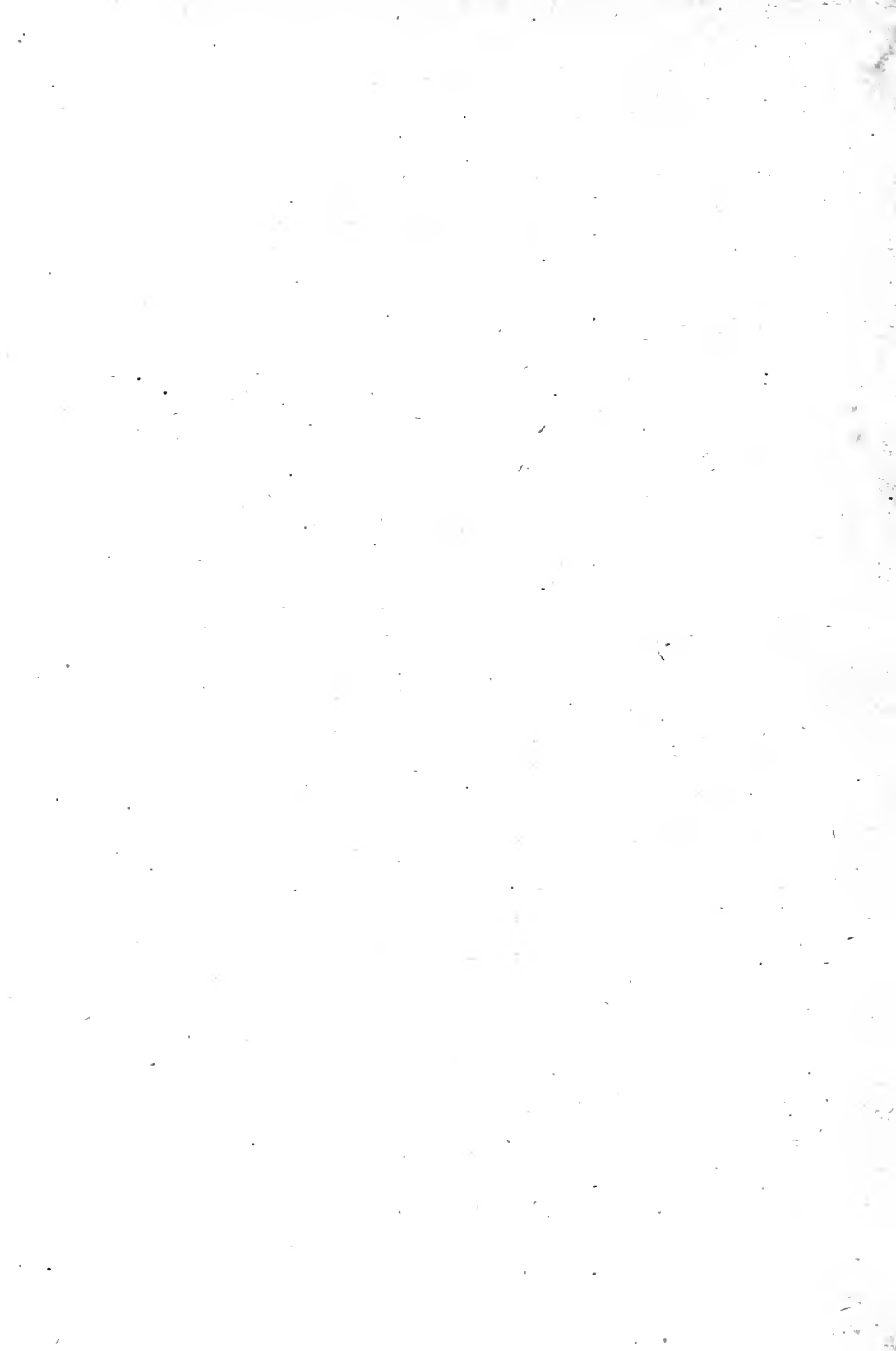


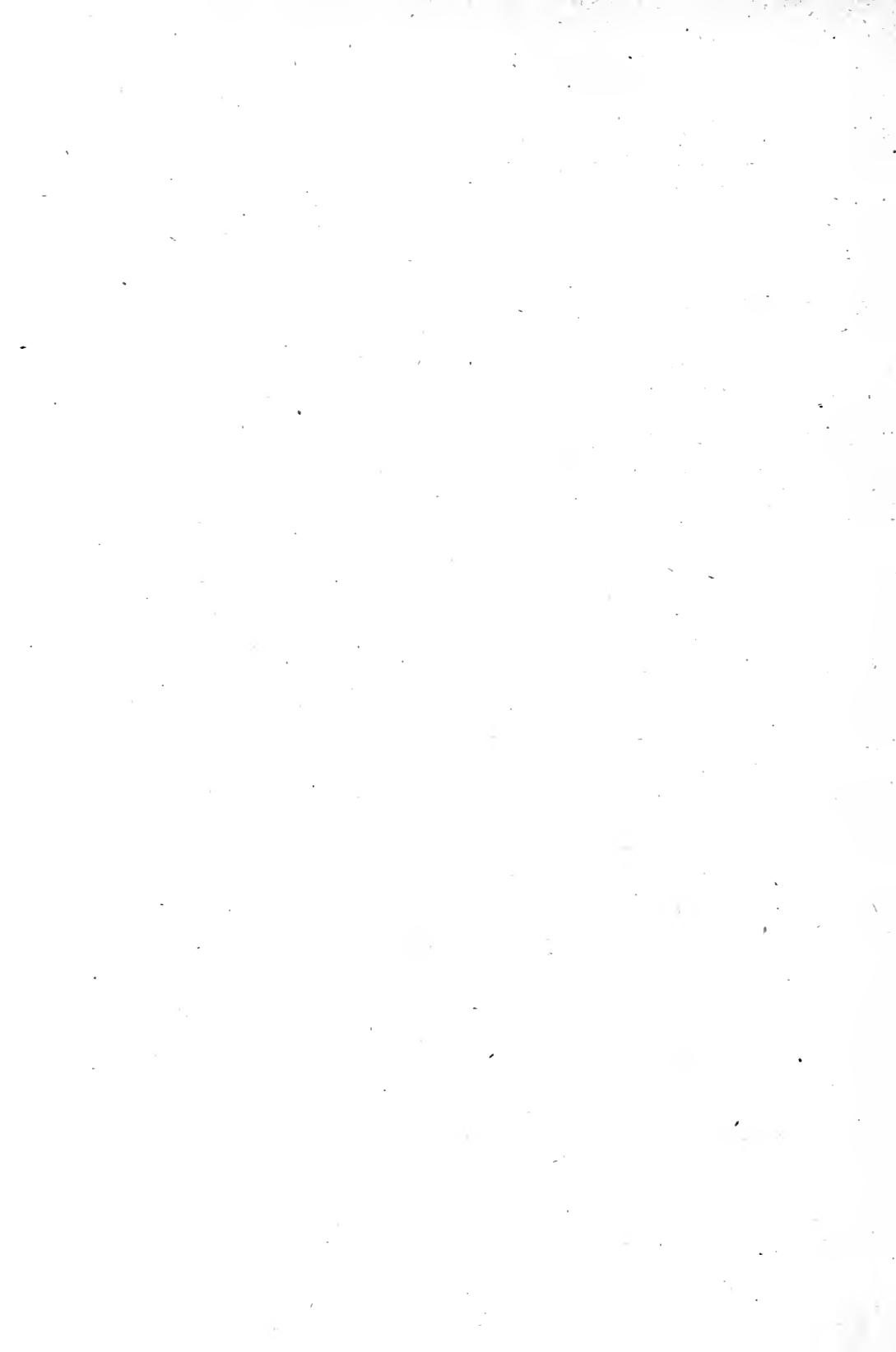
M. MANSFIELD

A FAMILY OF DECENT FOLK

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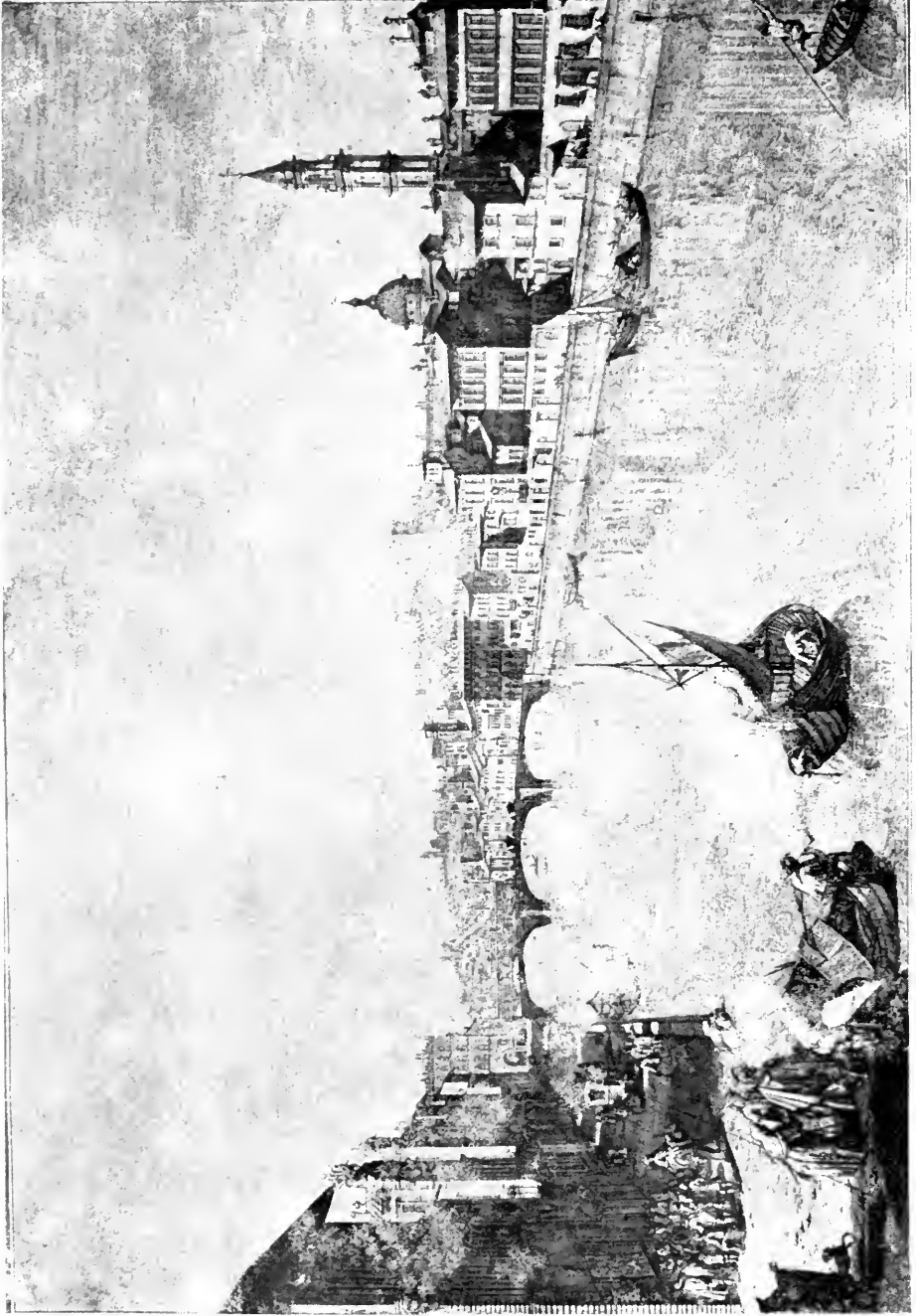


**A FAMILY OF DECENT FOLK**

1200-1741



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Vista of the Arno and the Lanfredini Palace. - XVIII<sup>th</sup> and XIX<sup>th</sup> Centuries.

# A FAMILY OF DECENT FOLK

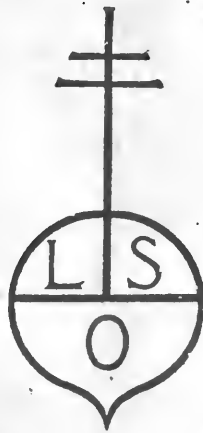
1200-1741

A STUDY IN THE CENTURIES GROWTH OF THE LANFREDINI,  
MERCHANT-BANKERS, ART-PATRONS, AND HOUSE-BUILDERS OF FLORENCE.

WITH PORTRAITS AND DOCUMENTS  
FOR THE MOST PART UNPUBLISHED,  
AN INTRODUCTION,  
NOTES, AND A GENEALOGICAL PEDIGREE.

BY

M. MANSFIELD

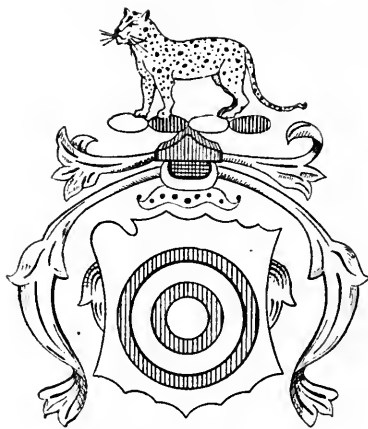


FLORENCE

LEO S. OLSCHKI, PUBLISHER

1922

RR



*Lanfredini arms and crest.*

# FIORENZA

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You air that serves me with breath to speak!  
You objects that call from diffusion my meanings and give them shape!  
You light that wraps me and all things in delicate equable showers!

. . . . .  
I believe you are latent with unseen existences, you are so dear to me.

You flagg'd walks of the cities! . . . . .

You rows of houses! you window-pierc'd façades! you roofs!

You porches and entrances! you copings and iron guards!

You windows whose transparent shells might expose so much!

You doors and ascending steps! you arches!

You gray stones of interminable pavements! you trodden crossings!

From all that has touched you I believe you have imparted to  
yourselves, and now would impart the same secretly to me.

From the living and the dead you have peopled your impassive  
surfaces, and the spirits thereof would be evident and  
amicable with me.

WALT WHITMAN, *Song of the Open Road.*





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## INTRODUCTION

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.... stretched out like a book,  
Like a soft smile caught and kept  
From the Past's fast-sealed lips, or like a flower  
Yielding its petals to the blue sky.

*Lyrics, C. FABBRI.*

I am travelling along a well-worn road, too often worked over not to require apology from the pilgrim. At this hour obviously, no claim can be made to discovery of anything but the most slender modicum of new matter, although that little prove the *raison d'être* of this study of mine, if it helps to fill a gap in the records of those mighty craftsmen of the Florence Quattrocento, the Pollaiuolo. This account of the Lanfredini, a family of merchant-princes, statesmen and patrons of Art, in the atmosphere of their town and country homes, the identification there of a portrait with its counterpart in the Uffizi Gallery, should I hope prove a valid excuse for one more book about Florence being written.

Strange to tell, the Lanfredini, no mean members of the ruling oligarchy, named often in Florentine annals, creditable though minor actors in the Renaissance Masque of Fame, honourably mentioned also by Vasari in his record of Florentine art-patronage in the XVIth century, have had to rest content with little more than this, and a few references in State Archives, at the hands of modern historians. The cursory mention by Vasari of three Lanfredini commissions to Pontormo, Baccio d'Agnolo, and Andrea di Cosimo Feltrino for the

decoration of their palace ignores the deserts of the previous generation in the patronage of the Pollaiuolo; whilst the mere notice of one member of the family, Giovanni Lanfredini as " Lorenzo de' Medici's family ambassador in Rome ", passes over undeservedly the generations that bore themselves honourably through six hundred years of service to the Florentine State.

The Lanfredini have indeed written little more than marginalia upon history's pages, but even so, in Henry James's felicitous phrase, " the least significant footnote of history stirs more than the most thrilling and passionate fiction ". This opinion expressed by that gifted psychologist of people and places, concerning the writing upon the walls of old houses where successive generations have set their imprint footnotes, applies with singular aptness to the Lanfredini Palace. The inmates have been overlooked, and I shall endeavour to decypher their writing, to isolate, chemically speaking, this family element from the mass of human atoms that form the matter and spirit of their respective times; setting the Lanfredini actors amid their own stage-surroundings with the other players of the " war and peace game " of Florence with her neighbours from the XIIIth to the XVIth centuries.

Vital figures, though cast by Destiny for little more than utility parts, the Lanfredini trace their record back to an age when history takes note of folk and their actions sketchily only, and very much in flat perspective. They gain a bodily presence only when, accepted members of the oligarchy, and with public office setting its stamp upon the merchants' coinage so to say, the Lanfredini found a line of statesmen.

The analogy between the political order of mediaevalism, and that which is passing away today is striking for the student of manners. We were apt to take the happenings of those times for granted, little observing the closeknit lines of human causation. What the microcosm of Florence was, what that remarkable community of free men, the foremost embodiment of Christian-Graeco-Roman-republican ideals, achieved, their working out the problem of individual versus state right earlier than any other organism in southern Europe, is unconsciously

guiding the forces of nationhood even today. The Florentine thinkers and doers of the Middle-Ages have formulated principles, the application of which is qualified only by the wider world-stage of modern times.

Before the changeless horizon of these skies and hills of tranquillity the human interest of the Florentine past endures. Her streets and houses that have witnessed so much, be they scenes of violence, or workaday pastimes, or immaterial visions of beauty, possess a vitality all their own, and those Florentines, such as the Lanfredini, bear witness to their hour, before the morrow's silence.

