higher favours for his master and mistress, and planning extremely important business transactions with the Holy See, having the twofold object of securing their rights and the rehabilitation of his own firm. Now let me turn to the replies given by Clement to the demand that he should crown Louis of Hungary King of Naples, and observe his attitude.

After consultation with the Cardinals, a letter was despatched on May 7, informing Louis, that though the Holy See had duly considered his letters, it was not prepared to accede to his wishes, reminding him that he had entered and ravaged the vassal kingdom in defiance of the Legate; that he had, without proper form of law, or at least by a very questionable tribunal, taken the life of a kinsman, presumptively guiltless of the crime for which he had been very cruelly executed; that, equally without legality, he had incarcerated the four Princes, and afterwards deported them to Hungary;<sup>2</sup> above all, he had spirited away the heir-apparent against the will of the citizens of Naples. He was further informed that if he had been invited to Naples, it had not been by the law-abiding, but only by the rebellious, and that the Queen, whether guilty (as he protested that she was), or not guilty, had not confessed anything, nor could she be convicted of the crime he laid to her charge. She had legally inherited her crown and dominions, had duly done homage for them, and therefore she could not be deposed upon mere suspicion. Bertrand del Balzo (deceased) had been rather a favourer than otherwise of the King. Judgment as to the murder of Andrew belonged to the Sacred College, which was prepared to

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Monum. Hist. Hungar. 1342-1369, p. 287, Doc. 259.

<sup>2</sup> 'Sicut multarum notabilium personarum, quæ se super hoc secreta et publice informarunt, attestacione cognovimus, erant prout sunt, penitus, innocentes.' Clement to Queen Elizabeth, May 1, 1348.

hold the desired inquiry. In spite of discoveries and informations, only presumptions unfavourable to the Queen had been forthcoming. If, nevertheless, the needed proofs should eventually be produced to establish her complicity, she should be dethroned by the only proper tribunal. Such an eventuality would, however, by no means imply the coronation of King Louis, but merely that the vacant throne would be at the disposal of the Holy See.<sup>1</sup> With regard to the similar accusations under which Maria of Durazzo, the Queen's sister, together with Margaret and Maria of Taranto laboured, for which they had been obliged to flee their houses and possessions and become positive beggars, the Holy See would likewise constitute itself their judge.

At the close of May, Louis of Hungary crossed the Adriatic to Vrana in a trireme from Barletta,<sup>2</sup> and returned to his kingdom, after six months' absence, being welcomed and affectionately congratulated by Queen Elizabeth at Segesd.<sup>3</sup>

But although, before leaving Italy, Louis duly methodised the commands to be held for him by Hungarian and German adventurers,<sup>4</sup> under the supreme direction of Stefan Laczfi, Waivode of Transylvania, and had appointed the Bishop of Grosswardein to be governor of Naples, he retired perhaps with less likelihood of obtaining the long-desired crown than when he had defied the Legate at Foligno and entered the kingdom. Elizabeth was doubtless gratified at the sanguinary nature of the vengeance taken, notably by the smart decapitation of the kinsman who

<sup>1</sup> Epist. Secr. 1347, Nonis Maii.

<sup>2</sup> On his way to Barletta he deflected his course so as to enable him to visit Bari, and pay his devotions to S. Niccolo. Only a few months previously Joan had ordered the treasurer of the Church of St. Niccolo to open the altar and dispense the manna of the saint to distinguished strangers who came to visit the church. August 30, 1347. Louis likewise visited San Michele in Gargano.

<sup>3</sup> Thuróczy, iii. cap. 9, 12 ; Fejér, op. cit. ix. p. 567.

<sup>4</sup> Stefan Lacksfi, Nicholas Konth, Conrad and Ulrich Wolfhardt chief among them.

had so annoyingly wedded Maria of Anjou, and not less by the Oriental horrors inflicted upon the miserable peasants, as it were, to convince them of the blessings of Hungarian civilisation.

An Hungarian historian of these events writes : ‘ Whatever grounds may have urged the King to the execution of the Duke of Durazzo, it was an exceedingly unwise act. He ceased to be the avenger of the blood of an innocent brother, since he was now stained with the blood of a kinsman who had borne no immediate share in the crime. From henceforth terror and mistrust preceded him ; the adherents of the Duke (including of course Cardinal Talleyrand) became his implacable foes. On his great name, too, he placed an indelible brand. For under a show of friendship he had ensnared one who had confided in him, and had delivered him to execution without (fair) trial.’<sup>1</sup>

Hungarian writers, however, are never tired of belauding him for the beneficent behaviour and fine sense of governance displayed by him while at Naples. According to them, ‘ He insisted on exact administration of justice, and secured public safety. . . . The King banished Giovanni Pipini from his estates in consequence of his freebooting propensities, although he had been the notable adherent of Andrew. . . . The Condottiero Werner of Urslingen, who styled himself Duke, and Captain of the Grand Company, “the enemy of God, of pity, and of mercy,” was dismissed because he and his men could not desist from plunder.’ Truly these are surprising acts credited to a monarch who permitted his servants to sack the palaces of his kinsmen, to turn his youthful kinswomen, Margherita and Maria di Taranto, beggars upon the world,<sup>2</sup> and who endeavoured, brigand-wise, to exact a ransom from the city of Naples.<sup>3</sup> Domenico di

<sup>1</sup> *Gesch. van Ungarn*, Ignaz Fessler, vol. ii. p. 112.

<sup>2</sup> *Cf. Theiner, Mon. Hung.*, vol. i. p. 756.

<sup>3</sup> *Chron. Vatic. (Siculæ) II. Chron. Parthenope*, iii. 25; *Giorn. Napolet.*, MSS. 7.

Gravina, his open partisan, we have seen, regretfully admits that the Hungarian soldiers committed the most revolting atrocities, martyring their prisoners with every devisable torment, drawing their teeth and cutting off their hands and noses. Boccaccio, who, when at a distance, had, in common with every one, regarded the determined invasion of Naples and the defiance of the Holy See as a healthy and truly praiseworthy action, and had designated the arms of Louis '*justissima*;' now entirely changed his mind, and stigmatised him as '*trux Polyphemus*,'<sup>1</sup> the devastator. In any case, no sooner had the King departed than the citizens of Naples manifested their desire for the Queen's return, and deputations were speeded to acquaint her with the fact that the garrisons left by King Louis in the four castles<sup>2</sup> of Naples were quarrelling for arrears of wages.

The only place which had successfully defied the Hungarian arms was Melfi, on Monte Vulture, under the command of Lorenzo, son of Niccolo Acciajuoli, to whom it had been given in fee.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Eclog. iv. v. vi.

<sup>2</sup> Castel dell' Ovo, Castel Nuovo, Castel Capuano, Castel St. Elmo or Erasmo.

<sup>3</sup> 'Tenevisi ancora quattro castella della decta cittate sotto nome e bandiera dello detto Re d'Ungaria, bene fulcite di noblissima companea di gente d'arme discorrente tutto lo Reame, imperò che quasi tutte le fortalzie dello Reame si tenebano per lo detto Re ecepto la mea di Melfi, la quale ipso affetando sopra tutte l'altre di abere, abendo dentro messere Lorenzo, mio filio, asegiato par ispazio di sette mese con infiniti machinamenti e ingegni, rimase però frustato di sua intenzione.' Doc. Bibliot. Laurenzian, Plut. 61, Cod. 13.

## CHAPTER IX

### THE REFUGEES

THE Sacred College was now intent on profiting by the desperate straits to which the royal pair were reduced, in order to acquire by purchase, or rather (as the Queen seems to have understood the matter), to advance them money on a lease of the city of Avignon. It was largely for this purpose that such especial favour had been shown to Louis of Taranto and Niccolo Acciajuoli. Their rôle obviously was to persuade and gain the consent of the Queen to the transaction. She might express a very justifiable objection, seeing what manner of war the Holy See had waged against all her own petty alienations, donations, &c., in the kingdom of Naples. Moreover, in view of the majority prescribed for her in King Robert's Will, she was still a minor, being but twenty-two years of age; and upon this and other grounds had not the Sacred College quashed her former alienations?

If, however, Niccolo Acciajuoli, the most promising financial expert of the day (and possibly the whole contrivance of the affair originated with him), could overcome her reluctance and carry through this transaction, it became certain that, provided the infant Carlo Martello succumbed to his transference to Hungary, Clement would oblige Philip of Valois, and make his nephew, Louis, King of Naples. It is probable that private correspondence on this subject had been carried on between Clement and Acciajuoli, the kingmaker. As Avignon had pertained to the ancient kingdom of Arles, it was, of course, a fief of the Empire. Fortunately for the Holy See, Charles IV.

was entirely its instrument, so that there could arise no difficulty in obtaining imperial consent. The Queen, however, aware that the sum promised her and Louis in ready cash but nominally represented the value of the town, exacted a solemn promise from Clement, in the presence of the Cardinals of Palestrina, Chiaramonte, Bologna, Autun, Ostia, and the Seneschal Raymond d'Agout, that Avignon should be restored to her whenever she should be able and willing to repay this so-called purchase-money. The reason the Curia did not offer a higher price was doubtless because it had already decided that the triennial '*decimæ*' should this year be conceded to the Queen.<sup>1</sup> As the tone of a letter from Clement to the Archbishop of Aix contributes to throw light on the situation as well as on the dealings of the Curia with the Queen, I subjoin an extract from it. The deed of sale is dated the 9th June, and on the 21st it was duly ratified in the presence of the imperial notary, Simone de Variis, Stephen, Bishop of St. Pons, and Niccolo Acciajuoli.

In it the Queen is made to say that she has not been drawn into the transaction against her will, but is acting under the desire and with the consent of her husband, Louis of Taranto.<sup>2</sup> She acknowledges to have received the money in good counted coin, which, she states, is to be utilised in meeting her necessities. She is not unmindful that the fair city is of greater value than the sum paid for it—'80,000 fiorini d'oro'—or, at least, that it will be so

<sup>1</sup> 'Concessio pro Johan. Regin. Siciliae, ut decimæ triennalis sibi jam concessæ solutio in certis prefixis terminis faciendo tota insimul illi assignetur.'

Cf. Clement to the Archbishop of Aix, May 17, 1348. 'Dum clara devotionis et fidei merita quibus inclytæ memoriæ Primogenitoris Carissimi in Christo filiæ nostræ Johanna, Reginæ Siciliae, Illustris, erga Deum et sanctam Romanam Ecclesiam claruerunt, intra nostra precordia delectabiliter recensemus et attendimus diligenter quod eadem Regina in devotione ac fidelitate hujusmodi eidem progenitoribus studet operosis affectibus inherere libenter super ipsius Reginæ opportunitatibus. . . . Nos periculis eidem occurrere ipsius Reginæ necessitatibus providere paternis . . . affectibus cupientes, volumus quod ordinatione nostra hujusmodi . . . eidem Reginæ integræ assignetur.' May 19, 1348.

<sup>2</sup> Reg. 1348, A. n. 356, f. 157. t.

later on; but she is aware that it is 'better to give than to receive.'

Having received the money, to what uses did she put it? We find that in August she paid 18,000 fiorini in order to redeem her velvet jewelled saddles, which she had pledged in May with Guido and Antonio Malabayla of Asti. In another document, belonging to the archives of Naples, the Queen mentions having paid for their recovery out of the money received for the sale of Avignon. The statement therefore, so frequently repeated with sarcastic intent, that the money was never paid, must be considered devoid of foundation.<sup>1</sup> In fact, the money was promptly handed over by Niccolo Soderini to Niccolo Acciajuoli, and forthwith a large portion of it was applied by the latter to secure the return of his royal master and mistress to Naples. Together with the '*decimæ*,' it sufficed to tide over present financial embarrassments.

In November the Emperor Charles IV. granted all that was required of him by the Holy See, and ratified the transaction; the Dean of Cologne attesting.<sup>2</sup>

In this manner passed 'Avenio Ventosa' into the possession of the Holy See, which forthwith retained it even until the French Revolution.

That any such absolute sale was illegal can scarcely be doubtful, even had the Queen obtained the consent of her remaining relatives and guardians.<sup>3</sup> The Duke of Durazzo could utter no protest, and Cardinal Talleyrand could silence the widow then under his guardianship at Avignon. Louis and Robert of Durazzo were captives at Visegrad. Most of all, however, was the transaction a far-reaching

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Regest. 1348, Lett. B. fol. 148; Lett. A. fol. 157. See also Clement's letter to Guill. di Malosicco, viii. Id. Junii 1348.

<sup>2</sup> Bzovius Annali. Cf. Clement's letter of final thanks to Charles IV., Reg. Vat. Sec. January 24, 1349.

<sup>3</sup> There is no evidence that she did so. The moment of chaotic confusion due to the invasion of Hungarians and the Black Death was well chosen by the Church.

blow at Hungary, whose consent to such sale (according to Hungarian views) was bound to be asked, and whose king, but a fortnight before it took place, had signed several documents at Naples as King of Jerusalem and Sicily, Duke of Apulia, Prince of Capua,<sup>1</sup> &c.

Possibly before, but certainly following, the death of Clement, four years later, the Queen lodged a claim with the Curia for the restitution of the city, and addressed a letter to Cardinal [Talleyrand] (?) declaring that she and Louis of Taranto were ready to repay the money, and hoping that the city might now be restored according to the former agreement.<sup>2</sup> It would therefore appear that the illegality of the transaction may have been acknowledged by Clement at the time, but in order to pacify both the Queen and the people of Avignon, it was set about that the sale was purely nominal, Clement and the Cardinals well knowing it to be quite otherwise intended. This would provide yet another reason to account for the low figure of the purchase-money.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Mon. Hungar. Histor. 11 Doc. 259, May 30, 1348.

<sup>2</sup> 'Rev. Pater et amice Carissime, P. Quia non hesitamus vos zelatores existere veritatis, et libenter illam in ejus certiore evidenciam profiteri, Paternitatem vestram affectuosa rogamus, ut ad requisitionem Senescalli nostri Provincie (Falcone d'Agout), si oportuerit de promissione nobis facta per felicis recordationis, Dominum Papam Clementem Sextum, noſiter vita functum super resignanda nobis civitate Avenionis, quandocumque restitueremus Ecclesie pecuniam nobis pro illius venditione solutam, velitis veritatis testimonium perhibere, et nos circa recuperationem illius cum indemnitate Ecclesie ratione pretii persoluti suscipere vestri favoris assistentiam commendatos, ut vobis exinde propensius obligemur. Super quibus idem Senescallus noster Provincie Vos pro parte nostra latius informabit.' MS. Cod. Niccolo d'Alife, f. 131 Bonaito, p. 198.

<sup>3</sup> For three other letters of Joan concerning this promise of the restoration, see Camera, op. cit., pp. 163-164, where, however, the date inserted on p. 164 should be 1353. I regret to be obliged to suggest any corrections regarding the work of the veteran annalist who was the fortunate possessor of the unique Codex whence these letters are taken. But in his old age it was not always easy for him to manage as precisely with his pen as he would have wished, and by oversight he has inserted here and there in his printed documents dates and names which are not to be found in the originals. For example, on p. 83 of his work, occurs a long and very curious letter from Joan to Urban V., complaining of the treatment she has received from her insane third husband, James III. of Majorca, who had passed most of his life in close captivity at Barcelona. Camera has inserted the name of 'Ludovicus' after Dominus, and 'Regni' after

Having effected this dexterous manœuvre, and having been informed of the satisfaction felt by Naples at the departure of the Hungarian King, Acciajuoli (now accorded the title of the executed Gasso di Diniziaco), Count of Terlizzi, and many other honours, took his departure from Avignon in order to prepare for the return of the Queen and Louis. The 'Chronicon Siculum' records that on June 18th the nobles and people at Naples rose in arms shouting 'Vivat Domina Regina' (Viva Madama).

Acciajuoli having procured eighteen galleys from Genoa, and from Marseilles a force of Provençal mercenaries, sailed for Naples. It is probable that but for the Queen's confinement, which now took place, she and her husband would have embarked sooner. She brought forth a daughter in June at Salignac, whom she christened Maria. Her sister, the Duchess of Durazzo, likewise now gave birth to a fourth daughter, to whom Clement stood sponsor.

Louis of Taranto, encouraged by his successes, and prompted by Acciajuoli, wrote to the Commune of Florence, acquainting it with the improving state of his affairs and of the departure of Louis of Hungary; further asking aid, and reminding it (not very felicitously, one would think) of the former relations between it and his own branch of the House of Anjou.<sup>1</sup> At the same moment Venice manifested renewed displeasure with the Hungarian for asking larger concessions from it than were considered equitable, or even possible, without complicating their foreign relations all round. The Doge consequently urged Carrara, Lord of Padua, to prevent the Hungarian and German mercenaries passing and returning through his territory.<sup>2</sup> Venice was shrewdly resolved that these forces

'hujus,' which words are absent in the Codex. This letter, in fact, belongs not to the year 1347, to which he has given it, but to 1365-66, as the mention by Joan in it of her sister Maria as consort of Philip of Taranto clearly reveals.

<sup>1</sup> Montecatino. Cf. Cod. 16. cl. xi. dist. 1; Arch. della Riformagione.

<sup>2</sup> 'Et rogetur Dominus Paduæ quod non permittat gentes Ungariæ predictas

should use and pay for her galleys in the Adriatic. She had accorded distinct and politic favour to her former foe, but she was not going to widen its interpretation. Financial interests lay very snugly behind it.

We obtain a passing glimpse of Niccolo d'Alife at this juncture by means of a letter from Clement to Tommaso di San Severino, Count of Marsico,<sup>1</sup> asking him to punish the robbers who, he hears, have broken into Alife's house at Naples and stolen his goods. In the following September the Queen granted him the barony of Foscatò in right of his wife, whose brother, Antonello, had died childless.

So far then, from the Holy See denying favour to the Queen, as Clement stated to the King of Hungary, it is patent that she was shown the utmost possible. On August 7th she was even permitted to confer regal dignities upon her husband, who thenceforward used the title and style of Jerusalem and Sicily. She was sojourning at Marseilles, where the Caraccioli and the Duchess of Durazzo joined her.

All being ready, the Royal party made sail in the galleys provided by Acciajuoli during the third week in August, and reached Naples at the close of the month. Arrived there, they found the castles still garrisoned by the Hungarian. Acciajuoli, however, had attached the slippery, but formidable, Werner of Urslingen with his company to the Queen's service. On September 8th, by a financial compromise, the Castle of St. Elmo surrendered to Roberto di San Severino. The Castello dell' Ovo and Castel Nuovo<sup>2</sup> held out under the Wolfhardts until 1349, when their garrisons slipped away by sea under cover of night.<sup>3</sup>

All through the autumn of 1348 an active correspondence eundo, vel redeundo, transire per suas terras, vel passus, et intromittat personas, equos, et arma illorum qui inde transirent.' June 4, 1348. Mon. Hist. Hung. Doc. 265.

<sup>1</sup> Another is addressed for the same purpose to Ruggiero di San Severino, Count of Mileto, and Goffredo Marzano, Count of Squillace. July 7, 1348.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. D. di Gravina, whose account of the siege may be taken as a fair specimen of his romancing powers.

<sup>3</sup> Chron. Siculum 13.

was poured upon Hungary, with the object of liberating the four captive Princes, to which both Clement, the Duke of Bourbon, and Philip, King of France, contributed. Their efforts, however, proved futile, and Maria, wife of Robert of Taranto, had to be content with vain efforts for her husband's release. In his chagrin, Louis of Hungary rendered it perilous for any Pontifical envoy to enter his dominions.<sup>1</sup> He had made well-deserved war upon the Holy See, but he had not counted the cost. The Curia was now retaliating in a manner truly exasperating. The plague had driven Louis from Naples, but he would return when it moderated and multiply the evils he had wrought. The Pope, however, by counselling the Queen and Louis of Taranto to use clemency to such Hungarians as might fall into their hands, still hoped to win the liberty of the Princes.<sup>2</sup>

The successes at Naples gave undisguised satisfaction at Avignon. The Queen described them in detail, and Clement congratulated her in a warmly paternal manner, bidding her lift the eyes of her soul ever to God; not to forget her past sorrows, but to look forward with chastened hope.<sup>3</sup>

Influences were indeed not wanting which must have modified any tendency to undue exhilaration on her part, had such been possible. As many as six or seven years had elapsed since the author of the 'Amorosa Visione' had described Joan as dancing prettily—'gaia e leggiadretta.'<sup>4</sup> In a letter written at this time to her Seneschal in Provence, she recounts the tristful effects of the plague, which, sparing neither age nor sex, had, she declared, made ravages during six months, turning populous districts into comparative solitudes, so that it was now difficult to

<sup>1</sup> Reg. Vatic. Secr. Epist. 230, September 12, 1348.

<sup>2</sup> Secr. Epist. 188, 189, August 17, 1347.

<sup>3</sup> Secr. Epist. 332, October 17, 1348.

<sup>4</sup> 'Reggendo quella alla nota cantata con molti degni passi a cotal danza come me parve appresso seguitata.' Canto xliii.

collect one ounce of gold where ten could formerly be collected.<sup>1</sup>

Beyond Naples successes were not easy to obtain. Rebel barons and foreign captains, such as Luigi di Sabran, Count of Apice, Matteo di Celano, Niccolo and Giovanni Drugeth, the Wolfhardts and others, counteracted all the manœuvres of Louis of Taranto. Nevertheless the latter succeeded in gaining the services of Giovanni Malatacca, and of Wilhelm and Johann, Counts of Hapsburg, who had hitherto been accredited to the other side. The Count of Apice, driven hard, surrendered, and ransomed himself for thirty thousand fiorini. Aversa and Capua gave in. So that at the close of the year not more than perhaps a dozen strongholds still remained in the Hungarian power.

<sup>1</sup> *Cf.* Camera, *op. cit.*, p. 100.

## CHAPTER X

### THE KING-MAKER

THE year 1349 may fittingly be designated a year of rapine and slaughter, in which the unoffending peasant was again the victim. The individuals who most successfully figured in the desultory strife were Stephen Lacsfi, who, giving battle at Mileto to the Provençals and Neapolitans, defeated them ignominiously, and Conrad Wolfhardt, who, occupying Foggia, captured Werner of Urslingen at Castro Corneto. Amid these antagonists appeared that Cardinal of Tusculum, Annibaldo di Ceccano, who had formerly been speeded to England in order to patch up the quarrel between Edward III. and his cousin of France. The balance of success, nevertheless, remained with the enemy.

Clement continued to spare no pains in order to bring about an accommodation between Hungary and the Holy See, and while deploring the mortality caused by the Plague<sup>1</sup> among the Cardinals, despatched Guido, Cardinal of St. Cecilia,<sup>2</sup> to Buda with letters to the King and Queen, to Stephen and Queen Elizabeth, as well as others to Albert and Mary of Austria, and a number of influential prelates and nobles. To increase the importance of this embassy, the Cardinal was accompanied by the envoys of Philip of Valois, the Dukes Peter and James de Bourbon (brothers of Maria, Princess of Taranto), in order to negotiate the liberation of the captives.<sup>3</sup>

But the effort resulting from this concentration of

<sup>1</sup> A. Theiner, *Monum. Hungar.*, Epist. 657.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* Epist. 659-660; Ides Jan. 1349.

<sup>3</sup> Fejér, *Cod. Dipl.* ix. 676.

influences did not avail to their release. Probably one of the causes to which its failure may be attributed, was that, pending the negotiations, the infant heir to the throne of Naples died at Pesth. It is certain that upon this occurrence, which re-centred the sovereignty in Joan and Louis of Taranto, King Louis renewed with increased emphasis his demands for her dethronement. The profitable proceedings of his captains in Apulia, who were constantly entreating him to despatch further reinforcements, now put an end to hesitation, and he resolved to re-invade the kingdom.

It was in vain therefore Clement wrote deploring the miserable conditions prevailing there.<sup>1</sup> If Louis was determined to swoop down with a fresh army, it was useless for the Pope to canvass assistance from the Genoese and the Count of Fondi. Well-nigh equally fruitless was it for the Queen and Louis of Taranto to borrow money with a view to buying over alien mercenary adventurers, or for Cardinal Bertrand to publish in July<sup>2</sup> a premature truce between the antagonists.

In spite of these resolutions, the King of Hungary went so far as to draw up a number of trenchant 'Capitoli,' with a view to settling affairs between himself and the Holy See, and although they proved to be impracticable of fulfilment, they afforded Clement occasions for temporising. It is manifest, however, that, irrespective of admissible perplexities which had precluded the enforcement of any judicial inquiry into the conduct of the royal people, the Holy See had resolved to abide by the decisions of Boniface and Clement V., not to concede the crown of Naples to the King of Hungary. Having thus resolved, it could not do otherwise than uphold the heir of King Robert, who had done homage and received due investiture. Further, it had now contrived to obtain from her the city of Avignon, and by so doing, had once and for all bound itself to her cause. Con-

<sup>1</sup> Secr. Clem. VI. Anno viii. June 6, 1349, to Cardinal Ceccano.

<sup>2</sup> Chron. Siculum 14.

sequently the Vicar of Christ, not inconsistently, threw the ægis of paternal protection over his vassal.

The conditions laid down by the King of Hungary were characteristic and somewhat startling. He demanded that the widowed Duchess of Durazzo, or one of her infant daughters, should be wedded to his brother Stephen,<sup>1</sup> Duke of Transylvania, and placed upon the throne instead of Joan.

To this Clement responded that, so far as such a union was concerned, not only would he grant the necessary dispensation, but would endeavour to gain the consent of the Duchess herself. With regard, however, to the design of placing the Duchess or her child upon the throne, the Holy See would give it no countenance, forasmuch as Joan, who was without question the legitimate sovereign, had done homage for her realm to Cardinal Aimeric; moreover, she had already for some years possessed the said throne. Furthermore, it could be no matter of certainty, but open to argument, whether, in such an event as Joan becoming deprived by law of her crown, it would necessarily pass to Maria—that is to say, whether it would not be at the disposal of the Holy See. This manifestly called in question the validity of King Robert's Will, or at least declared the Holy See entirely above obedience to it. It was as much as to suggest that the fief had not become hereditary.

The King next demanded that Joan should be cited to appear and undergo a judicial inquiry.

To this Clement replied that he had veritably cited both her and Louis of Taranto, through the Archbishop of Arles, to appear for such purpose while they had been at Avignon. He had even named a date for the process. Owing, however, to the incursions of the Hungarian forces into their dominions, they had been constrained to depart without even bidding his Holiness farewell, merely begging, by means of their legal adviser,<sup>2</sup> to be excused from appearing. In council with the cardinals, he had seriously deliberated

<sup>1</sup> According to the Convention drawn up by John XXII.

<sup>2</sup> Jacopo Gaufridi.

whether, in spite of the cogent plea thus offered on their behalf, they should not be declared *in contumaciam*. He then discussed the difficulties attending the conduct of such an unprecedented inquiry, nevertheless assuring the King that the matter should not be dropped, albeit it was not possible to name an actual date for its consummation.

Next, King Louis proffered that, should Joan be declared *in contumaciam*, he would surrender all the strongholds held by his captains in Apulia to the Legate.

To this the Pontiff answered that such ought to be done unconditionally, 'for he may rest assured that, although the Queen is not easily to be arrested (whom, as aforesaid, we cited, and who departed unlicensed), we shall nevertheless institute a process against her and forward it. Moreover, in the event of her refusing to appear, not only shall she be pronounced *in contumaciam*, but there shall be further proceedings.'

For that same cause Louis declared that he would be willing to liberate the four captives at Visegrad. Instructing the Cardinal of St. Cecilia, Clement continued: 'Concerning this point, you shall reply that we desire, no less than does the King himself, to mete out retribution for the crime;—not only (if found guilty of it) to the Queen, but to all others, enjoy they whatsoever eminence or condition they may, and not merely to declare them *in contumaciam*.

'Use your utmost to work upon the pity of the King, so that the princes may be delivered into the custody of Charles, King of the Romans, or of Albert, Duke of Austria; for in this time of pestilence there is grave peril for them.'<sup>1</sup>

If it be granted that the Hungarian demands were to some extent impolitic, and savoured too strongly of arbitrary personal ambition, it will not be denied that the scornful dissatisfaction of Louis at the evasive and temporising replies was fully justified. There can be no surprise that he decided once more to betake himself to Naples and appeal to the sword.

<sup>1</sup> Arch. Secr. Vatic. Clem. VI. Epist. fol. 64, August 17, 1349.

Now, the condition of royal affairs in that capital had been still darklier embroiled during the summer of 1349 by a violent quarrel which had taken place between Louis of Taranto and Joan, the ostensible cause of which was enmity on the part of the former toward Enrico Caracciolo, the Grand Seneschal,<sup>1</sup> who has already figured in this narrative. Other motives, however, appear under the surface of the case.

In March Caracciolo had been rewarded for his services with the barony of Gerace. In April<sup>2</sup> he was arrested by Louis of Taranto and charged with having committed adultery with the Queen. Both denied the accusation. The Queen protested in vain, and found herself placed in arrest. Caracciolo's post was at once transferred to Niccolo Acciajuoli.

Now, upon the day upon which the title of Gerace had been conferred upon Caracciolo, Angelo Acciajuoli, Bishop of Florence, who, we recollect, had materially assisted Louis of Taranto and Niccolo in their flight to Provence, had been created Chancellor of the kingdom. To him was assigned the custody of the Queen. Her power was gone.

It should be remarked that, if the truth of an accusation of that nature is not easy to establish in the case of persons of merely normal social degree in life, a charge of the kind brought by one royal consort against another (especially in a period when that charge was notoriously utilised for personal spoliations), affords us but slender opportunity of forming a correct judgment. Virtue, it is usually taken for granted, was on the side of the accuser, provided that the accuser was masculine. In such cases, whatsoever may have been the value or worthlessness of the accusations, the mud thrown not merely adhered, but it had been thrown at levels too elevated above the ground of ordinary affairs for the longest arm to remove.

<sup>1</sup> 'Fu promosso dalla Regina Giovanna all' officio di Gran Senescallo de Regno, e maestro della sua causa!' Cod. MS. Niccolo d'Alife, p. 307.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Chron. Siculum.

In the present case (as in that formerly alluded to between Louis of Taranto's father, Philip, and his first wife, Ithamar Comnena), there remains only too ample reason for believing that the allegation put forward was but a mask for the purpose of depriving the Queen of authority and enriching both Louis of Taranto and the Acciajuoli. At the very least, it was complicated by a suspiciously crooked substratum of official rivalry and court faction.

In the first place, the Caraccioli were members of an indigenous and powerful Neapolitan clan, which had already given several of its sons to the service of the Angevin. Bernardino Caracciolo had been Archbishop of Naples before the death of Manfred. Gregorio Caracciolo had held the office of Grand Seneschal under King Robert. Bartolommeo and Gualterio had likewise enjoyed eminent favour, and had received high advancement. Filippo had died at Florence in the service of the Duke of Calabria, and was laid in Sta. Croce.

The Acciajuoli, on the other hand, were Florentines, whose fortunes had been mainly derived from their commercial operations at Naples with various scions of the royal house. Their rivals, the Bardi and Peruzzi, had collapsed; they themselves had followed suit a few years later. But their Levantine trade, and the restoration of their profitable relations with the Holy See by means of the dexterous transfer of Avignon, now promised to re-establish them more securely than ever before. It was easy for the Curia to appreciate the fact that the more surely Acciajuoli influence prevailed at Naples, the more it would profit the Holy See. The Bishop of Florence had resigned his diocese in order to glide into the Grand Chancellorship of Naples, and the Pontiff had approved. To the Bishop and Niccolo Louis of Taranto owed more than to any one, saving to the Queen. To her and to them in combination had been due his rapid advancement; to them alone had been due his personal safety during the flight from Naples to Avignon. He was now become the figure-head and nominal director

of their confederation; but he and they were bent upon a tempting design. They intended, in spite of Joan, to monopolise the sovereign power, even as Andrew had intended in other days. In order to achieve this, they used the customary means of bringing about the removal of all those who presented hindrance to their ambition. Thus, those who enjoyed the confidence of the Queen would, under such circumstances, render themselves objects of jealous regard.

To the guardianship of three members of the Caracciolo family had been entrusted (as has been shown) the safety both of the Queen and of the Duchess of Durazzo during their respective escapes from the menaced capital. The King of Hungary had endeavoured to obtain possession of their persons in order to charge them with complicity in the murder of Andrew. Hugo, the brother of Pope Clement, had examined them in prison in Provence, but, after a considerable detention, finding no sort of evidence against them, had set them free.

It will not weaken the investigation of this important crisis in the Queen's affairs if we take into account documents which, until now, have never been put in evidence, and among these a letter from Avignon addressed to Louis of Taranto with immediate reference to his present treatment of the Queen. It is dated 4th Ides of September (1349). [Regest. 143, fol. lxxviii.]

'Although of royal birth, you were by inheritance poorly off. By your union with the Queen, who openly honoured you with preference above your kindred, you have become possessed of abundance and an exalted position.<sup>1</sup> We were not unnaturally hopeful that in return you would prove grateful to her, and show her the affection which not only is her due, but would befit your own honour. You, however, as is matter of common

<sup>1</sup> 'Quod tu, quamvis regalibus ortus natalibus, fortune bonis non multum habundans, tantarum divitiarum dilatus es cumulo, et dignitatis regiæ sperat sublimari fastigio, propter ipsam merito sperabamus.'

report<sup>1</sup> (and we are sadly surprised to hear it), forgetful of all this, not merely do not treat her as behoves a wife and a Queen, but scornfully curtailing the area of her prerogative, you have caused her to be reckoned rather a slave than a spouse.<sup>2</sup> It is further reported that, ruled by the promptings of advisers (at whose mere nod you make and unmake the administration of the kingdom, to which she so affectionately admitted you), you have deprived her of the society and audience of her trusted servants, so that without your permission and that of the aforesaid advisers, no one is given speech of her. Moreover, you have taken the royal seal and handed it over to the Bishop of Florence and certain others, who, it is said, in face of the Queen's protest, and greatly to her prejudice, impudently seal letters of state concerning all things, both important and unimportant, under her name and title, &c.<sup>3</sup> . . . This condition of affairs is derogatory to the honour and dignity of you both. From these and other causes, the foe of peace has brought about perilous dissensions between you, which threaten (the state). For in your differences you are respectively supported by your subordinates, and in consequence of their divisions your ability to resist the enemy (who is at your very door thirsting for your blood, and greedy to usurp your kingdom) is seriously impaired. . . . Thus, unless God Himself interfere in your behalf, ruin and downfall are at hand for you and the Queen. . . . Rouse up, rouse up, then, our son, take courage, and, girded with strength and valour, by God's aid tread the enemy under foot; free the realm from its oppressors, and bring back again the days of peace. . . . Wisely soften and moderate your bearing toward the Queen, and honour her as beseems, so

<sup>1</sup> 'Sicut multorum et fere communis habet assertio, hæc omnia obliviose preteriens.'

<sup>2</sup> 'Ut non uxor, sed velut ancilla potius censeatur.'

<sup>3</sup> 'Et quod eam sic societate atque familia coartasti, quod utriusque vestrum honori et decentiæ non modicum derogatur.'

that goodwill and affection shall not merely be revived, but shall increase; and thus by consulting your joint honour the dangers to the kingdom will be obviated. . . . For the rest, since, as we understand, the Queen, conscious of her innocence, fears for her good fame on account of the imprisonment of Enrico Caracciolo and his son,<sup>1</sup> we exhort you, out of consideration for her, if you find those noblemen guiltless, to act with clemency and defer to her wishes.' The Pope proceeds to enter further protest in favour of Cardinal Annibaldo Ceccano,<sup>2</sup> the Legate, with whom Louis and his friends have likewise quarrelled, and whom Louis has accused of sowing discord between the Queen and himself, and of other actions much to his prejudice.

It is fortunate that a letter from the Queen herself to Clement about the affair has been preserved in the Codex previously drawn from. Here, then, is her own asseveration.

'Most blessed Father (in Christ), your letters touching the King of Jerusalem and Sicily,<sup>3</sup> my husband, and privately certain of my affairs, have been respectfully received, albeit words of paternal correction, after the fashion of a salve, have proved bitter to my taste. Nevertheless, in view of my welfare, their after-taste is sweet. I proffer a humble

<sup>1</sup> 'Ac pluvium Neapolitanorum sed nobilium maxime corda proinde turbata dicuntur.'

<sup>2</sup> 'Intelleximus etiam quod tu adversus Venerabilem fratrem nostrum Annibaldum Episcop. Tusculanum, Apost. Sed. Legatum, suggerentibus aliquibus tibi mendaciter ut probabiliter credimus quod ipse tractatus aliquos prejudiciales tibi cum hostibus prefatis habebat, et quod inter te, dictamque Reginam scandalum seminabat, tuo detrahebat honori fideles tuos a devotione tua et obedientia advertabat et statim supprimebat tuum occasionem concepisti suspicionis et causam,' &c., &c.

<sup>3</sup> 'Beatissime Pater, Susceptis per me reverenter Sanctitatis vestræ litteris super quibusdam Illustris Hierusalem et Siciliæ Regem, Reverendum Virum meum, et me domesticæ, tangentibus; licet correctionis paternæ verba ad instar medelæ amaricaverunt gustum meum, sumpta tamen ad salutem longe amplius in consideratione dulcescunt.

'Offerens igitur propta ea humile gratiarum sacrificium Pio Patri spero illud invicem debitæ non existentis apud me recognitionis acceptabile fieri misericorditer penes eum; sed super intimatis elegi nequaquam altercando con-

oblation of thanks therefore to the Holy Father, and trust that it may be agreeable to him that the investigation should lie with him. In nowise did I choose to strive by wrangling, but to leave the examination of the truth to the Vicar of Christ, if he abandons that to be true of me which slander has thus spread abroad; and it shall suffice me to feel the purity of a clear conscience. For I call God to witness (nor do I misdoubt the testimony of my lord and husband himself) that I have never licentiously done anything derogatory to his honour, or forgotten either due respect or submission toward him. If, however, occasionally, in domestic confidence (as between man and wife is wont to occur), I am

tendere, quinimmo, si desinit verum esse de me, quod oblocutio sic diffudit, Vicario Christi Veritatis indagacionem relinquere; et mihi sufficiat id quod bonæ mentis est in conscientiæ puritate sentire. Ego enim Deum testor, et ipsius Domini Viri mei testimonium non suspicor, si nequiter vel scienter in ejus contemptum quidquam presumpsi, vel aliquid erga eum debitæ reverentiæ et subjectionis omisi. Sed si forsan, interdum familiari fiducia (prouit inter Virum et Uxorem contingere assolet) displicere non credens displicuisse arguor, hoc non habuit, nec habet odium (quod absit!) immo verum potioris amoris vigorem incitare, in quo, sicut in cunctis, ipsum Dominum Virum meum (velut frequenter scripsi), credo mecum nullatenus discrepantem, quia detestarer,—nedum ingratiitudinis, sed rigide reprehensionis vitium, erga eum, me in conjugii multa claritate tractantem, quamvis etiamsi discolus Dominus existeret, faciens aliud, me sciam aliud facere, non decere. Et si quidem aliqui forsan secus conentur asserere saltem hoc cogitare possent, quod sic infelix, et insipientis mulier non existo, quod essem apud Deum, et homines, cum honoris et status præ foribus instanti discriminum, et alias notabilis labemacula prodiga famæ meæ. Confiteor autem, ipsum cunctis in conjugium prætulisse Regalibus: nunc vero (sicut præcipuum meum debitum exigit) prefero omnibus mundi Viris, adeoque non credo alium, præter eum, cui, et, mirus necessitate, urgerer me de penitudine meæ electionis facili opinione damnarer. Nihilominus ad consolationem paternam conari studebo, quod verificatio verborum meorum hujus modi semper in melius comprobetur. Verum de impatientia mea,—quæ cum anteriori Viro (Andrew), et de displicentia, quæ ex captione Henrici Caraculi, et filii, ad meæ transgressionis cumulum pretenduntur, tediis multæ anxietatis allidor, cum non ea quæ sunt, sed referentibus faveant fucatis coloribus astruantur;—nunc magnifica quædam in turbationis argumentum, nunc alia minorata in mutæ dilectionis dispendium, ex corruptarum lapsibus passionum. Item hæc, namque satis mihi sit innocentiam meam producere, et obliquentium ora patienti dissimulatione transire; neque supponere filianter sanctitudinis vestræ Judicio, quod in veritate sua non fallitur; neque fallit.

'Scripta Neapoli. Sub anulo meo secreto; Die 12 Novembris III. Indictionis.'  
—Codex Niccolo d'Alife, fol. 62.

accused of annoying unthinkingly, there was no aversion, nor does there exist any (far be such), but rather (it was intended) to stimulate the force of stronger love. . . . I admit that I preferred him in marriage to all the princes; and still I prefer him to all other men to the degree that I trust no other but him. . . . I shall none the less strive to comfort myself that the truth of my words will more and more become confirmed. Verily, what with those things alleged to the weight of my transgression, concerning my impatience with my former husband (Andrew), and my annoyance arising out of the arrest of Enrico Caracciolo and his son, I am vexed beyond measure; now this and now that, heaped up or over-coloured by repetition, these greater actions are put down to a predilection for disorder, those lesser, to unlawful lapses of the passions. But indeed it shall be my consolation to make manifest my innocence, to preserve indifference to the tongues of slander, and to submit myself as a daughter to the judgment of your Holiness, whose integrity is infallible.'

I humbly submit that, taken in context with the advancement of the Acciajuoli above described, the previous career of Louis of Taranto, and the before-given letter from Avignon, this document places the Queen in a more favourable light than she has been allowed to enjoy hitherto, and reveals to us a little of the other side of the quarrel, and what has previously remained unshown.

There can be no question of the singular merits of Niccolo Acciajuoli. His statesmanship, his financial adroitness, the personal influence he commanded under circumstances of exceptional perplexity, may be said to have fully deserved the extraordinary success they obtained. It is obvious, however, that his importance at Avignon, and his ascendancy over her husband, were not always compatible with the supremacy or happiness of Joan, who seems at all times to have been justly jealous of her rights, and to have refused relegation to a second place.

The domestic rancour continued, and the Caraccioli were not released. On June 16th the following year (1350), however, while Louis and Acciajuoli were riding together in the Strada dei Correggie,<sup>1</sup> Filippo Caracciolo, another son of Enrico, suddenly rushed upon Acciajuoli, stabbed him in the stomach, and made good his escape.<sup>2</sup> The wound, although dangerous, healed, and the would-be assassin lived to be pardoned, and ultimately restored to his forfeited lands. In fact, after the decease of Louis of Taranto and Acciajuoli, Filippo was rewarded with the post of Chamberlain.

That Acciajuoli's life at this moment, when the King of Hungary had recently re-landed in Apulia, was of the extremest value to the King and Queen, may be gathered from the fact that he was pursuing the policy of snatching advantage from every dissension that arose among the Germans and Hungarians in order to buy off one or other of them. He had, indeed, at this moment come to an agreement with Count Torbagy that the latter and his force, then occupying Aversa, should surrender that town and quit the kingdom, on consideration of being paid between seven and eight thousand fiorini d'oro. Not, however, being able at the instant to hand over such a sum, and the Teuton distrusting the Italian, Acciajuoli repeated a manœuvre he had successfully practised once before, of giving his favourite son Lorenzo in pledge for the money. The result proved the wisdom of the measure, and the Count departed. Acciajuoli was again enriched by further conferment upon him of territorial fiefs.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Perhaps rather the Piazza Capuana. MS. cit. f. 288.

<sup>2</sup> The Signoria of Florence learning of the occurrence, thus addressed Angelo Acciajuoli: 'Non sufficiet pater, civesque nostri, merito laudem preconiiis proclamandis foris labium nuntiare, nec calamus, etsi adamantis esset soliditate compositus ad scribendum quanta fuerimus respersi mæstitia dum nobis innotuit, heu cito, infelix casus qui pridie contigit ex opere viri sanguinum, et sceleris, in personam vestri Domini Niccole, nostri civis Karissimi.' Arch. di Firenze, Reg. x. fol. 43.

<sup>3</sup> Buchon, *Nouvelles Recherches*, vol. i. p. 77; Tanfani, *Vita N. Acciajuoli*, pp. 76, 165-170.

To the Florentines likewise his life was become of great value; for at this moment the Signoria was negotiating through him, and with every prospect of successful issue, the long-desired cession to them on the part of Joan of her rights over the town of Prato, which had become a source of danger to Florence, in consequence of intrigues on the part of the Ghibelline Guazzalotti therein with the Visconti and the continued absence of a Viceroy. Terms of accommodation being arranged, the Queen surrendered her jurisdiction for the sum of 17,500 fiorini in February 1351.<sup>1</sup>

There remains to be noticed still another family embroilment, of tragic interest and far-reaching consequence, namely, a quarrel which arose between Louis of Taranto and his brother-in-law, Francesco del Balzo, eldest son of the lately deceased Grand Justiciary.

There has been expended not a little indeterminate speculation as to the actual grounds for this antagonism. It has been usually attributed to haughty indignation on the part of Joan and Louis at the advantage alleged to have been taken by Del Balzo during their absence in Provence to capture in marriage Margherita di Taranto, whom even the most up-to-date Neapolitan historians, in spite of strongest possible evidence to the contrary, declare to have been the widow of no less a personage than Edward Baliol, (pseudo) King of Scotland.<sup>2</sup> I can only assure them here once and for all that they do the lady wrong. In the first place, Edward Baliol was very much alive; in the second, Margherita had never been married. It is true she had been given a dispensation of marriage; but it was to enable her to wed one of the Durazzo princes, now imprisoned at Visegrad.

<sup>1</sup> Letters patent to this effect were issued by Joan and Louis at Gaeta, Dec. 21, 1350. Among the witnesses of the deed of cession on the part of the Signoria occurs the name 'Domino Johanne Bocchaccij de Certaldo.' Cf. Cesare Guasti, *I Capitoli di Firenze*, tom. i. pp. 26-29; M. Villani, lib. vi. 1, 74; *Giorn. Stor. degli Arch. Toscani*, v. 61.

<sup>2</sup> Mai-Latrie in his *Trésor de Chronologie* repeats the error, as likewise does L. Barthélemy in his '*Inventaire Chronologique et Analytique des Charles de la Morison de Baux*, 1882.'

Bonincontrius,<sup>1</sup> another unreliable, but much relied upon, chronicler, states that the antagonism originated in hatred on the Queen's part of Del Balzo on account of his father's sanguinary dealings with Sancia di Cabannis and the rest of the Catanian family. Perhaps it is ungrateful to disturb the story; but facts must have their way.

In the first place, there happens to be extant a grant of lands in 1349, direct from Louis of Taranto to Francesco del Balzo. 'Eminentis juvenis, Ducis Andrie,' in view of his contemplated union with 'our most beloved sister Margherita,'<sup>2</sup> which can scarcely be considered evidence of his royal indignation. It will be observed that he is herein styled Duke of Andria, being therefore the first magnate raised to ducal dignity in the kingdom; Andria, furthermore, had been hitherto a royal fief, giving title to the Duke's father when consort of Beatrice of Anjou, in virtue of her dower.

In the archives of the Vatican I have found, among others, two letters addressed by Clement VI. to the sovereigns of Naples, respectively dated near the close of February the following year,<sup>3</sup> which throw a somewhat more definite complexion upon the attitude of parties, though not upon the precise origin of their differences. The letter to Louis reads to this effect: 'As we have been recently informed, Francesco, Count of Monte-Scaglioso and Andria, and your sister, Margherita di Taranto, have been lawfully betrothed<sup>4</sup> the one to the other. In consequence, however, of your taking the matter ill, they have been prevented consummating their union.<sup>5</sup> We, thereto reflecting that if such be the case, it is unlawful for you to separate those whom God has joined together as one flesh; moreover, that it behoves you to put away ill-will, not merely to the said

<sup>1</sup> Rer. Ital. Script., tom. xxiv. c. 20.

<sup>2</sup> Reg. Angoini.

<sup>3</sup> Arch. Secr. Vatic. Clem. VI. Reg. 143, fol. 152-154.

<sup>4</sup> 'Per verba de presenti legitime invicem contraxisse dicuntur, te id moleste ferente consummare non possint.'

<sup>5</sup> Doubtless Margherita was placed under surveillance in one of the castles. The Pope does not designate Del Balzo as Duke, I think, before the year 1351.

Count, but to not a few others of the nobility, and rather by amiability and tactfulness to draw them toward you, entreat and exhort you to abstain from thus obstructing the said Count and your sister Margherita in their union.'

The letter to the Queen, written within a few days of the above, explains the case to her; but it differs from that to her husband in tone, by asking her to use whatever persuasion she can command ('te efficaciter interponas') with the latter in order to smooth matters: 'He cannot be allowed to part husband and wife.' From this one sentence, it is obvious that the quarrel was between Louis and Del Balzo, and not between the latter and Joan. Further, the letters show that Louis was at strife with many of his magnates besides Del Balzo; but whether this arose in consequence of his dealings with the Queen and Maria di Durazzo, his treatment of the Caraccioli, or mainly on account of the high-handed monopolisation of power by the Acciajuoli and himself, is not definitely manifest.<sup>1</sup>

Anyhow, it would seem that the quarrel (possibly in consequence of the Pontifical admonitions and the persuasions of the Queen), if not ended, was mended; for owing to a truce established later in the year between the two sovereigns and the King of Hungary, by which the former obliged themselves temporarily to leave the capital and go to Provence (though, in fact, they went no further than Gaeta) the anarchic condition of Naples gave fresh anxiety at Avignon, and Clement and the Cardinals debated between them whether the enforced absence of Louis and Joan could be

In a letter (IIII. Kal. Junii. Anno x.) written to the Archbishop of Naples anent a serious difference between the latter's Vicar and Del Balzo, he states 'Percipimus quod Vicarius tuus in spiritualibus certos processus habitos contra dilectum filium nobilem virum, Franciscum de Baucio, Ducem, tunc Comitem, Andriæ, occasione ejusdem debiti per dilectum filium officialem Avenionen. cui jurisdictioni Dux idem se dicitur voluntarie summississe, exequi contumaciter ac negligenter omisit, non sine grave prejudicio dicti Patriarchæ (Humbert of Alexandria) cujus in hac parte interesse versatur.'

<sup>1</sup> We may be certain, however, that the killing of his kinsman, the Count of Avellino, by Louis of Taranto, contributed to deepen the dissension.

annulled or not. The individual they specially referred to for a competent opinion was Francesco del Balzo, and therefore they demanded of him, 'utrum expediat quod dicte Rex et Regina Siciliæ ante finitum tempus treugarum ipsarum in idem Regnum Siciliæ redeant, vel lapsum ejus debeant expectare.'<sup>1</sup>

The last perilous dissension in the royal centre necessary to notice here is of a more pathetic character than any of the preceding. It relates to the position and treatment accorded Maria, the widowed Duchess, between whom and her sister had befallen such differences on the occasion of her first abduction by the Duke of Durazzo. After the latter's execution and her own flight to Avignon, she had given birth to a daughter, Margherita, who at a later date

<sup>1</sup> Secr. Epist. ccxx. Kal. Feb. 1351. To Francesco del Balzo, Count of Monte-Scaglioso and Andria. 'Fidedigna multorum informatione percipimus, quod inter Ludovicum Regum Ungariæ et Carissimos in Christo filios nostros Ludovicum Siciliæ Regis ac Johannam Reginam Siciliæ, illustres, usque ad certum tempus nondum elapsum, treugæ mitæ sub quibusdam conditionibus extiterunt; in quibus inter cetera continetur, quod Rex et Regina Siciliæ in Provinciam, ac Rex Ungariæ predicti in Ungariam, conferre se debent inibi per tempus treugarum hujusmodi moratum, nec in idem Regnum Siciliæ interim redituri, nisi de nostra processerit voluntate. Nos autem, ad quem et Romanam Ecclesiam idem Regnum Siciliæ, jure directi dominii pertinet, et quorum proinde interest, pro statu et quiete Regni prefati, remedia querere ac consilia capere oportuna revolvens in mente physicum illud, sicut presentia nautæ, causa salutis est navis, sic ejus absentia causa est perditionis illius; et cupientes attentius periculis quæ ex absentia dictorum Regis et Regina Siciliæ ab eodem regno Siciliæ, tibi et aliis fidelibus et devotis eorum, et ipsi quoque Regno posset, quod avertat Dominus, forte contingere salubriter obviare, venerabilem fratrem nostrum Johannem, Archiepiscopem Brundisin. Apostolice Sedis nuntium lato-rem presentium ad partes ipsas providimus destinandum, ut tecum et cum aliis dicti Regni Siciliæ zelantibus bonum statum, habita consultatione matura deliberetur utrum expediat quod dicti Rex et Regina Siciliæ ante finitum tempus treugarum ipsarum in idem Regnum Siciliæ redeant, vel lapsum ejus debeant expectare. Nos enim eidem Archiepiscopo dedimus in mandatis ubi tibi ac eidem aliis videatur dictorum Regi et Regina licentiam regrediendi concedimus assignare procurat. Cum autem tu qui negociorum temporis et locorum condiciones palpabiliter nosti consultius et sanius quid magis expediat, utrum videlicet, hujusmodi regressus Regis et Regina Siciliæ, aut expectatio lapsus temporis predictorum discernere ac eligere valeas, nobilitatem tuam attente requirimus, et hortamur, quantum eidem Archiepiscopo habita deliberatione matura super hac quod sanius fuerit, Consulas memorati Archiepiscopo super hiis et aliis reformationem et statum ejusdem Regni ac Domus Regiæ concernentibus prosperum pro parte nostra relatibus, cum gratæ ac speratæ satisfactionis effectum fidem indubiam adhibendo.'

(1382) became Queen of Naples. The misery of her escape under such conditions may be left to the imagination.<sup>1</sup>

Since the day of her clandestine abduction by the Duke and his mother, Agnes of Perigord, there had prevailed variance between her and the Queen, the most prominent causes of which lay in her propinquity to the throne, and her being identified thereby with the intrigues of the Durazzo princes. Louis of Hungary had murdered her husband; his soldiers had plundered her husband's palaces; rebel nobles had appropriated her dower-lands; her monies were not forthcoming, and she had four children. To emphasise her straits, the slayer of her husband, determining to leave no avenue to the throne closed to his own branch of the family, now demanded her hand in marriage for his brother Stephen, Duke of Transylvania, and the Supreme Pontiff, eager for peace, was actually using his utmost persuasion to win over to this design the worn-out woman, then but twenty-one years of age.

The Holy See, of course, was not blind to the significance of the manœuvre, and in acquainting the King of Hungary with his willingness to further the fulfilment of the proposal, Clement was careful to remind him once more that in the event of complicity in the matter of Andrew's death being brought home to the Queen, and her being dethroned, it would still not necessarily follow that Maria would inherit the crown.

Clement, it may be, had other than the most apparent reasons for thus expressing himself. Both of the Queen's children were dead. Carlo Martello had died in Hungary; Maria, born in Provence, had died at Naples. But Joan was expecting shortly to be again confined.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> 'Obscenas sævi pregnans, vix squallida Nais  
Evasit tremebunda manus onerata gemella  
Prole, per umbrosam noctem magalia tentans  
Passibus incertis, lacrimæ non sponte tepentes  
Quas tu, Montani, Phytia sic ante monebas  
Adveniunt, nec plura quidem jam dicere possum.'

Eclog. v., Boccaccio.

<sup>2</sup> The child, born in April 1350, was named Francesca, to whom, presumably,

So scandalous had matters become in respect of the spoliation of the possessions of the Duchess, that the Pope found it necessary to issue a bull in January 1350, directed against all who molested her and her children or had plundered her goods.<sup>1</sup>

The negotiation for the union of Maria with the Duke of Transylvania fell through. Meanwhile, however, Margaret, the Queen of Louis of Hungary, died childless. Whereupon, rendered free, that high-minded monarch did not hesitate to demand the Duchess for himself. The Pope tells us plainly that such was the case, and explains the motives which animated Louis. The King desired her 'non ex affectione quam habet ad personam suam, sed ut per hoc ad Regni Siciliae dominium possit liberius pervenire.' Precisely so! Clement, in consequence, advised the Legate (Ceccano) to use great caution, and effect nothing without consulting Avignon. 'Et licet credamus quod eadem Ducissa *difficulter* his *præberet assensum*, attendentes tamen, quod si tractatus super hoc cum Rege teneatur eodem, hujusmodi, saltem pendente tractatu idem Regnum quiescentibus fluctibus bellicosis interim utriusque ab augustiis solitis respirabit, volumus ut si contingat te sicut per alias tibi literas scripsimus ad regnum conferre prefatum tractatum hujusmodi prudenter ac provide prosequaris, et nihil super hoc nobis inconsultis cum Rege firmans eodem.'<sup>2</sup> The Duchess proved deaf to the truculent charmer.

I think it will be admitted after this that the motives governing the monarch who has been held up to us as the model of nobility were not cast in a much finer mould than those governing his Neapolitan kinsfolk.

Francesco del Balzo stood sponsor. Two years later Clement declared her to be rightful heir to the throne in the event of Joan's decease.

<sup>1</sup> It affords a curious comment upon the morality of the Curia that, in the previous November (1349), Clement wrote to the Duchess commanding her to restore to Isnardo di Albarno, the uncle of Fra Moriale (who had sacked her palaces in the previous year), certain jewelled crosses and chalices that had been recovered (probably by violence) from him by servants of hers. Cf. Reg. 143, fol. 92, IV. Id. Nov. 1349. Arch. Secr. Vatic. Clem. VI.

<sup>2</sup> June 1350.

## CHAPTER XI

### DEVASTATION AND JUBILEE

ONE of the noteworthy features of the desultory and prolonged warfare during these years was the double-dealing of the Condottieri engaged in it. Duke Werner, Count Hapsburg, Fra Moriale, the Wolfhardts, and Count Lando,—all of them had their prices. Acciajuoli most profitably realised this fact, and began to rid Naples of her enemies by this sword of gold. For a consideration, battles between opposing generals could be bloodless; for a consideration, an individual general and his forces could be persuaded to depart. Naples, the corn-land of Italy, had been ravaged, seemingly exhausted. Not merely the Venetians, for motives peculiarly their own, and the smaller Ghibelline tyrants of Romagna, the Veronese Scala, the Ferrarese Este, and others, had willingly consented to its invasion by the Hungarian; but Florence, timid over her ledgers, had thought better than to make protest against it. She and the others had now reflected upon the doubtful wisdom of that policy. The invasion had focused upon Apulia all those evils with which they were now themselves to be visited. Sojourn in the extreme south of Italy had given the various Condottieri admirable opportunities for speculation as to the possibility of playing their war-games under less torrid skies. The monies they were paid with usually bore the lily of Florence, and it duly came home to them that men absorbed in coining money would scarcely prove redoubtable warriors. The memory of the achievements of Ugucione and Castruccio had not faded. Moreover, the Holy See might find their services convenient against the Ordellasi of Forli and the Prefects of Viterbo. The Visconti, under Archbishop Giovanni, a sort

of supreme temporal and spiritual tyrant combined, had made themselves masters of Bologna, and more than ever were they anxious to subdue Florence. As there was now no possibility of the latter turning to her Angevin ally for military aid, as in the old days, it was obvious that her financial resources would become heavily drawn upon. In fact, she presently had to compound with Fra Moriale for 28,000 fiorini, and with Pisa for 16,000 more. The Black Death had diminished her population by nearly three-fifths; and now, within two years of its cessation, she found herself beset with devastating brigand warfare, and her recovering trade once more dislocated.

If, however, the Condottieri had their prices, had not contemporary monarchs and prelates theirs?—indeed, had not the Holy See her own price? It was a pride of the brigand that the letters often addressed to him from Avignon declared him ‘a beloved son’; and the resemblances between himself and his *soi-disant* parent may sometimes have occurred to and solaced him. There was this much cause of definite admiration for his parent, however, in view of his own occasionally serious failures, namely, that she invariably came off best. The coffers at Avignon might be stuffed even to not closing, as they had been by Clement V. and John XXII., but more coffers could and would be made. The capacity of the Church was infinite; her pockets were fathomless as the sea. This admiration, as has been known to be the case in humbler spheres, gradually became transformed into affectionate envy, and soon after the demise of Clement VI., ‘a beloved son’ and his well-armed comrades hesitated not to take full advantage of his recognised consanguinity and of his familiarity with parental habits to invest Avignon, and exact the disgorgement of right noble sums, and an exchange of most elaborate courtesies. To her shame it must be confessed the Church gave the lead to the age, was herself its very glass of fashion and the mould of its form.

It is not intended, however, to insinuate that Clement VI. was personally a despot or a hard-hearted ruler. Evidence

to the contrary is unusually ample. His name was held by his contemporaries to well express his actual disposition, and his conduct in certain admirable points reveals the justness of their estimate. His benevolence to the inhabitants of Avignon during and after the Black Death, and his edicts against the persecutors of the Jews, do him real honour. By nature he was easy-going; by birth he was a noble; by calling a luxurious churchman; by experience a temporiser; in everything the foe of violent methods. On rare occasions, however, when he felt driven to such extremes, his Pontifical fulminations could level in expression the most passionate utterances of his more famous predecessors. His bull launched at Louis of Bavaria perhaps exceeds in violence the stormiest ebullitions of Boniface.

It was an unhappy moment for Europe when Clement decided to reduce the customary interval between the jubilees from one hundred to fifty years, and to celebrate one in 1350. Among other obvious motives for this decision may be added that of a desire on his part to heal the strife in the vassal kingdom, and to appease the citizens of Rome. He wished to persuade every one of the necessity for peace and goodwill, as well as to administer a salve to Christendom that had so bitterly suffered. In September 1349 he commanded the Cardinal of Tusculum, regarding the tribulations at Naples, to receive the solemn pledges of Joan and Louis of Taranto on the one hand, and of the King of Hungary on the other; and commissioned him, should the condition of affairs permit, thereafter to proceed to Rome in order to establish peace and concord. Unfortunately, the Wolfhardts, Lacksfi, Konth, and others regarded the occasion less as an opportunity for obtaining absolution than as a fortune-making one, and the lodging-house keepers in the Eternal City regarded it in a similar light.

At the same time Clement assured the Cardinal that word had been sent him by the Archbishop of Naples to the effect that Cola di Rienzi, 'that son of damnation,' was

meditating a fresh revolution. A little later we find him taking advantage of the approaching year of grace to address himself to Visconti, whose lately deceased brother, Lucchino, in spite of treaty, had appropriated certain of the Piedmontese possessions of Queen Joan, and endeavour to obtain from him and his three terrible nephews, Matteo, Bernabo, and Galeazzo,<sup>1</sup> restitution of the said lands and a ratification of the former treaty.<sup>2</sup>

Although the design of celebrating the jubilee and radiating indulgences broadcast may have been theoretically excellent in view of the preceding half-century of violence, and although the jubilee may have been delusively expected to re-establish the prestige of the Holy See and perform the function of a spiritual tranquilliser, Clement VI. indulged no more sincere intention than had Clement V. of honouring the city of the Apostles with his presence. The beautiful town he had so recently acquired beside the sweeping Rhone lodged the Holy See luxuriously enough.

As the event proved, the high-roads were rendered a trifle more secure, and the concourse of pilgrims surpassed all reckoning. On arrival in Rome, late in the summer of 1350, the Cardinal is recorded to have aroused violent hostility toward himself owing to his having shortened the term of sojourn for pilgrims there, which hitherto had been extended to fifteen days. One day, while traversing the Via Spirito Santo, an arrow struck and lodged in his hat.<sup>3</sup> He was not hurt, however. Henceforward he wore a cuirass under his robes. Nevertheless, as more than a million people visited the city, with the result that the pestilence broke out anew, it must be confessed that the Cardinal had erred only on the side of wisdom. When the festival was over, Rome resumed her faction-fights; the Cardinal, however, died of poison at San Giorgio in the Campagna.

<sup>1</sup> Sons of Stephano Visconti.

<sup>2</sup> Arch. Secr. Vat. Anno viii., November 17, 1349. 'Eamque non solum ratificas, sed per nepotes tuos etiam facias ratificari, ac etiam approbari.'

<sup>3</sup> Matt. Villani, lib. i. c. 56. Cf. Vita di Cola, in Muratori, Antiq. Italic., t. vii. pp. 876-88.

The anxiety expressed by Clement concerning the designs of Rienzi appears to have been ill-founded. The fallen Tribune had taken refuge in a Celestinian cloister near Sulmona, and was merely meditating flight to Bohemia. The immediate result of his secluded communion with the Holy Ghost soon manifested itself by his attempting to recover his vanished importance by vainly lying away his own mother's reputation to the sceptical Charles, King of the Romans, entertaining that watchful monarch with a base fiction affecting the morality of his grandfather, the Emperor Henry VII.—a desperate artifice, but which did not prevent his being arrested and despatched a prisoner to Avignon.

It will not escape notice that special emphasis was given to the defiant attitude of Louis of Hungary by his selecting the year of jubilee for a second descent upon Apulia. He landed at Manfredonia within a few days of the anniversary of Clement's elevation to the throne of St. Peter. He had previously sent forward envoys to Avignon re-demanding the crown, a fresh citation of the Queen, and the surrender of certain Apulian strongholds which the Legate (to whom the Hungarian captains had handed them over) had re-conveyed into the Queen's power. He further demanded the restitution of Eboli to Niccolo San Severino, Count of Trivento, who had been deprived of it for acting as a travelling spy.

To all this Clement responded<sup>1</sup> that he had not abandoned the intention of citing the Queen; had, on the contrary, issued instructions relative to such citation, but that delay was due to perplexity in deciding what method ought to be adopted—whether a public edict or some other means. With regard to betrayal of trust in respect of the fortresses, the matter should be strictly inquired into, and spiritual penalties be visited upon such as could be convicted of having violated the agreement. The Pope then reiterated his recurrent entreaty for the liberation of the Princes of Taranto and Durazzo, and proceeded to contrast with restrained irony the tone of the King's demand with his declared desire for

<sup>1</sup> Epist. Secr. Vatic. Anno viii. April 11, 1350.

absolution, as had been addressed to the Cardinal of St. Cecilia. He reminded Louis further of fire, rapine, and slaughter<sup>1</sup> which had accompanied his former invasion, as well as of penalties, both temporal and spiritual, which he would incur if his aggressions were renewed. To Florence, to the Count of Fondi, and to the Doge and Council of Genoa, letters were now likewise sent, begging them to refrain from rendering assistance to the King of Hungary, and to favour and help the Queen of Naples in defence of her realm.

Meanwhile, the foe having divided his forces into three fresh divisions, rapidly overran the Adriatic provinces, occupying Trani, Bari, and Canosa, and then marched westward. Finding Aversa re-fortified and defiant, he detached a division to besiege it in regular form, while himself passed on to be received at Nocera and obsequious Salerno. In July he sent envoys to Louis of Taranto, challenging him to a duel,<sup>2</sup> and then returned to superintend the siege of Aversa, before the walls of which he was twice destined to be wounded by arrows. After a gallant resistance this town was betrayed in September.