Yearlong residence in the city, travel and sojourn in the places where the Masque of the Renaissance unfolds its pageantry, seem to have given my mind's eye something of the directness of first hand vision; a sense of the past which the setting: landscapes unclouded by smoke, buildings little diverted from their original purpose, the very faces of the people true to the type pictured by their Art, assists in a singular degree. Thus, very real as it all appears to me, I have endeavoured here to convey the same sense of comradeship with folk whose footprints are yet traceable on the flagstones of "our city of Florence"; as the XIVth century chronicler Giovanni Villani voices it, and after him others have so named their mirage.

My aim has not been to compress the life of centuries into a few pages and call the result history, but rather, walking in Lanfredini company, to thread the same thoroughfares, narrow lanes o'erarched with shadow, where these scarlet-gowned citizens congregate about the Merchants' Exchange, and there read the writing upon the wall. I have stood before grim weatherworn buildings that once had frowned upon or sheltered Guelph and Ghibelline, I have looked for a presence at the identical windows whence the Lanfredini and their fellows gazed upon the "shows of Imperial, Papal, and Ducal visits", which were symbols of the Florentine pride of place in history. The Medici, Strozzi, Rucellai, Capponi, Bardi and Frescobaldi palaces to mention these only have had their chroniclers; not so the Lanfredini home, oddly over-looked.

Of books about Florence there is no end, but one more should

not prove the last straw, if the public be willing to read these "unpublished" fragments of writing upon the wall. The vicissitudes of the house: change of ownership, change of purpose, make a palimpsest difficult to read, in this case the more so that the last phase, an hotel, created conditions, — a floating population within doors, — least conducive to permanence of the historic atmosphere. (1)

It so happened that the proprietor had placed his public rooms at the disposal of a War-Charity entertainment committee, with the result that the wall-decoration hitherto often looked upon unseeing, now compelled attention. The portraits set in medallions of laurel frescoed upon the spandrils of the two arches supporting the superstructure of the court, — now the winter-garden, — recalled faces seen elsewhere. Signor Benini's courtesy which I take this opportunity to acknowledge permitted photographs to be taken which upon close examination revealed in the male portrait, the replica accurate to the minutest detail, of a panel painting in the Uffizi Gallery depicting an Unknown Youth; whilst the companion, a typical Florentine gentlewoman, presented such marked points of contact with another portrait, (Uffizi. No. 3450) as to confirm the origin of both in the Pollaiuolo workshop. These paintings, together with the rest of the wall-decoration and stone-carving in the house pointed to an intense love of the beautiful in the former owners.

Who had been responsible for the red, green, and white tongues, patterned on the buff coloured wall of the Loggia, and the device of seven rays issuing from a vine-leaf, carved in the gray stone lintels and overmantel? The principal *motif* of Andrea di Cosimo Feltrino's sgraffito frontage wall decoration executed, so Vasari places upon record, for Lanfredino di Jacopo Lanfredini when Baccio d'Agnolo erects the riverside façade of the palace "between the bridges of S.ta Trinità and Carraia", is reproduced again and again upon inner walls and ceilings. In this device the leopard passant wreathed with olive-

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(1) The Palace Hotel Lung'Arno Guicciardini, a military hospital. 1915-1919, today, 1921, unoccupied.

branches and the motto " Puer. duc. Leo. " spells more than the mere use of the family crest for decorative purposes. What was the symbolic intent? The Lanfredini coat of arms, the escutcheon of the *Parte Guelfa*, the Lily of Florence are emblazoned on the cortile walls, why? In his life of Pontormo, Vasari refers to a fine escutcheon supported by putti painted over a doorway, for Bartolommeo di Lanfredino Lanfredini, and he quotes Bronzino " who knows these things " in support of his appreciation, thus implying that he has not seen the work he describes, and he knows the house only from the outside. Indeed such would appear to be the case, for in sympathy as Vasari is with the Pollaiuolos' art he could not have failed to notice portraits then almost in their first freshness. The Este Diamond recurs in the ceiling decoration of one of the rooms; who suggested its use? The great Loggia vaulted roof rests upon lunettes painted with a tournament and hunting scenes; whose lives of action and leisure are here symbolized? Though sadly damaged by over-painting and devoid thus of any claim to art-critics praise, these pictorial and decorative data seemed to afford the possibility to restore a few " Lanfredini vignettes " in the picture chronicle of Florence.

The frequent recurrence of the family name in Scipione Ammirato's compendious history, in the Medici correspondence, stray notices in Cavalcanti, Guicciardini, Nerli and Varchi's annals, the minutes of the Savonarola trial printed by the late Professor Pasquale Villari, set up landmarks for historical research. My attention had also been attracted to the eminent genealogist Count L. Passerini's Lanfredini notes to Marietta de Ricci, an historical romance by Agostino Ademollo, otherwise of scant interest today, which led me to consult the collection of Passerini MSS. preserved, unpublished to a great extent, in the National Library at Florence. My enquiries were most courteously assisted by the Librarian of the MSS. Room, who produced the file, No. 189, for my examination. This proved to contain a comprehensive dossier of Lanfredini data. The biographical memoir of the family compiled in the year 1761 by G. B. Dei traces the ancestry back to the XIIIth century, the story being carried succinctly through suc-

cessive generations until they become extinct in 1741 with Cardinal Jacopo Lanfredini, Bishop of Osimo. The author dedicates his work to the Superior of the Congregation of Missionary Priests of Montecitorio in Rome, to whom the Cardinal devises the Lanfredini villa at Arcetri, besides a sum of money to defray the expenses of his burial in the church of the Trinità de Monti, for the decoration of which as Protector he had expended considerable sums. The *dossier* includes copies of notarial acts, sales of house property in Florence and the neighbourhood in the XIIIth century, references to wills etc., and excerpts from the Libro de' Riformagioni, (calendar of State legislation, and official instructions to office-holders and public servants) dealing with the official status, and services of the Lanfredini, and the honours conferred upon them in the XIVth and XVth centuries. There are copies of the Letters Patent issued by Borso and Ercole d'Este to the Lanfredini of that day granting them and their descendents nobiliary privileges, of the grant of citizenship of Bologna to one of them at the same time, of a Papal Brief given by the Pontiff of the day, Innocent VIII, to Jacopo Lanfredini with the revenues and dignities of the Capua Grand Priorate in the Order of S. John of Jerusalem, copies of mortuary inscriptions, and a sketch pedigree by Count Passerini. All this material of unequal value of course, together with the references to the family in the history of Florence, has assisted me to compose the picture of a Family of Decent Folk, to whom the atmosphere of their city and their old home in my pages will I hope lend vitality.

From the XIIIth to the early part of the XIVth century the Lanfredini are but shadows. Mere names, until the wealth that comes to them through business partnership with the Bardi, bankers to the Papacy, the Kings of Naples and France, and the Kings of England, places them in the front rank with the other Oltr'Arno magnates, the Frescobaldi, Capponi and Antinori families with whom they intermarry. The earlier Lanfredini are but shadows, yet before the middle years of the XIVth century are out, they assume a distinctive character among the makers of Florence. One of their number, the first Gonfalonier of his line, proves himself a master of such emer-

gency finance as that with which the present day has familiarized us; when events developed that, a few years ago, reading their counterpart in the mediaeval microcosm of Florence, seemed to us of impossible recurrence. The diarists of the XVth century, Luca Landucci 1466-1515, and Bartolommeo Masi 1478-1525, the letters of Ser Baldino and his colleague Lorenzo Venturini, Sienese political emissaries in Florence during the Sforza visit in 1471, (State Archives of Siena, printed for private circulation some years since, and now published for the first time), the Medici and Lanfredini official correspondence, the documents of the Savonarola trial, create a vivid mind-picture of first hand impressions of the period in which the Lanfredini personality as statesmen, scholars, house-builders and patrons of art, stands forth with the greatest clearness and has left deepest traces upon their house-walls.

Apart from these contemporary records whose primary merit consists in the touch of the vanished hand, studies of Florentine manners such as Professor Isidoro del Lungo's historical essays which deal with the Medicean era, notably his "Florentia," have proved of the greatest value to me for the notes and references to state papers that work contains. Count Pasolini's "Life of Caterina Sforza" has enabled me to add further personal touches to the scenario of that brilliant epoch. Among other sources, I have to acknowledge my indebtedness to Mrs Ross's collection of Medici letters, and the comments with which she illustrates the correspondence of three generations and their friends. Mr E. Gardner's "Dukes and Poets of Ferrara" sets the framework for the Lanfredini in their Ferrarese surroundings as "familiar" of the Ducal Court; and since it is obvious that no book about Florence can be adequately thought out still less written without reference to J. A. Symonds' studies, I take this opportunity to mark the value his insight into the "humanity" of those times has been to me.

Miss M. Cruttwell's standard biography of the Pollaiuolo has served me for invaluable guidance in my argument in favour of the "Pollaiuolo" origin of the Lanfredini palace portraits. It may not be

out of place to recall that the fresco-decoration of the Arcetri villa by the Pollaiuolo so vividly described in her pages, was due to the enlightened patronage of Jacopo and Giovanni Lanfredini then its owners, their commissions thus connecting their town and country houses with the art of the most eminent "pair" of painters the XVth century has known.

Baron A. C. de Cosson's erudition as a numismatist has saved me from the pitfall of a rash conclusion from superficial analogy. His kindness in reproducing for me a plaquette, hitherto unpublished, from his collection of Renaissance medals and coins precluded a suggested identification of the female Lanfredini palace portrait with Bona of Savoy, to whom a certain indefinable resemblance had pointed, it seemed to me. I have looked for her now, — in her family, and I believe the conjecture in the total absence of any documentary proof, to be tenable for the present.

But, in the Italian phrase: "tutto male non viene per nuocere," the elimination of my first idea started a train of thought, to which Baron de Cosson's plaquette lends a definite value. The resemblance of the plaquette with the "official" portraits of Bona of Savoy: Ambrogio de Predis (Nat. Gall. London), and Luini (?) in the Castello of Milan, is too marked to be fortuitous, but what is yet more striking is the likeness, allowing for the difference of say ten years or so in a woman's looks, between the plaquette and a beautiful portrait of an Unknown Gentlewoman, (Uffizi No. 3450), which authoritative criticism to-day ascribes to Antonio del Pollaiuolo.

Bona of Savoy and her husband Galeazzo Maria Sforza enter largely into the picture where the Lanfredini stand in the foreground with Lorenzo de' Medici and the Signoria their hosts. The circumstance that the Sienese Envoy describes the costume worn by the pair on that occasion "the Lord Duke was garbed in a blue lily-brocade, of the colour and arms of France, and likewise Madonna," lends additional weight to the identification of the likeness of a dark-haired young man, (No. 30, Uffizi Gallery) with the portrait of Galeazzo Maria Sforza, by Piero del Pollaiuolo, recorded in the



inventory of Lorenzo de' Medici's effects in the palace of the Via Larga (cfr. *Collections des Medicis*, ed. E. Muntz. p. 60). Cristofano dell'Altissimo painted a replica for Duke Cosimo's collection of celebrities, copied from Paolo Giovio's series at Como, (No. 506, Uffizi Gall.). Different measurements preclude the possibility that these two paintings ever could have formed a diptych, such as Piero de' Franceschi's double portrait of Federigo of Montefeltro and his wife Battista Sforza. The theory however that the beautiful fair-haired Gentlewoman of the Uffizi Gallery depicts Bona at the time of the state visit, painted by the artist — Antonio del Pollaiuolo (?) — most in the public eye, and high in favour we know both with the Lanfredini and Medici, as a souvenir likeness, does not seem to me far-fetched. Suggested to me by the Lanfredini palace fresco portraits, I have introduced the Sforza episode to further illustrate the status of the Lanfredini patrons of Pollaiuolo's art. I am also indebted to Baron de Cosson for notice of Sperandeo's medal portrait of Giovanni Lanfredini (1438?-1490), which though not furnishing any clue to the identity of the male portrait in their palace, yet admits one more title to their claim to our notice as patrons of the eminent artists of their day. The medal is reproduced in A. Heiss, "*Les Médailleurs de la Renaissance*" (Paris 1891), and I have to thank Dr. De Nicola, Director of the National Museum (Bargello), for kindly communicating it to me as well as for assisting my other enquiries.

The Notes contain illustrative matter translated by me from various Italian works and are my own versions except where otherwise stated. The appendices comprise the Italian text of the Siense letters, the Letters Patent, the Papal Bull of Innocent VIII, etc.

My case for the identity of the likenesses in the Lanfredini palace is necessarily only hypothetical, but if the conclusions put forward are deemed only subjectively true, yet the time and place impression they convey is very vivid, within the walls that have actually witnessed the passing of the Medicean Triumph of Fame. The entire structure, the decoration upon which successive generations

have set their mark, expresses forcibly for me the indivisible unity of thought and action in the past, projected into and mirrored in the present.

To those who have breathed the fragrance of the Scarlet Lily, and the perfume revives the past....

Lingering within them with a keener sense  
 Than is upon the thoughts of common man,  
 Of what has been, that fills the actual world  
 With unreal likenesses of lovely shapes  
 That were and are not....

these pages bring their tribute of rosemary and rue..., for remembrance.

M. MANSFIELD.

*Florence, 1922.*

#### NOTE.

Whilst this book was going through the press, the Lanfredini palazzo has once again changed hands. No longer an hotel, the premises are undergoing extensive alterations, and the glass roof above the forecourt has been taken down. The author takes occasion to point out to readers who might notice the apparent mis-spelling, that the motto frequently quoted: PUER. DUC. LEO., which forms part of Lanfredino Lanfredini's device introduced in Andrea di Cosimo Feltrino's sgraffito decoration of the frontage, has been so over-painted as to become unintelligible. It has been repeated with meaningless lettering over and over again in the (modern) interior decoration. The correct reading became clear through study of the Lanfredini family history. I have quoted it, abbreviating the last word since it is obvious that a Latin scholar, as Lanfredini was, would not have intentionally perpetuated a grammatical error such as LEO for LEONEM; availing himself instead of the customary inscription of the first syllable only, to stand for the Medici Pontiff's name.

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## CHAPTER I.

### The early Lanfredini homes, and the Palace

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Chi potrà a pien lodar i tetti regi  
De tuoi privati, i portici e le corti  
De magistrati e pubblici collegi....

ARIOSTO, *Rime*, Cap. XVI.

"**F**AIR city whom happy presage hath laid at the foot of yon proud hill, that perchance contemns thee from his summit.... what accents shall spread thy fame wide-flung?... t'were easier to number Mugnone's pebbles in his arid bed than to tell deservedly that which moveth me to love and reverence." Who shall sing her praise, queries Ariosto of Florence just four centuries ago. An onlooker at what has been rightly described as the second blooming of the city's Golden Rose in Medici hands, Ariosto is a delighted visitor in the year of the elevation of Leo X to the Pontificate, and his vision coloured by passion never dims, though fires within may pale. <sup>(1)</sup> Al

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(1) The King of Court Poets. A study of the life and times of Lodovico Ariosto. E. Gardner. A. Constable & Co. London. 1906, 1 Vol. Cfr. pp. 78, 101-111, 123, 139-40. Also, W. Roscoe's "Life of Leo X", H. G. Bohn, London, 1853. 2 Vols. Cfr. Vol. II, p. 121. Ariosto's visits to Florence, and the impressions traceable in his poetic work are here emphasized. Reminiscences, of earlier visits, 1510-12 not altogether pleasing are effaced, and give place to unqualified admiration. In the summer of 1513. Florence is looking her gayest, rejoicing in her pride at the election of a Medici Pope, and the solemnization of S. John the Baptist's day with the time-honoured politico-religious processions is marked by street pageantry: the tournaments of the "Broncone" and "Dia-

though his Ferrara boasts many noble dwellings, and Rome yet more, the Este Court Poet's eye asserts that Florence stands comparison well, "that were the Florentine merchant-princes' homes, the porticos and halls of her rulers, magistrates and public corporations girdled within one wall and bear but one name, two cities such as Rome is could not compare with her". Is this the courtier's lip-service? No indeed, Ariosto is not the first if he is the best known, and from his day to this countless pens have underlain the spell of the Florentine palaces and villa homes. The ground has been trodden by many feet, the field dug over time out of mind, levelled and ploughed up again, every sod turned, each pebble lifted and weighed so often that it may well seem as though nothing more worth telling had been left unsaid about "that city of dark palaces which once was Florence". "Drearer than Milan" adds Alfred de Musset; prejudice, the stranger's unfamiliarity with her atmosphere, repelling the lure of the Scarlet Lily.

What can there be left to tell? And yet Chance that ere now has proved a fairy god-mother has kept a smile for the late-comer. The dark palaces seethe with their inmates' vitality, folk whose daily round and common task sets a living background behind the picture lighted up alternately by the flash of tragedy and the morning calm of well-ordered lives; they are not so black or dreary as the French poet-traveller's ennui painted them. At their windows peers the pre-

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mante "rival Medici jousts, and decorations, for which the talent of Pontormo and all the leading artists of the day have been laid under contribution. The occasion is rose and rainbow tinted, by the presence of Madonna Alessandra Benucci Strozzi, the fair object of the Poet's year-long passionate devotion, to whom he addresses the Canzone, (No 1) which Mr. Gardner's sense of Italian prosody rightly regards as Ariosto's one great lyric. Madonna Alessandra lends the halo of her beauty to Florence also, which the Poet voices in the XVIth of the "Capitoli Amorosi", commencing "Gentil città, che con felici auguri...", where he avers "that were scattered palaces, i. e. her villas, gathered under one name, within one girdle of walls, two cities such as Rome would not equal her; and his native Ferrara has suffered at Vandal's hands, or she might alone vie with Florence". He will return there il 1516, when Giuliano de' Medici, a friend whom he loved despite the disappointment at misplaced trust, has died, and again in February and May 1519 when the last of the legitimate stock of Cosimo *Pater Patriae*, has passed away. These occasions are noted only to frame the house-building and decoration, — synchronous with the return of the Medici from the Second Exile, — of which the Lanfredini palace river-front architecture and decorations is one of the earliest examples.

sence of many generations, house-builders and their descendants, unto that last hour when the extinction of a family draws the impalpable veil of dust over ghostly features. Yet even this dust is not impene-trable, though but few among those old homes are occupied to-day by their founders' kin, and many have fallen from high estate, in so far as: public offices, business premises, or hostelries, the painted halls, the escutcheon and device, the owners' characteristic measure of house-pride, know the *genius loci* no more. Certain features have been treated kindly there, others are irretrievably dimmed, others lost for a space are again found. Among these latter, the emblems and heraldic bear-ings, seemingly unconsidered trifles, the portraits in the Lanfredini palace forecourt, the façade and other decorations, contribute the family's foot-notes to the Florentine epos which these pages are intended to illustrate, from the writing upon their walls.

This mind picture, framed in Ariosto's setting coloured by the Medici twilight of the gods, gains a clear cut outline in Vasari and Benedetto Varchi's virtually synchronous XVIth century stocktaking of the features of Florence. After four hundred odd years or so, the Masque scenery stands here unchanged in essentials, as the poet, the art critic, and the historian beheld the stage, and nodded to the char-acters in the cast known to them. At the hour of still water to-day, and before the ebb-tide shall set in when change begetting oblivion will sweep these "unconsidered" things seaward..., to look upon this picture and at that will but heighten the sense of a hidden life of things carried far beyond our mortal span and ken.

A laudable practice prevails to-day. Authority, not content to set up memorial tablets upon house-fronts, and at street corners to mark Time's fingerprints, but removing accretions that mar history's perspec-tive, and replacing statuary *in situ*, by restoring inscriptions, even to the old street names set up beside the modern nomenclature in a rebuilt Florence, has created the atmosphere most propitious to the walking of ghosts. If certain latter-hour restorations would not be recognized by a Lanfredini Rip van Winkle who, wakening, should walk in wonder amid his familiar maze of alleys behind his "houses", the street of

dark palaces, Via Santo Spirito upon which his own home opened, would greet him unchanged, heavy with the silence of his forebears' shadows; and rubbing his eyes, the sight of his own river-frontage would persuade him that Sleep's twin brother had passed him by.

Yet, where once the hanging gardens and pergolas trailed their vines, mocking a counterpart in the still green water, the quay line architecture of the right bank runs now unbroken save at night by the féerie of light from the traffic. The house windows and street lamps, gleaming ruddy and golden ripples where it was dark, tell the life of her yesterdays of a new magic, such as nightly falls to the share of the humblest river-side denizen of Florence, then unknown.

Oltr' Arno, the hill-side, sings Ariosto, "so thickly set with villas that it seemed as though the earth begat them manifold as the budding vine shoots", frames the mass of buildings where the Lanfredini home stands conspicuous, as Vasari observes, "betwixt the Santa Trinità and Carraia bridges". The arc is drawn from the pine-crown of San Miniato to the serried spears of cypress, gold and bronze tipped in the setting sun on the Bellosguardo Mont' Oliveto combe. The chord is stretched by the river. Here the Lanfredini façade, two storeys of five windows each overhung by a wide flat roof, designed by Baccio d' Agnolo and decorated by Andrea di Cosimo Feltrino with "a pleasing and diversified" design in sgraffito, is a feature which the tall battlemented structure of red brick towering above, — a sorrowful concession to modern needs, has dwarfed. The sgraffito however has paled but little, and the composition intended to perpetuate family glories yet traceable will illustrate the career of Lanfredino Lanfredini, a contemporary of Ariosto's and most likely an acquaintance, who commissions the work. The graceful spire of S. Spirito commands a happily broken line of red brown roofs bearing historic names. From the Frescobaldi houses at the Santa Trinità bridge-head famous in Giovanni Villani's spirited narrative of the Oltr' Arno magnates' discomfiture at the hands of the people in 1345, the Vettori, the Bardi (now Capponi-Leonetti and Guicciardini palaces), the Lanfredini, Nerli, and Soderini homes line the quay-side, much as Ariosto and Vasari viewed

the prospect. Though the Frescobaldi palace wears a XVIIth century frontage adorned with the effigies of successive Medicean Grandukes, though coats of arms jostle shop-signs, and the river front of the Bardi palace once painted by Poccetti displays to-day but a neutral expanse of buff-colour, and the century-old ilex upon yonder terrace is all that is left of Oltr'Arno hanging gardens; Zocchi (print dated about 1750), the XVIIIth century illustrator, to whom Florence owes the same debt of pictorial memories that Rome recognizes in Piranesi's art, shews how kindly change has stayed her hand.

The other bell-tower in the picture likewise watches over Lanfredini destinies. The four-square campanile of S. Jacopo sopr'Arno, belonging to the tiny church opening on to the Borgo, towers above what were once Lanfredini "houses". In that church nestling as it were amid living and dead, their earlier generations are buried, — unknown to-day, — for the slab "Sepulcrum Lanfredinorum" has long since been trodden blank by generations of devout worshippers' footsteps. The picturesque mass of riverside dwellings, — their inmates, the majority hard-working artizans at the lathe, the silver and copper-smith's anvil, and the cloth-worker's board, — which dip their foundations in the stream of the Ponte Vecchio to Santa Trinità reach, suggests the worthy sources of a family's rise to distinction through the single-minded diligence of its first founders. (1)

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(1) "Storia Fiorentina" Benedetto Varchi. 1502-65. The historian writing in 1539, about sixteen years before his death, describes the topography of Florence and the neighbourhood with abundant detail (Book IX.) much of which is easily identifiable to-day. The list of notable dwellings is, Varchi admits, drawn from Benedetto Dei's chronicle, about 1478, to which he adds a number of later structures. The Lanfredini palace is only mentioned by implication in the passage where the "sgraffito" decorated house-fronts in Via de' Servi, "and others not a few resembling them, that have all the ornament and conveniences which a home should possess: terraces, loggie..." are noted. Vasari's record fills Varchi's omission. ("Le vite dei più eccellenti Pittori, ecc." ed Milanese with notes, VIII Vols. Florence 1880). Cf. Vol. V. p. 362. "Life of Baccio d' Agnolo". For Lanfredino Lanfredini he built their house by the Arno river-side, which stands between Ponte Santa Trinità and Ponte la Carraia, and further (loc. cit. p. 207, "Life of Andrea di Cosimo Feltrino"): "the first house-fronts decorated by Andrea after this manner were in Borgo Ognisanti... and on the Lung'Arno between Ponte Santa Trinità and the Carraia close by Santo Spirito, that of Lanfredino Lanfredini, which is most ornate and diversified in the parts of its decoration".

The river bed broadens below Ponte alla Carraia. On the hither side a vista of park-land, and the shell-curve of the sky-line mountain range frames the shallows where the Oltr' Arno roofs repeat a daily transfiguration in the glistening pools. The colour-chimes true as ever before, play the hour's note upon those cymbals and triangles of light; at all hours, in all seasons, each a symphony of its own. When beneath an autumn sky of gray the still waters mirror the grass-green depths in which the grim old houses seem to drink perennial youth, or when the steel and crimson swathe the chrysoprass diffusing the glow of amaranthine yesterdays upon the whole dream-city at sunset, that presence which the old-time dwellers lived with, unconscious of the magic of light, walks abroad again as the harbinger of the morrow.

Unpretending comparatively speaking beside the other stately homes of XVth and XVIth century Florence, Baccio d'Agnolo's design for the riverside frontage of Lanfredino Lanfredini's palazzo stands for a compromise between the early forms of domestic architecture. Those unadorned façades are broken only by a few small irregular openings, bristling with the great stone bosses that supported temporary structures for defence and defiance; those terraces and balconies which often provided the mediaeval householders only safety exit. The massive grandeur of the Spini, Medici, and Strozzi structures of the XIVth and XVth centuries, and the graceful aloofness of the Rucellai frontage mark distinctive periods in the social life of the city. Whilst Michelozzo and Simone Pollaiuolo surnamed "il Cronaca", (architects of the Medici and Strozzi palaces) and their fore-runners, are yet builders of fortresses, L. B. Alberti their contemporary is before his time. The designer of the Rucellai house-front is Baccio d'Agnolo's direct ancestor in the evolution of domestic architecture. Baccio will develop his art upon original lines by and by, — approaching the Palladian, for Giovanni Bartolini in the beautiful frontage of Piazza Sta. Trinità, — but his Lanfredini design displays all the characteristics, good as well as indifferent, of attempted compromise with tradition, and its adaptation to a new style in outer wall-decoration, i.e. engraved and painted plaster surfaces in lieu of the rough hewn stone.



The man's house is his castle, all without are foes, was the principle heretofore embodied in Florentine domestic architecture : the sermon that lies in stones. The battlements, the massive cornices overtop a cyclopean substructure pierced in the lower storeys only with few small heavily barred openings set deep in the shadow of the unhewn bosses, the tall upper storeys are lighted with lancet-windows like a church, they convey the same sense of a somewhat remote grace. A narrow vaulted passage leads from the street into a pillared forecourt. The shadows cast by the heavy nail-studded doors seem to repel rather than welcome a visitant.

Times are changing now, in XVIth century Florence. The householder lives under guarantees of security, for the faction strife, raising banners of the wards and families in clans of Black and White Guelph to fight Ghibelline adversaries and wrecking their homes, is a thing of the past. Even the demolition of enemy emblems, the fate of the Medici at the hands of the Piagnoni, no longer defaces a change of regime. The Florentine's home will thus reflect the change in his social political view point. A flora in stone, heraldic devices and emblems trace history's vignettes; black and white and colour decoration will produce varied effects, to which end the artist's ingenuity and his patron's legitimate house pride will join hands. Safety out of doors admits light into the home. The ground-floor rooms are no longer given up to warehouses, and although windows are yet pierced high above the roadway, the painted ceilings and walls bespeak a changed purpose. The first and second floor windows reminiscent of the lancet carry a stone pillar and cross-beam. Pilasters support a cornice ornamented with symbolic flora, a frieze of the same runs along the roof, and belts the storeys, niches are contrived to hold statuary, the entrance is no longer an arch gateway but a street door, rectangular, and the jambs, pilasters or detached pillars, support the entablature carrying a motto. The change is indeed notable, and the conservatism of public opinion in questions of taste will not keep step with the craftsman; condemning the innovation which lends Baccio d' Agnolo's ornate design for the home, some of the stateliness supposed to be reserved for a

place of worship. The admixture of personal emblems suggests a reprehensible house pride in the owner! (1)

But the Lanfredini house-front, unlike the Bartolini palace design, represents not only compromise with the grand manner and solid stone construction of earlier days, it is the first instance in Florence of compromise between the architect and the wall-painter. The Lanfredini house-face, so to say, is flat. The two storeys of five windows each and an attic gain the modelling of shadow only from the wide overhanging wooden eaves of the roof, resting upon a plain stone cornice consisting of a single decorative element. The window openings are unrelieved, save by severely plain shallow mouldings. The doorway, opening into a narrow barrel-vaulted passage leading to the fore-court, is rectangular, and as unrelieved by architectural ornament. To-day, two high windows light the ground-floor. Though modern they differentiate the frontage but little, for Zocchi's drawing of this frontage shews four small square window-openings, as was customary in the Cinquecento, cut high above the street level; a survival of "meurtrière" and loophole apertures in the façades. No salient architecture encroaches upon the wall-expanse, free to the decorator's art in the new fashion. Since Baccio d'Agnolo's craft in other examples shews anything but poverty, the jejune stype adopted was obviously intentional. So studiously indeed does his craft subordinate itself to the decorator's that but for the character of Andrea di Cosimo Feltrino's sgraffito work, marked by architectural balance of perpendicular and horizontal ornament, the result would detract not a little from our opinion of Baccio d'Agnolo's

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(1) Vasari, "Life of Baccio d'Agnolo", p. 351-2. "He built in Piazza Santa Trinità a palace for Giovanni Bartolini, which is mightily ornate within.. and whereas this palace was the first built with square window embrasures and cornices, and with an entrance door, the pillars whereof support an architrave, and a frieze, and a cornice, these things were so derided by the Florentines in their talk, and in lampoons, and mocked too by the planting of green boughs in front as is customary for church festivals, howbeit they vowed the frontage resembled a temple rather than a dwelling, that Baccio had like to lose patience and his mind also. Nevertheless, since he had but walked in the masters worthy footsteps, and that his work had been well and truly done, he let them have their say". The learned editor, Signor Milanese adds in a note that the inscription CARPERE PROMPTIUS QUAM IMITARE, cut in the lintel was Baccio d'Agnolo's retort, to his critics. The stone is crumbling and the letters are scarcely traceable to-day.

claim to number among the great Florentine architects of the Cinquecento. (1) This decoration moreover fulfils not only an architectural purpose, but in Vasari's words "that most ornate and diversified composition", compared with the work of Andrea's followers, Poccetti and his school, exhibits a closer adherence to the true canon of art, the right thing in the right place, than the pictorially elaborate themes reveal, alien to the material employed and the conditions of permanence in time.

But this is not all, Andrea di Cosimo's work here possesses another merit for us. It constitutes one of the footnotes of history which successive generations in their turn have inscribed on the family walls. The central "motif" namely is a leopard wreathed by laurel and olive branches, with the motto PUER DUCIT LEO. Alternating with the rosace and scopetta, it is repeated several times over on the façade, and the device recurs again within doors in the forecourt. etc. The intention underlying the choice is not far to seek, we shall find it in the Lanfredini family history. The fashion of the day, which we can trace indeed more than a century back to the birth of the new learning, favours individual expression, the sense of personal or family distinction told in the language of symbolism. The more cryptic the metaphor, the more telling proof it affords of ancient lineage allied to scholarship, the more insistent its emphasis upon a particular event in the family story. Thus the Lanfredini crest, a leopard passant, will be surrounded

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(1) The engraving by Zocchi, Plate VII of his series of Florentine palaces, 1750 circa, reproduced for the frontispiece of this study, shews four small square window openings on the ground floor, high above the floor and roadway level; and a view of the street could only be obtained by mounting the window steps, of which there are many examples in old Florentine houses. The two windows of the present day façade are modern. Most of the characteristic open roof terraces of Quattro-cento architecture have been closed to form extra storeys giving additional accommodation. A few typical examples however remain, notably the roof-loggia of the Della Stufa palace in Piazza S. Lorenzo, unaltered in aspect from the days of Masser Agnolo della Stufa, Lanfredini's colleague in the Embassy of obedience, 1513 to Pope Leo X, that of the Dei (later Guadagni) palace in Piazza Santo Spirito, that of the Davizzi, to-day Davanzati palace, the property of the eminent antiquary Prof. E. Volpi, which until recently contained furniture, paintings etc. collected by the owner, and displaying in its ensemble a perfect illustration of Florentine merchant-princes' home setting.

with a wreath of olive and laurel, and the motto naming the Pontiff to whom Lanfredini is despatched with the first Embassy of obedience of a restored Medicean Florence to a Medici Pope, will connote for future generations the family friendship now renewed.

Vasari, speaking of this decorated house-front as one of Andrea di Cosimo Feltrino's first commissions, fixes the approximate date of the work within narrow time limits. One of the restorers of the Medici ascendancy in 1512, on the highest patriotic grounds, for the two brothers had numbered among Savonarola's band of "reformers of the State", Lanfredini stands high in the Pope and his brother Giuliano's favour; incurring "Duke Lorenzo's enmity", he becomes a suspicious character only in 1518, and in that year the historian Filippo Nerli a friend states Lanfredini did not survive dismissal long. Vasari mentions him twice in Baccio d' Agnolo and Andrea di Cosimo's biographies, and another art-commission about that time, — the Pontormo escutcheon supported by putti, — is ascribed to Lanfredini's elder son Bartolommeo. Now Andrea di Cosimo is thirty-one in the year 1512-3 when the Medici restoration is signalized by festivities of hitherto unparalleled splendour and variety. His services are in request, as "inventor of machines" for the pageants, and street decorations which shall keep painter, architect, sculptor and tapestry weaver busy, and render memorable in the annals of Florentine art her new ruler, and the Pontiff's restored citizenship. The biographer lays stress upon the novelty of sgraffito wall decoration then; and recalling the Lanfredini device and its purport, it seems to me to date the commission in 1517, the year of Lanfredini's Gonfaloniership, a twelvemonth term of office under the reformed statute.