Guido, Cardinal of St. Cecilia, displayed some not inexplicable unwillingness to undertake any more missions to Naples, and the Cardinal of Tusculum being recently deceased, Clement now transferred their powers to Raimond, Bishop of Boulogne,<sup>3</sup> and resolved to mark his sense of indignation with Hungary by conceding Louis of Taranto the full title of King of Sicily and Naples.<sup>4</sup>

For the proper conveyance to Naples of the new Nuncio, the Queen had commissioned a dozen galleys, under command of Ugo del Balzo, Count of Avellino, reinstated Seneschal in Provence. She had also made a compact with the Genoese to lend other galleys. But the latter had been in diplomatic

<sup>1</sup> 'Incendia, spolia, rapinas et cædes, aliaque non facile memoranda mala quæ in priori accessu tuo in idem Regnum Siciliae.' A. Theiner, *Monum. Hungar.*, vol. i. p. 781.

<sup>2</sup> The duels of the Angevins, as a rule, did not come off, and this one was no exception. Somehow or other the challenge contrived to be clogged by unacceptable conditions.

<sup>3</sup> *Secr. Vatic. Anno ix. Epist. 77.*

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, Anno ix. Epist. 48, 49, July 20, 1350.

correspondence with the King of Hungary, hoping to profit by the weakness of Naples to compel the retrocession of Ventimiglia, which was a fief of the Neapolitan crown. The required galleys having arrived and declared the wishes of Genoa, the advisers of the Queen thought fit to cede Ventimiglia. Having gained their ends, the wily Genoese sailed away, stating they could not afford to make an enemy of the Hungarian King.<sup>1</sup>

It was at this moment Louis was calmly entertaining the idea of marrying Maria of Durazzo, whose husband he had slain. The siege of Aversa continued obstinately. A month after the Genoese had departed arrived the ten Provençal galleys under command of Ugo del Balzo, Count of Avellino, flourishing the Papal banner, and having on board the new Nuncio, Raymund, Bishop of Boulogne. There is no doubt it had been, and probably still was, the intention of Louis of Taranto and the Queen, in case of closer pressure by the enemy, to retire once more to Provence.

Inauspiciously for such intention, the Count of Avellino was animated by two distinct motives. In the first place, he nourished personal animosity against Louis of Taranto;<sup>2</sup> in the next, he aspired to obtain the hand of Maria of Durazzo for his eldest son, Robert. This design he presently put into action, but the hand of an evil destiny reached him even in the hour of triumph.

As his manœuvres gravely affected the position of the rulers of Naples, and are shiningly characteristic of the period, I hope I shall be pardoned for considering them somewhat in detail.

Hugo, born in 1311, head of his own branch of the powerful clan of Des Baux, was the father of three sons by

<sup>1</sup> In Epist. 37 Clement asks the Governors of Genoa to keep good faith and not call in the galleys lent to the Queen. Well had Dante designated the Genoese 'Traditori.'

<sup>2</sup> On Nov. 23, 1349, the Queen and Louis revoked a sale made by them to Hugo of the lordships of Roquevaire and Gémenos, to enrich their Chamberlain, Audibert. Louis of Taranto, risen to authority, was become arbitrary. Many Provençals resented his attitude toward them.

Jeanne de Chateauneuf, daughter of the Sire d'Apchier. He had been created Seneschal of Provence in 1343, and, in consequence of associating himself with Charles of Durazzo in that Duke's proceedings with regard to those suspected of complicity in the murder of Andrew, had been deprived of his appointment. To this, however, at the intercession of influential relatives, backed by the Holy See, he had been restored. It does not appear that he bore enmity to the Queen; on the contrary, he considered, as did others, that Joan was wronged and oppressed—the wretched victim rather than the happy consort of Louis of Taranto, upon whom he now revenged himself.

He had sailed into the bay of Naples in the company of his elder sons, Robert and Raimond, and the Nuncio, and presently he announced that he had been charged by the Pontiff to re-establish concord between the Queen and Louis. The latter sent to him an envoy with his own banner. The Count reluctantly received, and entirely refused to raise it. The Nuncio having landed, interviewed the Queen, and well pleased with the result, proceeded to Aversa to find the King of Hungary.

Meanwhile, the Count sent envoys on shore with a set of 'Capitoli,' or conditions, demanding from Louis of Taranto various concessions and alienations in Provence, of which he had been deprived. Ill-pleased with the manner of their reception by that Prince, he spread abroad that Louis was trying to poison the Queen in order to establish supreme authority—Joan at the time suffering, as was known, from indisposition. He also sent letters into Naples inciting the citizens to rise, stating that he would beleaguer Castel Nuovo in order to obtain the freedom of their Queen, who, in fact, was her husband's prisoner. Further, he stated that he had come to an arrangement with the King of Hungary concerning the liberation of the captured Princes, and for that Monarch's departure, without dishonour to the Queen. Upon this he caused his crews to shout aloud 'Vivat Domina Regina, Vivat

Papa, et ad robam Domini Ludovico de Taranto,' and hauling down the latter's banner, he derisively offered it to onlookers who had collected at the lesser mole of the harbour. He thenceforward began making piratical reprisals, seizing ships belonging to the merchants and their cargoes. This caused consternation on shore, where people were hard pressed. A day or two later he contrived a parley at Tripergoli with Nicholas Konth and other Hungarian leaders, informing them that he was in accord with them on account of the treaty which the Pontiff had confirmed regarding the union projected by their sovereign and Maria of Durazzo. Finding affairs wearing so dark an aspect, Louis of Taranto now conceded that Joan should be permitted entire freedom to administer the affairs of Provence, evidently a sore and very vital point in the whole affair.

Upon the Nuncio returning to Naples, he was informed of all these extraordinary proceedings, whereupon he promptly repaired to the Count aboard his galley. The latter having listened to episcopal remonstrance with impatience, ordered his Grace ashore. Presently Raimond, Count of Soletto and Minorbino, marshal of the realm, and kinsman to the Count, together with three other dignitaries, repaired to him on behalf of the citizens of Naples. Del Balzo replied to their complaints by detaining them prisoners, swearing at the same time by the Blessed Sacrament, that unless his conditions were accepted unmodified by vespertide, he would float the Hungarian standard.

Hearing of all these things, the straitened inhabitants of Aversa, supposing that all must be lost (seeing that the Count with the Pontifical banners had thus declared against Naples), surrendered themselves to the enemy, at a moment when the latter, owing to the lack of provisions, was contemplating abandonment of the siege.

Meanwhile, Louis of Taranto speeded messengers to Avignon informing Clement of Del Balzo's doings, begging the Pontiff to credit nothing concerning his own actions which might be forwarded by the Count, and declaring that

he would sooner join his brothers in their prison by the Danube than surrender to Del Balzo.

It will be noticed that this summary, founded closely upon the accounts in the Vatican correspondence, does not disagree with that of Matteo Villani (lib. xciii. c. 95).

Pignataro, the hero of Aversa, of whose extreme gallantry Costanzo and his followers sing pæans, being, it would appear, of a mobile disposition, compounded with the King of Hungary, received his price, and duly yielded the keys of Aversa. 'King Louis immediately entered with all his chivalry, and permitted no reprisals to be made on the citizens.' Louis had perhaps taken to heart remonstrances as to his cruelty which may have reached him from other quarters besides Avignon.<sup>1</sup>

Embarrassing as were these tactics on the part of the Count, probably rendering the lot of the Queen still more miserable at the time, they resulted in brightening the atmosphere and hastening the conclusion of the struggle. For, having encountered such difficulties in reducing Aversa, King Louis foresaw still more serious hindrance to his designs in the discontent of his forces, the scarcity of supplies, the financial influences of the Acciajuoli, and above all, in the refusal of Maria of Durazzo to marry him. Moreover, certain of his captains, suffering from the climate, and having completed their terms of service, desired to return homeward. Gravina, whose chronicle concludes with this siege of Aversa, informs us of the dimensions of the Hungarian forces there and their composition. They included 30,000 Hungarians and 15,000 Germans. If these numbers approach any degree of correctness, we need feel no surprise at the difficulty of victualling them; but we may feel legitimate astonishment at their failure to subdue so small a town. Dissatisfied with Stefan Lacksfi, we are told that the King handed over the forfeited command to Nicholas Konth. This may possibly account for the failure.

<sup>1</sup> Boccaccio, now more enlightened as to the state of Neapolitan affairs, and as to the real character of the Hungarian King, dubbed him 'Trux Polyphemus,' and presently sang pæans over the departure of him whose coming he had formerly hailed, 'Justissima arma.'

Louis of Hungary had now made himself a second time master of the kingdom, although a few places still held out against him. The native population, it will be admitted, had enjoyed ample opportunities for forming a competent opinion of his methods and merits. It is perhaps not altogether remarkable that, instead of loving him as the rightful heir to the throne, they recalled the images of various sanguinary conquerors, and viewed him as a godless oppressor lying under the anathema of the Holy See.

On receiving information as to the proceedings of Hugo del Balzo, Clement wrote denouncing them, and sternly exhorted the Count to desist.<sup>1</sup> In a letter to Louis of Taranto,<sup>2</sup> he marvels at the Count's audacity; while in another to the citizens of Naples, he admonishes them to give every assistance to their lawful rulers.

By the third week in August the terms of a fresh truce and treaty were arranged and agreed to between the opponents. By this it was stipulated that the King of Hungary should receive 300,000 fiorini as ransom for the royal captives at Visegrad; that he should leave the kingdom, and cease prosecuting (not necessarily renounce) his claims upon it. In addition, he should reserve to himself his grandfather's titles of Salerno and Monte St. Angelo. His captains were to be withdrawn.

With regard to Joan and her husband, the Inquiry concerning the old charge was to be held; both were to quit the kingdom until the conditions of the treaty should be fulfilled, leaving at Naples Francesco del Balzo to act as viceroy in conjunction with the Archbishop of Brindisi. Moreover, they were to go to Provence and submit themselves to the Curia.

Being financially exhausted, the huge ransom for the Princes was to be undertaken by the Curia, which at once set on foot measures to raise it from the plundered kingdom itself. If the sum of 200,000 fiorini could be raised and

<sup>1</sup> Secr. Vatic. Ep. 89, Anno ix.

<sup>2</sup> Epist. 88 Anno ix., August 23, 1350.

paid promptly, that should suffice; if not, it should be 300,000 'in competentibus terminis; et ipse (Louis of Hungary) dilectos filios nobiles viros Regales Domus Siciliae libertati restituet.'<sup>1</sup>

If the verdict of the Curia should prove to be adverse to the Queen, she should be dethroned. However, another modifying event had recently occurred, Joan had brought forth another daughter, Francesca, whom the Holy See acknowledged to be legitimate heir to her throne. Disgusted at the hopelessness of his cause, alarmed at the condition of things at home in Hungary,<sup>2</sup> impoverished by the enormous expenditure for his warfare, at the same time feeling a little anxious not to let the jubilee slip by without obtaining Pontifical absolution, Louis of Hungary now showed himself ready to adopt quite a different attitude, and to leave matters in the hands of the Holy See. In fact, checked at every point by a power whose resources he had entirely miscalculated, he sought to make good his retreat under cover of grounds sufficiently reasonable for the Holy See to penetrate his real motives and step in to save his *amour-propre*.

In the middle of September the Queen, Louis of Taranto, and their infant daughter, retired with Acciajuoli to Procida, and a little later in the autumn to Gaeta.<sup>3</sup> On September 17

<sup>1</sup> 'Trecenta vero milia florenorum, non ratione renuntiationis Regni Siciliae, sed per quosdam Regales, quos tunc ipse Rex tenebat in vinculis, sibi fuerant promissa.' Doc. vii. Történelmi Tár., vol. xxiii. Leop. Óváry. Cf. Epist. Secr. Vatic. Clem. VI. Anno ix. Ep. 195, 228; or Theiner, Monum. Hungar., tom. i. pp. 799, 800.

<sup>2</sup> His uncle, Casimir of Poland, had been at war with the Duke of Lithuania, whose brother having appropriated Galicia, now summoned Louis to his assistance. The prospect of Poland becoming united to Hungary upon the decease of Casimir was far more promising than that of Naples in the event of the dethronement of Joan. Cf. Thuróczy, iii. c. 29; Dugloss, ix. 1091.

Furthermore, there occurred bold incursions of ultra-Hungarian Tatars, which gave material for kingly meditation, and contributed to make Louis regard Naples as a delusive mirage. Of all these important circumstances the Holy See was doubtless cognisant.

<sup>3</sup> 'Et quia propter tractatum habitum inter Nos et Regem Ungariæ oportet Nos absentari de Regno, et versus Curiam Romanam gressus nostros dirigere festinanter, propterea proventus dictarum Gabellarum solvantur Thesaurariis

collo  
manu  
Casimir  
of Poland  
10 B

the King of Hungary quitted Aversa for Rome, leaving Moriale at Aversa and the Wolfhardts at Capua.

It is possible that, under the circumstances and in his new frame of mind, King Louis conceded fuller liberty of dealing with the conditions of the treaty to the Holy See than might have been expected. Clement, writing to the Archbishop and to Francesco del Balzo, mentions that the Queen and her husband were forbidden to return to their capital 'nisi de nostra processerit voluntate.' At the persuasion of the Pope,<sup>1</sup> Louis ultimately abandoned the ransom for his cousins, and his envoys at Avignon were instructed to formally refuse its payment by the Pope's wish. Nevertheless, Joan and Louis of Taranto were allowed early in the following spring (1351) to slip back to Naples, on the plea that the captain of the vessel should be on the bridge in time of danger.

Meantime the enterprising Count of Avellino, seeing the field clear, determined to reap advantage and carry out a hazardous project. Maria, Duchess of Durazzo, doubtless glad at the departure of her repulsive Royal suitor and kinsman, had remained with her children in Castello dell' Ovo. Under pretence of visiting her and forwarding her interests, Del Balzo now caused the gates to be thrown open, whereupon he replaced the royal guard with sentinels of his own. He then entered with his son, Robert, had speech with the Duchess, and declared his resolution of making his son her husband. According to some writers, ceremony was dispensed with.<sup>2</sup>

nostris pro sustentatione spectabilis Francisce, nate nostræ carissimæ, et propagatis castellanorum et servientum Castrorum Novi, Bellifortis, Capuanæ, et Summæ, ac stipendiariis penes spectabilem duces Andriæ, affinem nostrum, et carissimum, et nostrum locumtenentem.' Procida, October 1, 1350. Cf. Camera, op. cit., p. 122.

<sup>1</sup> 'Pro nostra at Apostolice Sedis reverentia repudiaverunt omino.'

'Ad instantiam felices memoriæ Domini Clementis, pure et liberaliter relaxavit; arbitrabatur enim fore indignum, et penitus inurbanum, et a pietatis lege alienum, si ipso Regales, sanguinis indemnitate sibi conjunctos pena pecuniaria punisset et multasset.' Doc. vii. Luigi di Piacenza.

<sup>2</sup> Matteo Villani (c. 95), the 'Chronicon Siculum,' and that of Parthenope, are not in accord as to details. The latter writings merely state that Del Balzo gave Maria to his son to wife.

Willing or not, master of her person, he conveyed her to his galley.

This episode, I think, must have taken place at a period rather later in the year than is usually stated. The subsequent ill-treatment of Maria by Louis of Taranto might perhaps suggest that the union was less displeasing to her than vexatious to Louis. However, she herself took bitter vengeance on her so-styled husband when occasion permitted her.

In January following (1351), owing either to shortness of provisions, or to stress of weather, the Count rashly put into Gaeta. The crews of some of his galleys going on shore, were bribed by Louis of Taranto to betray their master. Louis thereupon took boat with an armed escort, boarded the Count's vessel, and slew him upon his own deck, possibly without any of the rhetorical vituperations minutely reported by chroniclers. The death of his kinsman was revenged by Francesco, Duke of Andria, in a lifelong antagonism.

This accomplished, the Duchess and the two sons of the Count were brought ashore—the former to be lodged at an inn, the latter in prison.

On the 1st of February Clement wrote to Louis:<sup>1</sup> 'We have learned that Hugo, Count of Avellino, having suffered his doom, his sons are detained in chains by your command. Regarding them as innocent, it is not lawful to visit them for their father's crime, and we desire you in deference to the Holy See to give them their liberty.' Letters to the same effect were despatched to Acciajuoli, Goffredo Marzano, and the Archbishop of Naples. To this and other entreaties, inspired evidently by the powerful kinsmen<sup>2</sup> of the late Count, Louis of Taranto returned polite but firm refusals. He transferred his prisoners to the Castello dell' Ovo,<sup>3</sup> where, later on, the elder was put to death.

<sup>1</sup> 'Audivimus quod quondam Hugone, Comiti Avellini, diei extreme judicium subeunte,' &c. February 1, 1351.

<sup>2</sup> His second sister had married in 1339 Jacques de Savoie.

<sup>3</sup> The reply is correctly given by M. Camera in 'Elucubrazioni Diplomatiche,' p. 127.

## CHAPTER XII

### CORONATION OF LOUIS OF TARANTO

WITH regard to the stipulation relating to the citation of Queen Joan, neither evidence of witnesses nor the contents of the voluminous letters of the Grand Justiciary appear to have enabled the Curia to advance one solid accusation, although suspicion and circumstantial presumption had been pressed so vehemently against her, nor have I discovered trace of any tribunal having been formally instituted to arraign her; and it is quite certain she did not again cross the sea to Provence. There is, however, a curious<sup>1</sup> and well-known passage in Matteo Villani's Chronicle to the effect that she had been pronounced irresponsible for her differences with Andrew, owing to the effects of sorceries or philtres, which her delicate constitution had been unable to resist.

Now, vague and almost valueless as is this *on-dit*, it recalls the fact that one of the results of Bertrand del Balzo's inquiries respecting the murder of Andrew was to discover that there had been three separate, possibly independent, conspiracies, one of which—that headed by Sancia di Cabannis—resorted to sorceries in order to gain its object. But, according to the above, the sorceries had been directed as well against the Queen as Andrew. The practice of *maleficia* was by no means confined to the uneducated or to the poor; and the pursuit of occult sciences in the city of the castle built upon an egg, of the marvellous gnat, the bronze horse—in fact, of Virgil, *solennissimo Strologo*, had long been a portion of her

<sup>1</sup> 'Se alcum sospetto di non perfetto amore si potesse o provare, che cio non era avvenuto per corrotta intenzione o volontà della Regina; ma per forza di malie o fatture che gli erano stato fatte, alle quali la sua fragile natura non aveva potuto ripare.' II cap. 24. Cf. Raynaldus, Ann. 1351.

fame. The reign and pursuits of King Robert had not tended to diminish its mysterious popularity. However, the letters of Clement to Joan and Louis of Taranto do not make reference to this or any 'finding' whatsoever on the part of the Curia. On the contrary, if the Inquiry ever took place, all reference to it was persistently evaded. Why was this? we may well ask. Clement had nothing to fear from Joan; moreover, she was now so poor that there was little chance of her reclaiming Avignon by repaying the eighty thousand fiorini. If she had taken part in a crime which had brought humiliation on the Holy See and completed the desolation of the vassal kingdom, why spare her? why not make a grand example and dethrone her? If we take into account the financial achievement of the transfer of Avignon, still that will not account for the mild attitude observed by Clement toward the Queen during the two years preceding it, before Acciajuoli had opened a fresh source of satisfaction for the Curia; neither will it account for the unringing attitude maintained by a youthful sovereign throned in such terrible settings. Boccaccio reminds us that Joan was of 'such invincible courage,' that (like Acciajuoli himself) she could overcome all things. And yet this was the graceful, gay, open-handed inheritress of King Robert's kingdom, who, from Queen Sancia, 'who (as Clement tells us) brought her up as a daughter,' had imbibed not merely a strong religious bent, but love of learning, and a more than usual interest in the Jurisprudence of her day. It has been one of the chronic delusions concerning her that she was not merely nursed, but educated by the ignorant, low-born, though time-honoured menial, Philippa Catanese, who probably knew neither how to read or write, far less to take any interest in the pursuits of law and literature. Philippa had really stood to the Queen and her sister in the relation of a superintendent nurse and stewardess—*magistrissa* of the household, no more; an elderly, ambitious, busybody of the palace, a chronic institution in populous Castel Nuovo,

about whom had developed a clan of aspiring relatives, who were looked askance on by nobler-born hereditary courtiers. Doubtless, many a grudge against the successful upstarts was wiped out in their almost wholesale execution by the Grand Justiciary, and but few were found to compassionate them. That quasi-royal functionary was regarded as a general benefactor by those who, probably for other reasons than its greed and guilt, had long desired the abasement of the Catanian family. Still the Catanians were not actually extirpated.

If Clement treated the conditions of the truce with considerable laxity, the King of Hungary found himself doing likewise.<sup>1</sup> The moment he had quitted the kingdom, his generals (evidently becoming too much for him) began to carry on predatory warfare on their own account, and thus afforded Joan's advisers the opportunity of pressing upon the Holy See the expediency of the return of herself and Louis of Taranto from Gaeta.

Fra Moriale, strongly entrenching himself in fatal Aversa, spread dismay in every direction by his depredations. The Pontiff cited him to appear, and modestly acquainted him that the devil was hurrying him to perdition. Disregarding the citation, he was declared *in contumaciam*. However, Galeotto Malatesta being summoned from Romagna in aid of the Queen's forces, besieged him so straitly that he was obliged to accept unsatisfactory terms involving his departure for 'other fields and pastures new'<sup>2</sup> beyond Apulia.

<sup>1</sup> Louis of Hungary did not distinguish himself by a high sense of honour. A Codex in the Ambrosian Library informs us that his ambassadors made a treaty with Venice for eight years in 1347—'quam idem Rex primo anno, absque causa, violavit.'

<sup>2</sup> The Prior of the knightliest of Orders did, however, yield to Pontifical admonitions in 1352, and promised to turn over a new leaf. Clement in a letter to Joan and Louis likens him to Saul, bidding them forgive him his past misdeeds. 'Nos enim sub protectione nostra suscepimus, et si quid ei bene agente de cetero molestiæ fieret, molestum admodum nobis esset.' Epist. Secr. clxxx. clxxxi. February 10, 1352. Louis and Acciajuoli found it necessary to negative such a request.

It was during the autumn of this year that a fiery Carmelite is said to have denounced from a pulpit in Avignon the corruption of the Holy See in terms which secured his immediate expulsion.<sup>1</sup> Shortly afterwards there were found affixed to the doors of several churches in the city letters addressed to the Curia, and signed 'Leviathan,' Prince of Hell, embodying categories of the vices attributed to those to whom they were directed. 'Your mother Pride sends ye greetings and kisses, as do your sisters Gluttony and Lewdness, who brag of their prosperity, due to your co-operation.'

In November Clement fell ill of fever, accompanied by an abscess in his face, which he informed Louis of Taranto<sup>2</sup> 'altered our appearance to an extraordinary degree and afflicted us grievously for many days; nevertheless, the blessed Father, who hurts and makes whole again, has restored us to health.' He then pushed forward negotiations for the crowning of Louis of Taranto as King of Naples;<sup>3</sup> and in January 1352 he was able to write to Robert of Taranto, so-called Emperor-titular, to inform him that the King of Hungary had finally intimated his intention of releasing him and his kinsmen.

The release did not actually take place until the following June,<sup>4</sup> which perhaps was a fortunate arrangement, seeing that Joan would probably have had to encounter serious opposition to the coronation of her husband on the part at least of the Durazzo princes. Their brother's widow, Maria, was still suffering from the jealous enmity of Louis of Taranto. Her children were rendered destitute, and, moreover, were kept like prisoners in Castello dell' Ovo.<sup>5</sup> This ill-treatment

<sup>1</sup> Baluze, *op. cit.*, tom. i. p. 252.

<sup>2</sup> December 17, 1351, Epist. cxxxiii. Anno x. Arch. Secr. Vatic.

<sup>3</sup> 'Tenens indubie quod hujusmodi coronationis tuæ, quod, primum viribus resumptis, poterimus accelerare negocium et augmentis tuorum honoris.'

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Clement's letter thanking Louis of Hungary for their release. Ides Jul. Anno xi. Secr. Ep. 38.

<sup>5</sup> In May 1352, Clement addressed emphatic remonstrances on the subject to Louis and Acciajuoli, ordering their liberation.

of Maria, who stood so near the throne, proved in after years a source of chronic rebellion on the part of these princes.

In granting Louis of Taranto coronation,<sup>1</sup> the Holy See did not interfere with the prerogative of the Queen, and conceded no more than, after such venal intrigue, it had conceded to Andrew seven years before. Louis was to be invested only as consort of Joan, and all the conditions originally drawn up between Charles I. and Clement IV. were to be strictly adhered to.<sup>2</sup>

The coronation took place on the Feast of Pentecost in Naples with great splendour of ceremony. The King and Queen duly received the homage of their subjects, and things began to wear a more satisfactory aspect. Within but a few days,<sup>3</sup> however, their child and heiress, Francesca, died, once more placing Maria di Durazzo and her children in closest proximity to the throne. In the following October the Papal correspondence reveals that the attitude of Louis toward Maria had improved, though he was still exhorted to show more goodwill to her.<sup>4</sup>

On December 6th Clement died. His remains were borne to a sumptuous sepulchre at La Chaise Dieu in Auvergne by five cardinals, one a kinsman, one a brother, and three his nephews. With the liberation of the Princes and the accession of Innocent VI. may be said to have

<sup>1</sup> In a letter, dated April 7, 1352, to the Florentines, Louis and Joan advise them of the peace concluded, and of their own approaching coronation.

In another, of May 8, they further announce an important victory obtained over Bertrand de la Mothe, in which the Archbishop of Capua and the Papal Nuncio (Archbishop of Braga) took prominent part.

<sup>2</sup> Epist. Secr., 170. 'Ad perpetuam rei memoriam.'

<sup>3</sup> Summonte states this event occurred upon the very day. His testimony, however, is seldom reliable.

<sup>4</sup> I cannot forbear suggesting that the close custody of Maria, Duchess of Durazzo, may have in part been decided upon on account of the attempt of Louis of Hungary to obtain her in marriage. It is not difficult to understand the fluctuating attitude of Louis and Joan toward Maria and her children between 1348, when they first had a daughter of their own, whom they presently lost, and in 1352, when they lost the one who took her place. Ultimately, Margaret, a younger daughter of Maria, did sit on the throne (1382).

commenced a fresh period in the chequered career of the successor<sup>1</sup> to King Robert on the throne of Naples.

In drawing this narrative to a close, there is perhaps no conclusion which may be drawn from it with more freedom from uncertainty than that the master-genius who drove method into such apparently inextricable State-chaos, who, putting into tottering dislocation fresh force and symmetry, once more raised the fallen kingdom, was Niccolo Acciajuoli, representative, under the robes of monarchical conventionality, of the financial Commonwealth beside the Arno, the crowning result and embodiment of the confluence of Guelphic feudalism and communal independence,<sup>2</sup> a consummate product of the Tuscan industrial spirit and feudal militarism—a great statesman, diplomatist, and merchant; moreover, not emanating, like Bartolommeo da Capua, from the legal caste, nor from the ecclesiastical, like Egidio Albornoz.

In a deed of Queen Joan (1349), conferring upon him territorial rewards for signal services rendered, she mentions that Acciajuoli had fostered and directed her husband, shared in her own as well as in his adversities, and had performed military services in Achaia and Calabria. Furthermore, she records that he had been appointed by King Robert governor, guardian, and preceptor to Louis; that is, after the death of Philip, the latter's father, in December 1331, when Acciajuoli (according to Palmieri and Tanfani), was but twenty-one years of age.<sup>3</sup>

It is probable that Acciajuoli and Boccaccio had both, as youths, attended the lectures given by Giovanni di Strada, whose son, Zanobio, now (1352) became Niccolo's

<sup>1</sup> It may be mentioned here that on June 11th the Queen celebrated with magnificent ceremony the translation of the body of Queen Sancia to the monument prepared for it. As with the body of her own father, Charles of Calabria, it was held a miracle that decay was found to have made no progress. 'Præter in summitate naris, in qua modica carnis corruptio apparebat.'

<sup>2</sup> It is significant that among the Tuscan rebels sentenced to death by Henry VII. at Poggiobonsi in 1313, were eight members of the Acciajuoli family, including Acciajuolo, Niccolo's father.

<sup>3</sup> Born Sept. 12, 1310, at Monte-Gufoni, in Val di Pesa.

secretary at Naples.<sup>1</sup> It has been seen that admiration for him in 1341, on the part of the then needy author of 'Fiammetta,' was practically unbounded. That feeling was now destined to undergo a very vital change, due, in the present writer's belief, to the poet's jealousy at not receiving advancement at the hands of his prosperous friend. It is certain that Acciajuoli, having rehabilitated the realm, designed to turn Vesuvius into Parnassus, and for that reason invited Petrarch to Naples. Unable to accept the invitation himself, the Laureate recommended Strada to go there.<sup>2</sup> Another friend of Petrarch and Boccaccio who failed to maintain satisfactory relations with Acciajuoli was Giovanni Barrile, who had suffered by already recorded events in two ways. In July 1349 he had been ejected from a brief Seneschalship in Provence owing to the enmity of the native noblesse at having over them an Italian official. In October of that year he was given a safe-conduct by the Pope in order to return to Naples.<sup>3</sup> In the following February (1350) he and Acciajuoli were both recipients there of the Papal circular letter, warning all parties concerned to observe the treaty with the Hungarian.<sup>4</sup> It was certainly unfortunate that at the very culmination of Acciajuoli's long-sustained power, that Boccaccio and Barrile should fall out with him.

How Barrile accentuated the fact is not known; but Boccaccio, as might have been expected, after at least one reconciliation with him, has left us no uncertain denuncia-

<sup>1</sup> He is 'Stillbon' of Eclogue vi., wherein the return of Louis of Taranto and Joan to their realm is celebrated in a choral pæan. Born 1315 at Strada dell' Impruneta, succeeded his father as grammarian in 1335. Crowned Laureate at Pisa, May 15, 1355, by Charles IV. He died 1360-61. Cf. Boccaccio, 'Eclogi.'

<sup>2</sup> Acciajuoli had been absent respectively in Greece and at Florence on the two previous occasions of Petrarch's visits to Naples. The poet must often, one would think, have bitterly reflected on the mischievous results of his second mission thither, and perhaps for that reason declined to return. Giovanni Pipini, whom Andrew had liberated at his request, was worthily hung before the walls of his own castle in 1357.

<sup>3</sup> Arch. Secr. Reg. 143, fol. 88; vi. Id. Oct. An. viii.

<sup>4</sup> Idem., fol. 221.

tions of his former friend, especially sneering at him for aspiring to act Mæcenas.<sup>1</sup> He takes full advantage of Acciajuoli's relations with the Taranto family to push him into the blackest pit of their fortunes, and connect him intimately with the assassination of Andrew. He calls him the comrade of criminals. However,<sup>2</sup> by terming him Midas (a name he had years before bestowed on King Robert, by reason of his reputed avarice), he attacked perhaps the most vulnerable point; for who could say how deeply Joan and Louis were his financial debtors, or count the number of the fiefs and florins<sup>3</sup> paid and still due to him for rendered services? Florence, Naples, and Avignon were all of them 'his humble, obedient servants,' rendered obsequious at his inordinate successes. Although he had literally poured out monies, he had managed to build and richly endow the Certosa near Florence, and when in January 1353 his beloved son, Lorenzo (named after the patron saint of the monastery) unexpectedly died, the funeral ceremonies here were celebrated on a scale so sumptuous as to surpass those accorded to sovereigns.<sup>4</sup> The parents are said to have expended upon these no less than fifty thousand florins.

Acciajuoli, in spite of the correlative jealousy which presently led Matteo Villani to describe and decry the magnificence he displayed in Florence in company with Louis of Taranto as resembling that of Sardanapalus, was, according

<sup>1</sup> 'Seque Mæcenatem, magnumque, deumque vocari.' *Ecl.* viii.

<sup>2</sup> 'Fur Midas igitur, mæchus, scelerumque satelles.' I venture, with all deference to Prof. de Hortis, to believe that by 'Lupisca' in this Eclogue is not meant Catharine of Taranto, but the Holy See. Writers upon the labyrinthine problems offered by these political Bucolics forget that Catherine of Taranto died in the autumn of 1346; therefore, nearly a year before her son Louis was united to the Queen by Acciajuoli's contriving. De Hortis likewise errs in stating that the Queen gave birth to her son five months after Andrew's murder. As has been made evident, this event occurred but thirteen weeks after the tragedy.

<sup>3</sup> Suffice to mention here that on September 3, 1349, they incurred the debt to him of 28,500, for getting rid of Werner of Urslingen; on May 20, 1350, 33,893; and for similar services on July 13 (same year) 7750, *re Aversa*.