Four centuries weather, plaster, and whitewash have obliterated wellnigh all the Medici out-door art-aftermath. None of Andrea di Cosimo's "inventions" save this live outside Vasari's pages. The house-fronts of Lanfredini's neighbours blossomed as the rose, like her to live the space of a morning blush, and bare graver strokes remain of the frieze painted by Poccetti upon the lateral walls of the Bardi-Guicciardini palace next door. Though sgraffito be more enduring than

the colour designs upon which the Florentine Cinque-centists like their illustrious fore-runners in Venice, Titian and Giorgione, wasted their genius, a very few of these black-and-white house-fronts, and but two colour-painted façades in Florence bear witness to-day to a beautiful lost art. (1) It may nevertheless be reckoned not the least of Time's minor kindnesses that the solitary survival of Andrea di Cosimo's graceful craft should prove an illustrative vignette and note to the Lanfredini family history. Not a diarist or historian of those times, recording the "embassy of obedience" deputed by Florence to greet the Medici seated in the Pontifical chair, but emphasizes the complimentary mission's importance. Lanfredini is named, and his selection sets the seal of consent to the advent of the new order. The Oltr'Arno magnates, foremost among the Piagnoni, fraternize with Arrabbiati and Palle-schi upon the common ground of a new generation's hopes. Lanfredini's status in the city counsels, he is among the first forty citizens elected by their respective wards to restore their civil rights to the exiled Medici, his age, 3-4 years senior to Lorenzo de' Medici, the Pope and his brother's father, the Pontiff's known amiability, his choice of a name which legend has already invested with peculiar providential import are all clearly suggested by the device and the motto: "a little child shall lead LEO". The lying down of the lion and the lamb in those halcyon days will indeed be falsified by the course of Medici policy, for Lanfredini's public career is cut short, his life embittered

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(1) The "sgraffito" decoration has been most skilfully restored, for the Zocchi print above-mentioned shews no trace of Andrea di Cosimo Feltrino's design. Vasari in that painter's Life, (loc. cit. pp. 206 et seq.) whilst expressly mentioning the Lanfredini palace frontage records. "There followed in the art of painting grotesques, Andrea Feltrino surnamed di Cosimo, because in the art of painting figures he had been a pupil of Cosimo Rosselli who did them excellently; and likewise of "il Morto da Feltro" for the grotesques, as hath been told". (The last named painter has been identified with one Pietro Luzzo da Feltro, a pupil of Giorgione). "This Andrea" he concludes, "had been endowed by nature with so much invention and grace, that he devised a way to contrive the most extensive decorations, with such art and profusion of ornament, displaying the design in superimposed orders, that they (i.e. the house-fronts) have a different appearance altogether from the old-fashioned way,... there were none that outstripped him therein". A number of "sgraffito" decorated house-fronts placed by Vasari to Andrea's and other artists' credit may be traced yet in their restored vestiges.

at the last with disappointment of friendship's hopes. But the shadow of the morrow does not yet hang over 1517 to obscure a graceful fancy, he can safely interpret his own honours there, the Gonfalonier and Ambassadorships, which he shares with his forebears, under the guise of a transparent allegory; which thus also embraces the century old history of his line. (1)

Commencing in the XIVth century, for no earlier vestiges exist to associate the Lanfredini with the Via S. Spirito Lung'Arno home, the in-door decoration partakes significantly of the religious fervour so conspicuous among the Oltr' Arno magnates; the quarter which gave Florence her government of Saints in the strenuous hour of popular revolt against oppression, and resistance to ecclesiastical pressure upon civic liberties, when the papal interdict becomes a weapon of coercion. Giovanni di Gherardo Lanfredini, the second Prior and the first Gonfalonier of his house, was as we shall see one of the ablest administrators of his day, and dying without issue, honoured by knighthood and a money reward for signal public services 1347-1360, he devises his property to the community of Augustinian Friars of S. Spirito, for the poor of his parish. Whilst conjecture only in the home as it stands postulates Giovanni's occupancy, we know Lanfredini "houses" abound in the neighbourhood; as may be gathered from Messer Donato Velluti's contemporary family chronicle, where we learn that a daughter of that noble house marries a manager of Lanfredini "case".

The Lanfredini family biographer records that Messer Giovanni's brothers carry out the bequest which honours merchants emerging from

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(1) "The Medici Popes". H. M. Vaughan. Methuen, London, 1908. The Pontiff-elect's choice of his name was commonly stated to have been due to the dream Lucrezia Tornabuoni Medici prior to her infant's birth had of her opproaching painless delivery, in the Duomo, of a great tame lion (Cfr. Scipione Ammirato "Istorie Fiorentine", Lib. XXIX, Ann. 1513); which portend the choice is said to have commemorated. That "Leo" offered more than one opportunity for word-play according to the interlocutor's frame of mind and temper, is evidenced by Ariosto, Satire VII, where he marks the vanity of putting trust in the Cardinal Giovanni de' Medici's promises; "ignoring him that had comforted the exile, or had helped him to his own, or who to create a Leo from a meek submissive lamb, had lent assistance". Lanfredini's play upon the name is obviously not tinged with any regrets.

the Bardi financial crash in which as partners they were involved, and Giovanni's widow, a daughter of the Tornaquinci subscribes to the gift. Hence I take it those red green and white tongues that decorate the Loggia walls. The reference to S. Spirito is clear, painted in the symbolical colours of the Virtutes of Faith, Hope, and Charity: these tongues connote the Pentacostal flames. (1)

The allusion to S. Spirito may be discovered in another emblem as well, namely the seven gifts of the Holy Spirit symbolized by rays, issuing from the Eucharistic vineleaf. The device figures carved in low relief upon the entablature of the chimney over-mantel in the Loggia, the grey stone door jambs and lintels, and the frame-work of a lavabo in the fore-court. This profusion of stone ornament, not to mention the florid capitals and brackets, and the carved heraldic bearings of the family, points it appears to me to Orsino di Lanfredino Lanfredin's lifetime, some twenty years from 1430. We possess documentary evidence for those years, which prove him to have been their great house-builder, just as his descendants through three generations are the leading decorators of the Lanfredini home as we see it to-day.

The family dignity when, succesful in business and allied with the leading gentry, and repeatedly elected to high office, they are a power in their ward of Santo Spirito, is pictured in the Loggia lunette decoration. The tournament and chase, and domestic scenes reflect the brilliant epoch for Florence coincident with the overthrow, — by death, of Gian Galeazzo Visconti's attempted hegemony in central Italy, the opening stages of the Medici power, and the prestige accruing to her through the repeated and prolonged sojourning of the Roman Pontiff within her pale. The owner's personality however remains indistinct, clouded by the anonymity of armorial bearings pertaining to the clan as well as to the individual. In the next phase, family portrayal has

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(1) The proprietor, Signor Benini, informed the writer that although the entire wall-decoration is modern, a fragment of the original painting recovered in one corner enabled the design to be restored, when the great stone chimney piece was moved from its original position in the north wall to where it now stanes. The same may be averred of other 'restorations', minor characteristic designs recurring singly, and that have now been repeated *ad infinitum*.

suggested identity problems for which this study will offer a tentative solution; and the distinctive personal note will be struck here when the Este diamond ring becomes a Lanfredini device also. Reproduced in the ceiling decoration of a ground-floor saloon over-looking the river-frontage, the "Diamante" places upon record the honour of "kinship" with the Ducal house, conferred upon Jacopo and Giovanni di Orsino Lanfredini and the elder son of the first-named, in the years 1469-75. The sgraffito façade already described completes the cycle of the family's political and religious allusive emblems. The epilogue of their story may be read in Pontormo's escutcheons, the family and city arms commemorating the privileges of knighthood.

The ceiling of the barrel-vaulted entrance passage calls for brief notice. The composition: four seated female figures, the Seasons, the Elements, the Hours (?), in medallions framed in graceful panel divisions with arabesque designs is strikingly similar to a great deal of Poccetti's work. Like the rest of the decoration restored past artistic recovery, this possesses but a suggestive value to-day. Senator Lanfredini is indeed not recorded among Poccetti's patrons by his biographer, but since the artist is kept hard at work by house neighbours, Bardi and Vettori Capponi, and by the Grand-duke with whom Lanfredini stands upon terms of friendship, family traditional art-patronage favours the probability that Bernardino delle Girandole, de Candelabri, e delle Muse, had at all events furnished the design and "invention" of some pleasing relics. (1)

The Lanfredini palace thus offers a pictorial running comment to a considerable period of the family history. Fragmentary indeed with

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(1) F. Baldinucci, 1624-96, "Notizie dei Professori del Disegno da Cimabue in qua" is the valuable sequel to Vasari's Lives compiled by the keeper of Cosimo III, the Grand-duke's collections in the Pitti, and the First Corridor (Tribuna) in the Uffizi. The author observes with some surprise that Vasari, who must have known Bernardino Barbatelli, 1542-1612, since he mentions other younger painters does not notice this foremost successor in Andrea di Cosimo's art of "sgraffito" house-decoration. "They were the houses" he tells us, "which Bernardino decorated with grotesques, both in Florence and in the country... The façades in "sgraffito" he paints, earn for him the surname delle facciate". Several among the house-fronts enumerated by Baldinucci, in Via Maggio, Via de' Giraldi, etc, display Poccetti's art with almost undimmed perfection.



great gaps, but yet notable inasmuch as few among the "dark palaces" have preserved anything like so consecutive a series of history's foot-notes and vignettes. The XVIIth and XVIIIth centuries leave no mark upon the old home. The courtier follows his lord to the neighbourhood of the Ducal suburban residence of Petraia, the churchmen, Canons of the Duomo, Knights of Malta, or Bishops retire to the country villa of Arcetri, or their Fiesole see. The lives of these folk are as many signs of detachment from their birthplace, the Borgo S. Iacopo and S. Spirito wards. The first to wear the Cardinal's robe will be the last of the line of Lanfredini. The churchman's career, a bishopric in the Papal territory, Osimo, residence in Rome, cause him to turn his back upon Florence. He will die there in 1741.

The palace of the Lung' Arno passes to his surviving sister, his only brother has predeceased him. After Donna Ottavia Corboli's death without issue in 1751, her husband's family inherit, and from them who are strangers to the Lanfredini, the palace passes to others yet more alien to the name. Voided of household gods, the family muniment dispersed, the founders' presence no longer quickens the empty shell. The writing upon the wall in the fresco decoration and carvings with the help of which we can piece together some of the family history, and prove their deserts towards art and learning, is either effaced past recall, or at any rate so treated as to deprive the artist of his birthright.

Like their home, the Lanfredini burial place knows them no longer. The chapel in the Carmine church dedicated to S. Bartholomew of which they had been the patrons passes into other hands. The new owner will "plaster over" the "histories" of S. Bartholomew, relics of the "maniera antica" munificence of a XVth century wearer of the patronymic. He will also remove their last landmark, the Lanfredini tomb. "Such the unhappy mortal's lot", exclaims the biographer G. B. Dei, "not even his grave shall prove a final resting place, though altered conditions sadly change or even wreck its aspect". Written before the fire of 1771, which but for the Braccacci chapel has indeed wrecked the Carmine, these words concerning the monument erected

by his sons to the memory of Bartolommeo di Lanfredino Lanfredini, the last of those who loved their old home well enough to adorn it, are the more pathetic. Neither the land of the living nor of the dead keeps the Lanfredini memory green. (1)

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(1) National Library, Florence. \* Spogli Passeriniani \*, MSS. Fil. No. 189. Among the documents (unpublished), collected by the late eminent historian and genealogist Count Luigi Passerini, concerning the Lanfredini family lineage and history, we possess a MSS, biographical memoir by G. B. Dei, dated 1761, compiled for the Superior of the Congregation of Missionary Priests of Monte Citorio at Rome. The congregation is the beneficiary under Cardinal Jacopo Lanfredini's will by a sum of money, 20,000 scudi to defray the expenses of his burial in the church of the Trinità de Monti, to the embellishment of which he had devoted the years of his residence in Rome; together with the villa property of Arcetri, which his XVth century forebears, Jacopo Lanfredini and his brother Giovanni, had caused to be decorated by the Pollaiuolo brothers. The memorial erected in the church, of the Trinità de Monti to recall these benefactions has also disappeared.

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## CHAPTER II.

### The Lanfredini at home and in public life from the XIIth to the XVth centuries

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**W**HILST allowing for the artist's fancy in a great deal of the setting: landscape and houses of Old and New Testament scenes and Legends of Saints, in the paintings of Giotto and his school, a good idea may yet be formed of the outer aspect of the Florentine citizen's home at that time. A mind picture may be framed amid the palatial structures, wide-flung colonnades, cloistered courts and spacious halls and loggie where red and black gowned Florentines congregate, and recognize some Lanfredini among them. We may assuredly turn to Masolino da Panicale and Masaccio's topographic paintings of oldtime Florence to visualize the type of house and the folk who dwelled there; and especially to the later Quattro-cento painters for a truly graphic picture of the time and place, when the Lanfredini family emerge individually from the mass and set themselves to compose their own particular vignette in Florentine history. (1)

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(1) The architectural background of the scenes from the Lives of the Apostles SS. Peter and Paul — Masolino da Panicale and Masaccio in the Brancacci Chapel, are typical of XIVth cent. Florence; whilst Ridolfo Ghirlandajo (1483-1561) paints a graphic street scene with Borgo degli Albizzi for the setting of the "Miracle of S. Zanobi" (Uffizi, N.º 1275). Many other examples of Florentine topography can be traced in the predella paintings, wedding chest panels, etc. preserved in public and private collections, in Italy and other countries. Domenico Ghirlandajo (1449-1494) shews us the contemporary aspect of Piazza and Ponte Santa Trinità in the scene,

Spacious indeed but developed in height rather than in area, more especially in the Oltr'Arno riverside streets styled Borghi: S. Niccolò, "Pidoglioso," S. Jacopo, S. Frediano, the high narrow-fronted houses we behold in those paintings recur noticeably here, where the circuit of the XIIIth century city walls rising below S. Miniato skirts the foothills of Boboli and dipping at the road to Siena and Rome, meeting the river at the Pisa main thoroughfare, shuts off the southern portion of the city. They materialize so to say the sense of aloofness peculiar to this district. His ground-plan is thus forced upon the architect. Upper storeys are joined from house to house, the terraces rest upon the stone brackets to ensure family intercourse secure from the dangers of the street. Safety is not always achieved, for Messer Donato Velluti, whose clan inhabits the "houses" recorded by this street name, abutting on Via Maggio and Borgo S. Jacopo, neighbours thus of the Lanfredini, relates in his family chronicle how one of them fell from a terrace built out, and "breaking her neck, none mourned her."

The home-life is secluded, one or more courts give light and the stairway built round the wall climbs to giddy heights, where the roof-loggia affords a vista of hill and sky-line, beyond the mass of roofs, bristling with fighting towers. The ground-floor is usually given over to warehouses, and those captains of industry, "signori di torre e loggia," transact their public and private affairs beneath porticos, the site of which is indicated to-day only by a tablet in the wall. Such

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Sassetti chapel, representing S. Francis resuscitating a child. The well-known marriage procession of Boccaccio Adimari and Lisa Ricasoli (Uffizi Gallery), ascribed to the first half of the XVth century, depicts such easily identified features as the Baptistery, a vista of the Arno, etc. Not less typical of Florentine domestic architecture, the "Martyrdom of SS. Cosmas and Damian"; six episodes, by Fra Angelico (San Marco Museum), may be mentioned. Benozzo Gozzoli introduces a street of Florence in the background of the "Life of S. Augustine" in that Saint's church at S. Gimignano, as well as in the "Life of S. Francis" series at Montefalco. The miniaturist illuminators of MSS. are equally diligent in reproducing Florentine buildings in conjunction with Roman architecture. This is notable in the Riccardian MSS. of Virgil's Aeneid.

pictorially speaking is the home of the XIIIth to the XVth century Florentine citizen, so we may picture the Lanfredini, before they become the house-builders of the palazzo of that name. <sup>(1)</sup>

G. B. Dei's family biography opens with a topographical description of Florence clearly derived from Villani's chronicle, and he "places" the Lanfredini in Borgo San Jacopo so early as the year 1225. That lesser thoroughfare of the Oltr'Arno parallel with the other "Borghi", contains the house where Albertino or Carbone surnamed 'Bailito' and his son Rinuccino sell certain property here "domus et Ponte Veteri Florentinae terra," disposing by the same instrument also of houses and lands situated outside the Pisan Gate: at Anconcella in the parish of S. Angelo in Legnaia; to which transaction, entered into in the year above-stated in behalf of another son, one Guido, and of their respective wives, they being present and thereto assenting, two other brothers Pazzo and Lanfredino stand surety: "mallevadori." <sup>(2)</sup> This documentary evidence invests the street, and tall tower-like houses opposite San Jacopo, the latter minus the green Prato marble portico, set up as the inscription runs with the fragments of S. Donato a Scopeto, destroyed during the siege of 1527-9, for which Filippino Lippi painted his great altarpiece of the "Adoration of the Magi" (Uffizi Gallery), with a definite atmosphere of reality. We look in vain there however for the "arma

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(1) Cfr. Attilio Schiaparelli. "La casa Fiorentina nei secoli XIV e XV", G. Sansoni, Florence, 1908. Ist. Vol. The author has collected most valuable data concerning the architecture, outside decoration, distribution of the rooms, accommodation, interior decoration and furniture of the Florentine citizens' homes. Profusely illustrated and furnished with a compendious documentary and bibliographical index, the work has proved of the greatest value to me, and I hasten to acknowledge my debt.

(2) Cfr. Passerini. MSS. Fil. 189. "Memoir of G. B. Dei". "In the same book, 'Libro delle Riformagioni' there may be read an instrument dated 1225, whence it appears that Albertinus del Bailito and Rinuccino his son sell to the Rector Fr. Boccioli certain houses near the Ponte Vecchio in the city of Florence and lands in the parish of S. Angelo in Legnaia, .... to which sale for the security of the purchaser, Lanfredino and Pazzino, brothers of the said Albertino and his sons, vendors, stand surety; in the presence of the sons Guido and Rinuccino and their wives with the assent of the latter in their home in Borgo San Jacopo".

antica " which the biographer stated had in his day marked the place of the family vault. (1)

Tradition that traces the Lanfredini origin to Rome connects them with the Orsini for their parent stock. The claim certainly seems supported by the patronymic Orsino which from the XIVth century onwards recurs with steady frequency in the pedigree. The first holder is one Orsino di Bartolo in those middle years, and roughly speaking one male member in each branch of the successive generations of Lanfredini is called Orsino. It conforms to accepted usage as a method of connoting relationship, and indeed gains further support from the name Orsino given in succession to two young Lanfredini, in the second moiety of the Quattro-Cento when the Orsini family were all-powerful in Papal counsels, and the Lanfredini interests at court rested to a great extent upon their favour. We stand upon firmer ground however with the genealogists. Count Passerini has traced one Lanfredino in 1160, and his son "Carbone alias Bailitus de Ultr'Arno," the seller of family property above-mentioned, is one of the citizens summoned to the "parliament" held in 1197 in the church of San Martino al Vescovo, where the representatives of the people of Florence swore the alliance of the Communes. Better known as the League of San Genesio, to which the City-states of Lucca, Siena, Volterra, Prato and San Miniato adhere; it aimed as is known to resist and defeat aggression upon the municipal and political liberties wrung from the Emperors Frederick I and Henry VI. (2)

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(1) Cfr. Passerini. MSS. N.º 189. Loc. cit. "The said quarter of the Oltr'Arno was inhabited by many of the leading families of Florence, among whom were the Lanfredini who had their homes in the ancient parish of San Jacopo sopr'Arno, in which church they had their sepulchral vault with their arms and names, which are yet to be seen with the inscription SEPULCRUM LANFREDINORUM...." The inscription is no longer to be seen.

(2) Cfr. Passerini. MSS. N.º 189. Loc. cit. We find that even so early as the year 1192, the Lanfredini share in the Government of the Republic. We read namely that "Bailitus de Ultrarno was one of the citizens who attended the parliament held in the church of San Martino al Vescovo, on November 13th 1197 when the league was sworn between the Communes of Florence, Siena, Volterra, Lucca, Prato, and San Miniato; as appeareth from the entry in the Archivio delle Riformagioni, Lib. 29, cap. 49".

In what measure Carbone and his immediate descendants played any other part in the XIIIth century development of the Florentine state is not upon record. This period of her growing pains and successes, the century that witnessed the results of the early Crusaders' experiences, that beheld the mission of S. Francis of Assisi and his colleague S. Dominic, the founders of the two great mendicant orders which constituted a new departure in the social order of the day in so far as it gave a voice to the weaker party under the sanction of moral law, and that evolved simultaneously the elements of statal organization formulated by the effectual guarantees to life and property vested in the trades and crafts Guilds, may be reckoned the underground process of germination time for the Lanfredini. As the prime chronicler of Florence Giovanni Villani places upon record, the XIIIth century shews that, "having grown in riches and might the city-state extends her boundaries, constraining obedience to the Commune whether by love or through fear;" yet Lanfredini figure, neither like the Cavalcanti among the feudal lords averse from submission to a city-state ruled by a Priorate of elected members drawn from the Guilds whom they despise, nor among the citizen fighters in the armies which, bent upon "our city's" aggrandizement, provoke the suspicions of former allies like Lucca, and the animosity of Arezzo and Siena, signalized by the reverses to her arms at Campaldino and Montaperti.

The Lanfredini of this century are clearly choosing the safer course for themselves, of political obscurity: "heureux les peuples qui n'ont point d'histoire." Although it might be said of them in Dante's words that they lived "senza infamia e senza lode," and thence deserved anonymity, the second death sentence, may it not in a sense be accounted to them for righteousness that their name does not lie for all time under the ban of the Poet's epic of wrath? Since they do not number among his saints and heroes, is it not as well for their repute as a family of decent folk, that we do not meet with a Lanfredini among the coiner and usurer, the buyer and seller of men's consciences, or the violent and cunning crew of his political adversaries, whom Dante's faith in the principle of authority divinely ap-

pointed, and in an immanent justice unailing in its sanction, brands without reprieve or pardon. There are Orsini among them, none less than the Pontiff of that house, Pope Nicholas III, "of a she-bear indeed the son," but no Lanfredini,

The historian of the White Guelph Party, Dino Compagni, paints a vivid picture of the welter of politics, when the Empire and the Papacy, both representing the forces of conservatism, and yet profoundly antagonist to one another, are struggling for mastery in Florence, which already then, at the opening of the XIVth century, has succeeded in asserting a kind of primacy among the Communes. The White Guelphs who regard the Papacy with no friendly eye are in league with the Ghibelline, or Imperial, party. They are overthrown in 1301, the year of Compagni's last Priorate, and of Dante's indictment with his fellow Priors and life-long exile; but the chronicler, whilst recording a long *black-list* of Guelphs of that colour still mentions no Lanfredini among them. We can nevertheless place the family in the foreground of the picture now, their pedigree recording the first election of one of their number, one Bartolo, to the Priorate in 1309, in the same year in which we learn too that a brother, Gherardo by name, figures among the partners of the great banking firm of Bardi: Papal Treasurers. This business partnership would class the Lanfredini with the leading families of the Oltr'Arno quarter, placing them with the Guelphs who open the city gates in 1306 to Cardinal Napoleone Orsini the Legate of Pope Clement V, whose abortive attempts at peace making between the rival factions create confusion worse confounded; and it makes them partizans likewise of Charles of Valois. (1)

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(1) "La Cronica" di Dino Compagni, 1300-1312. ed. with Notes by R. Piccoli, R. Carrabba, Lanciano, 1911. Cf. Lib. II. cap. 26. "The government of the city remained with Messer Corso Donati, Messer Rosso della Tosa, Messer Pazzino de' Pazzi.... the Boundelmonti, Agli, Tornaquinci, certain among the Gianfigliuzzi, the Bardi, a number of the Frescobaldi, and Nerli, the Rossi, the Rucellai, ....and other citizens, and those also that had their homes in the *contado*. Of all these none can escape the odium of partaking in the wrecking of the state, neither can they plead constraint in extenuation, but that which ariseth out of arrogance and greed of power...." The appointment of Cardinal Napoleone Orsini to the Legation of Tuscany as a peace-maker, between Black and White Guelphs, by Pope Clement V is received with grave mis-



Bartolo Lanfredini's election to office in the year following Corso Donati's dramatic abandonment and overthrow — a White Guelph victory, doubtless points to his clan's particular political allegiance, and their part in this, one of the most pictorially vivid episodes of mediaeval Florence, is recalled by the present day little altered aspect of the scene. Both Dino Compagni's Chronicle 1300-12, and Giovanni Villani's history, ending with his death in 1348, offer marvellous records of particular scenes; but with the exception perhaps of the young Buondelmontes' fateful road past the Amidei home and the ride's tragic end by the Ponte Vecchio, no more graphic setting exists to-day than the Corso and Borgo degli Albizzi quarter, where Corso Donati's followers, adversaries of the Signoria to which Bartolo Lanfredini belongs, are defeated and their leader makes a dramatic but vain bid for safety.

The streets along which the covenanters of Santa Trinità should have hastened to his aid on that Sunday, — and they failed him, the road he takes to Porta La Croce, the Arezzo gate, can yet be surveyed from windows that witnessed the scene; and the new quarter sprung up beyond that gate towards San Salvi, Corso Donati's murder and burial place, holds a faint perfume of the past, hovering like the genius loci about olive garden and orchard. From Via del Corso to S. Pier Maggiore, (an archway and inscription alone record the Abbey whose Superior in her welcome to the Bishop elected typified the twofold character of power) vestiges of Donati towers line the roadway. Corso's palace stands at the junction of Borgo degli Albizzi and S. Piero, the irregular shaped square and battleground, to-day a picturesque market-place dear to lovers of colour contrasts: fruit and flowers

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givings and suspicion (Book III. cap. 15). "Almighty God which doth chastise the evildoer with whips, yet willeth not his undoing, was moved to pity, and He put this thought into the Florentines' heart: to wit this lord cometh among us, and once in our midst, he will say: 'Behold this state pertains to the church'; and he will endeavour to gain possession and we shall come to strive against one another". The Legate consents in behalf of the Rome-supported Black Guelphs to recognize the city's liberties, and the gates are flung open to Cardinal Orsini on April 10th 1306. Triumph is of brief duration, and the discomfited peace-maker returns to Rome a failure, "with but little honour" adds Compagni.

gay against the grim old stones. South of the Duomo, the Corso, Borgo degli Albizzi, Via del Fosso to Ponte alle Grazie, in part hemmed in by the city walls, a line thence, — the castle of Altafronte occupies the area of the Uffizi river frontage, the Arno to the Santa Trinità postern, turning thence northward, the streets about the old market-place and Calimala giving access to the Palace, then in the first glory of Arnolfo di Cambio's new building, encloses thus an irregular quadrilateral where the Donati houses occupy commanding positions to the N. E.; and the Oltr'Arno is shut off by fortified bridgeheads and a wall on the southern riverbank.

Such is the topography of the scene. The actors are a party within the party. Not content with the split into White and Black Guelphs the latter are captained by rivals: Rosso della Tosa and Corso Donati, separated only by personal jealousy of power. The former learns that "Il Barone" as Donati is called has returned with the promise of Papal support for his intent to *reform* the state. Florence has proved a source of strength to the Papacy in the century-long conflict with the Empire. Clement V is of French birth and, mindful of Guillaume de Nogaret's assault upon his predecessor Boniface VIII, supports that party in Florentine city government most likely to win the day. Della Tosa is no more a genuine lover of Florentine liberties than his rival, and the oligarchy then in office either. Liberty stands for a fairway to power, nothing else. Donati is summoned to answer for conspiracy, he is not given time to state his case, and his rival taking upon himself the right of safeguarding freedom seizes the opportunity to settle the *reformation* of the state in his own way: by assault upon the Donati "houses."

Graphically pictured in Compagni's pages, the scene deserves to be recalled, if only for the atmosphere it creates round Bartolo and Gherardo Lanfredini. The defenders barricade the narrow streets leading to the Donati "houses", they fight every inch of the ground "valiantly and with pennants flying, resisting stoutly, though but few in number because it was not the appointed day." Della Tosa's men are reinforced by the trained bands, fixed by ordinance at a

thousand pike and bowmen; the city watch have been called out and appear among the assailants, " with the banners of their wards borne aloft, and armed with crossbows, slings and stones, and brands to fire the houses. " The defence is stubborn. Donati " suffering from gout " cannot wield his sword but he heartens his men with praise for their gallantry, bidding them stand fast till the promised aid — from the covenanters of Santa Trinità, numbering the leading Black Guelphs, — appear. They fight till dusk, hoping always for help to come, " yet none showed, nor made they any sign. " The Oltr'Arno magnates had not moved; and too there were defections: " since many that had come to fight sided with his enemies. " The day is lost. Donati is assisted by faithful adherents of the eleventh hour across roof and terrace defences, to a quiet corner where a horse awaits him. Sanctuary might be claimed of the monks of San Salvi, but they look on at the fugitive's capture, because, as Compagni observes bitterly, " in days gone by Messer Corso had used them ill and haply might have done worse thereafter. " The captors are deaf to his appeal for mercy and blind to the prospect of a ransom, he is done to death, and the monks of San Salvi give sanctuary only to his remains. Dragged by the stirrup from which he has fallen Corso Donati's last ride is a tragic epilogue to the wolf-man's spirit when things are seen big and red. (1)

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(1) Cfr. "Dino Compagni", Lib. III. cap. 19 et seq. " Among the Black Guelphs of Florence there was a grave scandal once more through their avarice and greed, forasmuch as Messer Corso Donati having done most to obtain possession of authority, it seemed to him that of the honour and profit thereof but a small moiety fell to his share, whereas M. Rosso della Tosa, Messer Pazzino de' Pazzi and Messer Geri Spini with their followers among the people had gathered the honours, assisted their friends, rendered sentences and remitted penalties, and then held him for naught. And thus anger and animosity grew into open hatred. Wherefore Messer Corso collected folk of all sorts and conditions ....and he had urged the men of Lucca to his aid. Returning to Florence he ordered that on a certain day all should arm themselves and make for the Palace of the Signoria and should demand that Florence be given another statute, and thus prove their strength with arms. Messer Rosso and his men learning the intent and their spoken words... could not contain their anger. And on a Sunday morning, they appeared with their grievance before the Signori; who summoned the Council and ordered Messer Corso and his sons and the Bordoni to appear before them. The summons was accompanied with the order of banishment, and they were

The oligarchy of Florence jealous of the Commune's hard-won independence has carried the day. The last imperial attempt at intervention, though invoked by Dante as the only method of quelling internal strife, has failed checkmated now at the very gates of Florence, 1311, with the Emperor Henry VII's death. Bartolo Lanfredini's partizans are in office. But another more insidious danger to civic liberties lies close at hand: the alliance of the great trade interests with their foreign patrons, which opens the door to the protectorate of an alien prince invited from within the state to curtail its sovereignty. Charles of Valois has succeeded to the throne of France, but the kindred house of Anjou rules in Naples, and Florence calls upon King Robert for her master. His son Charles will represent him for less than two years, leaving confusion and loss behind him. Nevertheless, this event, 1326-8, opens a period of twenty years in which the next generation of Lanfredini grows up, and their most representative figure, Giovanni di Gherardo, stands forth in the front rank of the ablest statesmen of his day. Villani, who is an eye-witness, describes the pageantry of Charles of Anjou's state entry with a wealth of detail quickened yet to-day by the unremoved landmarks: the Bargello palace, the precincts

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condemned unheard. And upon the self-same day the indignant people went to attack Messer Corso at his house; which he barricaded himself in Piazza S. Pier Maggiore, with a number of pikemen, and the Bordoni with a mighty following of armed men flying their colours. Messer Corso was mightily afflicted with the gout, and could not wear his armour but comforted his friends with valiant speech, praising and heartening those that bore themselves so well. His men were few, it not being the appointed day. The assailants were many, because they numbered all the wards with their trained bands and pennants, and they set forth armed with crossbows, slings and stones, and fire brands to carry the defences. Messer Corso's few foot-soldiers made a stout defence with their pikes, bows, and stones, hoping that those of the sworn company would come to their aid; these were the Bardi, Rossi, and Frescobaldi and well nigh the whole Oltr'Arno quarter.... but not one moved nor appeared to mind them of their oath. Messer Corso seeing that he could not make good his resistance any longer determined to flee. The barriers were burst, his friends fled across the house-tops, and it was seen that many who had been with him, now went with the others.... Messer Corso infirm with the gout was fleeing towards the Abbey of S. Salvi.... the soldiery overtook the fugitive and recognizing him would take him, but he, as a worthy knight remonstrated with fair words. Meanwhile a youth came up.... and, urged to kill him refused, and went away, but was bidden turn him back, and on the second time, he despatched him with a catalan lance-thrust in the throat, and another in the side, and he fell down as dead. Several of the monks then carried him into the abbey and there he died.... and was buried."

of Dante's home near which the Commune had its first residence, and the Palazzo of the Signoria overtopped by Arnolfo di Cambio's massive battlements and tower. <sup>(1)</sup>

The merchant-bankers of the two river-boroughs within one wall are content, they obtain honours : the label and Anjou lilies borne in many an escutcheon are the earnest of allegiance, secured upon power. On the other hand independence is limited. The true civic sense is yet parochial, but the great trade and craftsmen's Guilds aim above all at security of tenure, in which they are fully successful. The first moiety of the century in fact is signalized by commercial progress and a stage of political education that despite faction strife between families, disastrous wars with her neighbours, and the dangers of over-trading which the community underlies, make Florence a centre of civilization and an example for the entire peninsula.