<sup>4</sup> M. Villani, lib. iii. c. 63.

to his biographers, a man of simple tastes and habits, uncorrupted by the luxury and demoralisation around him, often enjoying in the day nothing but a piece of bread and some water. One of the most characteristic points handed down to us about him is that he used both hands equally well; we might say one for the sword and one for the pen. That Margherita degli Spini, whom he had wedded at the age of eighteen, herself the daughter of a Tuscan banking-house, may have contributed to the success of his career, can readily be guessed. Of her, however, we know next to nothing, except that she lived his close companion through all the events here narrated, having seen four sons grow up, and one laid too soon to rest; having, moreover, enjoyed the satisfaction of witnessing the ennoblement of her family in every direction. Finally, not the least of her husband's enterprises she lived to see crowned with success in 1355, namely, that hazardous undertaking which over and over again during seventy years had foiled Charles II., King Robert, and Charles of Calabria, and swallowed up incalculable sums and thousands of lives—the recovery of Sicily from the Aragonese, which was followed by the coronation of Joan and Louis in the Cathedral of Messina.

Nevertheless, there was one other individual of parallel fortitude of character, who, though in the main approving of the acts of a powerful minister, and always spoken of by him with perfect respect, did not always see eye to eye with him, and apparently was not afraid to show it, and this was that Queen of whom Boccaccio, when more intimately acquainted with the ins and outs of the political life of Naples and the Curia, and ripe in judgment, wrote these words: 'She has suffered by the crimes of others, flight, exile; by the rude and barbarous habits of her husbands; by the envy of great ones, bitter and undeserved opprobrium; besides threats from Pontiffs, &c., against all which she has borne up with a strong heart, and finally, by her invincible courage, has overcome them.'<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> De Claris Mulieribus.



SACRAMENT OF CONFIRMATION.

*Fresco by Roberto di Oderisio (?) in S. M. l'Incoronata, Naples.*

A Bishop ; Joan and Child ; Sancia, Dowager-Queen of Naples, habited as a nun (?) ;  
and Maria di Durazzo and Child.

*To face p. 450.*



# JOHN XXII

## DOCUMENTS

*Arch. Secr. Vatic. Anno I. Reg. Vat. 109, fol. 21<sup>1</sup>, Epist. 90.*

INDICUNTUR Treuge inter Regem Robertum et gentes suas ex parte una et Comitem Sabaudie et adherentibus ex alia.

Ad futuram rei memoriam. Et si ad pacis tranquillitatem propagandam in omnes et in singulos pro viribus procurandam nostra suspiret intentio, Potentes tamen et Magnates eo intensius esse concordēs et unanimes cupimus, quo periculosiorem eorum fore discordiam, pluribus onustam dispendiis, ac plures involvere contemplamur. Hinc equidem occurrens considerationis nostre conspectui illud grave dissidium, quod pacis hostis invidus caritatis inter carissimum in Christo filium nostrum Robertum Sicilie Regem Illustrem et gentem suam in partibus Pedismontis ex una parte, et dilectos filios Nobiles Viros Amodeum Comitem Sabaudie et Manfredum Marchionem Saluciarum, Philippum de Sabaudia et Matheum de Vicecomitibus de Mediolano milites gentes et valitores eorum ex altera suscitavit ab olim animarum pericula strages corporum dampna rerum, quæ proh dolor, hactenus exinde provenisse noscuntur, et quæ, nisi celeriter occurratur, verisimiliter formidantur in antea proventura nostris obtutibus ingerit nostra cordis intima stimulat et ad providendum tantis discriminibus per oportuna remedia nostrum officium interpellat. Quia igitur ad nos, qui licet immeriti vices Regis pacifici gerimus ac plenitudine fungimur potestatis apostolorum principi suisque Successoribus ex alto concessæ singulariter pertinet in universali ecclesia cunctave congregatione fidelium pacem querere ac ipsam facere diligentius observari ut apostolice Sedis nunciis, quos ad partes ipsas pro tractanda et reformanda concordia inter personas predictas providimus destinandos ad id iuxta nostrum desiderium, via eo paratior eoque facilius pateat quo persone ipse ac predictarum partium Incole minori dissidiorum turbine quacientur, inter prefatum Regem Gentem et valitores ipsius ex parte una, et predictos Comitem Marchionem Philippum et Matheum Gentes et valitores eorum ex altera, treugas, quarum fœdus pacis inducere ymaginem, auctoritate apostolica de consilio fratrum nostrorum indicimus usque ad Sex

menses, computandos a die notificationis seu publicationis earum firmiter duraturas et in omnes et singulos treugas infringentes easdem, aut quomodolibet non servantes excommunicationis sententiam promulgamus, non obstante si eis aut eorum alicui sub quacunque forma vel expressione verborum a sede apostolica sit indultum quod excommunicari non possint per litteras sedis eiusdem non facientes plenam et expressam ac de verbo ad verbum de indulto huiusmodi mentionem et qualibet alia dicte sedis indulgentia generali vel speciali cuiuscunque tenoris vel expressionis existat, per quam effectus presentium impediri possit vel quomodolibet retardari. Treugas autem et sententiam antedictam a die notificationis et publicationis ipsarum suum effectum volumus obtinere. Et nichilominus omnes et singulas promissiones, obligationes, confederationes et colligationes super huiusmodi discensione seu discordia nutrienda inter regem ipsum et gentem suam et quoslibet alios ex una parte et predictos Comitem Marchionem Philippum et Matheum gentes eorum et alios quosvis ex altera initas veluti contra bonum pacis presumptas illicite et atemptatas in divine maiestatis offensam et quascunque penas adiectas, ac iuramenta prestita super illis, sub quibuscunque forma modo vel expressione verborum, presertim cum iuramentum vinculum iniquitatis esse non debent exnunc nulla fore decernimus, et quatinus de facto processerint irritamus. Nulli, etc. Datum Avinione Kalendis Marcii (Anno 1) (1317).

*Arch. Secr. Vatic. Reg. Vat. 109, fol. 22, Epist. 94.*

Scribitur Episcopo Trecensi et Petro Textoris Priori Sancti Antonini super tractatu pacis et concordie inter Regem Robertum et Fredericum.

Venerabili fratri Guillelmo Episcopo Trecensi et dilecto filio magistro Petro Textoris decretorum doctori Capellano nostro, Priori Prioratus sancti Antonini diocesis Albiensis, Ordinis sancti Augustini. Regis pacifici qui pro hereditario censu pacem dedit diligentibus nomen eius vices gerentes licet immeriti, pacis bonum intense diligimus, illud vigere cupimus perseveranter in populis, sed precipue inter fideles principes orbis terre, quietis habundantiam et unitatem propagari concordie eo intensius nimirum optamus, quo eorum dispendiosa discensio gravioribus potest causam dare periculis, utpote nedum ipsis sed aliis pluribus in sua perturbatione turbatis. Hic igitur actendentes quod inter carissimos in Christo filios nostros Robertum Sicilie et Fredericum Trinacie Reges illustres, quos reformata iamdudum concordie federa debuissent caritatis solide glutino copulasse, gravis est faciente cunctorum intentore malorum effusa contentio, que usque adeo commovit principes dissidentes, ut se ad invicem insultibus impecierint frequenter hostilibus et adhuc apparatus congressuum bellicorum insistant, ex quibus proh dolor,

strages corporum, animarum pericula, facultatum lapsus, solitudines acerbe natalium et destructiones provenerint innumere, et nisi celeriter occurratur graviora contingere verisimiliter formidantur, dolemus et merito dum tam inclitos reges intuemur in tam gravi discordia positos, dum tam catholicorum regum molimina, que deberent in blasphemos christiane fidei dirigi videmus in redemptos Christi sanguine preparari, dum regnum Sicilie quod profecto speciali caritate complectimur, discriminibus cernimus tantis expositum, dum terre sancte subsidium ad quod singulariter nostra suspirat intentio, contemplamur ex dicti Regni concussionem tam gravi impedimentum non leve suscipere, cui quidem terre per regnum ipsum tranquillatum habiliter poterant magna suffragia provenire. Ideo que more pii patris, quem non preterunt incommoda filiorum, ad huius sedandam discordiam et turbate pacis fedus ad laudem divini nominis reformandum curis anxii accensis spiritibus et vigilantibus studiis intendentes, ac de circumspectione vestra gerentes fiduciam plenioram, tractatum et reformationem pacis inter reges eosdem et alios, etiam qui in dissidiis involvuntur eorum, ac omnia et singula que ad tractatum et reformationem huiusmodi fuerint oportuna de fratrum nostrorum consilio, presentium vobis auctoritate committimus, discretioni vestre mandantes, quatinus prudenter, actento quod ad negocium tam insigne, tamque, premissis actentis periculis, insidens cordi nostro, Vos et vestrum quemlibet confidenter duximus eligendos, Vos vel alter vestrum Regum predictorum presenciam adeatis, ipsos ad pacem et concordiam iuxta datam vobis ex alto prudenciam sollicitis monitis et efficacibus persuasionibus inducturi ut faciente pacis auctore iuxta nostrum desiderium per vestrum ministerium inter reges ipsos et sibi adherentes, quies veniat pax resurgat. Unde nos et ecclesia sponsa Christi nostris letificati gemitibus pacem cantemus in terris ad dei honorem et gloriam, animarum profectum, robur fidei et exaltationem populi christiani. Ut autem in hoc impedimenti etc. ut supra in proxima usque, relaxanda vobis et vestrum cuilibet plenam et liberam concedimus tenore presentium facultatem. Datum Avinione vii. Idus Marci (Anno 1).

*Arch. Secr. Vatic. Reg. Vat. 109, fol. 23, Epist. 96.*

Indulgentia concessa Episcopo Trecensi et Petro Textoris contra turbantes pacem inter dictos Reges Robertum et Fredericum.

Venerabili fratri Guillelmo Episcopo Trecensi et dilecto filio Magistro Petro Textoris etc. Regis pacifici etc. Ut autem in hoc impedimenti vel obstaculi cuilibet tollatur occasio dissolvendi vacuandi irritandi et revocandi omnes pactiones obligationes confederationes et colligationes ab ipsis vel eis adherentibus, et quibuslibet aliis quomodolibet initas iuvamento vel quacunque firmitate alia vallatas,

necnon et relaxandi huiusmodi et quelibet alia iuramenta a quibuscunque prestita per que nutriri discordia et pacis bonum posset quomodolibet impediri, prout ea secundum dominum videritis dissolvenda vacuanda irritanda revocanda seu etiam relaxanda, et insuper contra quoscunque pacis huiusmodi turbatores seu impeditores, quicunque, fuerint, et cuiuscunque dignitatis conditionis vel status existant, procedendi eosque per censuram ecclesiasticam, et aliis remediis, de quibus vobis expedire videbitur, compescendi. Non obstante si eis aut eorum aliquibus vel alicui a sede apostolica sit indultum sub quacunque forma vel conceptione verborum quod interdicti suspendi vel excommunicari aut eorum terre ecclesiastico interdicto supponi quavis auctoritate non possint, et quelibet alia dicte sedis indulgentia generali vel speciali cuiuscunque tenoris existat per quam presentibus non expressam vel totaliter non insertam effectus earum impediri valeret quomodolibet vel differri, vobis et vestrum cuilibet plenam et liberam concedimus tenore presentium facultatem. Datum Avinione Idibus Marcii (Anno I).

*Arch. Secr. Vatic. Reg. Vat. 109, fol. 23<sup>1</sup>, Epist. 97.*

Scribitur Episcopo Trecensi et Petro Textori ut moneant seu inducant Regem Robertum et Fredericum ut personaliter vel per nuncios speciales representent se conspectui Apostolice (Sedis) super pace inter eos reformanda.

Venerabili fratri nostro Guillelmo Trecensi Episcopo et dilecto filio Magistro Petro Textoris Capellano nostro decretorum doctori Priori Prioratus Sancti Antonini Albiensis diocesis Ordinis sancti Augustini. Ad pacem et concordiam inter carissimos in Christo filios nostros Robertum Sicilie et Fredericum Trinacie Reges illustres solide reformandam, pro cuius tractatu vos ad ipsorum presentiam destinamus intensis desideriis hanelantes, per alias apostolicas litteras Regibus suademus eisdem ut treugis inter ipsos initis vel per vos indictis, ad nos in cuius presentia concordiam ipsam reformari deo auctore facilius et solidius firmari speramus infra certum tempus comuni eorum moderandum arbitrio personaliter, si absque personarum et negociorum imminentium possint incommodo, ex causa premissa se conferre procurent. Alioquin ydoneos et sufficientes nuncios sue circa id conscios voluntatis pacem et concordiam gerentes in votis et pacificandum et concordandum necnon ad firmandum concordiam eorum nomine, plenum ab eis mandatum habentes infra idem tempus mictere non postponant. Verum quia posset forte contingere quod reges ipsi nollent in dicti moderatione temporis ad nos veniendi vel mictendi nuncios ut predicatur convenire, ne tam salubre tamque inherens cordi nostro negocium impediri propterea valeat vel differri, nos in casu huiusmodi, prefigendi moderandi et assignandi eis auctori-

tate nostra, treugis initis ut premittitur vel indictis, congruum considerata locorum distantia terminum veniendi ad nostram presenciam pro predicta reformanda et solidanda concordia, vel sufficientes mittendi nuncios in forma premissa plenam vobis et vestrum cuilibet tenore presentium concedimus potestatem. Datum Avinioni v. Idus Martii (Anno I).

*Arch. Secr. Vatic. Reg. Vat. 109, fol. 26, Epist. 104.*

Responsalis Regi Roberto super postulationem Archiepiscopi Capuani ad Abbatiam Cassinensem.

Postulationem factam de germano Venerabilis fratris nostri Ingeranni Archiepiscopi Capuani a(d) Abbatiam Monasterii Casinensis veluti nobis et fratribus nostris implacidam et in Romana Curia insuetam, iuri et honestati contrariam ac deo non acceptam ut credimus, non duximus admittendam. Verum de tua et regni tui utilitate ac tranquillitate paterno more solliciti, et proinde tam ipsi Casinensi quam aliis Monasteriis et ecclesiis dicti Regni de personis ydoneis tibi gratis atque fidelibus providere volentes, dum levaremus in circuitu oculos, occurrit nobis dilectus filius Isnardus de Pontenes tunc Monachus Monasterii Sancti Victoris Massiliensis, Vir utique religione conspicuus, scientia peditus et morum honestate decorus, progenitus de tibi fidelibus et subiectis, qui nedum pro te et tuis se et sua constanter exposuerunt in casibus quin eciam sanguinem exponere proprium ac morti se tradere minime formidarunt. Quorum superstites adhuc si casus exigeret promptos ad idem voluntarios invenires. Et hac consideratione commoniti de ipso providimus dicto Monasterio Casinensi. Occurrerunt et dilecti filii Isnardus Laugerii et Bertrandus Montenerii decretorum doctores, Monachi Monasterii sancti Andree Avinionensis diocesis ambo de provincia oriundi tibi que devoti et de subiectis ac fidelibus tibi parentibus editi, de quorum altero, videlicet Isnardo predicto, quem ab olim ad tuum consiliarium diceris admississe Monasterio sancti Johannis in Venere, translatio inde ad tuam instantiam dilecto filio Philippo de Haya olim Abbate Monasterii antedicti ad Cavensis Monasterii Abbatiam; de prefato vero Bertrando Monasterio sancti Stephani de Salerno duximus providendum. Sed et dilectum filium Landulphum tunc Monachum Casinensem et Prepositum Capuanum qui et de Regno traxit originem, et preter merita probitatis quibus laudabiliter aditari dinoscitur, de fidelitatis sincere constantia commendatur, Monasterio Vulturensi prefecimus in Abbatem. Hec, fili carissime fecimus placere credentes altissimo cui non est laudabilis sufficientia personarum ipsarum ignota, et nichilominus tuis et regni tui compendiis fructuose prospicere intendentes. Et quia, sicut alias tibi scripsisse meminimus grandi ducimur desiderio ut in ipso Regno tuo Romane ecclesie iure domini directi subiecto per ministros

ydoneos dignus et sedulus impendatur altissimo famulatus preces quas nobis exnunc pro talibus personis preficiendis Ecclesiis seu Monasteriis porrigas, pro quibus tuis votis quibus quantum cum deo poterimus parati erimus benignum accomodare consensum absque scrupulo conscientie et aliorum scandalo annuere valeamus. Avitione v. Idus Martii (Anno 1).

*Arch. Secr. Vatic. Reg. Vat. 109, fol. 26, Epist. 105.*

Scribitur eidem Regi (Roberto) quod ipse scripserit Comitibus de Ytalia ut a guerris obstineant quousque nuncii missi revererint.

Ut de hiis que circa reformationem status pacifici Tuscie et Lombardie et specialiter partium Pedemontis providimus ordinanda noticiam habeas plenior, scire te facimus quod cum iam ab olim fixum gereremus in animo in Italiam et precipue ad predictas partes Pedemontis speciales mittere nuncios pacem propagaturos inibi deo auctore votivam, ut interim in eisdem partibus Pedemontis incommoda guerre quiescerent, dilecto filio nobili Viro Philippo de Sabaudia et Hugoni de Baucio Senescallo tuo, militibus, necnon Communitatibus partium earundem per apostolicas licteras efficaciter suadere curavimus quod expectantes ipsorum nostrorum nunciorum adventum usque ad certi temporis spacium a mutuis offensionibus abstinerent. Super quo nostris huiusmodi persuasionibus se velle parere humiliter responderunt. Et quia devota tibi Civitas Brixiensis dilecti filii nobilis Viri Mathei de Vicecomitibus et quorundam nobilium aliorum hostilem verebatur insultum, nos festinam missionem nunciorum nostrorum tam nobilibus ipsis quam comuni Civitatis predictae significavimus eosque duximus exhortandos ut interim hinc inde ab omni offensione cessarent. Et ecce ad reformandum deo annuente concordiam in eisdem partibus Tuscie Lombardie ac Pedemontis ydoneos Ministros elegimus, Viros multa scientia ac prudentia preditos, tui sedulos zelatores honoris ac pacem gerentes in votis, videlicet dilectos filios fratres Bernardum Guidonis, Ordinis Predicatorum, Inquisitorem heretice pravitatis in Regno Francie per sedem apostolicam deputatum, et Bertrandum de Turre, Ordinis Minorum Ministrum Provinciam Aquitanie, quibus ut ad tractandum et reformandum pacem iuxta nostrum desiderium via sibi eo paracior eoque facilius pateat, quo ipsarum partium incole minori dissidiorum turbine quatiuntur, indicendi treugas auctoritate nostra ad tempus de quo viderint expedire inter partes quas guelpham et Ghibellinam vulgus appellat, nec non inter dilectos filios Nobiles Viros Universos Duces Marchiones Comites Barones ceterosque nobiles Potestates quoque Capitaneos aliosque Rectores Communitates ac Universitates et personas intrinsecas et extrinsecas Civitatum Castrorum et aliorum locorum per Tusciam et Lombardiam constitutos, predictis adherentes partibus aut alias se invicem guerrarum dissidiis persequentes, et indictas per se vel alium seu alios

notificandi et solemniter publicandi, ac in infringentes, seu quomodo-libet non servantes easdem, excommunicationis sententiam promulgandi et alia faciendi, que circa id fuerint oportuna per apostolicas litteras plenam et liberam concessimus facultatem. Nos autem ex nobis inter te et gentem tuam in predictis partibus Pedemontis ex una parte, et dilectos filios Nobiles Viros Amedeum Comitem Sabaudie et Manfredum Marchionem Saluciarum, Philippum de Sabaudia et Matheum de Vicecomitibus de Mediolano milites Gentes et valitores eorum ex altera, Treugas speciales iam providimus indicendas, duraturas usque ad sex menses computandos a die publicationis seu notificationis earum sub spe pacis inter Vos eo facilius quo quietior applaudet hinc inde tranquillitas, interim procurande. Et quia pacem huiusmodi credimus apud nos tentari consultius et maiori soliditate firmari, eidem Philippo exhortatorie scribimus ut aliquos Viros pacificos ad hoc ydoneos et voluntarios et sufficienter instructos tam concordandi et componendi tecum vel cum gente tua, quam parendi nostris in hac parte beneplacitis plena potestate suffultos ad presentiam nostram infra mensem post instans festum resurrectionis dominice destinare procuret. Quapropter, fili carissime, sano tibi consilio suademus quatinus prudenter attento quantum tibi et tuis aliis noscatur expedire negociis statum tranquillari partium earundem, nuncios tuos, tue per omnia conscios voluntatis, et in predictis et circa ea plenam et liberam potestatem habentes ad nos infra idem tempus similiter mittere non omittas. Nos enim vita comite parati erimus huiusmodi pacis tractatum assumere, nostris non parcendo laboribus, licet curis immensis et negociis arduis distrahamur, et speramus in rege pacifico quod ministerio nostro reformabitur inter Vos concordia solida, utrique utilis, deo grata. Nec obmittimus quod de concordia fratrum nostrorum assensu iam ordinavimus ad predictas partes Tuscie et Lombardie Cardinalem destinare Legatum, sed nondum est de persona mictenda conventum. Avinione v. Idus Martii (Anno 1).

*Arch. Secr. Vatic. Reg. Vat. 109, fol. 321, Epist. 131.*

Scribitur Regine eidem (Sicilie) ut Viro suo adhereat.

Carissime in Christo filie Sancte Regine Sicilie Illustri. Quia interdum, filia, humani generis inimicus ut incautos sub spe boni decipiat se in lucis angelum transfiguratur, idcirco de tua salute solliciti super aliquibus te premunire previdimus, ut te in periculum promptum incidere, quantum in nobis fuerit non sinamus. Etiam quidem, filia, benedictionis et gratie scimus te spiritus sinceritate vigentem ad ea que dei sunt laudabiliter provehi. Scimus te mundana pia magnanimitate contempnere, et ad immaculati agni nuptias totis nisibus hanelare. Sed nec ignoramus te carissimi in Christo filii nostri Roberti Regis Sicilie Viri tui sic pro lege matrimonii subici potestati

quod nec vovendo nec alias aliquid faciendo quod ipsi matrimonio deroget, habes tui corporis potestatem. Et licet celesti sponso placere desideres, oculos tamen terreni sponsi non debes offendere, quin potius servata pudicitia coniugali, te sibi placidam et irreprehensibilem exhibere nec tibi suadeat aliquis quin omnia huiusmodi vota post matrimonium carnali copula consumatum, emissa sine consensu Viri tui sint penitus reprobata, gravibus plena periculis, et ipsius coniugii institutori molesta. Quocirca celsitudinem tuam monendam duximus et hortandam in domino Jesu Christo in remissionem tibi peccaminum iniungentes quatinus prudenter actento quod tibi de causis uxor principaliter ducitur, ut sit videlicet in adiutorium coniugi, ut proles suscipiatur ex ea, et incontinentie vicium evitetur; te nullatenus a bono matrimonii retrahas set ipsi Viro tuo te adiutorium gratum prebens per emissionem voti cuiuslibet aut tui subtractionem nequaquam eum ad incontinentiam procures, sed cum ambo in illius etatis teneritudine consistatis ut probabiliter possitis de sobolis fecunditate sperare proli procreande vacetis cum coniugii premium et gratia nuptiarum partus sit feminarum. Datum Avinione ii. Nonas Aprilis.

*Arch. Secr. Vatic. Anno I. Reg. Vat. 109, fol. 33, Epist. 134.*

Scribitur Regi Roberto ut exequatur ultimam voluntatem patris sui.

Carissimo in Christo filio Roberto Regi Sicilie illustri. Etsi generaliter teneamur ex officii debito piis decedentium voluntatibus apostolicum impertiri favorem ut executionis debite sorciantur effectum. De illis tamen id procurare maxime stringimur quorum onus specialiter esse nobis impositum memoramur. Cum itaque clare memorie Carolus Rex Sicilie Genitor tuus *nos inter ceteros constituerit executorem sue dispositionis extreme*, in cuius executione parum est, ut audimus, hucusque processum, nos et anime illius prospicere et debitum nostrum in hac parte implere volentes, Celsitudinem tuam monendam duximus et hortandam, per apostolica nichilominus tibi scripta mandantes, quatinus pia consideratione pensato quam prompte quamque celeriter ex affectu filiali te debes ad executionem ipsius paterne dispositionis impendere ut apud Genitoris anime penis forsitan afflicte non levibus refrigerii sedem et quietis beatitudinem valeas indulgente domino preparare, dispositionem eandem sic liberaliter sic efficaciter ad executionem per te ipsum adducas, quod eiusdem Genitoris anima de ulterioris procrastinationis dispendio nequeat iusto iudici rationabiliter conqueri, et nos qui a tam periculosa sarcina liberari penitus cupimus aliud in hoc adhibere remedium non cogamur. Avinione xiiii. Kalendas Aprilis (Anno I).

*Arch. Secr. Vatic. Anno I. Reg. Vat. 109, fol. 68, Epist. 301.*

Scribitur Regi Sicilie ut Comiti Gravine Germani sui iuxta decentiam suam sibi provideat.

Carissimo in Christo filio Roberto Regi Sicilie illustri. Si tua, fili, caritativa benignitas inclinatur placede censura rationis ad Subditos, suadente ordinate caritatis affectu, inclinari debet promptius ad coniunctos, ab illis etenim gratiam liberalitatis avertere quos natura conciliat, durum nec minus austerum esse dinoscitur, quin etiam secundum apostolum, qui suorum et maxime domesticorum curam non habet, fidem negasse et infideli deterior reputatur. Cum itaque, fili carissime, germanum habeas Iuvenem utique strenuum ac tibi et matura conversacione morigerum, videlicet dilectum filium nobilem virum Johannem Comitem Gravine, qui iuxta clari sui generis exigenciam et decencie Regalis honorem oportuna non affluit habundancia facultatum, Magnificentiam tuam affectuose rogamus, quatinus consideranter actento, quantum interest Regii culminis actinentes sibi notabilibus non subiacere defectibus, sed iuxta status sui decentiam habundare, cum ex hoc honoretur Regale fastigium, et paraciorem possit in casibus talium assistentiam invenire, qui sicut tribulationum haberent esse participes, sic nec fore debent felicitatis expertes, erga Johannem ipsum habunde tuus favor exuberet, et in ipsum ita liberalitas Regie fraternitatis habundet, quod ut proles Regia frater Regis statum possit honorifice ducere, et onus tibi decenter in oportunitatibus serviendi prompta comoditate subire. Sicut enim Regum excellencia divitiis affluit, sic ab ipsa requiritur ut ad coniunctos et alios affluentem dispenset munificencia sue beneficia largitatis. Datum Avinione x. Kalendas Julii.

*Arch. Secr. Vatic. Anno I. Reg. Vat. 109, fol. 36, Epist. 147.*

Scribitur Regi Roberto ut mandet quibusdam officialibus suis, ut quasdam terras quas ipse tenet dimittat Ecclesie.

Carissimo in Christo filio Roberto Regi Sicilie illustri. Pridem, fili carissime, a nostre promocionis auspiciis, habita cum fratribus nostris deliberatione solenni, qualiter vitatis solitis questibus et modis illicitis, nostris et eorum possemus necessitatibus honeste prospicere, in hoc tandem nostra et ipsorum fratrum deliberacio consultata resedit, quod ad manus nostras revocarem et teneremur omnes terras ecclesie, fructus redditus et proventus earum in necessitatum nostrarum compendia conversuri. Et ecce iam ex parte non modica revocavimus ad nos terras huiusmodi, easque mandavimus per personas ydoneas ad nostrum et fratrum ipsorum commodum procurari. Cumque mictere disponamus in brevi pro recipiendis et reducendis ad manum nostram terris Ferrarie et Romandiole, quas

tu aliquanto tempore de beneplacito sedis apostolice absque magni tui fructus exuberantia, sicut audivimus, tenuisti, celsitudinem tuam requirimus et rogamus attente, quatinus gentibus tuis terras tenentibus antefatas statim iniungere ac precipere studeas, quod mictendis per nos terras ipsas sine difficultate et dilatione qualibet restituant et dimictant, per ipsos nostro et Romane ecclesie nomine procurandos. Ceterum cur te Comitem Pedemontis intitules, non videmus cum Comitatum ipsum et gentem tuam inibi existentem sic cernaris contempnere sic exposuisse periculis, ut nulla tibi videatur cura superesse de illis. Unde prebes hostibus cornua qui dum de tuis non inveniunt resistentem ad quemque desiderabilia manus mictunt, et in fideles tuos illarum partium inhumane crassantur, nec aliud restat ipsis fidelibus, si non festine succurratur eisdem, nisi quod se inimicorum subiciant dicioni. Consulimus itaque dilectissime fili, sicut et honori et comodo tuis expedire censemus, quod aut ad Comitatum eundem saltem ut retineri possit, omni contemptu et negligentia relegatis, oportunum mictas gentis exforcium, aut gentem tuam abinde revoces, ne ipsam ulteriori discrimini non absque tua magna indecentia scienter exponas. Datum Avinione vi. Idus Aprilis (Anno 1).

*Arch. Secr. Vatic. Anno 1. Reg. Vat. 109, fol. 63, Epist. 287.*

Scribitur Regi Sicilie ut pacem et concordiam habere velit cum Comite Sabaudie et Philippo de Sabaudia, cum quibusdam aliis clausulis.

Carissimo in Christo filio Roberto Regi Sicilie illustri. Concurrentibus nuper ad nostram instanciam coram nobis tuis et dilectorum filiorum Nobilium Vivorum Amedei Comitis Sabaudie et Philippi de Sabaudia militis nunciis de concordia inter te ac predictos . . . Comitem et Philippum reformanda pariter et firmanda, tractatum assumpsimus cum eisdem, et de perfectione illius, in quantum se extendebat potestas nunciorum ipsorum opem dedimus et operam efficacem, fuerunt autem super ipso tractatu oblatae nobis quedam hinc inde cedulae, quarum copiam tue magnitudini mictimus presentibus interclusam. Tu itaque, fili carissime, prudenter attento quantum dispendiosum sit etiam quibuscunque potentibus, set tibi precipue hoc tempore impacato guerrarum inculcare discrimina, quantumque tibi ac . . . Comiti et Philippo predictis fructuosum potest existere invicem copulari unionis solide federe, ut dum eos tibi reconciliatos favore benivolo prosequeris in tuis et Regni tui negociis eorum assistentia confidenter possis et utiliter te juvare, quantum etiam incongruum censetur et indicens utilitatis temporalis occasione te ab ipsis mente dividi aut manifestatione operis separari, animum tuum promptum exhibeas voluntarium et paratum exponas ad pacificandum et concordandum cum Comite et Philippo prefatis ea que in tractatu devenire predicto in quantum inde contingeris pro

divina et apostolice sedis reverencia, et tue quietis ac comoditatis obtentu liberaliter impleturus, nec ab hoc temporali presertim levi retraharis incomodo, cum illi preponderare debeat evidens commodum tibi ex ipsorum Comitibus et Philippi benivolencia verisimiliter preventurum. Et satis feliciter abdicantur modica que residua maiora conservant. Ex hiis enim placebis, ut indubie credimus, Regi pacifico, et preter id quod nos qui ad tuam tranquillitatem afficimur contentabis, rem ut premissum est utiliter tuam geres. Ut autem auctore domino tractatus huiusmodi compleatur, ac firmetur utrinque concordia solide expedit, et nos id ipsum tibi consulimus bona fide, quod aliquem seu aliquos Viros pacis et concordie zelatores, et tue per omnia circa id conscios voluntatis tractandi eciam et pacificandi, ac ea que tractata et pacificata fuerint in predictis, tuo firmandi nomine plenum a te mandatum habentes ad nostram presenciam studeas absque more dispendio destinare. Data nobis nichilominus, si expediens videris, potestate plenaria si aliquod dubium in tractatu huiusmodi forsitan incideret circa declarationem et decisionem illius prout nobis expediens esse videbitur providendi. Datum Avinione xiiii. Kalendas Julii.

*Arch. Secr. Vatic. Anno II. Reg. Vat. 109, fol. 85, Epist. 365.*

Scribitur Principi Tarentino quod non potest respondere super significatis per eum quo ad presens.

Dilecto filio nobili Viro Philippo clare memorie Regis Sicilie filio, Principi Tarentino. Si tibi, filii, super hiis que pro parte tua Nuncii tui nobis, iamdiu est, exponere curaverunt, rescribere tibi distulimus, sicut et adhuc ex causa differimus, non mireris. Cum enim nuncii carissimi in Christo filii nostri Philippi Regis Francie et Navarre illustris, sine quibus de hiis que pro parte tua petuntur a nobis non possemus adeo ordinare comode, nondum ad nostram presenciam propter impedimenta quedam incidentia venerint, licet diucius expectati, tibi super illis quicquam certum significare nequivimus, aut nuncios remittere memoratos. Post adventum vero dictorum Regalium Nunciorum, qui venire sperantur in brevi, super hiis que postulas cum eis colloquium et tractatum habere disponimus, tuos deinde nuncios cum responsione plenaria remissuri. Datum Avinione ut supra (xiiii. Kalendas Octobris).

*Arch. Secr. Vatic. Anno II. Reg. Vat. 109, fol. 88, Epist. 376.*

Indicuntur treuge inter Regem Sicilie et Comitem Sabaudie et quosdam alios ad certum tempus.

Ad futuram rei memoriam.<sup>1</sup>

Considerantes pridem animarum pericula, strages corporum et

<sup>1</sup> There is a notion prevalent that Clement VI. was the first to use this form in place of 'Ad perpetuam rei memoriam.'

dispendia facultatum que, prodolor, ex gravi dissidio inter carissimum in Christo filium nostrum Robertum Sicilie Regem Illustrum et gentem suam in partibus Pedemontis ex una parte, et dilectos filios nobiles Viros Amodeum Comitem Sabaudie, Manfredum Marchionem Saluciarum et Philippum de Sabaudia milites ac nonnullos alios et Gentes ac valitores eorum ex altera, instigante pacis hoste satore zizanie suscitato dampnose provenerant, et que nisi celeriter occurreretur, timebantur verisimiliter inantea proventura, ut eo paracior eoque facilius via pateret ad reformandum concordiam inter personas easdem, quo persone ipse ac predictarum partium Incole minori dissidiorum turbine quaterentur, inter prefatum Regem, Gentem et valitores ipsius ex parte una, et predictos Comitem Marchionem et Philippum ac nonnullos alios ac Gentes et valitores eorum ex altera, treugas certi temporis per apostolicas certi tenoris litteras providimus auctoritate apostolica indicendas, quas per certos Nuncios nostros eisdem partibus fecimus intimari. Verum licet treugis pendentibus antedictis fuerint tractatus aliqui de pacificatione nonnullorum ex ipsis dissidentibus habiti coram nobis, nondum tamen iuxta nostrum desiderium sunt ad executionis effectum adducti, nec aliquid effectualiter actum est de concordia ceterorum, propter quod discriminibus gravibus; que posset treugarum ipsarum lapsus inducere, si dissidentes eosdem contingeret solitis guerrarum involvi turbinibus, providere volentes, treugas ipsas usque ad Sex menses a die notificationis earum in antea computandos, inter partes huiusmodi discordantes, gentes et valitores earum auctoritate apostolica prorogamus, quod si forte treuge predictae transissent antequam huiusmodi earum prorogatio publicata, aut in ipsorum noticiam discordantium deducta fuisset, sicque prorogatio ipsa suo careret effectu, nos eadem auctoritate ex tunc treugas renovamus, seu de novo indicimus inter partes easdem usque ad sex menses computandos a die notificationis seu publicacionis earum inantea duraturas, sperantes in actore, qui interim corda dissidentium predictorum, ipso domino inspirante, convertentur ad pacem, et in omnes et singulos ex tunc treugas infringentes easdem, aut quomodolibet non servantes, excommunicationis sententiam promulgamus. Non obstantibus si eis aut eorum alicui etc. Et nichilominus omnes et singulas promissiones obligationes confederationes et colligationes super huiusmodi discensione seu discordia nutrienda inter Regem ipsum et Gentem suam et quoslibet alios ex una parte et predictos Comitem Marchionem Philippum et Matheum Gentes eorum et alios quosvis ex altera initas veluti contra bonum pacis presumptas illicite et attemptatas in divine Maiestatis offensam, et quascunque penas adiectas ac iuramenta prestita super illis sub quibuscunque forma, modo vel expressione verborum, presertim cum iuramentum vinculum iniquitatis esse non debeat, exnunc nulla fore decernimus, et quatenus de facto processerint irritamus. Nulli ergo etc. Datum Avinione iii. Nonas Octobris.

*Arch. Secr. Vatic. Anno II. Reg. Vat. 109, fol. 89, Epist. 380.*

Scribitur Regi Sicilie quod intendit treugas prorogare usque ad certum tempus inter ipsum et Comitem Sabaudie et quibusdam alios.

Carissimo in Christo filio Roberto Regi Sicilie Illustri. Sicut alias tibi scripsisse meminimus inter tuos et dilectorum filiorum nobilium Virorum Amodei Comitis Sabaudie et Philippi de Sabaudia militis Nuncios, de concordia inter te ac ipsos Comitem et Philippum reformanda pariter et formanda fuit coram nobis tractatus assumptus. Misimus autem tibi cedulam ipsis nostris literis interclusam, oblationes hinc inde factas in tractatu huiusmodi continentem, tibi que suasimus quod aliquem seu aliquos Viros pacis et concordie zelatores, et tue circa id concios voluntatis, tractandi eciam et pacificandi, ac ea que tractata in iis et pacificata forent tuo firmandi nomine plenum a te mandatum habentes ad nostram presentiam absque more dispendio destinares, data nobis nichilominus, si expedire videres, plenaria potestate si aliquod dubium in tractatu huiusmodi forsitan incideret circa declarationem et decisionem illius, prout nobis esse videbitur expediens providendi. Verum quoniam nondum aliquid de premissis implere curasti. Ecce de tuis comodo et honore ac tua pace et tranquillitate paterno more solliciti, sicut iterum sic et efficacius suademus, quatinus prudenter attento, quod ipsorum Comitis et Philippi concordia nedum in partibus Pedemontis set eciam alibi tibi tuisque agendis esse poterit fructuosa, quod premissum est, de Nunciis ex causa predicta mictendis, ac potestate nobis ut predicatur concedenda tue utilitatis obtentu adimplere non differas, nisi forte personaliter te cito huc conferre disponas, quo casu premissa et alia queque tua negocia ex assistencia tue presencie exitum speramus feliciorum habere. Et quia treuga inter gentes tuas et Comitem et Philippum eosdem indicta, iam finita est vel fini propinqua, Nos eam renovare seu prorogare usque ad Sex menses intendimus, ut interim si per te et Comitem et Philippum eosdem non steterit de ipsa solidanda concordia, cohoperante Rege pacifico, salubriter disponamus. Datum Avinione viii. Kalendas Octobris.

*Arch. Secr. Vatic. Anno II. Reg. Vat. 109, fol. 104, Epist. 440.*

Scribitur eidem Regine (Sicilie) significando statum.

Carissime in Christo filie nostre Sancie Regine Sicilie Illustri. Supponentes indubie quod delectabile tuis accedet affectibus de statu nostro prosperos audire rumores. Ecce illum esse per Dei gratiam sospitem, presentium tenore tibi describimus; licet curis exterioribus et sollicitudinibus anxiis non leviter fatigemus; gratum autem nobis erit et placidum si statum tuum, quem dominus ut optamus, in suo beneplacito dirigat et conservet, et de quo sciendo nos reddit caritas paterna sollicitos, sepius nobis duxeris intimandum. (Avinione Idibus Maii.)

*Arch. Secr. Vatic. Reg. Vat. 109, fol. 105, Epist. 442.*

Significatur eidem Regi (Sicilie) quod Ferrarienses ad obedientiam redierunt.

Post confectionem presentium a nunciis nostris quos pro negotio Ferrarie miseramus, licteras letanter accepimus continentes quod Ferrarienses, tangente domino cor eorum, ad nostram et Romane ecclesie fidelitatem et obedientiam spontanee ac simpliciter redierunt, claves Civitatis prefatis reddendo nunciis, fidelitatis iuramentum prestando, potestatem recipiendo pro nobis et cetera que ad magne humiliationis indicia pertinebant ultro nec faciendo. Qui nichilominus una cum Marchionibus Extensibus per nuncios nostros peremptorie sunt citati, ut certa die sibi prefixa compareant coram nobis mandatis nostris super commissis excessibus parituri, de quibus omnibus ei devotas gratias agimus de cuius munere provenisse fatemur, ut illi reatum suum humiliter cognoscentes absque conflictu et cuiuslibet fulminatione processus, predictis obedierint nunciis in auris auditu. Avinione Idibus Decembris.

*Arch. Secr. Vatic. Reg. Vat. 109, fol. 107, Epist. 447.*

Scribitur Comiti Calabrie super excusatione sua quod non veniat. Dilecto filio nobili Viro Carolo carissimi in Christo filii nostri Roberti Sicilie Regis Primogenito, Duci Calabrie. Ex litteris tuis, fili, leta manu susceptis nobis innotuit quod nisi tuum ligatum esset ut concedet sub tui beneplacito genitoris arbitrium, te tanquam benedictionis filius libenter nostris presentares aspectibus, nosque cum multo desiderio corporali presentia visitares. Sane, fili, licet et nos gratanter tuo letaremur aspectu, considerantes tamen quod non decet nec expedit ut patris nutum, qui in te unica ipsius imagine rationabiliter delectatur in hiis vel aliis quavis modo pretereas, set ei pocius sedulitate filialis obedientie studeas complacere; te nimirum a visitatione huiusmodi excusatam habemus, immo cum sinceris affectibus locorum interstitia non resistant, sicque corporis non obstante distantia mentis a te visitari speremus obtutibus, et te ipsum etiam visitemus huius nostre visitationis pretextu te sollicitari minime volumus, sed optamus pocius circa tuum te versari sedule genitorem. Datum Avinione (xiii. Kalendas Januari).

*Arch. Secr. Vatic. Reg. Vat. 109, fol. 116, Epist. 482.*

Scribitur Regine Sicilie super statu incolumi.

Carissime in Christo filie Sanctie Regine Sicilie illustri. Presentate nobis tue magnitudinis litere grate nostris advenerunt affectibus, dum earum lectio tanquam nuncius bonus de terra longinqua de tua

cunctorumque de domo Regali votiva incolumitate nostrum replevit animum gaudio et interna iocunditate perfudit. Ut autem affectui tuo de status nostri continentia filiali sollicitudine, prout ipsarum tenor licterarum habebat certitudinem expectanti indubie satisfaciatis relatio veritatis. Celsitudini tue presentibus innotescere volumus, quod auctore faciente salutis sani eramus in confectione presentium, et utinam accepte sospitatis gratiam et concessa vivendi spacia ad concedentis beneplacitum atque servicium expendamus. Ceterum in hiis, que tue salutis conservationi adiacentia fuerint, paterno tibi complacere volentes affectu, dilecto filio Magistro Jacobo Bianchi Phisico licentiam benigne concessimus tuam presentiam adeundi. Datum Avinione viii. Kalendas Aprilis.

*Fol. 116, Epist. 483.*

Super eodem scribitur Karolo primogenito Regis Sicilie.

Dilecto filio nobili Viro Carolo carissimi in Christo filii nostri Roberti Regis Sicilie Primogenito. Presentate nobis tue noviter lictere grate etc., ut supra usque longinqua. De tua incolumitate etc., ut supra usque expendamus. Datum ut supra.

*Arch. Secr. Vatic. Reg. Vat. 109, fol. 125, Epist. 549.*

Scribitur Regi Sicilie ut in adventu suo terram suam bene dimittat munitam, cum aliis clausulis.

Carissimo in Christo filio Roberto Regi Sicilie illustri. Capitula tua, fili carissime, dilecto filio Petro Bonardi tradita libenter audivimus et ordinationem, quam iuxta Capitulorum continentiam predictorum pro tui adventus commoditate atque decencia in illis factis partibus, quamquam per dilectum filium Nobilem Virum . . . Senescallum Provincie hic fieri mandas et provides approbamus. Sane circa missionem Nuncii ad Civitatem Janue scire te volumus quod Nuncii nostri quos in Italiam miseramus ab olim in suo ad nos reditu per Civitatem eandem eiusque districtum transitum facientes, cum intrinsicis et extrinsecis Civibus habuere colloquium. Cuius summam nobis significare curarunt. Unde licet habuissemus in promptu ad Cives ipsos licteras et Nuncium mictere, certis tamen ex causis per eundem Petrum, cui reservavimus eas apertius in tuam noticiam deducendis, ab huiusmodi missione destitimus nec aliquem intendimus mictere, quantum est de presenti et an inantea micti quemvis expediat, in quadam adhuc perplexitate manemus, propter aliqua que Petro explicavimus antefato. Porro circa missionem Galearum et Usseriorum de Provincia, prefatum Senescallum per Nos solicitari non expedit, veluti qui in hiis et aliis in auris auditu tuis mandatis reverenter obedit. Dicere namque veraciter possumus quod eum ad ea, que tuum respiciant honorem et comodum, iugiter invenimus solerter,

diligenter atque fideliter et omni discretionis maturitate procedere, et hiis que contrarium quomodolibet saperent, celeribus et oportunitis remediis ac intentis studiis obviare, quod et tu si tantum advertis, ab exordio commissi eidem Senescallie officii per efficaciam operis percipere potuisti. Propter quod non decet te adversus eius diligentiam fidelitatem et sufficientiam detractoribus facile credere, ne videaris magis iniquis aliorum assercionibus quam laudabilibus eius operibus fidem dare. Denique Regnum tuum, ex tuo in partes istas adventu optantes, nulli discrimini subici, te tantum esse volumus et actentum ut per omnem modum et viam quos videris expedire sic providere procures de illius tuta custodia, quod nullum ex absentia tua probabiliter possit evenire sinistrum. Cuius equidem nulla verisimilis videtur resultare suspicio, si tu et carissimus in Christo filius noster Fredericus Rex Trinacie illustris, sincere servabitis treugas inter vos indictas, ut cupimus, super quo te et illum per alias nostras literas efficaciter commonemus. Datum Nonis Aprilis.

*Arch. Secr. Vatic. Reg. Vat. 109, fol. 134, Epist. 551.*

Scribitur Regi Sicilie quod mittitur sibi dispensatio Comitis Gravine et Principisse Achaye.

Carissimo in Christo filio Roberto Regi Sicilie Illustri. Licteras tuas fili carissime nobis noviter presentatas affectione consueta recepimus. Et ecce dispensationem super perficiendo matrimonio inter dilectum filium nobilem Virum Johannem Gravine Comitem fratrem tuum, ac dilectam in Christo filiam Isabellam [Mathildam] Principissam Achaye contracto petitam, sub bulla nostra Regie celsitudini mictimus, super hiis tibi per nostras alias licteras rescribentes, tuo nichilominus nuncio earum exhibitori commissis aliquibus excellentie tue pro parte nostra verbotenus explicandis. Cui circa illa fidem poteris credulam adhibere. Datum Kalendis Aprilis.

*Arch. Secr. Vatic. Reg. Vat. 109, fol. 158, Epist. 648.*

Scribitur Principisse Achaye ut sollempnizet matrimonium cum Comite Gravine.

Dilecte in Christo filie nobili mulieri Matilde Principisse Achaye. Auditis, filia, et pleno intellectu collectis hiis, que dilecti filii frater Ubaldinus minister ordinis fratrum Minorum Achaye et nobilis Vir Stephanus de Civinino miles familiaris tuus pro parte tua nobis, iuxta commissam per te sibi credentiam exponere voluerunt circa matrimonii inter dilectum filium nobilem Virum Johannem clare memorie Caroli Regis Sicilie filium Comitem Gravine et te contracti negocium, diligenter perquisivimus ab eisdem an aliquam rationabilem causam scirent, que te retraheret a matrimonii confirmatione predicti. Quibus respondentibus se nichil aliud a te circa id audivisse, nisi quod adhuc

coniugii nexibus ligari nolebas, mirati procul dubio fuimus, nec sufficimus admirari unde tibi huiusmodi coniugium differendi provenire possit occasio, cum impedimentis consanguinitatis et affinitatis obstantibus, per nos apostolica auctoritate sublatis, matrimonium inter Comitem ipsum et te intervenientibus ad id procuratoribus tuis legitime constitutis fuisse dicatur per verba de presenti contractum. Tuque in ea etate constituta noscaris, que apta est ad sobolem procreandam, et in qua fructum deberes posteritatis ad tui servicium creatoris inquirere que tuam representaret ymaginem, et in gloria domus tue succederet, tuique nominis memoriam imposterum conservaret. Presertim ubi potes immo debes matrimonii iam contracti cogente vinculo talis Viri habere consorcium, qui et in diebus est juvenis, sensu canus, et sicut est clarissimus genere, sic et est nobilis moribus, est etiam carissimo in Christo filio nostro Roberto Regi Sicilie Illustri nedum germanitatis nessitudine, quin etiam filiali quadam dilectione coniunctus et quasi cunctis maioribus mundi principibus attinens ex paterna linea vel materna per cuius potentiam fraterno maxime et coniunctorum aliorum sibi assistente favore, quecunque ad te pertinencia recuperari et defendi facile poterunt, et recuperata faciliter dirigi, ac tuo presidio custodiri. Quia igitur filia non videmus quod premissis consideranter attentis nobiliter utiliusve coniugium tibi possit occurrere, devotioni tue paterno suademus affectu et consulimus bona fide, quatinus predictum matrimonium cum Comite prefato contractum solennizare non differas ac debite consumare, *nisi causam veram non simulatam forsitan habeas*, propter quam citra divinam offensam huiusmodi nequeas solennizationem ac consumptionem implere. Datum Avinione vii. Kalendas Novembris (26th October 1317).

*Arch. Secr. Vatic. Reg. Vat. 109, fol. 161, Epist. 664.*

Responsalis Regine Sicilie cum significatione status sui.

Carissime in Christo filie Sancie Regine Sicilie Illustri. Presentate nobis tue magnitudinis lictere grate nostris advenerunt affectibus, dum earum lectio tanquam nuncius bonus de terra longinqua, de tua cunctorumque de domo regali votiva incolumitate, nostrum replevit animum gaudio et interna iocunditate perfudit. Ut autem affectui tuo de status nostri continentia filiali sollicitudine, prout ipsarum tenor literarum habebat certitudinem, expectanti satisfaciatur relatio veritatis. Celsitudini tue presentibus innotescere volumus, quod auctore faciente salutis, sani eramus in confectione presentium, et utinam accepte sospitatis gratiam et concessa vivendi spacia ad concedentis beneplacitum atque servicium expendamus. Ceterum in hiis, que tue salutis conservationi adiacentia fuerint, paterno tibi complacere volentes affectu, dilecto filio Magistro Jacobo Bianchi Phisico licentiam benigne concessimus tuam presentiam adeundi. Datum Avinione viii. Kalendas Aprilis.

*Epist. 665.*

Responsalis Carolo filio Regis Sicilie cum significatione status sui.

Dilecto filio nobili Viro Carolo Carissimi in Christo filii nostri Roberti Regis Sicilie Primogenito. Presentate nobis tue noviter littere grate etc., ut supra usque longinqua. De tua incolumitate etc., ut supra usque expendamus. Datum ut supra.

*Arch. Secr. Vatic. Reg. Vat. 109, fol. 182, Epist. 694.*

Scribitur Regi Sicilie, ut veniat dimisso loco Janue bene munito.

Carissimo in Christo filio Roberto Regi Sicilie Illustri. Quia, fili carissime, domesticis persepe colloquiis, melius et expediencius, quam literarum et Nunciorum missionibus, quibus interdum aliqua non comitti consilii cautela suadet, ardua presertim tractantur agenda, multum videretur expediens ut hic concito te conferre curares. Si igitur absque negotiorum imminencium in Januensi Civitate discrimine, vel ubi illud vitari non posset tibi et tuis imminent inhibi residendo periculum, ordinato inhibi idoneo Capitaneo loco tui, et sufficienti equitum et peditum comitiva dimissa, ad nostram comode poteris venire presentiam, hoc ipsum tibi consulimus, cum non tam tibi, quam Januensibus Civibus id, ut speramus, esse valeat fructuosum, hic et etiam tua et aliorum consultius poterunt tractari et ordinari negocia, ipsorumque Civium ac Civitatis prospero statui habilis et comodius te hic quam inhibi existente, poterit cum auxilio divine potencie variis modis et viis occurri, Super hoc autem eisdem Civibus per alias nostras literas scribimus respective nostris nunciis presencium exhibitoribus, quos ad pacificandum Cives intrinsecos et extrinsecos sub spe divini auxilii mittimus, aliqua circa hoc et alia commisimus pro parte nostra tibi latius explicanda, quibus velis fidem indubiam adhibere. Datum viii. Kalendas Septembris (Anno 2).

*Arch. Secr. Vatic. Reg. Vat. 109, fol. 184, Epist. 700.*

Responsalis Civibus Janue super licentia concessa Regi Sicilie veniendi.

Dilectis filiis populo et communi Civitatis Janue. Sincerum ad personam nostram eximie vestre devotionis affectum quem nostra consideratio ex causis variis sive cuiusque dubitationis scrupulo supposebat, ex apertis clare percepimus nuper indicis, dum nobis et carissimo in Christo filio nostro Roberto Regi Sicilie Illustri Civitatis vestre totiusque districtus sui dominium ex magna donare confidentia usque ad certi temporis spacium voluistis, pro quo devotionem vestram congruis prosequentes actionibus gratiarum, habemus in votis indubie vobis, in quibus cum deo poterimus grata vicissitudine respondere. Verum quoniam certis considerationibus, nec pro nobis nec pro vobis

videtur expediens per nos ipsum dominium suscipi, presertim ne adiciamus innumeris et immensis oneribus, quibus cogimur ex officii sollicitudine pastoralis, involvi, Universitatem requirimus et rogamus attente quatinus prudentia vestra moleste non ferat quia ex causis rationabilibus ab ipsius acceptione collati domini abstinemus. Datum vii. Kalendas Septembris (Anno 2).

*Arch. Secr. Vatic. Reg. Vat. 109, fol. 185, Epist. 704.*

Scribitur Regi Sicilie quod mittuntur nuncii super pace reformanda inter predictos Cives (Civitatis Janue) et quod nuncios habeat commendatos.

Carissimo in Christo filio Roberto Regi Sicilie Illustri.

Quantis sit onustas dispendiis (sic), quibusque periculis involuta dilectorum filiorum Civium intrinsecorum et extrinsecorum Civitatis Janue molesta minis (nimis) et infesta commotio, te non aliter quam expertum expedit admonere; nosti namque quod Civium ipsorum animis per domestica et particularia odia concitatis ac inter se discordiis publicis obfirmatis alterutrum, ac illis in se ipsis divisus in partes adeo concitationis et discordiarum huiusmodi processit iniquitas ut, prohdolor, Jure Sanguinis quo de propinquo iunguntur ad invicem violato, dei timore postposito, rerum dispendiis personarumque periculis omnino contemptis, renuerint actenus semitas pacis agnoscere, sicque abierint post turbati animi pravitatem ut et ipse dominus pater eos impugnationibus mutuis intendentes misisse videatur gladium consumantem. Hec quidem non contempnenda discrimina ordinatum in nobis ad eos paterne compassionis affectum instanter movent et multipliciter exitant ut ad sedationem commocionis huiusmodi, remediis quibus possumus occurramus, presertim quia illius continuatio totale quidem dicte Civitatis excidium productura non leviter posset obesse piis dei negociis et precipue Terre Sancte succursui, ad cuius promotionem Civitas ipsa veluti contermina, et Virorum ac opum ubertate refecta unitam dinoscitur potentiam et adiacentem habere. Ideoque ut mala pacis levitas sapiatur, que turbationis predictae calamitas introduxit, et ut iamdicti Cives eo liberius se possint dicto succursui et aliis operibus pietatis impendere, quo quietius fuerint ab iniquis dissidiorum sollicitudinibus expediti, tractatum pacificationis inter Cives ineunde predictos, Venerabili fratri nostro G. Trecensi Episcopo et dilecto filio Petro Abbati Sancti Saturnini, Tholosane, ordinis Sancti Augustini, ac eorum cuilibet assumendum per alias nostras certi tenoris literas fiducia segura comisimus, et auctore domino usque ad votivum exitum laudabiliter perducendum. Quia igitur, fili carissime, tuum in his non ambigimus consilium utile ac auxilium oportunum, excellentiam tuam requirimus et hortamur in domino Jhesu Christo, quatinus premissis omnibus diligenter attentis, et eo etiam in consideratione prudenter aducto, quod cum tibi collatum

sit dicte Civitatis ac districtus sui usque ad certum spacium temporis per comune dominium tue tranquillitati plurimum expedit quod predicti Cives efficiantur pacifici ac unanimes sub tuo dominio, ut eos unius moris efectos in pace possit et iusticia regere nec cogaris guer-rarum involvi dispendiis ac fatigari laboribus et expensis, predictos nuncios nostros benigne recipias et pertractes, et ea que tibi circa pacificationis predictae negocium duxerint exponenda favorabiliter audias, eisque super hiis ac divine remunerationis obtentu te non solum cohoperatorem set etiam specialem in illis constitues promotorem ad celerem et felicem expeditionem eorum auxilium potencie Regalis adhibeas, ac studio pie devotionis intendas, sic quod status pacificus eiusdem Civitatis provide ut creditur proventurus apud Deum et apud nos tibi cedat ad meritum, tueque specialiter sollicitudini ascribatur. Datum viii. Kalendas Septembris (Anno 2).

*Arch. Secr. Vatic. Reg. Vat. 109, fol. 187, Epist. 709.*

Scribitur Regine Sicilie ut gratum habeat quod Comes Gravine remaneat Janue pro Rege Sicilie germano suo.

Carissime in Christo filie Marie<sup>1</sup> Regine Secilie Illustri. Scimus, Amantissima filia, quod de liberis tuis, presertim minoribus et materno more sollicita, ne periculosa vel difficilia subeant, set nec minus debet tibi diligens esse cura quod laudis humane preconium, status exaltationem et honoris cumulum, iuxta decentiam generis Regalis acquirant. Ecce quidem Carissimus in Christo filius noster Robertus Rex Sicilie illustris primogenitus, cuius statum Janue tam pro Regni sui quiete quam pro excellentia sui status assumpsit multis cautelis previsisque consiliis ut creditur prosequendum. Cumque in Civitate Janue diebus iam pluribus mora tracta, ipsiusque Civitatis negociis consulte dispositis ad nostram decreverit concite venire presentiam. Et ne Civitatem et Cives relinqueret ex carentia sue persone desolatos dilectum filium nostrum in (Christo) Johannem Comitem Gravine natum tuum, suumque germanum dimittat, ut audivimus inibi loco sui, tanquam illum de quo ut de seipso confidit et qui suam ibi presentiam proprius presentabit, pro cuius ac Civitatis predictae tutela Viginti Galeas et Mille ducentos equites ac Mille pedites deputare providit. Celsitudinem tuam hortandam duximus et rogandam quatinus prudenter, attento quod Rex ipse ea que legem non habent necessitate cogente aliud commode in hac parte ordinare non potuit, cum nullus occurreret alius quam ipse Germanus, in quo confidatis omnibus posset, aut debet, circa tutam Civitatis predictae custodiam fiducia sua secunda recumbere, et de quo posset Cives et incolas contentare, dicti Germani moram in Civitate iamdicta moleste non feras, sed et dictum Regem super hoc et eundem Comitem, quod Regi paruit in hac parte, habeas premissis ex

<sup>1</sup> Maria, Queen-Dowager.

causis promptis affectibus excusatos. Presertim cum mora huiusmodi, per quam idem Comes Guelforum et devotorum excellentie Regie benivolenciam ac devotionem acquirat, laudis ei possit producere titulos et in casibus exaltationis votive profectum. Nec reverenda est probabiliter de alicuius contingencia sinistra suspicio, cum et supponamus Regem ipsum dicto Comiti efficaciter iniunxisse quod sue semper securitati provideat, nec quocumque modo aut quibuscunque rationibus sive causis discriminibus se exponat. Et nos etiam de hoc ipso Comitem ipsum per speciales literas premunimus. Datum iii. Nonas Septembris (Anno 2).

*Arch. Secr. Vatic. Reg. Vat. 109, fol. 187, Epist. 710.*

Scribitur Comiti Gravine ut in loco Janue bene et caute et tute se habeat.

Dilecto filio nobili viro Johanni clare memorie Karoli Regis Sicilie filio, Comiti Gravine. Ex literis carissimi in Christo filii nostri Roberti Regis Sicilie Illustris fratris tui recenter accepimus quod ipse Civitatis Janue statu consulte disposito ad nostram instantanter disponit presentiam se conferre, et ne Civitatem et Cives relinquat ex carencia sue presentie desolatos, te dimittat inibi loco sui tanquam illum de quo ut de se ipso confidit, et qui suam ibi presentiam propius poteris presentare, pro tua et Civitatis predictae tutela XX<sup>ti</sup> galeis et Mille ducentis equitibus de suis et Mille peditibus deputatis. Quia igitur, fili, Regia vice fungens nedum ipsius Regis utiliter poteris in Civitate predicta promovere compendia que utique te contingunt, quin etiam guelforum et devotorum domus Regie benivolenciam et devotionem acquires unde tibi laudis poterunt subcrescere tituli, et in casibus exaltationis votive profectus, expedit omnino, et nos id tibi paterno suademus affectu, nichilominus consulentes, quatinus circa ea, que in Civitate iam dicta incumbunt agenda sic mature sic discrete te geras, quod nil precipitanter, set exacto et deliberato consilio peragas, tuamque sic cures ponderare personam ut nullius suasionibus nullisque rationibus sive causis, discriminibus te exponas. Attente considerans quod, si quod absit, in persona tua sinistrum aliquid quantumvis modicum forte contingeret, non tam tibi quam ipsi Regi cederet ad confusionis valde vitande dispendium, Set et toti negotio et ipsius Regis statui notabiliter, immo forsan irreparabiliter derogaret. Datum ut supra (iii. Nonas Septembris).

*Arch. Secr. Vatic. Reg. Vat. 109, fol. 225, Epist. 831.*

Scribitur Regi Sicilie ut in provinciam se transferat, dimissa bene munita Civitate Januensi.

Carissimo in Christo filio Roberto Regi Sicilie illustri. Quia, fili carissime, a nonnullis fidedignis compacienter audivimus quod

Januensis Aer tibi competit, quinnimo illius experientia te per vices affigit, expediens credimus, nisi forsitan aliud pericula nobis innotae suadeant, ut statu Civitatis Janue, quanto cautius fieri poterit, tute disposito, ac pro illius tutamine et agendorum imminensium inibi promotione felici presidio gentis oportune dimisso ad provincialem aerem te conferres. Cum preponenda sit persone salus quibuscunque negociis, tuque Agendis incumbentibus eo promptius eoque liberius possit intendere quo maiori vigebris corporis sospitate. Datum Avinione ii. Idus Decembris.

*Arch. Secr. Vatic. Reg. Vat. 110, fol. 54 (P. ii.), Epist. 904.*

Dilecto filio nobili Viro Johanni clare memorie Caroli secundi Sicilie Regis filio, Comiti Gravine et Honoris Montis Sancti Angeli Domino, ac dilecte in Christo filie nobili Mulieri Matildi nate quondam Florencii de Anonia, et nobilis mulieris Izabelle Achaie Principisse eius Uxoris.

Qui celestia simul et terrena omnipotenti providencia moderatur ad hoc beato Petro tanquam Vicario suo et successoribus suis post ipsum conferens claves Regni celestis ligandi et solvendi tradidit, Pontificium ut summus Pontifex non humane adinventionis studio sed divine potius inspiracionis instinctu leges statuens salutare quodam necessitatis vinculo liget homines ad observanciam earundem. Quod utique nonnunquam cum urgens necessitas exigit vel evidens utilitas maxime publica persuadet sic laxat proinde circa quosdam de sue plenitudine potestatis, ut ceteri nichilominus teneantur eodem, nulla tamen interveniente acceptione indebita personarum. Cum non sit imputandum defferri persone, cum non privati sed publici comodi gracia et maxime consideratione divini servicii quicquam aliquibus sine iuris iniuria indulgetur. Sane exhibita nobis pro parte vestra petitio continebat, quod vos dudum per legitimos procuratores *et nuncios vestros matrimonium per verba de presenti publice ac solenniter contraxistis*, cuius matrimonii contractui difficultatis impedimenta consurgunt, ex eo quod quondam Ludovicus filius Ducis Burgundie maritus olim tuus, filia Mathildis, tercio tibi, fili Johannes, fuit gradu consanguinitatis astrictus; et quod tu Mathildis cum quondam Carolo<sup>1</sup> nato dilecti filii nobilis Viri Philippi Principis Tarentini fratris tui, Johannes, per verba de presenti matrimonium similiter contraxisti, carnali copula non secuta, unde inter vos ex parte eiusdem Ludovici affinitas, et ex ipsius Caroli parte publice honestatis iusticia fuit contracta, quare nobis humiliter supplicastis ut vobiscum quod positis huiusmodi per vos contracto matrimonio licite remanere, auctoritate apostolica dispensare misericorditer curaremus. Nos igitur attendentes pro statu ecclesiarum et fidelium in partibus Achaye consistencium et alias propter plures causas rationabiles nobis notas plurimum expedire inter vos perfici legit-

<sup>1</sup> Killed at Montecatino, 1315.

time huiusmodi copulam coniugalem pro bono publico, quod exinde, annuente domino, provenire speramus, vestris supplicationibus inclinati vobiscum quod impedimentis huiusmodi, que ex affinitate et publice honestatis iusticia predictis provenire noscuntur nequaquam obstantibus, possitis in predicto matrimonio sic contracto licite remanere, auctoritate apostolica de speciali gratia dispensamus, Prolem suscipiendam ex vobis legitimam nunciantes de apostolice plenitudine potestatis. Nulli ergo etc. Datum Avinione iv. Kalendas Aprilis Anno Secundo (March 1318).

*Arch. Secr. Vatic. Anno II. Reg. Vat. 110, fol. 16, Epist. 58.*

Carissimo in Christo filio Philippo Regi Francie et Navarre illustri. Ecce, fili carissime, scire te cupimus quod carissimi in Christo filii nostri Roberti Regis Sicilie illustris, celsitudini tue tanta consanguinitatis propinquitate coniuncti, vicinum, annuente deo, prestolamur adventum. Et quia, habita presencia eius in Curia, aliqua poterunt imminere tractanda, que non solum personam suam eiusque negocia, set tuam et publicam utilitatem respicient, ad quorum prosecutionem et expeditionem tractatum serenitatis tue expressa scientia et consensus poterunt existere oportuni. Videtur nobis omnino expediens quod aliquem virum providum et discretum, de quo Regia celsitudo plene confidat, de tua consciencia plenarie informatum in dicta Curia habeas tunc presentem, qui predictis tractandis et expediendis intersit, ad quod dilectum filium nobilem Virum Henricum dominum de Sulhiaco Buticularium francie, quem ex pluribus que vidimus et palpavimus in hiis que tue sublimitatis honorem respiciunt cognoscimus libenter et fideliter laborare et fervidum prosecutorem omnium que ad honorem redundant Regie dignitatis, multum reputamus ydoneum et etiam opportunum. Datum vii. Kalendas Aprilis (Anno 2).