A partner since 1309 in the Bardi house of merchant-bankers, Papal treasurers at Avignon and purveyors of cash to the Royal Exchequers of Naples, France and England, Gherardo Lanfredini is first elected to the Priorate in 1334, for the ward of Santo Spirito. The ward-boundaries do not include Borgo San Jacopo. The natural inference to be drawn is Gherardo's present domicile, in my opinion

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(1) Cfr. " Cronica di Giovanni Villani, " Lib. X, cap. I. " Charles Duke of Calabria, the eldest born of King Robert, king of Jerusalem and of Sicily, made his entry in the city of Florence on July 30th 1326, with the Duchess his consort, daughter of Messire Charles of Valois of France, and with the undermentioned Lords and Barons.... (Villani gives names which are omitted here) and many other gentlemen and knights of France and Provence, of Catalonia, and the Kingdom (Sicily) and Naples, who numbered with the Provençal Lords that came by sea, over fifteen hundred horse, besides the train of the Duke of Athens; four hundred. Not less than two hundred among them were Knights of the Golden Spur, fair and right noble gentry, well mounted and equipped with their arms; and they had fifteen hundred pack-mules with their bells. He was received with great state and a procession by the Florentines, and he dismounted at the Palace of the Commune near the Badia, where the Podestà was lodged, (i. e. the Bargello), and suits were heard. And the Signoria and the courts of Justice lodged at Or San Michele in the houses that had been the Macci property.... The great enterprise of the Florentines is upon record that, having undergone manifold trials and loss both in their persons and their property, and suffered defeat withal, they did in less than the year, through their diligence and wealth, do bring so mighty a lord to Florence with so splendid a train of knights and barons, and the Papal Legate, that it was deemed a mighty feat by all the Italians, and the fame thereof went forth into the world. "

in a street belonging to his jurisdiction ; likelihood is thus lent to the suggestiveness of three octogon brick-work pillars, with plain leaf capitals embedded in the modern south wall of the Loggia, and a fourth supporting the vault of the second court. These in fact are the sole remaining vestiges of XIVth century building in the Lanfredini palace, and it may well be that Gherardo and his family of five sons migrated here from the Borgo San Jacopo " houses ". Wealth as is known coming a man's way generally leads to a move to handsomer surroundings ; Via Santo Spirito to this day more than any other street in old-time Florence, like Via Maggio, deserving the appellation of a street of palaces.

Charles of Anjou's departure, recalled by King Robert to Naples after an eighteen months vice-royalty which cost Florence 900,000 crowns, sets merchant-banker statesmen to count up that cost upon their not less disastrous military balance sheet. Castruccio Castracane has carried Lucca the hated commercial rival's victorious colours to her very gates, Arezzo is Ghibelline, and Siena already looks towards the rising star of the Milan Visconti hegemony. Gherardo Lanfredini's Priorate in 1334 and again in 1338 marks a stage to the acceptance by a *reformed state* of a renewal of alien protectorship, in the person of Walter of Brienne, Duke of Athens. The latter indeed won golden opinions as Charles of Anjou's *alter ego* years before, but he now, will herald strife such as the worst days of the Black Guelph triumphs and Dante's downfall do not parallel. The ejection of the Duke of Athens 1342-3 once more results in *reforms* when the failure of the great merchant-banks of the Bardi and Peruzzi bringing down many smaller firms, lends significance to his son's ordinances as gonfalonier.

The family biographer lays particular stress upon the effects of the reconstruction of the ward-jurisdictions, dividing the city from *sestieri* into quarters with the view to curbing the power of the wealthier citizens, merging less fortunate wards with their districts ; thus laying the burden of the taxation upon their shoulders. This question of unfairness in rate-assessment upon house-property lies at the root of the class-feud of Haves and Have-nots : liverymen of the greater Guilds, and *popolo grasso*, drawn up against the artizans of the lesser Guilds

and the *popolo minuto* who claim a voice in the state counsels. It will lead to the Ciompi riots and the disfranchisement of the nobility and gentry of industry and lineage. And herein too Giovanni di Gherardo Lanfredini, elected in 1347 as first Gonfalonier of his house, will be at one with his contemporary and fellow magnate Messer Donato de Velluti, agitating in the interests of their quarter of Santo Spirito. A close corporation of merchant-bankers connected by business interests and frequent intermarriage, passionately jealous of their rights, they plead for a readjustment of taxes, failing which the Oltr'Arno wards propose to threaten secession and the proclamation of an independent City-state of Oltr'Arno, Florence. <sup>(1)</sup>

(1) *La Cronica Domestica di Messer Donato Velluti...* edited with notes upon the original MSS. by Isidoro Del Lungo and G. Volpi. G. C. Sansoni, Florence, 1914. The author of this family chronicle ending in 1370, enters at discursive length into his family lineage and relationship with the powerful Oltr'Arno kings, the Frescobaldi. Describing his own childhood, he gives a graphic picture of the political anarchy reigning in the state after Charles of Anjou's departure. His own boy-escapade to Castruccio Castracane's camp outside the gates of the city lends the personal touch to the well-known episode of the palio race run for derision between Florentine prisoners and donkeys. The brief tyranny and ejection of Walter of Brienne, July 26th 1343, are retraced by an eye-witness. The part played in those events by his own order may be summarized in his own words (Cap. XXVIII). " Pending the said change and reformed government, the Council of Fourteen who had received the fullest powers, numbered many of Santo Spirito which was then a ward to itself, called of the Oltr'Arno.... And they that rose to protest were nobles and commoners alike, I for one. We protested to the Council, pleading that as matters stood the city was ill-divided, that the wards of San Pier Scheraggio and of Oltr'Arno numbered a greater assemblage of notable folk, gentry possessed of riches, and we of the Oltr'Arno had lands besides. And t'was proven, the city being divided into Sestieri, that they were rated at more than their due sixth part of the taxes, and the offices and dignities were apportioned to them in less than a sixth share of honours.... They prayed that this inequality be removed, and the pleaders for this quarter of Santo Spirito were Messer Piero de' Bardi, Messer Fornaio de' Rossi, Messer Pepo Frescobaldi, knights all, Messer Jacopo Marchi della Cuculia, justiciary, and I, Donato Velluti. Wherefore carrying our grievance openly and our mission before the Council we made good our plea with fair and respectful speech, yet adding, an we were not heard, that the menace to cut off the bridges and found our own city-state might come to pass; if t'were necessary. That threats be made were enough since there be among the Fourteen those that could thwart us from mere selfish motives.... At length thanks be to God, t'was so determined that the city be divided into quarters, and they gave us a fourth part of the honours. Yet withal, had we more than a fourth share of the taxes laid upon us, for better terms could not be made ". The division of the city into Quarters is recorded by all the historians, Velluti alone makes the motive — unfair distribution of the burden of taxation — clear. It may however be pointed out the *unfairness* complained of is merely the germ of proportionate and progressive taxation of revenue, adopted by modern financial legislation. Here also the mediaeval Florentine administrators of the public purse appear to have been ahead of their times.

The chronicler Giovanni Villani is an eye-witness of the happenings he describes from the historians as well as the personal standpoint. His narrative of Florentine success in business rests upon his own experience. A member of the Bonaccorsi firm associated with the Bardi merchant-bankers, he travels to Avignon where the Papal Treasury is their client, to Paris and London where the Royal Exchequers keep a running account with his partners. The wealth described by Villani in the city is evidenced to-day by the masterworks of Giotto and Orcagna's school, the Friar-architects prowess, bridge as well as church-builders, and by the pursuit of the new learning; progress unhindered by war, financial loss, outbreaks of the plague, or the calamity of flood and fire from which Florence suffers at too frequent intervals. The floods of 1333 carry away the Ponte Vecchio, damage Ponte Santa Trinità and Ponte alla Carraia, the water in the churches rises to the altar levels, and penetrating cellars and basement warehouses spoils goods worth thousands of florins. The Lanfredini who we know live in Borgo San Jacopo, with the foundations of the houses quaying the Arno, must have suffered with the rest. There is a hint of marriage beneath your fortune if not beneath your family state in Messer Donati de Velluti's record at this time of the marriage of a kinswoman of theirs with a "factor" of the Lanfredini, and the couple set up house-keeping in one of "their houses" in that street. Villani is not only observant, but his narrative can yet be followed chronicle in hand in the localities he mentions. (1)

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(1) "Cronica di Giovanni Villani" Lib. XI, cap. I. "In the year of Christ 1333, on the Kalend of November, the city of Florence having achieved a mighty state, and dwelling in happy and worthy condition, greater than had been known from the year 1300 to this time, it pleased God... to lay (His judgment) upon our city; wherefore on that day of Allhallows, rain began to fall severally in Florence and on the countryside, and in the Alps and hills around, and continued so to fall ceaselessly four days and four nights. The floodgates of heaven were it seemed open with the said rain, frequent mighty and fearsome thunderclaps and lightning were heard and flashed about, and thunderbolts fell; whereat all the people lived in fear and trembling. And the church bells tolled the whole time, and in the houses vessels and coppers were beat loudly until the waters ceased rising, and the people fled from house to house crying to the Lord for mercy for those that were in peril, putting out scaffoldings from one to the other; and so mighty were the tumult and clamour that they drowned the noise of the thunder.... The



Gherardo Lanfredini's Priorate in 1334 follows upon these misfortunes, and that of 1338 coincides with political servitude through the Podestàship of Jacopo Gabrielli of Gubbio. A virtual dictator, "Conservator of Peace" of the *reformed state*, and actual lord of Florence after the practical abandonment of the Anjou protectorate he rules them with an a mailed fist; Gabrielli's "harshness wrought many evils, denials of justice whence tumults and rioting ensued." Deposition follows, and an edict forbids any future choice of a Podestà from Gubbio; despite which however Gabrielli returns to repel forcibly Mastino della Scala's betrayal of Florentine interests in the agreement

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river Arno rose.... and submerged the greater part of the Casentino, and thereafter the plain of Arezzo and the upper Val d'Arno.... sweeping over the corn-sown fields, carrying away the mills and winepresses, and fullers workshops by the riverside.... and the houses that were not strongly built, and many perished there.... On the Thursday 4th November the Arno came in flood down to the city, so that the waters spread over the flat ground about San Salvi and the Bisarno, flooding the fields here and there six, eight, and ten braccia deep.... And the number of weirs there, whereby the water for the mills had been raised seven braccia, caused it to burst into Porta La Croce.... And in the first hours of that night, it breached the wall.... above the Corso de' Tintori facing the dormitory of the Friars Minor over a length of 130 braccia, through which the Arno came in flood into the city with such abundance of water that it first swept over the Friar's convent and elsewhere more or less...." Villani notes the height of the flood to the altar levels of churches like the Baptistery and the Badia, the chancel steps in Santa Croce, the upper terrace step of the Palazzo della Signoria. Borgo San Jacopo and all the streets parallel with the river are under water, "to the great distress of the poor and minor folk inhabiting the ground-floors." The three bridges, Ponte alla Carraia, Ponte Santa Trinità, and even the Ponte Vecchio give way. The first named loses all but two arches, Santa Trinità has but one pile and an arch left, and the Ponte Vecchio falls in the centre under the weight of the débris and the houses and shops. The flood which swept over the entire plain of Arno to Pisa is described in graphic terms, which would postulate a greater loss of life than actually occurred. The conscientious chronicler corrects his first statement of 3000 to 300, but "infinite damage" is done to property. Homesteads, barns, cattle-pens, and sheds, warehouses with their contents, swept away, bales of cloth, merchandize, implements, and chattels, casks of wine that float away, sacks of stored grain and forage are lost with the corn in seed and in the ground. "I who witnessed these things" he continues "could yet not estimate the amount of the loss in terms of money to the Florentines.... for the commune alone suffered hurt through the falling of walls, and destruction of bridges and roads that had to be rebuilt, exceeding 150,000 gold florins." Villani's topography is so carefully detailed that as he says, "those that read of it hereafter can note the landmarks and understand the notable happenings." A tablet with an inscription in Lombard characters, dated 1333, at the height above the street level reached by the flood, in the Via de' Neri faces a house where the escutcheon of the Franciscan order — two arms crossed — would appear to mark the site of the "dormitory" i. e. Pilgrims' Hostel, mentioned by Villani.

which was to have secured to her the long-desired over-lordship of Lucca, and the war is carried to Verona. Though individual Priors, unless they be Commissioners of War, or members of the Ten of Government elected to meet emergencies, are rarely mentioned by the Florentine annalists, it is safe to conclude that Gherardo Lanfredini's status gave him a voice in the peace negotiations concluded in 1339. For the first time now Florence and Venice allied in the Italian system of power-balance, redress scales which the Scaligers of Verona had weighted with their swords.

The war against Verona had drained the Florentine exchequer dry, costing, we are told be, over 25,000 florins a month. The merchant-bankers resources are strained by their commitments with royal and princely debtors, and the failure of smaller firms will culminate in the great Bardi and Peruzzi bankruptcy which Villani describes feelingly. Damage to their property by arson has been great, Bardi houses in London as well as in Florence are wrecked; moreover fires in the market-place and other wards destroy many "bales of wool and dressed cloth, and other merchandize, besides many houses and palaces". And the plague now raging, "when of them that sickened scarce any lived, and more than a sixth part of the dearest and best among the citizens men and womenfolk all died, not one family but had someone, and others two, three or more among the dead", reduces Florence to a city of shadows. (1)

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(1) The plague is given as the cause of death almost at every page of Donato Velluti's family chronicle, and the several visitations in Florence furnish Giovanni Villani with some of his most telling pen-pictures; to which however Boccaccio's parallel representation (*Decameron* first Tale, first Day) lends the clouds a silver lining. The Chronicler is himself a victim in 1348, and Matteo his brother and fellow-annalist, carrying the history on fifteen years longer, succumbs also to the fell disease. His moralizing upon the outbreak of 1347-8, which cost Giovanni his life, deserves record today for the suggestive parallel it offers with the frame of mind in which the world finds itself after the Great War. "Those new men, he observes, who escaped with their lives believed many things, which all came to naught through the corruption of folks sinfulness, these people pursuing their froward ways amazingly. It had been thought that the men whom God in His mercy had saved alive, having witnessed the destruction of all their kinsfolk, and also learning how a like fate had overtaken other peoples the world over, would mend their ways, turnig meek, righteous and devout, eschewing evil and wickedness; and be stirred by charity to brotherly love towards one another. Yet the plague mortality having presently ceased, the very opposite came to

This record of human ills would err on the side of over-statement if account were not taken of parallel conditions in other periods of the world's history, where beside such shadows the bright light of material prosperity shines with an enhanced vividness. Florence is no exception. The chronicler's description of the city's growth; the enumeration of her population, public edifices, churches, etc., has often been quoted, and it would appear superfluous to refer to it but for the conclusion he draws: her very prosperity is the cause of Florentine ruin, hastened by sumptuary legislation restricting trade. The prohibition of gold and silver embroideries upon wearing apparel, jewellery, and ornaments worn in public, the restrictions of material, the colour and cut of clothes, and their use even: the lending of velvet and silk and furred gowns being penalized by fines, resulted indeed he grants in a temporary amendment of manners. But Villani points out, with what injury to trade, only merchants like himself realize. Goldsmiths and silk-mercers find their occupation gone. Losses in the home market are sought to be recouped by export; and indeed initial success attends this trade, but foreign markets are closed so soon as other states follow the sumptuary constraints first edicted by Florence. (1) These restrictions to legitimate commerce, like some

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pass, inasmuch as the survivors found they were but few, and the worldly goods abundant through heritage; wherefore forgetting past happenings as though these had never been, they indulged in the lewdest and most dissolute lives more than ever heretofore. And too living in sloth, they sinned grievously by gluttony, with banquets and wine-bibbing, and delicate fare set before them and mighty revelling; unbridled in their gross appetites, they devised many strange and uncouth modes of address and raiment, fashioning all things into novel shape. And the lesser folk, men and women alike, owing to the great abundance they found themselves possessed of, would no longer work at their accustomed crafts, and they too coveted the choicest and most costly viands for themselves, ... most goods cost a higher price than ever heretofore ... and the workman's hire, and the production of all art and craftsmanship rose to double the former cost, most disorderly".

MATTEO VILLANI, *Cronica*. Cfr. lib. I, caps. 3, 4, 5.