*Arch. Secr. Vatic. Anno II. Reg. Vat. 110, fol. 72, Epist. 252.*

Dilecto filio nobili Viro Carolo clare memorie Regis Francie filio Comiti Valesii.

Tuas, fili, de credencia literas per dilectum filium Magistrum Johannem de Cerchemont Decanum Pictavensem Cancellarium tuum exhibitorem presencium nobis diebus proximis presentatis affectione consueta recepimus, et que idem Cancellarius pro parte tua facunde multum nobis exposuit, et fecunde pleno collegimus intellectu. Ad que nosse te volumus quod etsi tractatus et deliberationes varias habuerimus super illis, via tamen conveniens se nobis ad ea non obtulit ut vellemus, set quia interdum agenda magis expedit domesticis tractari colloquiis, quam litterarum et nunciorum missioni committi, optaremus indubie Carissimi in Christo filii nostri Philippi Regis francie et Navarre illustris nepotis tui et tua frui grata presencia supponentes coniectura probabili quod utroque presente plura possent

in predictis et aliis nedum in Regium et tuum comodum et honorem, set et in compendium universi cedencia salubriter et habiliter ordinari. Presertim cum Carissimus in Christo filius noster Robertus Rex Sicilie frater tuus sit ad nos, ut speramus, in brevi venturus; qui nobis significare curavit quod Regi predicto et tibi desiderat super aliquibus colloqui, quem utilitatem honorabilem nostrum communiter cedet et ad dei laudem et gloriam, exaltationem catholice fidei ac terre sancte subsidium poterunt, ut asserit, redundare. Gratum igitur valde nobis accedet et placidum, tibi que dante domino esse poterit fructuosum, si pace Flandrie, prout desideramus et confidimus in domino, procedente circa instans festum Ascensionis dominice vel Pentecostes, aut ubi, quod absit, guerra in illis partibus forsitan fremeret circa primo futurum festum beati Michaelis quando tempus congregiendi non aderit te nostro conspectui presentare curabis. Nos enim Regi prefato nepoti tuo per alias nostras litteras super hoc scribimus et ut eo tunc suam velit exhibere presenciam efficaciter suademus. Ut autem illud quod tibi propter diuturnam elongationem tuam a Regii lateris comitiva rumor vulgaris ascribit, cesset emulorum eloquium, ut deo et nobis, qui super hoc apud te oportuna importunitate frequenter institimus placeas ut denique nos et Regem ipsum ad ea que in predictis et aliis tibi adiacentia fuerint facienda et promovenda libenter inducas. Noli, quesumus, te interim Regi prefato subtrahere, noli comitivam ipsius, ut hactenus elongare, quinimo assistere iugiter procures eidem, ac eius et Regni negocia que procul dubio de proximo te contingunt, viriliter efficaciter et fideliter studeas promovere. Denique noveris quod Cardinalibus missis in Angliam scribimus super eo quod de pace inter Carissimum in Christo filium nostrum Eduardum Regem Anglie illustrem, ac dilectos filios Robertum de Brus, Regnum Scocie gubernantem ac Comitem Lancastrie reformanda fuit a nobis pro parte tua per Cancellarium petatum eundem. Datum iii. Kalendas Aprilis.

*Arch. Secr. Vatic. Anno IV. Reg. Vat. 110, fol. 13 (p. 2), Epist. 70  
(quæ est 626).*

Eidem (Philippo) Regi Francie (et Navarre illustri).

Tuas litteras Regias super facto Principatus Achaye et etiam Rotulum consilia Regalis et Ducalis consilii continentem, videlicet quomodo Principatus predictus ad dilectum filium nobilem Virum. . . . [Othonem] Ducem Burgundie pertinebat, nos noverit Celsitudo Regia recepisse, quibus omnibus pleno intellectu perceptis Carissimo in Christo filio nostro Roberto Regi Sicilie illustri persuadere curavimus que pro comuni bono utrique parti expediencia videbantur. Et licet consilium dicti Regis non mediocriter invitatur de consilio antedicto, presertim cum iuxta assertionem ipsorum feudum Principatus predicti ad eundem Regem ut ad superiorem dominum ex multis capitibus clare et aperte apertum fuisse noscatur super hoc iura multa ad

fundandum suum propositum inducendo. Nos tamen pacem ipsarum parcium utilitati principatus predicti merito preferentes ad semitam concordie, via iuris ommissa, que frequenter sauciare amicitias consuevit, circa illam sollicitam operam et diligentiam studuimus adhibere, cuius prosecutionem discrasia quedam dilecti filii nobilis Viri. . . Philippi Principis Tarentini per dies ymo septimanas plurimas impedivit. Tandem eodem Principe restituto pristine sanitati, faciente pacis actore ad hoc est finaliter res deducta, quod speramus indubie ad honorem et comodum dicti Ducis posse negocium huiusmodi amicaliter terminare. Hec igitur Regali Celsitudini intimantes affectuose rogamus, quatinus placeat Excellentie Regie Duci suadere predicto, ut personas de quibus gerat fiduciam pleniorum sufficienter instructas cum pleno et sufficienti mandato pro perficiendo tractatu predicto ad presenciam nostram quantocius studeat destinare, supponimus enim indubie quod Rex Sicilie et Princeps prefati consencient tractatui supradicto, et speramus quod dux ipse huiusmodi tractatum velut sibi utilem ac honorabilem prompto animo acceptabit. De mora autem quam in rescribendo super premissis habuimus nos habeat Excellencia Regia excusatos, nam viam iuris prius tractatam ex qua scandala subsequi verebatur insinuare nolimus, set viam pacis ex qua annuente deo innumera bona secutura speramus, quamcicuius potuimus Serenitati Regie providimus intimanda. Datum vii. Kalendas Januari Anno Quarto (December 1319).

*Arch. Secr. Vatic. Anno IV. Reg. Vat. 110, fol. 14 (p. 2),  
Epist. 639 (83).*

Carissimo filio nostro Philippo Regi Francie et Navarre illustri.

Regalis excellentie litteras nobis per dilectum filium nobilem Virum Guillelmum Flote militem presentatas leta manu recepimus, et ea que tam ipse quam nuncii dilecti filii nobilis Viri Othonis Ducis Burgundie super facto Principatus Achaye tam verbo quam scripto voluerunt proponere percepimus diligenter. Verum quia super via insinuata serenitati Regie per dilectum filium Petrum tituli sancte Susanne presbyterum Cardinalem, super qua prosequenda ipsos missos ad nostram presenciam credebamus, aut super aliqua alia quam super oblati per ipsos in scriptis ex eorum assertionibus ipsos percepimus nichil posse, cum ex responsionibus pro parte Carissimi filii nostri Roberti Regis Sicilie illustris nobis exhibitis, et ipsarum facta copia antedictis nunciis apparuerit evidenter, ipsum in aliqua premissarum viarum per ipsos nobis nuncios oblatarum minime concordare volentes, frustra super hiis laborare ac ipsos nuncios inutiliter diucius detinere a premissa prosecutione negocii desistentes ipsi licentiam concessimus recedendi; formam autem oblatorum per prefatos nuncios ac responsiones pro parte Regis prefati nobis oblatas curabimus cito, dante domino, Regali excellentie intimare. Datum Avinione ix. Kalendas Junii Anno Quarto.

# CLEMENT VI

## DOCUMENTS

*Arch. Secr. Vatic. Anno II. Reg. Vat. 137, fol. 20, Epist. 60.*

DILECTE in Christo filie Nobili Mulieri Agneti Ducisse Duracii.

Presentatas apostolatui nostro Nobilitatis tue litteras, per quas inter cetera filios tuos, videlicet Ducem Ducissam eius coniugem Ludovicum et Robertum apostolice benivolencie humiliter recommendans, de statu nostro, quem audire prosperum votive desideras, pro tue consolationis augmento cercior effici postulasti; benigne recepimus et earum seriem pleno collegimus intellectu. Sane dilecta in Christo filia, cum te dictosque filios tuos geramus in visceribus caritatis et prosequamur favore dilectionis paterne, te ac ipsos ad ea que decent et expediunt dirigi desiderabiliter affectamus. Et quia necessario tibi et eis expedit, ut in favore benivolencia et gracia Carissime in Christo filie nostre Johanne Regine Sicilie Illustris cum divino beneplacito semper sitis, prudenciam tuam rogamus et hortamur attente, sano paternoque tibi nichilominus consilio suadentes, quatinus eidem Regine domine tue sic te humilies, et dilectam in Christo filiam Nobilem Mulierem Mariam ducissam nurum tuam et eiusdem Regine germanam sic similiter humiliari procures, quod ipsa Regina ex humilitate vestra et aliis obsequiosis devotionibus, a quavis indignatione, si quam forsitan contra vos conceperit, omnino placata te ac ipsam germanam suam Ducem et alios natos tuos animo benivolo et oportunitis favoribus prosequatur, tenemus quidem indubie quod si sic feceritis, ut optamus, persona quam tecum habes non solum de iuribus ad eandem nurum tuam, te dictosque filios tuos spectantibus, sed quicquid ulterius honeste volueris, cum auxilio divine gracia assequeris, nec favor noster si nostris huiusmodi persuasionibus atqueieveris effectualiter in hac parte salubribus, tibi quantum cum deo poterimus deerit, de quo si hoc ommitteres, quod absit, facere non confidas, super quibus et aliis premissa tangentibus dilecto filio Rogerio de Vintrono Archidiacono de Conchis in ecclesia Ruthenensi, Camerario dilecti filii nostri Talayrandi tituli sancti Petri ad Vincula Presbyteri Cardinalis germani tui, quem ad te mittit specialiter, fidem poteris credulam adhibere. Porro de statu nostro

hoc te scire volumus quod licet varietate negotiorum multiplicium ad alveum sedis apostolice confluentium continue importabiliter agitemur, illo tamen faciente, qui potest, corporali sospitate letamur. Datum Avinione Nonis Junii, Anno Secundo.

*Arch. Secr. Vatic. Anno III. Reg. Vat. 138, fol. 48, Epist. 151.*

Dilecto filio Nobili Viro Carolo Duci Duracii.

Gratis nobis admodum relatibus intellecto quod tu, fili, ad ea que honorem et beneplacitum nostrum et ecclesie Romane, ac bonum et prosperum statum Carissimorum in Christo filiorum nostrorum Andree Regis et Johanne Regine Sicilie Illustrium, totiusque Patrie illius respiciunt, promptis studiis et operosis sollicitudinibus te impendens, dilecto filio nostro Aymerico tituli sancti Martini in Montibus presbytero Cardinali apostolice Sedis Legato, auxiliis et favoribus opportunis assistere curavisti. Nos devotionis tue sinceritatem cum gratiarum actionibus multipliciter in domino commendantes Nobilitatem tuam deprecamur attentius quatinus continuare assistentiam huiusmodi, per quam nostram et apostolice sedis tibi vendicabis uberius benevolentiam non omittas. Datum Avinione xv. Kal. Augusti, Anno Tercio.

*Arch. Secr. Vatic. Anno III. Reg. Vat. 138, fol. 57, Epist. 190.*

Carissime in Christo filie Johanne Regine Sicilie Illustri.

Super diversis tuis, filia Carissima, negociis diversi Ambassiatores et Nuncii per te fuerint hactenus, et etiam hiis diebus preteritis cum diversis litteris ad nostram presentiam destinati, qui diversa et quandoque contraria pro parte tue Celsitudinis proponere ac petere curaverunt, et quia propter diversitates et contrarietates huiusmodi, nobis de tua recta et principali super hiis intentione liquere nequivit, placuit nobis quod dilectus filius Nobilis Vir Hugo de Baucio Comes Avellini Senescalcus tuus Provincie, ad tue Serenitatis accedens presentiam, et ad nos inde rediens, de tua intentione huiusmodi colloquutione familiari et secreta per te certitudinaliter informatus Nos efficere valeat sublata dubitatione qualibet certiores, cum nostre intentionis existat et extiterit, quod Nos quantum cum deo ac honore nostro et ecclesie Romane fieri poterit super predictis iuxta rectam intentionem tuam benignos et propicios gaudeas reperisse. Interim autem nobis placuit quod dilectus filius Nobilis Vir Ludovicus de Duratio, et alii Ambassiatores tui huc remaneant, quousque Senescallus redierit antedictus. Tu vero, filia dilectissima, sic discrete mature ac provide ad certum finem stabilem te firmando, petitiones tuas studeas ordinare, quod per Nos possint et debeant, honestate servata debita, sicut desiderabiliter appetuimus, ad effectum exauditionis admitti. Datum apud Villamnovam Avinionensis diocesis ii. Kalendas Augusti, Anno Tercio.

*Arch. Secr. Vatic. Anno III. Reg. Vat. 138, Epist. 195.*

Dilecto filio Aymerico tituli sancti Martini in Montibus presbytero Cardinali apostolice Sedis Legato.

Fidedignis noviter audivimus relatibus dilectos filios Nobiles Viros Johannem Minerbinum Comitem Palatinum et eius fratres a carcerali custodia, qua diu denti (detenti), fuerant per Carissimum in Christo filium nostrum Andream Regem Sicilie Illustrem favorabiliter liberatos. Cum autem eidem Regi et Carissime in Christo filie nostre Johanne Regine Sicilie Illustri super recommendatione ipsorum per litteras nostras diversas scribamus, Volumus quod ut prefati Nobiles eisdem Regi et Regine totique domui Regie obsequiosi fideles et devoti ut tenentur permaneant, cuiuslibet dissentionis et scandali materia evitata, interponat tua discretio, sicut, prout, et quando expedire cognoverit partes suas. Datum apud Villamnovam Avinionensis diocesis Kalendis Augusti, Anno Tercio.

*Arch. Secr. Vatic. Anno III. Reg. Vat. 138, fol. 68, Epist. 221.*

Dilecto filio Aymerico tituli Sancti Martini in Montibus, presbytero Cardinali apostolice Sedis Legato.

Ad ingentis anxietatem doloris provocatur non indigne sancta Romana mater ecclesia, dum illos qui sacri baptismatis unda renati, deberent fidei Catholice claritate fulgere, mestis audit relatibus errorum obvoliri tenebris, et ad detractionem eiusdem fidei ac nostri redemptoris contumelias et opprobria dampnabiliter prolabi, seque hiis et aliis suis horrendis deviis in laqueum precipitari eterne damnationis et mortis, propter quod tanquam mater salutis filiorum avida, talium periculis debite correctionis virge non parcens occurrere studet libenter et sedule, ut deviantes ad viam salutis reducere satagat, et quos in suis facinoribus huiusmodi obduratos et incorrigibles repererit, taliter corrigit et castiget, quod ab eis velut morbois ovibus grex dominicus infici nequeat vel corrumpi. Sane amaritudine plena relatio perduxit nuper ad nostri apostolatus auditum quod nonnulli Neophiti qui de Iudaismo ad eandem fidem catholicam, recepto sacre regenerationis lavacro hiis preteritis venerunt temporibus, in Regno Sicilie ac Terris citra farum morantes, postmodum illius hostis antiqui, qui saluti humane invidet seducti malicia, nedum velamen iudaice cecitatis, quod a se divina gratia inspirati abiecerant, dampnabiliter resumentes, sed se multis dampnatis et detestandis erroribus et heresibus immiscentes quamplurima execranda et auditu horribilia, in detractionem eiusdem fidei catholice ac redemptoris nostri domini ihesu christi, sueque gloriosissime genitricis Marie semper virginis domine nostre contumeliam et offensam, pollutis labiis, et temerariis ausibus proferre, que propter horribilitatem eorum inserere presentibus omittimus, presumpserunt hactenus et presumunt. Cupientes igitur super correctione premissorum debita sic operosam diligentiam

adhiberi, quod talia vel similia de radice venenosa diabolica prodeuntia, nequaquam ulterius in dei offensam, et periculum ac perniciem fidei et fidelium pullulare valeant, sed potius evulsa et erradicata de agro dominico totaliter extingantur, discretioni tue de qua fiduciam in domino gerimus specialem, per apostolica scripta committimus et mandamus quatinus per te, vel alium seu alios super articulis premissa tangentibus, quos tibi prout nobis dati sunt, sub bulla nostra mittimus interclusos, *simpliciter et de plano sine strepitu et figura iudicii veritatem inquirens*, premissa secundum statuta canonum taliter corrigere studeas et punire, quod talia vel similia non presumantur in illis partibus decetero, sed totaliter extirpentur. Contradictores quoslibet super hiis, et rebelles clericos et laycos, exemptos et non exemptos, cuiuscunque status dignitatis preminentie vel conditionis existant, etiam si Pontificali vel alia quacumque prefulgeant dignitate, per censuram ecclesiasticam appellatione postposita compescendo. Non obstante si eis vel eorum aliquibus comuniter vel divisim a sede apostolica sit indultum, quod interdici suspendi vel excommunicari non possint per litteras apostolicas non facientes plenam et expressam ac de verbo ad verbum de indulto huiusmodi mentionem. Invocato ad hoc si necesse fuerit auxilio brachii secularis. Porro propter premissa Ordinario locorum et Inquisitoribus heretice pravitatis inhibere vel derogare non intendimus, quominus ipsi et eorum quilibet procedere super predictis valeant, prout ad eorum noscitur officium pertinere. Datum apud Villamnovam Avinionensis diocesis xiii. Kalendas Septembris, Anno Tercio.

*Arch. Secr. Vatic. Anno III. Reg. Vat. 138, fol. 71, Epist. 239.*

Carissimo in Christo filio Andree Regi Sicilie Illustri.

Presentate nobis tue Celsitudinis littere, corporalem infirmitatem, qua Carissima in Christo filia nostra Johanna Regina Sicilie Illustris consors tua, gravata multipliciter hiis diebus preteritis fuerat et afflicta, et subsequenter restitutam sibi sanitatem a domino describentes, super infirmitate ipsa paterne compassionis amaritudinem et restituta sanitate leticiam nostris precordiis ministrarunt, sed non modicum ipsam auxit leticiam cordi nostro, quod de unitate caritatis et concordie vigente, sicut ipsius caritatis et rationis exigit debitum, inter te ac eandem Reginam ultima litterarum ipsarum clausula subiungebat. Sane, fili Carissime, quia talis concordia multum est deo placibilis, et discordia displicibilis et exosa, tuam exhortamur excellentiam attentius in domino et rogamus, quatinus consideranter et prudenter attendens, quod ex tua et eiusdem Regine, quorum negocia sunt, ut in predictis adiecisti litteris indivisa, unitatis et amoris concordia, tu et ipsa totaque domus Regia et status Regni successibus prosperabimini continuis, et ex odiosis dissentionibus, si, quod absit, ab illo qui est sator malorum omnium permitterentur nutriri quomodolibet vel foveri, preter offensam divinam et subditorum summe vitandum et cavendum

contemptum, qui procul dubio generaretur exinde, varia que faciliter non possent estimari dispendia provenirent, huiusmodi caritatis et unitatis concordiam mutuam, sicut tui et sui status decet excellentiam et honorem, quibusvis contrarium suggerentibus, tanquam hostibus detractoribus et emulis, per te reiectis penitus et expulsis, confovere constanter et inviolabiliter studeas et etiam observare. Datum apud Villannovam Avinionensis diocesis vii. Kalendas Septembris, Anno Tercio.

*Arch. Secr. Vatic. Anno III. Reg. Vat. 138, fol. 200, Epist. 746.*

Dilecto filio Aymerico tituli Sancti Martini in Montibus, presbytero Cardinali apostolice Sedis Legato.

Paterna nos movet pietas et cogit iniunctum nobis desuper officium apostolice servitutis, ut Carissime in Christo filie nostre Johanne Regine Sicilie Illustris ac Regni et Terrarum ipsius, que de directo ecclesie Romane dominio existere dinoscuntur, et a nobis et eadem ecclesia per ipsam Reginam sub homagio ligio Vassallagio et fidelitatis iuramento certoque annuo censu tenentur providere indempnitatibus quantum cum deo et iusticia possumus, attente sollicitudinis studiis procuremus. Dudum siquidem veridica relatione percepto, clare memorie Robertum Regem Sicilie, sicut domino placuit ab hac luce substractum, eadem Regina Nepte sua, ex unico filio suo Primogenita in Regno Sicilie ac Terris citra farum Regi succedente predicto, que in tali erat etate constituta, quod ad gubernationem et administrationem Regni et Terrarum predictorum, propter defectum etatis huiusmodi, cuius quidem etatis consuevit esse consilium fragile ac infirmum, multisque captionibus expositum, minus ydonea existebat. Nos qui eiusdem Regine superiores existebamus et existimus, ac Regni et Terrarum earundem, ut premittitur, dominium obtinemus, ad quos quod cura et gubernatio administratio et Bailia Regni et Terrarum predictorum regende per nos vel alium seu alios ydoneos per sedem apostolicam deputandum, seu etiam deputandos plene et insolidum de iure ac diversorum predecessorum nostrorum Romanorum Pontificum observantia pacifica hiis temporibus pertinebant, predecessorum ipsorum vestigiis inherentes, qui paterna benevolentia consilium capientes pro filiis in similibus casibus salubriter providerunt pro bono statu Regni et Terrarum predictorum, et pro censura recti iudicii, et rectitudine iusticie ibidem sub Rectore debito confovendo, tam pro iure nostro et eiusdem Romane ecclesie conservando, quam pro eiusdem Regine, ac Regni et Terrarum ipsorum utilitate indempnitateteque Incolarum Regni et Terrarum ipsorum, qui nostri et ecclesie prefate principaliter sunt homines et Vassalli, et ut nostri fulti presidio, sublata malorum formidine, a noxiis et oppressionibus indebitis preservarentur immunes, deliberatione prehabita diligenti, decrevimus et ordinavimus gubernationem, administrationem et bayliam Regni et Terrarum predictorum gubernari et

regi deberi, ac exercendas esse nostro nomine hiis temporibus, et gerendas, easque tibi de cuius circumspecta matura et fideli providentia plene confidimus per nostras certi tenoris litteras providimus de fratrum nostrorum consilio committendas, certis administratoribus et gubernatoribus per prefatum Robertum Regem memorate Regine ac Regno predicto de facto datis cum de iure presertim pro tempore quo ad nos eadem administratio pertinebat, minime potuisset, ne de gubernatione et administratione huiusmodi pro dicto tempore se quomodolibet intromitterent sub diversis penis in processibus per Nos factis super hoc contentis plenius et expressis, districtius nichilominus prohibentes. Sane cum sicut intelleximus prefata Regina, postquam tu gubernationem, administrationem et bayliam Regni et Terrarum predictorum, nostro et ecclesie Romane predictae nomine suscepisti, et antea etiam post obitum dicti Regis de nonnullis bonis iuribus honoribus redditibus et proventibus ad usum et proprietatem Regalis Mense spectantibus seu spectare debentibus concessionem donationem, infeudationem seu alienationem diversas fecerit in eiusdem Regni et status Regii lesionem enormem, licet sicut premissum est, ad nos et ecclesiam prefatam, administrationem, gubernationem et Baylia predictorum Regni et Terrarum pertinentibus premissa vel alia que spectarent etiam ad administrationem et gubernationem predictas Regine non licerent predictae, Nos ad quos principaliter maxime temporibus, quibus predictae administratio gubernatio et baylia nobis incumbunt pertinet Regni et Terrarum predictorum indemnitatibus precavere tam gravem et enormem lesionem eorundem Regni et Terrarum ac status et honoris Regii nolentes sicut etiam urgente conscientia nec debemus sub dissimulationis pertransire neglectu, discretioni tue per apostolica scripta committimus et mandamus, quatinus concessionem donationem infeudationem et alienationem predictas de quibuscumque Comitatus, Vicecomitatus, Baroniis, Terris, Castris, Villis, honoribus, iuribus, iurisdictionibus, redditibus, proventibus et aliis quibuscumque bonis et rebus immobilibus per eandem Reginam sub quibuscumque titulis modis et formis a tempore obitus dicti Roberti Regis usque modo factas, nullas, cassas, et irritas, et nullius fuisse ac esse roboris, efficacitatis vel momenti decernas, et quatenus de facto processerint cassas, irritas, nuncios quibuscumque personis ecclesiasticis et secularibus, cuiuscumque status, dignitatis, ordinis, preminentie vel conditionis existant, sub excommunicationis in personas et interdicti in Terras et loca ipsorum sententiis; et aliis penis, de quibus tibi videbitur, a te promulgandis et infligendis districtius nichilominus inhibendo, ne huiusmodi concessionibus donationibus, infeudationibus, seu alienationibus utantur quomodolibet, sed potius infra certum terminum preemptorium competentem, a te super hoc prefigendum, quecumque bona, iura, et res que ad eos occasione concessionum donationum, infeudationum, seu alienationum predictarum pervenerint quoquo modo, plene libere ac expedite dimit-

tant, in iure ac proprietate Regiis plenarie remanentia, sicut existebant ante donationem, concessionem, infeudationem seu alienationem earum. Volumus autem quod processus tuos super premissis habendos in ecclesiis et locis solennibus Regni et Terrarum predictorum, singulis diebus dominicis et festivis, facias sollemniter publicari. Contradictores super premissis quomodolibet et rebelles per censuram ecclesiasticam appellatione postposita compescendo. Non obstantibus quibuscunque privilegiis, indulgentiis et litteris apostolicis, quibuscunque personis, locis vel ordinibus concessis, quorumcumque tenorum existant, per que tua in hac parte iurisdictio differri vel impediri valeret. Seu si aliquibus comuniter vel divisim a sede apostolica sit indultum, quod interdici suspendi vel excommunicari non possint, per litteras apostolicas non facientes plenam et expressam, ac de verbo ad verbum de indulto huiusmodi mentionem. Datum Avinione iii. Kalendas Februarii, Anno Tercio.

*Arch. Secr. Vatic. Anno III. Reg. Vat. 138, fol. 234, Epist. 901.*

Carissimo in Christo filio Ludovico Regi Ungarie Illustri.

Quia detractorum labia sagitant in occulto sepius innocentes, pietati et rationi conveniens extimamus, si hii qui culpa carent a periculosis ictibus huiusmodi eripiantur veritatis suffragio, ut tuta inter improbos innocentia perseveret. Cum autem, sicut intelleximus, aliqui visi fuerint auribus Regiis instillare quod Venerabilis frater noster Vitus Episcopus Nitriensis dudum pro negociis Carissimi in Christo filii nostri Andree Regis Sicilie Illustris Germani tui, ad sedem apostolicam pro parte tue Celsitudinis una cum quibusdam aliis destinatus, aliqua dixerat seu procuraverat per que honoris et comodi dicti Regis promotio super certis articulis extiterat impedita. Nos suggestionem huiusmodi esse credentes verisimiliter a veritate penitus alienam, Magnificentiam Regiam scire pro certo volumus et tenere, quod idem Episcopus una cum aliis suis Collegis Nunciis et Ambassiatoribus prudenter, fideliter et diligenter se gesset in hiis et super hiis, que habuerunt super eisdem negociis, tunc agere coram nobis utilitatem et honorem Regis prefati, quantum per ipsos fieri potuit, promovendo, nec de ipso Episcopo vel aliis predictis Nunciis sentire potuimus contrarium quoquomodo. Datum Avinione xvi. Kalendas Aprilis, Anno Tercio.

*Arch. Secr. Vatic. Anno III. Reg. Vat. 138, fol. 248, Epist. 956.*

Dilecto filio Nobili Viro Roberto de Cabanis, Comiti Eboli.

Insinuatione placibili percepimus, quod tu, fili, super liberali concessionem per Carissimam in Christo filiam nostram Johannam Reginam Sicilie Illustrem, dilecto filio Nobili Viro Guillelmo Vicecomiti Belliforti germano nostro facta noviter, operosam et benivolam adhibere diligenciam curavisti, super quibus utique admodum vobis gratis, Nobilitati tue gratiarum referimus actiones. Datum Avinione vi. Idus Aprilis, Anno Tercio.

*Arch. Secr. Vatic. Anno IV. Reg. Vat. 139, Epist. 93.*

Eidem Regine (Johanne Regine Sicilie Illustri).

Ad tui, filia carissima, honoris et status incrementa felicia sinceris et paternis affectibus aspirantes, super recipiendis una cum Carissimo in Christo filio nostro Andrea Rege Sicilie Illustri Viro tuo, coronationis et inunctionis solemnis, cessante cunctatione morosa, que reprehensibilis procul dubio reputaretur ulterius, tibi nostras alias exhortatorias litteras destinamus. Sane quia paterne studio diligencie pro te, filia dilectissima, consilium capere cupimus super hiis magis sanum, sepius intra nostra precordia, quid tibi et eidem Regi esset expediencius, venire videlicet ad nostram presentiam et de manibus nostris, vel ab alio de mandato nostro in illis partibus recipere solennia huiusmodi revolventes, labores et sumptus pro veniendo necessarii nostre considerationis intuitum quandoque retrahebant abinde, sed tuus et eiusdem Viri tui honor, qui si solennia ipsa receperitis a nobis, sine dubio maior esset, necnon multa salubria et utilia que pro te Regnoque tuo, te presente nobiscum tractari possent et perfici, ad hoc vertunt rationabiliter mentem nostram, quibus omnibus et aliis, que nobis in hac parte possunt occurrere matura consideratione pensatis et attento nichilominus diligenter quod honor et comoda huiusmodi prevalere poterunt, sicut indubitanter credimus laboribus et sumptibus supradictis, in hoc resedit eiusdem deliberatio mentis nostre, melius expediencius et utilius omnibus compensatis existere, quod tu et Rex prefatus ad eandem presentiam recepturi coronationem et inunctionem huiusmodi veniatis. Quocirca Regiam rogamus Excellenciam et in domino attentius exhortamur, sano paternoque tibi nichilominus consilio suadentes quatinus ad hoc ut cilius comode fieri poterit effectualiter te disponas. Sane quia vox viva magis quam mortua imprimere cordibus consuevit, Nos qui te tuumque Regnum predictum intra nostra precordia sincere dilectionis et paterne caritatis affectu gerimus, dilectum filium Magistrum Johannem de Jaurens Capellanum nostrum causarum nostri Palatii Auditorem, Virum utique fidelitatis et probitatis constancia, litterarum scientia et discretionis maturitate conspicuum, de intentione nostra plenarie super hiis informatum, ad tue Celsitudinis presentiam destinamus, quem cures audire super hiis et aliis, que tibi pro parte nostra explicanda verbotenus duxerit, sibi que fidem credulam adhibere. Datum ut supra. (Apud Villamnovam Avin. dioc. iiii. Idus Junii, Anno Quarto.)

*Arch. Secr. Vatic. Anno IV. Reg. Vat. 139, Epist. 272.*

Dilecte in Christo filie Nobili Mulieri Santie de Cabanis.

Super quibusdam honorem et utilitatem Carissime in Christo filie nostre Johanne Regine Sicilie Illustris et Regni sui tangenti-

bus, eidem per litteras scribimus oportunas. Ideoque Nobilitatem tuam rogamus et hortamur attentius quatinus apud eandem Reginam solitudinibus operosis insistere, sibi que suadere procures ut voluntati exortationibus et mandato nostris, super hiis que sibi, ut premittitur, scribimus pareat et obtemperet, eaque compleat celeriter cum effectu. Datum Avinione iii. Idus Augusti, Anno Quarto.

*Arch. Secr. Vatic. Anno IV. Reg. Vat. 139, Epist. 421.*

—Item in eundem modum—Dilectis filiis Nobilibus Viris Goffredo Comiti Squillatii et Carolo Artusii domino Sancteagathe.

Affectione paterna Regnum Sicilie de nostro et ecclesie Romane directo existens dominio, et Carissimos in Christo filios nostros Andream Regem et Johannam Reginam Sicilie Illustres, ac statum ipsorum, quem zelamus prosperum intuentes, et attendentes quod eorundem Regis et Regine inunctio et coronatio nimis hactenus sunt dilate, certis ex causis ad hoc Nos moventibus de gratia concessimus speciali, quod dicto Regi tanquam Viro Regine predicte, ipsique Regine iure suo, in partibus illis per manus Venerabilis fratris nostri Guillelmi Episcopi Carnotensis apostolice sedis Nuntii, vice et auctoritate nostra impendi cum solennitate debita certis cautelis adhibitis, simul valeant inunctionis et coronationis solennia predictarum, sicut in litteris nostris inde confectis plenius continetur. Quocirca Nobilitatem tuam rogamus et hortamur attente, quatinus ut iuxta tenores litterarum ipsarum, eadem non differatur ulterius solennitas sed potius perficiatur celeriter et honorifice sicut decet, insistas fideliter, et partes tue solitudinis efficaciter interponas. Datum apud Villamnovam Avin. diocesis xi. Kalendas Octobris, Anno Quarto.

*Arch. Secr. Vatic. Anno IV. Reg. Vat. 140, Epist. 62.*

Dilecto filio Nobili Viro Roberto Principi Tarentino.

Quam sint periculosus et scandalosus onuste dispendiis dissensiones et emulationes quas inter te ac quosdam alios de domo Regia, procurante pacis et caritatis emulo, displicenter audivimus suscitatas, quantumque hiis presertim temporibus non solum opportunum et honestum, immo summe necessarium pro statu et honore Regni et domus Regie procul dubio existeret, quod omnes de domo predicta sicut estis connexi sanguine sic permaneretis, reiectis et depositiis quibuscunque odiis, simulationibus et divisionibus animorum indempnitate coniuncti, potes si prudenter et diligenter adverteris recolligere intra precordiã mentis tue. Ideoque Nobilitatem tuam rogamus et hortamur attentius, quatinus premissis ex hiis que occurrunt presentialiter in examine recte considerationis adductis, ad Unitatem et concordiam mutuam huiusmodi, mentem tuam efficaciter convertere, aliosque ad hoc inducere ac dirigere, ut inde securitatis et quietis amenitas votiva domino donante perveniat, et status predicte

domus Regie honorabilis, cuius tu et alii predicti existere columpne principales noscimini, suis non decrescat honoribus, sed augeatur pocius vestris temporibus et virtute domus eiusdem non dispersa, sed unita firmitate stabili fulciatur. Super premissis autem Venerabili fratri nostro Guillelmo Episcopo Casinensi, cui exinde scribimus, fidem velis adhibere credulam, et eius monitis, consilii et persuasionibus salubribus acquiescere cum effectū. (Apud Villamnovam Avin. dioc. ii. Idus Junii, Anno Quinto.)

*Arch. Secr. Vatic. Anno v. Reg. Vat. 140, Epist. 230.*

Dilecto filio Nobili Viro Carolo Duci Duratii.

Pro dilecto filio Nobili Viro Hugone domino Baucii Comite Avellini, quem suis exigentibus meritis favore benivolentiae prosequimur specialis, Carissime in Christo filie nostre Johanne Regine Sicilie Illustri porrigimus per alias litteras preces nostras, ut eundem Comitem volentem visitare pro suis dirigendis negociis partes istas, huc venire cum sui gratia favoris permittat, et nichilominus quod attentis suis et suorum obsequiis hactenus domni Regie fideliter et devote impensis, et quod ipse laudabiliter et bene se gessit in officio Senescallie Provincie, a quo amotus est, ipsum in aliquo officio in Regno Sicilie dicto Comiti congruenti habere velit favorabiliter commendatum. Quocirca Nobilitatem tuam rogamus attente quantum apud eandem Reginam quod nostris in hac parte precibus effectualiter acquiescat, cures pro nostra et apostolice sedis reverentia efficaciter interponere partes tuas. (Avinione iii. Idus Julii, Anno Quinto.)

*Arch. Secr. Vatic. Anno v. Reg. Vat. 140, Epist. 559.*

Carissime in Christo filie Johanne Regine Sicilie Illustri.

Suadentibus certis causis rationabilibus, tibi, filia carissima, tenore presentium districtius prohibemus, ne aliqua de bonis illorum, qui mortis horrende clare memorie Andree Regis Sicilie Viri tui culpabiles vel conscii extiterint, confiscatis, vel etiam confiscandis donationes concessionem vel remissionem alicui vel aliquibus facias absque nostra licentia speciali, et si quas iam forsitan feceris, illa receptis presentibus absque more dispendio studeas effectualiter revocare, quas Nos etiam exnunc nullius existere decernimus roboris vel momenti. (Avinione x. Kalendas Octobris, Anno Quinto.)

*Arch. Secr. Vatic. Anno v. Reg. Vat. 140, Epist. 614.*

Carissime in Christo filie Johanne Regine Sicilie Illustri.

Ut de Nobili Viro Carolo Artusii qui de illo scelere flagitiosissimo perpetrato in personam clare memorie Andree Regis Sicilie Viri tui repertus dicitur fore suspectus, ac bonis ipsius fieri melius et utilius valeat quod iustitia suadebit Volumus quod idem Carolus cui breviter Judicem et locum non suspectos et ydoneos super predictis intendimus

deputare, *bonaque ipsius quecunque sub manu nostra et ecclesie Romane* per Venerabilem fratrem Guillelmum Episcopum Casinensem nostrum et apostolice sedis in eis partibus Nuncium, cui super hoc litteras nostras dirigimus oportunas, teneantur et custodiantur sine cuiuscunque preiudicio, quousque aliud duxerimus super hoc ordinandum. Quocirca Magnificentiam tuam requirimus rogamus et hortamur attente, quatinus eidem Episcopo ac illi vel illis, quos ipse super predictis deputaverit, auxiliis et favoribus opportunis assistens, nullum impedimentum vel obstaculum adhibeas seu apponas, nec ab aliquibus adhiberi vel apponi, quantum in te fuerit, quoquomodo permittas, quominus dictus Episcopus omnia bona predicta sub eadem manu libere recipere valeat et tenere, nec etiam contra prefatum Carolum, vel bona ipsius de cetero, quousque per Nos aliud ut prefertur ordinatum extiterit, aliquam facias seu permittas a tuis subditis fieri novitatem. Sic te, filia carissima, super hiis habitura quod Nos devotionem tuam merito exinde commendare possimus. (Avinione viii. Idus Octobris, Anno Quinto.)

*Arch. Secr. Vatic. Anno v. Reg. Vat. 140, Epist. 1226.*

Dilecto filio Bertrando tituli sancti Marchi presbytero Cardinali apostolice Sedis Legato.

Scripsisse tibi meminimus qualiter Carissimis in Christo filiis nostris Ludovico Regi et Elisabeth genetrici sue Regine Ungarie Illustribus ad retrahendum Regem ipsum ab accessu et aggressionem Regni Sicilie nostras providimus litteras destinandas, que autem nobis rescripserunt per suas litteras nobis a suo speciali Nuncio presentatas tue prudentie reserabit plenius cedula presentibus interclusa. Alias autem a quodam exploratore quem habemus in partibus Ungarie litteras recepimus quarum seriem alia inclusa etiam cedula tibi serius indicabit. Porro scire te volumus quod dilectus filius. [Andreas] . . . Dux Venetorum per suas litteras quas die ultima Mensis Aprilis proximo preteriti recepimus intimavit se credere Regem prefatum Ungarie nequaquam ad Regnum Sicilie accedere isto Anno quia de Civitate Zagabriensi retrocedendo versus Ungariam direxerat gressus suos. Sed deinde die date presentium Venerabilis frater noster Bertrandus Patriarcha Aquilegensis, qui nobis quecunque que de adventu ipsius Regis sentiret debet quamtocius intimare nobis quasdam litteras et prefatus explorator alias, quarum tenores hic inclusa cedula continet transmiserunt. Nec insuper nolumus te latere quod duos Nuncios hiis diebus preteritis ad Carissimum in Christo filium nostrum Carolum Regem Romanum Illustrem destinavimus successive ut Regem Ungarie predictum omnino retraheret ab accessu et aggressionem hostilibus dicti Regni. Rursus miramur admodum et mirantur etiam fratres nostri quod sicut deliberate ante tuum recessum de Curia extitit ordinatum, quod prelatos Comites Barones Magnates Comunitates et Universitates Regni predicti convocares et

cum eis deliberares qualiter et per quem modum preparari et fieri poterat defensio dicti Regni si ad illud Regem memoratum Ungarie contingeret declinare, hoc non feceris vel si forsitan per te factum extiterit nobis non duxeris intimidandum, quamobrem circa hoc si nondum perfectum fuerit diligentiam adhibere studeas operosam et tam in Regno ipso quam in terris ecclesie aliisque partibus Italie quid in hac parte fieri expediat deliberes cum eisdem et de remediis mandato nostro non expectato, quantum per te divina tibi suffragante gratia fieri poterit provideas oportunis, nobis que quomodolibet in premissis et circa illa egeris, queve per Nos utiliter posse fieri videris, celeriter prout expediens fuerit rescripturus, Nos enim sicut scribes et decenter ac comode poterimus circa ea que incumbent adesse prompti erimus et parati, ex hiis quidem pro magna parte resultare poterit responsio ad ea super quibus Nos curasti consulere, an videlicet expediat ecclesie ut contra Regem prelibatum Ungarie si ad Regnum predictum veniat te voluntarium constituas et debilem inimicum, quia secundum illa que per te fient et nobis circa premissa scripseris ad ea poterimus pleniori deliberatione habita respondere. Preterea nostre ac fratrum eorundem admirationi adicit quod inquisitionem contra Reginam et Regales non duxeris incohendam. Multum quidem desiderant quod fiat inquisitio huiusmodi dicti fratres, presumentes verisimiliter quod ex mora illius, ira dicti Regis Ungarie accendatur, et ex hoc quia non fit iusticia, occasionem et voluntatem pro ulciscenda nece fraterna nitatur assumere ad Regnum veniendi predictum. Nempe summe prefatis Regine ac Regalibus expedit quod fiant et compleantur inquisitiones huiusmodi contra ipsos, quia eis nullo modo confidendum existit, quod Rex ipse cuicumque parceret si ad Regnum ipsum, quod avertat dominus, declinaret. Ideoque Reginam ipsam cui Nos inde scripsimus et adhuc etiam prout alia cedula hic inclusa continet scribimus procures inducere, ostensis sibi litterarum dictorum et Regine Ungarie tenoribus et eidem plenius explicatis ut libenter et gratanter inquisitioni consenciat faciendo, seque decenter pacienter et honeste in sua viduitate teneat, quousque sedato vel mitigato huiusmodi negotio, aliud possit pro statu suo, sicut decet honorabiliter et utiliter ordinari. Nam si eiusdem durante fervore negotii ad Secunda vota convolare temptaret, non esset aliud quam dictum Regem commovere fortius et vehementius et suum adventum pro sua et Regni predicti confusione perpetua festinare. Ulterius dilecto filio Nobili Viro Bertrando de Baucio Comiti Montiscaveosi, cui nos satis invective scribimus ut processus per eum habitos contra patratores et conscios mortis clare memorie Andree Regis Sicilie tibi comunicet integraliter et faciat copiam de eisdem suadeas, quod iusticiam faciat iuxta tenore commissionum sibi per nos factarum de patratoribus et consciiis antedictis exponendo sibi que in litteris Regis et Regine predictorum Ungarie, quantum eum possunt concernere continentur, et nichilominus quod ad eius magnam infamiam cederet, si sua fidelis diligentia tepesceret

quomodolibet in hac parte. Si autem Regina predicta, ut scripsisti, scenciat quod tu ad inquirendum contra eam et limitandum districtum Civitatis nostre Beneventane velis procedere secundum commissiones super hoc tibi factas non curandum, qui nos sibi scripsimus et nunc etiam scribimus, ut libenter et prompte sicut eidem expedit inquisitionem fieri paciatur eandem, sed negocium inquisitionis predictæ preferendum est, et cum diligentia oportuna et celeri prout premisimus exequendum, semper tamen cum tua securitate persone, quam propter premissa, vel alia, exponi nolumus evidentibus periculis quovis modo. Porro super declaratione quam circa excandentia Regine ac Regno fore multum utilem per unam de tuis litteris intimasti, fieri litteras oportunas facimus quas breviter proponimus destinare. Demum cum sepe per litteras diversas *etiam manu nostra sub occultis nominibus* quandoque confectas tibi super diversis scripserimus, veremur an ad manus tuas littere pervenerunt supradictæ. Quapropter tam super premissis et eorum singulis quam aliis que tibi occurrerint nuncianda, stilus scribendi quando et quociens opportunum cognoveris non sit piger. Datum Avinione v. Nonas Maii, Anno Quinto.

*Arch. Secr. Vatic. Anno VI. Reg. Vat. 141, Epist. 466.*

Carissime in Christo filie Johanne Regine Sicilie Illustri.

Post regressum dilecti filii Nobilis Viri Humberti Dalphini Vienneſis, de partibus Transmarinis cum comunis in his partibus fama vulgaret quod Dalphinus idem contra te in Comitatu tuo Provincie ad novitates proſilire noxias intendebat. Nos dampnis atque periculis, que ſubditis tuis maxime dicti Comitatus contingere poterant ex novitatibus huiusmodi occurrere paterna ſolicitudine cupientes, prefatum Dalphinum per litteras nostras pluries hortandum duximus et rogandum ut donec ſaltem locutus nobis existeret ab omni novitate noxia in dicto Comitatu contra te facienda, nostro vellet intuitu abſtinere. Cumque Dalphinus prefato ſuſpenſo proceſſu, cuius apparatus fecerat, et gentem congregaverat ſicut fertur, ſe ad Nos personaliter contuliſſet, Nos deſiderium noſtrum circa ſummovenda huiusmodi dampna et pericula proſequentes cum eo ſuper hiis que huiusmodi novitatibus occaſionem preſtabant, et de hiis inter te et Cariſſimum in Christo filium noſtrum Ludovicum Regem Ungarie Illuſtrem ordinanda ſunt incepimus habere tractatum, et damus operam penes eum, quod ipſe aliquos Milites ſuos ad eundem Regem deſtinare procuret. Cum autem prefatus Dalphinus tum pro dote quondam [Mariæ] De Bautio Uxoris ſue, quam pro penſione Annua Mille Unciarum promiſſa et facta ſibi, ut aſſerit, per clare memorie Robertum Regem Sicilie Avum tuum, dum viveret, debere ſibi, non parva(m) peccunie quantitatem conqueratur, Serenitatem tuam attente rogamus, paternis tibi et ſinceris affectibus ſuadentes quatinus *prudenter* attendens et conſiderans provide, quod ſunt nonnulli qui eundem Dalphinum in tuum,

dictorumque subditorum tuorum preiudicium et dampnum sollicitare ac instigare non cessant, quodque Dalphinus ipse apud eundem Regem Ungarie, cui proxima satis consanguinitate coniunctus est, sicut nosti, multa in tuum commodum et utilitatem poterit, prestante domino ordinare, aliquos Viros probos, qui super premissis, que inter te ac Regem et Dalphinum predictos, sicut premittitur, ordinanda sunt, et hiis etiam que inter te ac dilectum filium Nobilem Virum Hugonem Comitem Avellini, possent aliquid discordie parere, concordandi et in nos compromittendi, ac ordinationi voluntati dispositioni et sententie vel arbitrato nostro acquiescendi libere, illosque emologandi, plenam habeant potestatem, ad nos sine aliqua dilatione transmittas. Ita quod hinc ad festum Nativitatis dominice infallibiliter hinc intersint et omnis via, paratis iam periculis huiusmodi, penitus precludatur. Datum Avinione Nonis Octobris, Anno Sexto.

*Arch. Secr. Vatic. Anno VI. Reg. Vat. 141, Epist. 610.*

Dilecto filio Bertrando tituli sancti Marci presbytero Cardinali apostolice Sedis Legato.

Romani Pontificis circumspecta provisio potestatis plenitudinem, quam gratia divine dispositionis accepit, utiliter et prudenter exercet, ac personarum conditiones et temporum qualitates attente discutiens, providaque maturitate distinguens consuevit interdum erga personas illas quas deo sibi que conspiciat fideles et devotas existere, et maxime quas dignitatis Regie splendor illustrat, rigorem Canonum mansuetudine temperare, prout in deo ac utilitate publica salubriter conspiciat expedire. Sane petitio Carissime in Christo filie nostre Johanne Regine Sicilie Illustris nobis exhibita continebat, quod Regnum Sicilie, quod ipsa nostra et ecclesie Romane vasalla a nobis et eadem ecclesia tenet in feudum, per aliquos ad occupationem Regni hanelantes ipsius invasum et ab invasoribus huiusmodi iam in parte aliqua occupatum existit, quodque Regina ipsa utpote vidua mulier ad resistendum eorundem invasorium conatibus non potest oportuna remedia, sicut necessario expedit adhibere, et quod statui et securitati Regni multum expedit memorati quod dilecti filii Nobiles Viri Regales domus Sicilie, qui procurante pacis hoste satis huc usque fuerant in voluntate disiuncti, invicem uniantur, et quod ex matrimoniis ac parentelis extraneis Regalibus et Regno predictis pericula et discrimina gravia probabiliter imminere timentur, propter quod de contrahendo matrimonio inter eandem Reginam et dilectum filium Nobilem Virum Ludovicum natum quondam Philippi Principis Tarentini, personam catholicam et eidem Romane ecclesie devotam ac ydoneam ad defensionem et Regimen dicti Regni de consilio nonnullorum Prelatorum et Magnatum eiusdem Regni devotorum ipsius ecclesie statum prosperum et tranquillum eiusdem Regni attente zelantium pro defensione ac bono statu Regni et unitate Regalium predictorum habitus est tractatus. Quare dicta Regina

nostrum super hoc per sufficientem et legitimum procuratorem suum ad hoc specialiter constitutum, prout ex conventionum inter eandem ecclesiam et clare memorie Karolum Primum Regem Sicilie Attavum Regine prefate in concessione dicti Regni hactenus habitorum forma tenetur, consilium requisivit ac tam ipsa quam prefatus Ludovicus nobis humiliter supplicarunt ut cum ipsi huiusmodi matrimonium, dispensatione super hoc apostolica non obtenta, contrahere nequeant, pro eo quod Regina et Ludovicus ex parte matrum Secundo se contingunt, et quondam Karolus Dux Calabrie pater etiam secundo, ac clare memorie Andreas Rex Sicilie maritus ipsius Regine dum viveret Tertio consanguinitatum gradibus Ludovico attinebant eidem, providere ipsis Regine ac Ludovico de oportune dispensationis gracia misericorditer dignemur. *Cum itaque tam per litteras tuas et nonnullorum solemnium Virorum testimonia, ac per publica instrumenta exhibita coram nobis per Venerabilem fratrem nostrum Guillelmum Episcopum Casinensem, qui se de mandato nostro super hiis informavit, quam per famam publicam nobis constiterit quod huiusmodi matrimonium defensionis et utilitati publice Regni expediat antefati.* Nos qui fidelium et presertim sublimium personarum periculus et discriminibus ex iniuncte servitutis urgemur officio libenter occurrimus, ipsisque fidelibus unitatis et concordie comoda, quantum cum deo possumus procuramus, huiusmodi Regine ac Regalium et Regni predictorum periculis et discriminibus obviare, ipsosque Regales ut melius non solum ad defensionem sed ad conservationem et ampliationem Regni eiusdem prestante domino intendere valeant concordet et unanimes effici cupientes, habitisque super hiis cum fratribus nostris consilio et deliberatione maturis, dictorum Regine ac Ludovici supplicationibus inclinati, discretionis tue de qua in magnis et arduis experimento laudabili comprobata plenam in domino fiduciam obtinemus, per apostolica scripta committimus et mandamus, quatinus dilecto filio Nobili Viro Carolo Martelli nato Regine prefate in infantili constituto etate de loco et personis sufficientibus fidelibus et ydoneis, ubi et a quibus, ac inter quas dictus Carolus nutriri ac educari debeat, et alias de hiis que pro ipsius vita et sustentatione decentibus oportuna fuerint, ad arbitrium tuum plene ac sufficienter proviso, ac receptis per te cautelis ydoneis ac sufficientibus ab eodem Ludovico tam pro iuribus ecclesie ac Caroli predictorum illibate servandis, iuxta formam quam tibi sub bulla nostra mittimus interclusam, quam alias prout negocii qualitas et circumstantie attendende requirunt, et profunde circumspectioni tue videbitur expedire, cum eisdem Regina et Ludovico ut impedimentis que ex huiusmodi consanguinitatibus proveniunt nequaquam obstantibus, matrimonium invicem contrahere libere, ac in eo postquam contractum fuerit remanere licite valeant, auctoritate nostra dispenses. Prolem suscipiendam ex huiusmodi matrimonio legitimam nunciando. Datum Avinione x. Kalendas Decembris, Anno Sexto.

*Arch. Secr. Vatic. Anno VI. Reg. Vat. 141, Epist. 655.*

Dilecto filio Bertrando tituli sancti Marci presbytero Cardinali apostolice Sedis Legato.

Cum per alias nostras litteras, quas tibi una cum presentibus destinamus, tibi committendum duxerimus et mandandum ut cum Carissima in Christo filia nostra Johanna Regina Sicilie Illustri, et dilecto filio Nobili Viro Ludovico nato quondam Philippi Principis Tarentini, non obstante quod ipsa Regina et Ludovicus certis consanguinitatum gradibus expressis in eisdem litteris sunt coniuncti, auctoritate apostolica dispenses, discretioni tue per apostolica scripta mandamus, quatinus pro iure ecclesie Romane, ac dilecti filii Nobilis Viri Caroli Martelli nati eiusdem Regine in infantili constituti etate illibate servando, antequam ad dispensationem procedas huiusmodi, ab eisdem Regina et Ludovico cautelas ydoneas et sufficientes recipias, et eidem Carolo de Loco personis, ubi et a quibus, per quas et inter quas nutriri et custodiri debeat, ac de hiis que erunt oportuna pro vita et sustentatione dicti Caroli et familie sue facias provideri, iuxta formam inferius annotatam, quodque de huiusmodi cautelarum receptione et Caroli provisione predictis, duo confici facias consimilia instrumenta, quorum unum nobis evestigio destinare procures, penes te reliquo remanente forma autem cautelarum cautionum et provisionis huiusmodi talis est.

Primo, quod dictus Ludovicus promittat et iuret ac sub penis spiritualibus et temporalibus et specialiter sub ammissione omnium bonorum suorum se efficaciter obliget quod vivente dilecto filio Nobili Viro Carolo Martelli nato dicte Regine Duce Calabrie, idem Ludovicus nunquam se Regem Sicilie vel Apulie, nec Principem Capue vel Salerni nec Provincie nec Forcalquerii nec Pedemontis Comitem nec dominum Regni et Terrarum citra farum et Principatum ac Comitatum huiusmodi verbo seu scriptis nominabit, nec se paciatur nec procurabit, nec faciet nominari, nec aliquod aliud nomen seu titulum Regale assumet, nec insignia Regalia deferet vel portabit, nec pro tali se reputabit aut procurabit vel faciet reputari, nec homagia vel fidelitatis iuramenta aut alia similia ab aliquibus de Regno vel Terris, aut Principatibus vel Comitatibus supradictis petet seu recipiet, per que dicto Karolo Duci posset de iure vel de facto aliquod preiudicium generari.

Item promittat, iuret et obliget se ut supra, quod si contingeret eandem Johannam mori, superstite Karolo supradicto, et idem Karolus Dux tempore mortis dicte Regine Decimumoctavum Annum etatis sue minime complevisset, idem Ludovicus non impediet directe vel indirecte per se vel alium seu alios publice vel occulte quominus ecclesia Romana dicta Regnum et terras ac Principatus teneat possideat gubernet et regat usque quo idem Karolus Dux Decimumoctavum etatis sue annum compleverit, et si aliquid de terris Regno et Principatibus

antefatis idem Ludovicus tunc temporis teneret aut quomodolibet consideret, illud dimittet eidem ecclesie sine contradictione quacunque, libere ac insolidum cum effectu, nec intromittet se aliqualiter de eisdem, quodque idem Ludovicus prefato Karolo Duci, cum erit maior decem et octo Annis vel postquam decimumoctavum Annum etatis sue compleverit, tanquam Regi et domino suo parebit et obediet cum effectu, et si aliquid de Regno Terris Principatibus et Comitatus supradictis teneret et possideret seu administravet, ipsi Duci libere et pure, integre ac sine contradictione restituet et dimittet.

Item promittat et iuret ac obliget se ut supra, quod si premortuo Karolo Duce prefato, Regina ipsa decideret sine liberis, prefatus Ludovicus nullum per se vel alium, directe vel indirecte publice vel occulte impedimentum apponet, nec apponi procurabit aut faciet vel promittet, quominus Regnum et Terre ac Principatus necnon Comitatus predicti ad illum vel illam, ad quem vel ad quam Regnum Terre et Principatus iuxta tenorem conventionum inter eandem ecclesiam et clare memorie Karolum Primum Regem Sicilie in concessione dicti Regni facta eidem Karolo hactenus habitaram, et Comitatus predicta alias legitime pertinerent, perveniant libere et cum effectu absque omni impedimento et contradictione quacunque. Et nichilominus prefatus Ludovicus quicquid de dictis Regno Terris Principatibus et Comitatus teneret aut quomodolibet possideret, dimittet libere et sine contradictione qualibet, realiter et cum effectu illi, ad quem vel ad quam ut predicatur pertinebunt; quodque in dicto Casu Comites Barones Milites et Nobiles ac Universitates Civitatum Castrorum Villarum, et aliorum quorumcunque locorum, qui etiam fidelitatis iuramentum prestiterunt ac homagium Duci fecerunt eidem, ac alii subditi dicti Regni in nullo Ludovico prefato obedire, parere, respondere vel subesse quomodolibet teneantur.

Item promittat, iuret et obliget se, quod si contingat ipsum Ludovicum matrimonium contrahere cum Regina prefata, legitima dispensatione ipsius ecclesie precedente, censuum eidem ecclesie pro dicto Regno debitum ipsi ecclesie in statutis ad hoc terminis, quantum in eo erit et ad eum pertinebit, integraliter solvet ac faciet et procurabit effectualiter, quod per ipsam Regnam solvetur, et in omnibus et per omnia, quantum in eo fuerit et pertinebit ad ipsum, dictas conventiones totaliter observabit ac procurabit per Regnam et gentes suas observari integre et perficere.

Item dicta Regina promittat, iuret et obliget se sub penis similibus pro dicto Ludovico nullam donationem faciet directe vel indirecte de demanialibus seu demaniis dicti Regni nisi de Romani Pontificis specificatis et expressis licentia et consensu, et eodem modo promittat, iuret, et obliget se idem Ludovicus quod non recipiat aliter de demaniis seu demanialibus huiusmodi, si de illis dicta Regina vellet aliqua sibi dare.

Item promittat et iuret ac obliget se dictus Ludovicus sub penis similibus quod eandem Romanam aliasque ecclesiasticas aliasque personas ecclesiasticas non offendet, nec in earundem ecclesiarum

libertates bona et iura sub aliquo colore vel titulo impediēt vel usurpabit, quinimo pro posse suo ecclesias et personas ac libertates bona et iura predicta defendet, et impugnari aut iniustitiam fieri eis ac libertates bona et iura earum per quoscunque, quos prohibere poterit non permittet, quodque, si qua de bonis et iuribus et libertatibus earundem ecclesiarum, aut alicuius earum occupavit vel usurpavit, aut occupata vel usurpata fecit, illa ecclesiis predictis restituet et restitui faciet pure libere et cum effectu.

Item promittat iuret et obliget se ut supra, quod ipsam ecclesiam in superioritate directo dominio honoribus prerogativis retentionibus feudi in certis causibus apertionibus et aliis iuribus quibuscunque, que iuxta conventiones predictas vel alias eidem ecclesie Romane in Regno Terris et Principatibus supradictis competunt, vel possunt competere quovismodo, et presertim circa illa que tangunt Civitatem Beneventanam, quam cum districtu suo per eandem ecclesiam limitando ecclesia ipsa sibi in pleno dominio per conventiones huiusmodi in signum superioris domini dicti Regni reservavit nullo unquam tempore directe vel indirecte per se vel alium seu alios impediēt, inquietabit molestabit quomodolibet vel turbabit, nec impediētibus inquietantibus, molestantibus, aut turbantibus dabit auxilium consilium vel favorem.

Provideatur etiam antequam ad dispensationem procedatur eandem prefato Karolo de loco tuto et securo, necnon de personis fidelibus et devotis eidem ac ydoneis et sufficientibus ubi, ac inter quas, et a quibus nutrirī custodiri et informari ac instrui debeat, et quod persone huiusmodi eligantur tales, de quibus nulla suspitio, sed spes certa et plena fiducia possit esse.

Provideatur etiam sufficienter de hiis, que pro decentibus vita et sustentatione dicti Karoli sueque familie fuerint oportuna.

Ita quod in hiis idem Karolus defectum pati aliquem non contingat. Datum Avinione x. Kalendas Novembris, Anno Sexto.

*Arch. Secr. Vatic. Anno VI. Reg. Vat. 141, Epist. 717.*

Carissime in Christo filie Johanne Regine Sicilie Illustri.

Cum, sicut accepimus, dilectus filius Nobilis Vir Nicolaus de Acciaiolis Miles florentinus ad tuam et domus tue Regie utilitatem sincere devotionis dicatur affectu, Serenitatem tuam attente rogamus quatinus ipsius, prout dignum duxeris nostre interventionis obtentu, et pro devotionis sue meritis, suscipias commendatum. Datum Avinione iiii. Kalendas Novembris, Anno Sexto.

*Arch. Secr. Vatic. Anno VI. Reg. Vat. 141, Epist. 753.*

Dilecto filio Bertrando tituli sancti Marci presbytero Cardinali.

Quamvis post adventum Nuntiorum Carissime in Christo filie nostre Johanne Regine Sicilie Illustris ad nos et sedem apostolicam

pro dispensatione obtinenda super matrimonio contrahendo inter eandem Reginam et dilectum filium Nobilem Virum Ludovicum natum quondam Philippi Principis Tarentini transmissorum per litteras multas tam nobis quam diversis personis aliis destinatas compertum nobis esset quod Regina et Ludovicus predicti ante obtentam et concessam dispensationem huiusmodi matrimonium licet de facto contraxerant, et per carnis copulam consumarant, predicti tamen Nuntii id omnino negabant, metu sicut probabiliter credimus penarum contra presumentes talia a iure latorum, et aliarum que continentur in conventionibus hactenus habitis inter ecclesiam Romanam et clare memorie Carolum primum Regem Sicilie Attavum dicte Regine, in concessione Regni Sicilie dicto Carolo dudum facta, super contrahendo dumtaxat matrimonio dispensationis gratiam postulantes, sicut in litteris nostris, quas super concedenda dispensatione huiusmodi tibi misimus, poteris clarius intueri. Postmodum vero dilecto filio Angelo Petri Cive Lucano pro parte Regine ac Ludovici predictorum exponente nobis in secreto, quod Regina et Ludovicus predicti matrimonium invicem ante dispensationem obtentam contraxerant, et per carnis copulam consumaverant ut preferitur, ac supplicante nobis pro parte Regine ac Ludovici predictorum ut providere ipsis Regine ac Ludovico de absolutionis beneficio a sententia excommunicationis quam propter hoc incurrerant, ac dispensationis gratia dignaremur. Nos discretioni tue per alias nostras litteras, quas per Angelum eundem tibi transmittimus, et ubi tu ad id vacare non posses, certis Prelatis aliis duximus committendum, ut si tibi expediens videretur, quod dispensatio concederetur eadem eisdem Regine et Ludovico, primitus separatis ad tempus, eisque de beneficio absolutionis a sententia proviso predicta, demum cum eis alias tamen iuxta formam priorum litterarum huiusmodi dispensares. Tu igitur qualitates negociorum et temporum attente discutiens, ad predictam et alias dispensationes inter dilectos filios Regales alios concedendas procedas iuxta gratiam a domino tibi datam. Datum Avinione vi. Idus Novembris, Anno Sexto.

*Arch. Secr. Vatic. Anno VI. Reg. Vat. 141, Epist. 755.*

Eidem Legato (Bertrando tituli sancti Marci presbytero Cardinali).

Cautelas adhibendas in negotio matrimonii inter Carissimam in Christo filiam nostram Johannam Reginam Sicilie Illustrem et dilectum filium Nobilem Virum Ludovicum natum quondam Philippi Principis Tarentini et per te recipiendas antequam ad dispensationem concedendam super huiusmodi matrimonio procedatur, prout tu formaveras et dictaveras, nonnullis paucis tamen additis et deductis, tibi sub bulla nostra mittimus interclusas. Sane quia cautele huiusmodi nonnullis ex fratribus nostris rigore nimium videbantur, Nos de circumspectione tua plene confisi, modificandi illas eisque detrahendi vel addendi sicut videris expedire, plenam tibi concedimus

per speciales nostras litteras potestatem. Quocirca discretioni tue per apostolica scripta mandamus, quatinus litteris potestatis huiusmodi per te, si et prout tibi videbitur, occultatis, ad cautelarum ipsarum receptionem, in ea forma in qua concepte sunt, si poteris vel alias, prout tue profunde circumspectioni videbitur, procedere non ommittas, faciens exinde confici duo publica consimilia instrumenta, quorum Unum nobis mittere studeas in Archivio Romane ecclesie conservandum, penes te reliquo remanente. Ceterum quia de custodia et hiis, que pro vita et sustentatione decentibus dilecti filii Nobilis Viri Karoli Martelli nati eiusdem Regine in infantili constituti etate, antequam ad dispensationem huiusmodi procedatur, incumbit tibi provisio facienda, et circa id summis studiis est omnis que poterit adhibenda cautela, ut infans eidem matris ecclesie munitis auxiliis et adiutus favoribus, ab omnibus prestante domino preservetur adversus, ab omnibus periculis liberetur, videretur utile quod dilecto filio Nobili Viro *Karolo Duce Duratvi, ad quem specialiter pertinet de infante ipso curam habere sollicitam*, et Regni Magnatibus ac personis aliis quos infantis eiusdem statum zelare cognoveris ad te personaliter evocatis, cum eis de loco et personis ad huiusmodi curam et custodiam deputandis, necnon de hiis que pro vita et sustentatione huiusmodi statuenda fuerint prudenter et provide ordinares. Sed si posset fieri tute ac sine periculo quod infans idem duceretur in Provintiam, Aquis vel aliqui iuxta nos nutriendus, gratum nobis esset non immerito plurimum et utile admodum crederemus. Preterea cum dilectus filius Nobilis Vir Humbertus Dalphinus Viennensis *prorumpere vellet contra Reginam eandem in Comitatu Provintie ad novias novitates*, Nos periculis que ex huiusmodi nobitatibus contingere possent occurrere cupientes, eundem Dalphinum ad nos vocavimus personaliter, et cum eo hic apud apostolicam sedem presente incepimus iam tractare tam super hiis que huiusmodi novitatibus occasionem prestiterant, quam super concordiam inter eandem Reginam et Carissimum in Christo filium nostrum Ludovicum Regem Ungarie Illustrem, actore domino reformandam, et instamus quod idem Dalphinus ad eundem Regem in Ungariam aliquos Milites suos mittat. Et quoniam Dalphinus idem ad infantem ipsum habendum nutriendumque secum maxima ducitur voluntate, videas si, absque tamen incommodo atque periculo infantis ipsius, id fieri aliquo modo possit, quoniam ex hoc magna utilitas et commodum sicut potes perpendere resultarent, nam per eundem Dalphinum posset forsitan idem Rex Ungarie a concepto revocari proposito, et idem infans tucius et securius nutrire. Tu tamen, qui in scola experientie positus, potes discernere certius quid sit expedientius, quidve utilius hec attente discutiens, et super eis exacte deliberans, illud exequi studeas, quod pro salute infantis eiusdem et ipsius tuciori fidelique custodia cognoveris faciendum. Ita quod eidem Infanti sive in provinciam veniat, sive in eodem Regno remaneat nutriendus, tam de loco securo et tuto ac personis ydoneis fidelibus et devotis, qui ipsum diligenter custodiant, fideliter

nutriant, ac moribus instruant et componant, tam de hiis que pro ipsius infantis et familie sue sustentationibus decentibus, tue solitudinibus operose interveniente studio, et prudentia disponente sufficienter et provide sit provisum. Datum ut supra. (Avinione vi. Idus Novembris, Anno Sexto.)