(1) "Villani" Lib. X. caps. I and II. The extravagance of long standing indulged in by the Florentines, and strongly animadverted upon by Dante and by Dino Compagni, is set down by Villani to the "foreign fashions" imported by Charles of Valois — 1301. He observes, describing the state entry of the Duke and Duchess of Calabria: "that whereas anciently clothes were after the fashion of the Roman tribune, to-day young men wear a doublet or coat, cut short and so tight that they have to be helped to dress themselves; belts are like saddle girths fastened with buckles handsomely wrought, the straps have metal points, an embroidered pouch, german fashion, hangs from it, and their cloak is like a juggler's with a scapular hanging below the waist, the material is

of the present day emergency economics which necessity has drawn from their mediaeval limbo, now prove a two-edged weapon. They must be numbered with the contributory causes of the great Florentine bank-failures of this time, together with the locking up of capital in speculative credit dealings with Papal and royal borrowers upon unmarketable security such as the Pontifical tiara, the Anjou, French, and British crown jewels, and

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heavily embroidered and slashed, whilst the point of the hood which should be wrapped round the neck as a protection against cold trails on the ground." The fashion of close shaving is abandoned, and beards, "to look fierce under arms" are adopted. This fashion is clearly short-lived for the Florentines will be recognized in XVth century art among their fellow-Italians at councils, meetings, etc., by their smooth faces, beard and moustache are worn generally only in late Renaissance times. The knights who wear surcoats with sleeves lined with ermine and vair, reaching to the ground, come in for criticism, and the "young women — who ape the fashions of other lands, ever adopting the vain and lewd part thereof, the unpleasing and meretricious heavy plaits of yellow and white silk upon their heads, instead of natural hair, mightily displeasing to the Florentine mind," seem to him ominous signs of the times. An order is indeed made "against such disorderly apparel, but owing, he observes grimly, to "woman's uncontrolled whim and caprice that outweigh all men's reasoning, these gauds were restored to them." The sumptuary laws of 1330 (cfr. Lib. X. cap. 40) offer a remarkable picture of the prosperity achieved by Florentine commerce, and the consequent higher standard of life. The heroes and heroines of Boccaccio and Sacchetti's tales are the persons at whom these prohibitions are aimed; and the story-tellers' setting lends them pictorial values. Madonna Fiammetta and Pampinea, Neifile and their attendant swains are implied among those "indulging greatly in excessive ornaments or wreaths and coronals of gold and silver, pearls and precious stones, nets and fillets for the hair deftly wrought and of great price which are forbidden;" likewise gowns fashioned of diverse material, cloth wrought with silk and trimmed variously with embroidery in stripes, and set with pearls and silver gilt buttons in rows of four and six pairs, brooches of fine pearl and precious stones, fashioned with letters and representing emblems.... Stringent orders are issued that no woman may appear in public with a coronet or wreath upon her hair, neither may she put on *imitations*, "be they but painted paper," nor coifs and fillets "of any kind whatsoever but the plainest cap." The gowns shall be plain, no tabs, cuts, or slashes to shew another material beneath, no brocade designs no "coloured yokes or bias stripe" shall mar simplicity. As with the headdress so with personal jewellery, no glass or enamel substitutes are permitted. Rings however may be worn, but not more than two on each finger, and if a silver girdle is adopted, it shall not have more than twelve parts or links. Samite or velvet is prohibited for both sexes, and the hapless owners may wear out garments they possess; but they are not allowed to lend them; silk gowns however are confiscated, and where found ripped. Young people come off no better than their elders, their doublets and hose, kirtles and skirts may not be particoloured. Fur and ermine are reserved to knights and their wives, but any silver ornaments or belts are as much forbidden to them, and if found are confiscated, nor may they wear taffeta or silk cloth or even camlet, a fine woollen made of goat or camel's hair and imported from the East. No meals may hence be served with more than three dishes, nor marriage banquets number more than twenty trenchers (i. e. for forty guests, one trencher — "tagliere" — serves for two people). Not more than six maidens attend the bride, and the groomsmen are in proportion. The due enforcement of these laws was entrusted to an official

the uncertain assets represented by the cession of customs and port dues, the collection of which can be, and actually is revoked at the ruler's pleasure. (1)

The Bardi bankruptcy involves the Lanfredini. A petition is upon record addressed to the Signoria by Giovanni di Gherardo Lanfredini, a partner in 1345, and his friend Niccolò son of the late Taldi Valori, submitting, that although they are involved and liable to the extent of their share in their prospective inherited patrimony, yet having withdrawn their individual stake in Bardi ventures they disclaim indebtedness for those liabilities, and pray not to be adjudged bankrupts. That Gio-

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empowered first to warn all concerned, and to proceed to summary execution. "Wherefore" observes Villani, "in pursuance of these ordinances the city of Florence amended her manners, checking greatly the unbridled licence in her entertainments, and in personal adornment, to the great advantage insooth of the citizens' morals, yet to the mighty loss and detriment of the silk mercers and the goldsmiths who to gain profits had sought ever to invent ever new and diversified ornaments." Compliance was clearly neither general nor willing, for the women he complains, "all protested loudly," and where they could not have figured stuffs, they would make them gowns particoloured, and not buying in the city, get them of foreign make.... ordering apparel regardless of cost from places so remote as Flanders and Brabant...." XXth century Communism, and Mediocratism go hand in hand in restraint of individual freedom.

(1) Cfr. Villani "History" Lib. X. cap. VIII. The Bardi and Peruzzi bankruptcy in 1345, twenty years after the Scali, Amieri, and Bonaccorsi failures had impoverished the chronicler, completes his ruin. Villani is imprisoned for debt in the Stinche prison and friends and kinsfolk stand surety for amounts exceeding several thousand gold florins. He writes therefore with inside knowledge and concern, that the Bardi have taken the losers' side in England in the struggle between Mortimers and Plantagenets, and "their houses were sacked and burned." The city of London was up in arms..., and almost all the Barons of England sided with the Queen, forsaking the King. "Edward II, murdered in 1326, is succeeded by Edward III. and the Bardi successfully trim sail. They supplant the Frescobaldi, bankers to the late sovereigns Edward I. and II, to whom the latter had lent large sums secured upon the customs of the ports of London, Hull, Newcastle and Southampton. The Bardi are also the Papal agents in England for the collection of ecclesiastical dues, as well as the Pontifical bankers at Avignon. Their dealings with Edward III. are graphically sketched in Lib. XI. cap. 88. "In the days of the said war with France, the Bardi and Peruzzi companies of merchants were the King of England's bankers, and through their hands were passed all the moneys received, and the sales of wool, and all the King's business, and they furnished the needful for all his expenses, taking upon themselves his bonds, and meeting his necessities as they arose; and the demands and needs of that King exceeded so greatly the revenue and the worth of the securities received from him, that on the King's return from the campaign, the Bardi had become his creditors for capital advanced and sums guaranteed by them exceeding 180,000 marks sterling." With the value of the mark equivalent to nearly  $4\frac{1}{2}$  gold florins, Villani's exclamation "a kingdom's ransom" is not exaggerated, especially if we consider that the amount in sterling to-day would not fall far short of a million pounds.

vanni's petition is granted may justly be inferred from his election within two years to the office of Gonfalonier, since such an undischarged bankrupt could not have had a chance of election to the Chief Magistracy. Inasmuch as the feeling of resentment and injury was general from the large number of innocent victims, and the comparatively small amounts realized by the liquidation of Bardi property, none associated with them to the full could have held up their heads; and indeed the Bardi themselves never regained their former status in the community of merchant-bankers. (1)

Whilst this share of the Lanfredini in the Bardi financial crisis, attested by documentary evidence, lends additional individual and therefore graphic values to the struggle of the Oltr'Arno oligarchy with the new order that demands a share in the government which their activities had upheld, and their labour contributed to enrich, we have but the knowledge of the nobility's support of the régime of Walter de Brienne to picture

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(1) Cfr. "Passerini MSS" Fil. 189. A note among the excerpts from the *Libro delle Riformazioni* and other sources which form the addenda to G. B. Dei's memoir of the Lanfredini family, states under date 1350, that Giovanni di Gherardo and Niccolò "del fu Taldi Valori" put forward the plea: "that the said petitioners were partners in the Bardi company, but that they had already come of age (*mancipati*) and for that reason are not liable for the Firm's debts." An earlier note dated 1345 records that Gherardo Lanfredini, his father, is a partner in the year of the Bardi bankruptcy. These partnerships were usually annual agreements, or constituted associations, limited to a particular venture. Villani's comments, Lib. XI. cap. 88, emphasizes the feelings of the mercantile community. "It was indeed true that this sum — 1,365,000 gold florins included certain sums refunded to them (the Bardi) by the King in respect of past loans, but be this as it might, it was a mighty piece of folly and of avidity for easily won profits on their part, thus to lead on the faith of a King's word, in one heap, their own and other people's moneys. And be it noted moreover that these moneys mostly belonged to folk who had lent them to the Bardi at interest, or were sums that had been merely given into their safe custody to hold, and thus they held the whole substance of many, citizens (of Florence) and strangers alike." There is a touch of rare kindness and generosity in Villani's later comment, Lib. XII. cap. 55, after his unjust imprisonment as a defaulting debtor through no fault of his own, when he imputes the disaster to trust put in princely promises rather than to speculative trading: "and the cause was that like the Peruzzi they had invested their own and other folks' moneys with the Kings of England and of Sicily.... and owing to his war with France he *could* not pay them, and the King of Sicily owed them 100,000 gold florins." The Bardi hand over all their possessions and are discharged bankrupts, agreeing to pay 9 soldi, and 3 denari in the lira. Villani concludes bitterly that they could thus retain their status, whilst the smaller and poorer creditors were left in the lurch through the unfair action of the commune. He does not live to take full advantage of Lanfredini's scheme of state-aid to bona-fide debtors.

so to say the state of the family fortunes in 1343, when the ejection of the Duke of Athens and the ensuing scenes of violence plunge the city into anarchy. Villani's narrative sets a stage, the pictorial features of which lie in the Oltr'Arno. The populace from the right bank storm the bridges, they fire the entire row of Nerli, Soderini, Lanfredini, Bardi, Vettori and Frescobaldi houses, from below Ponte alla Carraia to the Ponte Vecchio. The old bridge leading to a maze of alleys where the principal Bardi houses cluster and extend towards the Ponte alle Grazie, is the scene of a fierce struggle. Fires break out. A great many balconies, loggie, and terraces set from house to house are wood, and the destruction must have been great, more doubtless in proportion to the loss of life, for Villani records "that by God's grace, marvellous to tell, it was found after the manifold assaults and scimmages that day, not one man of note was killed, though many suffered hurt". Still since the chronicler is careful to note that the Bardi themselves had surrendered, the Frescobaldi having begged for mercy, and not had it refused them, it may be concluded that the massacres which had marked the hated alien protector's overthrow had satisfied mob vengeance. And "the people having proved their mettle against the magnates" were satisfied momentarily to live and let live; is now the merchant bankers pious hope. (1)

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(1) Cfr. F. A. Hyett, *A History of Florence*. Methuen, 1903, pp. 132, et seq. It has already been pointed out that the favouritism in the assessment of rates and taxes lay at the root of all the dissensions in the civic life of Florence throughout the XIVth century, which the later Medici ascendancy was able to control only partially. The Bardi bankruptcy will involve the entire mercantile community; for the settlement which enables the more powerful debtors to save their skins at the expense of the small man will heighten the unpopularity of the Magnates and wealthier citizens, supporters of the Duke of Athens, and who after his ejection retain the power to play off against one another the "popolo grasso" — bourgeois, — and the artizans, — "popolo minuto." The riots of September 23rd 1343 are only the forerunners of worse to come for the old order. Villani's narrative, Lib. XII, cap. 21, pictures the scene in which the Lanfredini (unnamed) suffer in common with their business associates the Bardi, house neighbours of the Lung'Arno and Via Santo Spirito, the Nerli and Frescobaldi. "In a few hours," he tells us, "all the gentry of Oltr'Arno, the Bardi and Rossi, and Frescobaldi, and Mannelli, and Nerli, had fortified their houses strongly seizing the bridge-heads." The indignant multitude had purposed to cross over to the Oltr'Arno by way of the Ponte Vecchio, "that yet was of wood." Here it should be pointed out that the bridge was only a temporary structure after the floods a few years before, and that a bridge

Describing the mechanism of the *reformed popular statute*, Villani, observes that the middle class and artizans had framed it "wherefore the mastery of the city remained with the twenty-one governing bodies of the Guilds." He does not mention the Lanfredini among the *enfranchised* city and county gentry who become *popolani*, (i.e. eligible for office) "albeit such a qualification shall yet exclude them from the Priorate, the Gonfaloniership, and membership of the Twelve of Government for a period of five years; with the result," he continues, "that at the election of the following November (a bare six weeks after the memorable riots), the smaller artizans obtained the majority, and the people were content, wherefore the city was freed from jealousies." The Lanfredini place is with their own class, they know the fickleness of popular

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of boats had been thrown across the wreck of the Santa Trinità bridge, originally the munificent gift of Lambertuccio Frescobaldi. The assault on the Oltr'Arno was the culminating act, since "all the magnates on the hither riverside had disarmed, disbanding their forces, and taking down defences." The Bardi put up a stout resistance at the Ponte Vecchio, "and the people perceived that from this side they could not effect a crossing, albeit fighting the barriers stoutly, and many were hurt by stones slung and by darts and arrows sbot from cross-bows; and it was worse still by way of Ponte a Rubaconte (Ponte alle Grazie), where the strength of the Bardi of San Gregorio withheld their onslaught." Parts of the Bardi palace and towers, and the Mannelli palace at the foot of the bridge are still standing. Those houses, which faced the Uffizi and the Law-Courts erected on the site of Altafronte, have been pulled down to widen the Lung'Arno Torrigiani. "They determined" continues the chronicler "to leave some of the trained bands of the wards of the Santa Croce quarter, and those of Borgo Santi Apostoli to watch the Ponte Vecchio, and others stayed to guard Ponte a Rubaconte by Casa degli Alberti. The rest of the people, increased greatly in numbers with mounted soldiers, made their way towards Ponte alla Carraia which was held by the Nerli, but the assault of the populace of Borgo San Friano, of "Canto" della Cuculia, and the Fondaccio (Via Santo Spirito), was so violent that before the folk on the hither side could get across the Arno, they took the bridge-head and the houses of the Nerli (at the corner of Piazza Soderini less than a hundred yards from Palazzo Lanfredini) and drove them out, and the artizans of the Oltr'Arno having taken Ponte alla Carraia, the folk on this side straightway crossed the said bridge, and joining the others attacked the Frescobaldi, (houseneighbours of the Lanfredini, separated only by the width of the narrow Via Santo Spirito), who had first been assailed and had fought at their defences, yet were not overcome, by the folk of Via Maggio. But now at the sight of the violence of the people from beyond the Arno in arms against them, they were seized with fear, and abandoned their positions, yielding all the defences and preparation for resistance: the cross-bows and shields, and bolts; they fled to their homes, hands up crying out for mercy to the people, who let them go unarmed. Which done they pursued their course to the houses of the Rossi (at the corner of Borgo San Jacopo and the Ponte Vecchio), who learning how the Frescobaldi had surrendered to the people, and all the magnates' houses on this side of the water, they likewise surrendered unresisting. Those of the houses of Bardi hearing how they had been abandoned by the Rossi and Frescobaldi were greatly



moods and bide their time, since the event will shew that " those who having risked life to enfranchise the people and had so freed them, were yet not acceptable to an ungrateful city ". Villani speaks feelingly for his order of merchant-bankers, recalling that in less than a twelvemonth the state had changed her system of government four times: " to wit, before the lordship of the Duke of Athens, the ' popolo ' were masters, and bearing themselves ill... through their fault there came the Duke's tyrannical rule, and he being driven out, the gentry (*grandi*) and the people held sway together, howbeit t'were but for a brief space yet with a great accession to riches; and now we have the rule of the minor artizan and the lesser folk.... (1)

alarmed, but nevertheless set stoutly to hold their defences, fighting with slings and bolts, and several were killed there and many were hurt on both sides, for the Bardi were well furnished and equipped on foot and with horse, and many armed men from the countryside; wherefore it was bootless for the people to carry the defences by force. Which observing, they directed that men of three of the *Oltr'Arno* wards should assail them by way of *S. Giorgio's* hill through the new street *del Pozzo Toscanelli* (from *Piazza S. Felice*, leading to the left and debouching upon the small *Piazza Santa Maria sopr'Arno* which divides the two portions of *Via de' Bardi*), which was done; and the attack opened from the rear. The Bardi observing the violence of the onslaught, and attacked from so many sides were greatly alarmed, and they determined to abandon some of their defences by the piazza at the bridge (*Ponte Vecchio*) which was guarded by the tower *di Parte Guelfa*, and by the palace of *Messer Vieri de' Bardi's* sons, and to make a stand from behind the marsh of *San Giorgio* (*Via del Canneto*). Whereupon one, *Strozza* by name, a German constable with his men, forced an entrance behind the barriers of the *Piazza a Ponte*, with great danger to himself under the number of stones and bolts hurled, running towards *Santa Maria sopr'Arno* with the populace boldly behind him; and others of the people ran after them across the bridge together, and with the rest of the artizans they broke down the defences and resistance of the Bardi who fled one and all into the suburb of *S. Niccolò* praying for mercy to the neighbours. Their persons were saved and protected by the men of *Quarata* and *Panzano* and other villages, and by the Bardi of the *Scala* ward (*Oltr'Arno*) who had been the first to take sides with the people, and to prevent them being undone had taken the palaces of the Bardi of *S. Gregorio* from the watch at the bridge-head on the other side at *Cssa degli Alberti* in the ward of *Santa Croce*. And this proved the salvation from death of all the Bardi.... But all their palaces and houses, from *Santa Lucia* to the *Piazza* of the *Ponte Vecchio*. were sacked by the artizans and emptied of all moveables, chattels, and utensils, on that day and the next, as well as their neighbours who were defenceless. And popular fury having sacked the (Bardi) houses, they were fired and twentytwo great and wealthy homes and palaces, were burned, and the damage through robbery and arson was estimated at 60,000 florins.... " The rioting was happily overcome and after a few days " the warehouses and shops opened again and every man went about his business. "

(1) Cfr. " Villani, " *Lib. XII*, caps. 22-23. The chronicler describes the *reformed* statute providing for the election of nine priors, twelve aldermen (*consiglieri*), sixteen ward-captains (*Gonfalonieri delle compagnie*), five members of the Merchants' Exchange, fifty-two liverymen of the Guilds

Villani's misgivings are justified by the results. The bank-failures of 1345 had spread ruin amid the well-to-do and humble investors, who find their way to the debtors' prison, the *Stinche* of sinister name. Far from bringing about general welfare, these successive *reforms* had but hastened credit losses and impoverishment, to which failure of the harvest through the disastrous floods of 1346 added the sense of impending food scarcity. The outlook now was black indeed: bankruptcy, famine and plague are ill omens for Giovanni Lanfredini's election to the Gonfaloniership for the two months term March-May, 1347. That the original ostracism pronounced by the victorious people's party in 1343-4 against the gentry would be short-lived is thus proved by the choice of one who although of hated *grandi* stock was trusted, and whose ability to deal with an exceptionally difficult position adequately, must have been common knowledge among his fellow citizens in all classes.