*Arch. Secr. Vatic. Anno VI. Reg. Vat. 141, Epist. 762.*

Item in eundem modum. Dilecto filio Nobili Viro Ludovico nato quondam Philippi Principis Tarentini.

Licet, fili, tuam et aliorum Regalium dispensationes, tam propinquitas graduum quam alie circumstantie multe hucusque distulerint et suaderent, nullatenus concedendas, tamen statu miserabili Regni Sicilie, in cuius utique turbatione turbamur, ac tue progenitorumque tuorum devotionis et fidei meritis, quibus erga deum, nos, et Romanam ecclesiam claruistis, ac sincere caritatis affectu, quem ad te ipsumque Regnum eadem gessit et gerit ecclesia in considerationem adductis, unitatis quoque ac pacis commodis, que domni Regie ac toti eidem Regno per consequens ex dispensationibus huiusmodi, sub spe gracie divine, ventura sperantur, attentis rigorem Canonum mansuetudinis oleo temperandum fore censuimus, et oblati nobis super hiis petitionibus ad exauditionis gratiam introductis, dilecto filio nostro Bertrando tituli sancti Marci presbytero Cardinali apostolice Sedis Legato, et ubi ipse ad id propter absentiam suam, aut occupatus Legationis sue negociis vacare non posset, certis Prelatis aliis per diversas litteras nostras committimus ut ad dispensationes huiusmodi faciendas certa forma, quam eis sub bulla nostra transmittimus, observata procedant. Tu igitur, fili, benignitatis affectum, quem erga te ipsumque Regnum in dispensationum concessione huiusmodi exhibuit eadem ecclesia, humili gratitudine recognoscens, in dei timore permanens, operibus virtutum insistas, Romanam et alias ecclesias favoribus prosequaris, ad defensionem eiusdem Regni et illius status reformationem potenter et solerter intendas, eorundem Regalium unitatem et concordiam relevas, iustitiam coleas, et malefactorum quorum numerus in Regno ipso nimium dicitur excrevisse, adhibita iustitie censura compescas, et sic actus tuos et gesta prudenter et provide modereris, quod gratia domini tibi assistente propitia, Regnum ipsum ab omnibus preservetur adversis, ab omnibus liberetur periculis, ac status prosperi votivis successibus instauretur, tuque preter temporalis fame gloriam, celestisque Regni gaudia consequi merearis. Datum Avinione iii. Idus Novembris, Anno Sexto.

*Arch. Secr. Vatic. Anno vi. Reg. Vat. 141, Epist. 862.*

Dilecto filio Bertrando tituli sancti Marci presbytero Cardinali apostolice Sedis Legato.

Sicut scripsimus tibi per alias nostras litteras nuper, licet post adventum Nunciorum Carissime in Christo filie nostre Johanne Regine Sicilie Illustris pro dispensatione obtinenda super matrimonio contrahendo inter eandem Reginam et dilectum filium Nobilem Virum Ludovicum natum quondam Philippi Principis Tarentini ad Nos et Sedem apostolicam transmissorum, per litteras multas tam nobis quam diversis personis aliis destinatas, compertum nobis esset quod Regina et Ludovicus predicti ante obtentam et concessionem dispensationem huiusmodi matrimonium licet de facto contrahere et per carnis copulam consumare presumpserant, tamen predicti Nuncii illa omnino negabant, metu sicut probabiliter credimus penarum contra talia presumentes a iure latorum et aliorum que continentur in conventionibus hactenus habitis inter ecclesiam Romanam et clare memorie Carolum Primum Regem Sicilie Attavum dicte Regine in concessione Regni Sicilie prefato Carolo dudum facta. Postmodum vero dilecto filio Angelo Petri Cive Lucano pro parte Regine ac Ludovici predictorum exponente nobis in secreto quod Regina et Ludovicus predicti ante obtentam dispensationem matrimonium contraxerant et per carnis copulam consumarant, ac supplicante nobis pro parte ipsorum ut providere eis de oportuno absolutionis beneficio a sententia excommunicationis quam propter hoc incurrerant, et dispensationis gratia dignaremur. Nos per alias nostras litteras quas per eundem Angelum interclusam presentibus eorum copiam mittimus, tibi duximus committendum ut si tibi expediens sideretur, quod dispensatio concederetur eadem ipsi Regine et Ludovico, separatis ad tempus, eisque proviso de absolutionis beneficio, a sententia suprascripta, demum cum eis alias tamen iuxta formam litterarum nostrarum, quas tibi super dispensatione huiusmodi mittimus per latorem presentium, dispensares, certis Prelatis aliis, ubi tu ad huiusmodi dispensationem vacare non posses, dispensationem eandem per alias nostras litteras continentes, sicut per eandem cedulam poteris intueri. Tu igitur hec, que tibi ut te nichil omnino lateat, de hiis que super huiusmodi negocio sunt acta describimus, donec ad te Angelus predictus pervenerit, teneas in secreto. Post confessionem autem presentium, litteras tuas multum desideratas accepimus de factis Nicolai Laurentii Civis Romani facientes plenam inter alia mentionem, ad quas tibi respondere plene proponimus satis cito. Quicquid tamen sit, potius volumus quod tu a Nicolao sine concordia predicto discesseris, quam quod ad unius decentem concordiam descenderis cum eodem. Et volumus quod nedum Quadringenti, imo quotquot oportuni fuerint stipendiarii teneantur, et interim pecunia que ibi est expendatur, nam aliam opportunam celeriter transmittemus. Datum Avinione xvi. Kalendas Decembris, Anno Sexto.

*Arch. Secr. Vatic. Anno VI. Reg. Vat. 141, Epist. 864.*

Dilecto filio Nobili Viro Ludovico nato quondam Philippi Principis Tarentini.

Perduxit noviter ad apostolatus auditum fidedigna, sed molesta nobis, relatio quod dilecti filii Universitas hominum *Castri Montis-fusculi Beneventane diocesis, in quo Castro quidam ex proditoribus illis, qui clare memorie Andream Regem Sicilie impie occiderunt, morari dicitur*, contra Civitatem nostram Beneventanam et Civitatis ipsius Cives et Incolas hostiliter resurgentes, preter alia dampna quamplurima per eos in territorio inmaniter perpetrata, *Vigintiquinque utriusque sexus homines immaniter trucidarunt*, et hiis omnibus non contenti ad prefatum territorium denuo manu accedentes armata, post illata per eos alia dampna magnam quantitatem Animalium secum ab inde abduxerunt in predam, que nos eo, nec indigne, displicentius ferimus quo in gravem nostram et ecclesie Romane redundare iniuriam dinoscuntur. Quocirca Nobilitatem tuam attente rogamus, paternis tibi et sinceris affectibus suadentes, quatinus quantum hec tibi qui ad honorum custodiam malorumque vindictam Regni Sicilie generalis Vicariatus officio fungeris derogent, quantumque fame tue detrahant prudenter attendens et considerans provide, quod statui tuo precipue expedit, in tuis maxime primordiis iustitiam colere et colendo eam seviré in reprobos, et servare pacificos in tranquillitate securos, ac honori tuo convenit, imo incumbit ex debito, ut qui ad aliorum propulsandas iniurias es electus Romane ecclesie matris tue iniuriam minime paciaris super hiis, de illo remedio studeas celeriter providere, per quod ultrice iustitia eorundem malefactorum audacia effrenata impunita non transeat, sed prout expedit, sic eorum temeritas castigetur, quod aliis committendi similia via et aditus precludatur. Nosque tua salubri provisione contenti apponere aliud remedium non cogamur. Datum Avinione xiiii. Kalendas Decembris, Anno Sexto.

*Arch. Secr. Vatic. Anno VI. Reg. Vat. 141, Epist. 967.*

Carissime in Christo filie Johanne Regine Sicilie Illustri.

Perduxit iam ad tuum, Carissima filia, communis fama, ut opinamur auditum quod Carissimus in Christo filius noster Ludovicus Rex Ungarie Illustris ad occupationem regni tui suos erigens et dirigens cogitatus, Italiam iam intravit et Magna Gentis armigere caterva stipatus, accessum suum in idem regnum cum omni celeritate festinat; de quo nos eo dolemus potius eo vehementius conturbamur, quo tu et dilecti filii Regales ac alii subditi tui pericula imminencia tibi et illis negligere incaute dicimini et contra propria commoda, nulla omnino reparacionis remedia, unde in ammiracionem et stuporem vehementissime trahimur, adhibere. Cum itaque ad

occurrentum utrumque huiusmodi periculis aliquas vias excogitandas duxerimus, prout negotiorum et temporum qualitas et circumstantie suaserunt. Illasque dilecto filio nostro Bertrando Tituli sancti Marci presbytero Cardinali apostolice Sedis Legato per speciales litteras transmittamus, Serenitatem tuam rogamus, sano tibi consilio suadentes quatinus per speciales litteras tuas Legato memorato committas, quod ipse tractare ac agere cum eodem rege tuo nomine libere valeat, quecunque pro utilitate tua et negotiorum tuorum commodo expedire cognoverit, ac ea que idem Legatus tractanda duxerit, te rata et firma promittas perpetuo habituram. Datum Avinione x. Kalendas Januarii, Anno Sexto.

*Arch. Secr. Vatic. Anno VI. Reg. Vat. 141, Epist. 1053.*

Carissime in Christo filie Johanne Regine Sicilie Illustri

Intelleximus per aliquas litteras destinatas nonnullis personis apud Sedem apostolicam constitutis te in Provinciam advenisse. Sane, licet tibi, Carissima filia, super tribulationibus et angustiis, que adversus te sunt in regno Sicilie suscite, de quibus nos eciam informati sumus, paterno compaciamur affectu. Gaudemus tamen quod omnipotens dominus ad populum tuum dicte Provincie fidelem utique ac devotum, te superatis quibuscunque periculis incolumen sanamque perduxit. Tu quoque prudenter attendens, quod Magnanimitas regia in adversitatibus comprobatur conforteris in domino sperans, quod ipse qui serenum post nubila et post fletum atque mestitiam exultationem et leticiam impartitur, hiis finem imponet et tibi de oportuno remedio, ad quod nos eciam diligenter et solícite laborare proponimus, sicut de sua benignitate confidimus, providebit. Ceterum, dilecta filia, Petro Garde, ordinis fratrum Minorum et Nobilibus Viris Berengario de Borbone Avinionensis diocesis, ac Sergio Domui Ursonis Neapolitano Militibus exhibitoribus presencium aliqua referenda tibi oretenus duximus imponenda. Datum Avinione vii. Kalendas Februarii, Anno Sexto.

*Arch. Secr. Vatic. Anno VI. Reg. Vat. 141, Epist. 1177.*

Dilecto filio Nobili Viro Nicolao de Acciaiolis Militi florentino.

Cum sicut pro parte dilecti filii Nobilis Viri Ludovici Nati quondam Philippi Principis Tarentini fuit nobis expositum, Idem Ludovicus pro certis negotiis suis exponendis nobis ad presentiam nostram te destinari proponat, *Nos dicti Ludovici supplicationibus inclinati, ut non obstantibus quod tu de Societate Acciaiorum de florentia fueris necnon quibuscunque contractibus, obligationibus, penis, sententiis, condemnationibus, represaliis, et processibus aliis per te, seu contra te, aut Sotios dicte Societatis, aliosque Cives florentinos, communiter vel divisim, quavis auctoritate, factis, latis et habitis, sub quacunque forma vel expressione verborum ad nos et romanam curiam venire, ac in dicta curia morari, et ab ea recedere libere valeas, plenam tibi securitatem et licentiam huiusmodi negotiorum prosecutione durante, Auctoritate*

*apostolica, tenore presentium largimur.* Nulli ergo, etc. Datum Avinione viiii. Kalendas Martii, Anno Sexto.

*Arch. Secr. Vatic. Anno VI. Reg. Vat. 141, Epist. 1221.*

Dilecto filio Nobili Viro Humberto Dalfino Viennensi.

Nosti, fili, miserabilem statum Carissime in Christo filie nostre Johanne Regine Sicilie Illustris, et paupertatem in qua ipsa est constituta, et verisimiliter credimus quod ad eam velut consanguineam tuam pie compassionis movearis affectu. Cum autem ipsa de hiis, in quibus tibi obligata est, satisfacere nequeat in presenti, quanquam ad satisfactionem tibi exinde impendendam voluntatem habeat promptiorem, et proponat, sicut asserit, quam cito facultas ei fuerit prestante domino satisfacere inde tibi. Nos ad eam affectum paterne compassionis habentes, Nobilitatem tuam attente rogamus, quatinus hec in debitam considerationem adducens, cum eadem Regina super hoc pro nostra et apostolice sedis reverentia, et tui etiam honoris obtentu gratiose agere, et ad tempus aliquod eam supportare nobilitas ipsa velit. Datum Avinione xiii. Kalendas Aprilis, Anno Sexto.

*Arch. Secr. Vatic. Anno VI. Reg. Vat. 141, Epist. 1258.*

Dilecto filio Bertrando tituli sancti Marci presbytero Cardinali apostolice Sedis Legato.

Litteras tuas benigna caritate recepimus, et que continebantur in eis intelleximus diligenter, ad quas tibi ut subsequitur respondemus. Et primo quod ea, que de eiectione illius pestilentis hominis Nicolai Laurentii Civis Romani de Urbe, ac creatione Senatorum per te acta sunt, admodum commendamus. Verum quia Nicolaus idem, quamdiu sibi fuerit oportunitas, quam adimat ei deus, non cessabit quin omne malum quod poterit machinetur, expedire videtur omnino, quod ipse, si posset fieri, caperetur. Nam, si quod absit, vires resumeret, fierent novissima hominis illius peiora prioribus. Et ideo studii tui sit ut ad capiendum ipsum, omnis que poterit diligentia impendatur. Aliqui tamen locuti sunt Dilecto filio Magistro Francisco de filiis Ursi The-saurario ecclesie Eboracensis, Notario nostro, ut ipse ad Urbem prop-terea se conferret. Verum est tamen, quod idem Nicolaus Neapoli presentialiter esse fertur, Cardinalem illum de quo nobis scripseras, ad partes ipsas, prout scriperas, mittere non credimus expedire, cum ut nosti sint aliqui qui reputarent se confusos si eum nos contingeret destinare. Mittimus tibi, que certis Mercatoribus tradenda tibi, feci-mus assignari decem millia florenorum, intendentes, prestante domino, summam tibi mittere amplio-rem, et misissemus idem si secure fieri potuisset. Nam Mercatores plene sufficientes ad cambium amplioris quantitatis non poterant inveniri de quibus decem milibus florenorum inter Romanos. Quinque milia elemosinaliter eroges et distribuas,

si et prout tibi videbitur expedire. Rescripturus nobis celeriter si forsan egeas ampliori pecunie quantitate, quoniam illam mitti et assignari tibi prestante domino faciemus libenter, tamen vellemus quod tu videres nobisque rescriberes si essent in partibus ipsis aliqui Mercatores, quibus possit fieri cambium, quia vix et difficulter sufficientes Mercatores possumus invenire. Rescribas eciam nobis utrum expediat quod litteras Anni Quinquagesimi Jubilei quas experiri prius intentionem Romanorum volentes ipsorum hucusque retinimus mittere debeamus. *Super facto vero Duci Warnerii* vocavimus coram nobis aliquos ex eisdem fratribus nostris, et super hoc deliberationem cum eis habuimus diligentem. Et tandem ordinatum fuit quod quatuor ex eis, qui de Negociis Italie familiarem noticiam magis habent, avisamenta quedam in scripturam redigerent, que tibi mittimus presentibus interclusa. Tu tamen ex eis illa eliciens, que magis utilia videbuntur, omnem curam et diligentiam quam poteris ad reprimendum conatus Ducis eiusdem, gentisque sue, et ad custodiam terrarum ecclesie studeas adhibere. Sed multum expediens videretur et utile quod Perusini, Florentini, et Senenses cum gentibus nostris et ecclesie unirentur, ut favorabilius et citius Ducis illius posset elidi potentia et confundi. Pro dilecto quoque filio Nobili Viro Guichardo de Comborino Milite Rectore patrimonii beati Petri in Tuscia Nepote nostro, dilecto filio nobili Viro Thesaurario nostro dicti patrimonii, per alias nostras litteras scribimus et mandamus eidem, ut ipsi Guichardo stipendia augmentet et solvat, sicut preceperis et duxeris ordinandum. Quamobrem tu eidem Guichardo si et prout expedire cognoveris huiusmodi stipendia augeas et augmentes. Ceterum eum certos articulos tripartitos super negotiis Carissimi in Christo filii nostri Ludovici Regi Ungarie Illustris miserimus dudum tibi qui in primordiis illis satis utiles videbantur, tuque illos receperis iam est diu, et sicut per litteras tuas die viii. Februarii datas accepimus, de securo conductu a Rege habueris memorato. Miramur quod utrum adeundem Regem miseris vel quid super hoc feceris nichil nobis rescribere curasti. Denique noveris quod Carissima in Christo filia nostra Johanna Regina Sicilie Illustris et dilectus filius Nobilis Vir Ludovicus natus quondam Philippi Principis Tarentini ad sedem apostolicam accesserunt instanter ac supplicanter expetentes, ut ad dispensationis gratiam concedendam eis providere dignaremur, *dictaque Regina paratam se offert*, prout tenetur, *personaliter nobis homagium de novo prestare*, ac super negotio dispensationis huiusmodi cum eisdem fratribus deliberatione habita diligenti, *videtur quod non possumus illam commode denegari, Maxime cum dicta Regina sit gravida, et in quinto mense gravidationis existere asseratur*, propter quod intendimus aliquibus ex eisdem fratribus committere ut iuxta formam litterarum, tibi super hoc directarum procedant ad dispensationem huiusmodi concedendam. *Contra dictos quoque Reginam et Ludovicum proponimus super scelere mortis clare memorie Andree Regis Sicilie inchoare, iusticia servata, processum. Verumtamen datur per aliquos nobis intelligi, quod Regina et Ludo-*

*vicus prefati habent consilium suum, secundum quod proponunt excipere, quod cum Regina Regno et Ludovicus predictus bonis suis, per eundem sint Regem Ungarie spoliati, donec restituti fuerint, subire iudicium et inquisitioni contra eos faciendi respondere aliquatenus non tenentur.* Venit etiam subsequenter ad sedem eandem quidam Prepositus Nuncius dicti Regis Ungarie cum litteris Regis eiusdem et nonnullorum Nobilium Regni et Civium Neapolitanorum, quarum copias tibi mittimus presentibus interclusas. Rursus adversus Universitatem hominum loci de Cesano super iniuria per eos irrogata tibi, ut predictae tue littere continebant, quam moleste ac displicenter admodum tulimus, mandavimus fieri litteras oportunas, quas tibi presencium lator defert. Datum Avinione x. Kalendas Aprilis, Anno Sexto.

*Arch. Secr. Vatic. Anno VI. Reg. Vat. 141, Epist. 1420.*

Carissime in Christo filie Johanne Regine Sicilie Illustri.

Dum clara devotionis et fidei merita quibus inclite memorie progenitores tui erga deum et sanctam Romanam ecclesiam claruerunt, intra nostra precordia delectabiliter recensemus et attendimus diligenter, quod tu filia Carissima in devotione ac fidelitate huiusmodi eisdem progenitoribus studes operosis affectibus inherere, *libenter super tuis oportunitatibus, quantum cum deo possumus, tibi assistimus, teque favoribus prosequimur graciosis,* De fratrum nostrorum consilio decimam omnium reddituum et proventuum ecclesiasticorum in regno et terris tibi subiectis consistencium, per tres annos a fine ultimi termini Solucionis decime triennalis per nos dudum tam in illis quam aliis diversis mundi partibus pro Christianorum deffensione et subsidio contra Turchos impositae, ne uno et eodem tempore persone regni et terrarum predictorum in solucione duplicis decime gravarentur computandos singulis annis huiusmodi triennii in duobus terminis post ultimum terminum solucionis predictae, medietatem videlicet in omnium Sanctorum extunc proxime venturo, et reliquam medietatem in resurrectionis dominice festis a Venerabilibus fratribus nostris Archiepiscopis et Episcopis Ceterisque personis ecclesiasticis quibuscumque, exemptis et non exemptis, in regno et terris tibi subiectis consistentibus, quantacumque dignitate fulgerent, seu cuiuscunque preeminencie condicionis vel status, ordinis aut religionis existerent, quibus vel eorum alicui nulla privilegia vel indulgencias sub quacumque forma vel expressione verborum concessa quo ad hec nolimus suffragari. Preterquam a personis et locis hospitalis Sancti Johannis Jerosolimitani, et eisdem Cardinalibus, quos ab huiusmodi solucione decime liberos esse volumus et immunes, integraliter persolvendam, tuisque usibus pro predictis relevandis necessitatibus applicandam, duximus concedendas, inter cetera ordinantes, quod pecunia pro duobus solucionis terminis primi anni huiusmodi prime decime pro subsidio defencionis et expugnacionis predictarum ut premissum est, dudum impositae, collecta vel colligenda pro subsidio

insolidum remanente in singulis aliis utriusque decimarum predictarum solucionis terminis, per Quatuor annos videlicet, cum peccunia earum soluta vel collecta foret, medietas eiusdem dicto subsidio, et alia medietas tibi pro huiusmodi tuis necessitatibus et commodis supportandis applicaretur integraliter et per Collectores decime assignaretur ipsius, quodque peccunia, que Anno ultimo de Secunda decima colligeretur eadem tibi cederet et assignaretur insolidum, loco illius peccunie, que huiusmodi primo Anno de predicta prima decima collecta, seu colligenda erat, et eidem subsidio debebat totaliter remanere, prout in nostris inde confectis litteris plenius continetur. Verum quia sicut exhibita nobis nuper tue petitionis series continebat, premissorum incumbencium tibi agendorum necessitas sic te et statum tuum premit et artat, quod nisi tibi de huiusmodi vel alio nostro suffragio celerius succurratur ipsis agendis et statui tuis oportune non poteris in tempore providere in tuum ac regni tui et terrarum predictorum, et per consequens Romane ecclesie maximum, ut asseris, preiudicium manifestum. *Nos periculis occurrere, tuisque necessitatibus providere paternis affectibus cupientes. Tuis in hac parte Supplicationibus inclinati, Volumus quod ordinatione nostra huiusmodi non obstante, peccunia que ex utraque huiusmodi decima in Omnium Sanctorum et resurrectionis dominice festivitatum terminis proximo preteritis colligi debuit, que videlicet inde collecta est, et remanet colligenda, tibi integre assignetur; quodque peccunia que ex eadem decima in duobus proximo futuris similibus terminis remanet colligenda, prosecucioni dicti negotii contra turchos integraliter applicetur. Nulli ergo, etc. Datum Avinione xvi. Kalendas Junii, Anno Sexto.*

*Arch. Secr. Vatic. Anno VI. Reg. Vat. 141, Epist. 1421.*

Venerabilibus fratribus Archiepiscopo Arelatensi, eiusque Suffraganeis.

Dum clara devotionis et fidei merita, quibus inclite memorie progenitores Carissime in Christo filie nostre Johanne Regine Sicilie Illustris erga deum et sanctam Romanam ecclesiam claruerunt, intra nostra precordia delectabiliter recensemus et attendimus diligenter quod eadem Regina in devotione ac fidelitate huiusmodi eisdem progenitoribus studet operosis affectibus inherere, libenter super ipsius regine oportunitatibus, quantum cum deo possumus, eidem assistimus, ipsam que favoribus prosequimur graciosis. Dudum siquidem de fratrum nostrorum consilio decimam omnium reddituum et proventuum ecclesiasticorum in regno et terris eidem regine subiectis consistencium, per tres annos a fine ultimi termini Solucionis decime triennalis per nos dudum, tam in illis quam aliis diversis mundi partibus pro Christianorum deffensione et subsidio contra turchos imposite, ne uno et eodem tempore persone regni et terrarum predictorum in solucione duplicis decime gravarentur, computandos singulis Annis huiusmodi triennii in duobus terminis post ultimum

terminum solucionis predicte, medietatem videlicet in omnium Sanctorum extunc proxime venturo, et reliquam medietatem in resurrectionis dominice festis a Venerabilibus fratribus Archiepiscopis et Episcopis Ceterisque personis ecclesiasticis quibuscunque, exemptis et non exemptis in regno et terris eidem regine subiectis consistentibus, quantacunque prefulgerent dignitate, seu cuiuscunque preminencie condicionis vel status, ordinis aut religionis existerent, quibus vel eorum alicui nulla privilegia vel indulgencias sub quacunque forma vel expressione verborum concessa, quoad hec nolumus suffragari, preterquam a personis et locis hospitalis sancti Johannis Jerosolimitani, quos ab huiusmodi solucione decime liberos esse volumus et immunes integraliter persolvendum, ipsiusque regine usibus pro predictis relevandis necessitatibus applicandam duximus concedendas. Inter cetera ordinantes, quod pecunia pro duobus solucionis terminis primi anni huiusmodi prime decime, pro subsidio defencionis et expugnacionis predictarum, ut premissum est, dudum imposite, collecta vel colligenda pro eodem subsidio, insolidum remanente in singulis aliis utriusque decimarum predictarum solucionis terminis, per quatuor annos videlicet, cum pecunia earum soluta vel collecta foret, medietas eiusdem dicto subsidio et alia medietas eidem regine pro huiusmodi suis necessitatibus et commodis supportandis applicaretur integraliter et per Collectores decime assignaretur ipsius, quodque pecunia que Anno ultimo de secunda decima colligeretur eadem eidem Regine cederet et assignaretur insolidum loco illius pecunie, que huiusmodi primo Anno de predicta prima decima collecta, seu colligenda erat, et eidem subsidio debebat totaliter remanere, prout in nostris inde confectis litteris plenius continetur. Verum quia sicut exhibite nobis nuper eiusdem Regine petitionis series continebat premissorum incumbencium eidem agendorum necessitas sic eam et statum suum premit et artat, quod nisi sibi de huiusmodi vel alio nostro Suffragio celerius succurratur ipsis agendis et statui suis, oportuno non poterit in tempore providere in ipsius regine ac regni et terrarum predictorum, et per consequens Romane ecclesie, ut asserit, preiudicium manifestum. Nos periculis eisdem occurrere, ipsiusque regine necessitatibus providere, paternis affectibus cupientes, Volumus quod, ordinatione nostra huiusmodi non obstante, pecunia que ex utraque huiusmodi decima in omnium Sanctorum et resurrectionis dominice festivitatum terminis proxime preteritis colligi debuit, quomodolibet inde collecta est et remanet colligenda, eidem regine integre assignetur; quodque pecunia que ex eadem decima in duobus proximo futuris similibus terminibus remanet colligenda, prosecutioni dicti negocii contra turchos integraliter applicetur. Quocirca Universitati Vestre per apostolica scripta mandamus quatinus Vestram prefatam decimam de redditibus et proventibus ecclesiasticis pro dictis duobus preteritis terminis collectam, et que remanet ut predicatur colligenda memorate regine, vel eius procuratori, seu nuncio iuxta voluntatem nostram huiusmodi assignare integre studeatis. Datum Avinione xvi. Kalendas Junii, Anno Sexto.

# ROMAN CALENDAR.<sup>1</sup>

January, August, December.	February.	March, May, July, October.	April, June, September, November.
<p>1 Kalendis 2 IV. } ante 3 III. } Nonas 4 Pridie Nonas 5 Nonis 6 VIII. ) 7 VII. ) 8 VI. } ante 9 V. } Idus 10 IV. ) 11 III. ) 12 Pridie Idus 13 Idibus 14 XIX. ) 15 XVIII. ) 16 XVII. ) 17 XVI. ) 18 XV. ) 19 XIV. ) 20 XIII. ) 21 XII. ) 22 XI. } ante 23 X. } Kalen- 24 IX. } das 25 VIII. ) 26 VII. ) 27 VI. ) 28 V. ) 29 IV. ) 30 III. ) 31 Pridie Kalen- das. Feb., Sept., Janu- arias.</p>	<p>1 Kalendis 2 IV. } ante 3 III. } Nonas 4 Pridie Nonas 5 Nonis 6 VIII. ) 7 VII. ) 8 VI. } ante 9 V. } Idus 10 IV. ) 11 III. ) 12 Pridie Idus 13 Idibus 14 XVI. ) 15 XV. ) 16 XIV. ) 17 XIII. ) 18 XII. ) 19 XI. } ante 20 X. } Kalen- 21 IX. } das 22 VIII. } Martias 23 VII. ) 24 VI. ) 25 V. ) 26 IV. ) 27 III. ) 28 Pridie Kalen- das Martias</p> <p>In Leap-year, Feb. 24 was reckoned twice. There- fore this day was termed bis- sextus, and the year, annus, bis- sextus.</p>	<p>1 Kalendis 2 VI. } ante 3 V. } Nonas 4 IV. } Nonas 5 III. } 6 Pridie Nonas 7 Nonis 8 VIII. ) 9 VII. ) 10 VI. } ante 11 V. } Idus 12 IV. ) 13 III. ) 14 Pridie Idus 15 Idibus 16 XVII. ) 17 XVI. ) 18 XV. ) 19 XIV. ) 20 XIII. ) 21 XII. ) 22 XI. } ante 23 X. } Kalen- 24 IX. } das 25 VIII. ) 26 VII. ) 27 VI. ) 28 V. ) 29 IV. ) 30 III. ) 31 Pridie Kalen- das. Apriles, Junias, Sex- tiles, Nov- embres.</p>	<p>1 Kalendis 2 IV. } ante 3 III. } Nonas 4 Pridie Nonas 5 Nonis 6 VIII. ) 7 VII. ) 8 VI. } ante 9 V. } Idus 10 IV. ) 11 III. ) 12 Pridie Idus 13 Idibus 14 XVIII. ) 15 XVII. ) 16 XVI. ) 17 XV. ) 18 XIV. ) 19 XIII. ) 20 XII. ) 21 XI. } ante 22 X. } Kalen- 23 IX. } das 24 VIII. ) 25 VII. ) 26 VI. ) 27 V. ) 28 IV. ) 29 III. ) 30 II. ) Or Pridie Kalen- das Maias, Quin- tiles, Octobres, Decembres.</p>

<sup>1</sup> For further details, cf. 'Trésor de Chronologie,' par de Mas-Latrie.

# TABLE OF POPES JOHN XXII., BENEDICT XII., AND CLEMENT VI.

## THEIR PONTIFICAL YEARS.

JOHN XXII.		BENEDICT XII.	
Elected 4th August 1316; crowned 5th Sept.		Elected 28th December 1334; crowned 8th January.	
Year.		Year.	
1 . . .	1316 Sept. 4, 1317	1 . . .	1335 Jan. 7, 1336
2 . . .	1317 „ 1318	2 . . .	1336 „ 1337
3 . . .	1318 „ 1319	3 . . .	1337 „ 1338
4 . . .	1319 „ 1320	4 . . .	1338 „ 1339
5 . . .	1320 „ 1321	5 . . .	1339 „ 1340
6 . . .	1321 „ 1322	6 . . .	1340 „ 1341
7 . . .	1322 „ 1323	7 . . .	1341 „ 1342
8 . . .	1323 „ 1324	8 . . .	1342 Died Apr. 25
9 . . .	1324 „ 1325		
10 . . .	1325 „ 1326	CLEMENT VI.	
11 . . .	1326 „ 1327	Elected 7th May 1342; crowned 19th May.	
12 . . .	1327 „ 1328	Year.	
13 . . .	1328 „ 1329	1 . . .	1342 May 18, 1343
14 . . .	1329 „ 1330	2 . . .	1343 „ 1344
15 . . .	1330 „ 1331	3 . . .	1344 „ 1345
16 . . .	1331 „ 1332	4 . . .	1345 „ 1346
17 . . .	1332 „ 1333	5 . . .	1346 „ 1347
18 . . .	1333 „ 1334	6 . . .	1347 „ 1348
	Died Dec. 4	7 . . .	1348 „ 1349
	September 5	8 . . .	1349 „ 1350
	October	9 . . .	1350 „ 1351
	November	10 . . .	1351 „ 1352
	December	11 . . .	1352 Died Dec. 6
			June January
			July February
			August March
			September April
			October May 11
			November
			December

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