Giovanni, the fifth and youngest son of Gherardo di Lanfredino Lanfredini, steps forward on to the stage of Florentine political life equipped with the advantages of family tradition, and a shrewd head for business that assists him, as we have seen, to dissociate himself, — saving his patrimony, from the Bardi financial catastrophe. His marriage with Lisa Tornaquinci of the ancestral stock of Tornabuoni, — merchant-bankers of the northern river-side and partners of the Medici, is one of those facts to which subsequent events in a family history alone give the

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and twenty-eight additional delegates in each quarter, artisans all, and so forming a body of two hundred and six (electors), "Names of deserving men of the people" are balloted for, to the number of 3346, but only one tenth or so obtains the minimum of 110, *beans* or votes, for election to these offices. The first gonfaloniership under the new order "very good and to the common welfare had it not thereafter been corrupted" falls to Santo Spirito. The new ordinance becomes operative on October 20th, and four days later the draconian statute that made entire "clans" responsible for the misdemeanour of one of their members is modified. Furthermore large numbers of the Oltr'Arno nobility, the de' Rossi, four Mannelli, all the Nerli of Borgo San Jacopo, two of those of Ponte alla Carraia, etc., join the ranks of the popolani about five hundred, to strengthen their mind to diminish the nobles' ascendancy and divide their power according to the new ordinances. But certain other magnates.... who had acceded to the petition and who had risked their lives to enfranchise the people, and did so free them, through envy were not acceptable to an ungrateful people; and such, Villani concludes grimly, are the more often the rewards for services rendered to the multitude, and especially to the people of Florence...."

key; — the alliance which takes the Lanfredini out of their parish and ward lives, into civic dignity opening wider horizons.

Alike in essence, differing only in degree, the economic problems which taking up the Gonfaloniership Giovanni Lanfredini has to face, and modern state food and trade control measures in the years after — 1914, operate on the general public temper much in the same way. This tiny City-state, the total area of the Florentine republic barely reaches fifty square miles, will prove an experimental plot covering the food-supply, registration, control of inter-provincial and city transport, its distribution and the prices chargeable, state regulation also of credit approximating to modern conditions. The Gonfalonier will enact provisions comprising a schedule of maximum prices for produce on future and immediate delivery contracts, he will institute a moratorium for the liquidation of debts, and the bona fide debtor will enjoy the state guarantee for his ultimate discharge, inasmuch as the latter takes the creditor's place under the borrower's personal recognizance in the form of a bond negotiable like ordinary bills of exchange. Moreover to prevent possible shortage in the city markets transit dues will be levied and export of surplus foodstuffs only permitted.

These emergency measures are initiated with an ordinance dated March 13th, providing for the relief of debtors of the penalty of imprisonment for sums under 100 gold florins; writs may be issued against them only at the instance of the Merchant-bankers' exchange (Mercanzia), and for sums not exceeding 25 lire, whilst bills of exchange falling due in the interval are to mature only in the month of August, thus extending credit to a maximum period of six months. The moratorium is primarily intended to benefit merchants, but food prices are fixed as well: grain is not to cost more than 40 soldi the measure — *stajo* — and the importer shall receive a bounty of one gold florin for every measure brought to and sold in the city. It was hoped thus by encouraging the producer to assure the people's food supply. Yet the relief is only temporary, for as Villani had previously observed the bounties " could not be kept up, and prices rose despite the maximum rates when, he adds, the measure came to be sold for one florin

and sometimes for four lire, albeit save for the ordinance people had starved. "

The sanctions and penalties against hoarding and keeping produce off the markets against a rise, which had been applied already in 1339-40, when the Commune finding themselves forestalled in the foreign grain-markets are forced to pay heavily for delayed purchases prove of no avail. As expenditure increases and depletes the public purse, business, that should have enabled the merchant-bankers to restore the public confidence forfeited, falls off. The maintenance of insolvent debtors is a growing item of state expenditure. The historian Scipione Ammirato states their number at 153. The ordinance of March 13th, addressed to *interests* who turn a deaf ear to the general *need*, has not achieved the hoped-for results. Lanfredini determines to appeal to their moral conscience. The debtors' prison is to be opened at Easter-tide, (April 1st), the measure termed an act of public contrition, and the remission of debt propitiatory of the Lord's anger against an erring community. A new ordinance extends the moratorium benefit to debtors imprisoned from February 1st, in his predecessor's term of office: January-March 1347. The majority are released unconditionally, those owing amounts under 100 lire binding themselves to pay their creditors in full at some future time. (1) Though carried out on such a miniature scale as

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(1) Cfr. Scipione Ammirato, " *Istorie Fiorentine*," Lib. X. The historian follows Villani (Lib. XII, caps. 83-91) almost verbatim in the narrative of the condition of affairs at Giovanni Lanfredini's election. "Never in the memory of living men had the city been in such straits; though the shortage in 1339-40 had been great for many foodstuffs, in this year was there scarcity of all kinds of food. Those in authority lost no time in making provision abroad for grain, despatching moneys and the men to bring the wheat from Sicily, Calabria, and Sardinia, and even from Tunis and the Barbary coast. But the Genoese and the Pisans were in a like state of need, and as they had their ships in sailing trim ready at the mouths of Arno, and the roadsteads near by, they were supplied first, wherefore the steps taken by the Florentines were of little avail. And withal there were those men among them that drew profits from the general distress, and that sought to despoil the community; and though their sentences were light — in the measure of their wickedness, yet were they mulct in fines of 1000 gold florins apiece." Read by the light of present events, 1914-18, the straits of the Florentines, the measures devised to cope with the food shortage, and transport difficulties, display an interesting parallel to the conditions arising out of modern "peoples'" warfare; with this difference however that the vastness of to-day's stage renders nugatory the moral sanction against "profiteering" so clearly discernible both in Villani and Ammirato who reflect the moral code preached by spiritual authority.

mediaeval Florence offered, and the experiment in state control was a failure financially, still it appears to have had some moral result, as Villani's comment recalls; "indeed it was a great mercy and charity, howbeit the sickness was rife, and two and three died in jail daily." A victim of the plague in 1348 Villani yet lives to see Lanfredini's Gonfaloniership; and his own and his brother Matteo's sequel-chronicle 1348-63, without mentioning him by name yet voices his part. Indeed it may justly be averred that the weight the chroniclers, supported by historians, attach to these social welfare provisions excluding all else from their narrative of Lanfredini's term of office, is a telling proof of the estimation in which his able statesmanship was held by his fellow-citizens. Further evidence of this may be deduced from a ordinance completing and extending the Lanfredini provisions for the bona fide debtors' relief. He is no longer Gonfalonier, but as a member of the Signoria his "touch" is clearly discernible. On May 1st all debtors in prison pursuant to a writ for amounts not exceeding 100 gold florins shall go free upon their undertaking to contribute three soldi toward each lira owed; their total debt is then assumed by the Commune, the latter standing surety for the balance of seventeen soldi, which will be converted into credit-notes and issued at  $\frac{2}{3}$  of the face value. Measures such as these: the creation of a guaranteed public debt, the institution of the Income-tax, *catasto*, albeit that is the work of another generation of Florentine financiers, both trace the origin of modern methods in exchequer transactions back to this one more particularly among the commercial republics of mediaeval Italy.

Diplomatic missions fill the next ten years or so during which Giovanni Lanfredini is prominently in the public eye. In 1349 he is one of the Commissioners deputed to extend Florentine jurisdiction across the century-old river boundary of the Elsa to the border republics of San Gimignano and Colle, tiny bufferstates between Florence and Siena. San Gimignano weary of faction strife between her ruling families the Malpigli and Mangiadori has invited Florentine intervention. It is the usual process of state absorption at work through proquiquity. Lanfredini apparently unites soldier's instincts to his diplomatic and admi-

nistrative abilities and we find him next authorized in the year 1351-4 in conjunction with Arnolfo Altoviti, "to raise and equip a body of 300 men at their own expense to resist the Milanese incursions in Florentine territory." Neighbouring City-states join the League, and the two proceed to Perugia 1352 "to hearten those allies", returning in the following year to San Gimignano to further extend and complete the agreement entered into three years before.

But Lanfredini's most important mission is yet to come. Bernabò Visconti's aim to establish a hegemony in central Italy arouses not only general resentment, not least that of Venice, but the suspicion is growing in Florence of a direct attempt to reassert the Imperial authority, successfully overthrown by the Communes over a century before. The historian Scipione Ammirato following Cavalcanti's chronicle, devotes much space to the Visconti successes, their forces led by the Archbishop of Milan. Giovanni d'Oleggio, the natural son of Luchino Visconti, presses the Republic hard; and the Florentine mission is despatched, a forlorn hope in this year 1353 to Treviso and Udine, where the Emperor Charles IV holds his court. This embassy is commented upon by Donato Velluti who tells us that *he* happily and narrowly escapes ambassadorial honours, which are compulsory under pain of a fine. Giovanni Lanfredini goes in his stead, receiving a knighthood and "henceforward bearing the title of Messer." Record exists of payments made to Lanfredini and his colleague Luigi Gianfigliuzzi for travelling expenses *ad partes Tervisii*, and their sojourn of six months. The negotiations are arduous. The Florentines threaten to withdraw, indeed they depart, but return in deference to Venetian wishes, and the conference of Venetian, Florentine and Milanese envoys frame a *tripartite* agreement. Florence undertakes to accept a titular Imperial Vicar, to subsidize Imperial troops in the field, and to pay a further amount into the Exchequer, in exchange for the final and explicit recognition of her independence, the money paid over being regarded as a gracious and voluntary gift. (1)

(1) The Lanfredini data collected in the Passerini Papers (*loc. cit.*) give us the following entries in the *Libro delle Riformagioni*. Arnolfo Altoviti and Giovanni di Gherardo Lanfredini are empowered to raise and equip a force of 300 men. "Coincident in time with the

High in general esteem, Messer Giovanni Lanfredini once more raises a force — 300 men, of which he takes command and acting in union with the levies of Perugia, Arezzo, Cortona, and even Siena, always an uncertain ally, measures are devised to present a bold and single front to the Visconti arms. In June 1359 the appointment of Syndic of the Commune comes as his public recognition of this and previous good service. The appointment is elective, but it is held usually for life and is equivalent to that of permanent Minister of Finance. "The noble and virtuous citizen of Florence" so runs the decree "will also receive 150 gold florins to honour his knighthood". We meet his name in the public records now for the last time in his capacity of negotiator. The three years League of Peace and Defence between Florence, Siena, Arezzo and Cortona jointly results in the two last-named states, like Prato and Pistoia, soon accepting Florentine

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invasion of the Florentine northern marches by the soldier-Archbishop of Milan, Giovanni d'Oleggio, commanding the Visconti forces, the instruction places the Lanfredini among citizens wealthy enough to make a considerable outlay in the state service. Giovanni Lanfredini goes as Ambassador to Perugia with Altoviti in 1352, with Francesco Buondelmonti also to San Gimignano in 1353 after the mission to Treviso which has gained him his knighthood, and he proceeds in the same capacity to Siena and Perugia with Filippo Giannoni in 1354. His first mission, to San Gimignano, completes the transaction and arbitration between the rival families of Malpigli and Mangiadori, the terms of which are a five years offensive and defensive alliance and the protectorate of Florence over the citystate situated across her river boundary in the Val d'Elsa. Scipione Ammirato records the event in the following terms (Lib. X, ann. 1350/1). "The three commissioners Alberti, Raffacani, and Lanfredini are appointed in March 1349/50 to "recover" San Gimignano and Colle. The latter, "a castello" on the left river-bank, independent of San Gimignano only in name: "deeming it impossible to withstand the Florentines, and placing trust in neither one nor the other faction (in the state) determined to give themselves up to Florence.... and almost the same course was followed by San Gimignano which was travailed with not less perillous strife than Colle, and they likewise resolved to give themselves to the Republic for a term of years, with the power for the latter to erect a fortalice in watch over them." "San Gimignano of the fair towers," offers yet to-day unmarred the setting witnessed by Lanfredini and his colleagues in 1349. The more important diplomatic mission entrusted to him at Treviso finds mention in Donato Velluti's family chronicle. The future Emperor Charles IV aims at the restoration of imperial jurisdiction over the Communes which his predecessors had been forced to recognize as independent states. In 1352, negotiations had been opened with proposals of mere friendship, but, as Scipione Ammirato records (Lib. X, ann. 1352/3), they were regarded with the deepest mistrust by the Signoria, even with the assurance of assistance to the Republic hard pressed by Visconti's aggressions. A treaty will be entered into eventually binding the three free Communes of Perugia, Siena, and Florence to provide a subsidy for one year amounting to not less than 200,000 florins for the equipment and keep of

suzerainty. The negotiators meet in what are to Lanfredini familiar surroundings, namely the castle of Staggia on the left bank of the Elsa, facing Colle and San Gimignano's coronal of towers. (1)

a force of three thousand horse. Upon the arrival of the Imperial court at Aquileia, a free gift of 10,000 florins will be proffered in their behalf to Charles IV, the Communes recognizing the validity of his election as King of the Romans and the right to future Imperial investiture. The Signoria of Florence in particular will pay an annual sum of 36 denari in future for each household, whilst the tributes of Siena and Perugia are calculated on the former basis. As a set off the Imperial forces will invade Lombardy within the month, and enter the field against the Visconti with a force numbering not less than six thousand horse.... These provisions smack somewhat of the re-establishment of Imperial sovereignty, and to render them acceptable to the suspicious republican spirit of the central Italian city-states, the Emperor covenants solemnly always to respect, safeguard, and uphold the liberties of the Communes and their statutes, and that after his coronation, the Gonfalonier and Priors of Florence, and the Nine of Siena as body, should successively bear the title of Imperial Vicars. He confirms the said three Republics in possession of all the townships, boroughs, and strongholds they hold at the time, or that they owned six years ago even though they have them no longer, and he absolves them from the penalties laid upon them by his grandfather the Emperor Henry; which covenants shall be ratified by all the contracting parties within the 15th of the following month of June." Velluti and Scipione Ammirato name the Florentine Ambassadors alike: Pino de' Rossi, Messer Tommaso Corsini, Messer Gherardo Bordoni, Filippo Magalotti and Uguccone de' Ricci, to the Emperor's Court then at Udine, 'Not successful apparently in securing the required ratification, two return to Florence to report, upon which instructions are sent to Magalotti and Uguccone to break off, and also come away. This decision appears to have strengthened the Florentine position, for Velluti records: "and because the Emperor had ordered that his Ambassador and the Communes' Envoys should meet at Udine and to these latter it had been written to come away, it behoved to despatch two others, wherefore, desiring to send thither one learned in the law (*giudice*) and one other, I, had it not been that my name was drawn for the Twelve in the election of 1348, had been sent, but thanks to my colleagues' kindness it was not upheld and there went Messer Luigi Gianfigliuzzi, and Giovanni di Gherardo Lanfredini, who afterwards became Messer Giovanni, and they stayed there several months." Signor Del Lungo, the editor of Velluti's chronicle, quotes (note 5, p. 213) a payment made to Gianfigliuzzi and Lanfredini dated May 31st 1353, for expenses of a mission "*ad partes Tervisit*" calculated for 63 days from February 19th.

(1) Scipione Ammirato (Lib. XI, ann. 1360 records the defensive league entered into by Florence, Siena, Arezzo, and Cortona, against Milan, — her Archbishop had relinquished Bologna to the church, receiving in exchange Fermo and lordship of the Marches of Romagna which made him no less a dangerous neighbour to the Republic. "In Florence for greater safety a league had been entered into with the Sieneze, and Aretines, and the lord of Cortona, Bartolommeo Casali; and so early as March 9th, in the church of Santa Maria di Staggia (in Val d'Elsa facing Colle on the opposite river-bank). The conditions of the covenant had been set forth by Giovanni Lanfredini, who had been knighted by the Republic in the previous July, and by Filippo de' Baroncelli, the Commissioners of Florence, together with the Envoys of the other Communes. The League was (formed) for the common defence, and that of the parties (to the treaty) for a term of four years, with authority to the Republics of Florence and Siena to admit thereto whomsoever they pleased: the contingent was to number three thousand horse, and three thousand foot soldiers, of



The title of Syndic which a future generation of Florentines will confer on Lorenzo de' Medici places Giovanni Lanfredini in the front rank of her statesmen. Had he lived, the revolt of the Ciompi, — 1370, — might have taken a different turn, and the course of history been altered. Dying without issue in 1366, Giovanni Lanfredini devises his worldly possessions to the poor of his parish of Santo Spirito. There is no writing on the wall of the Lanfredini palace in which we trace Giovanni's signature, though the armorial bearings in themselves form the tangible link between past and future generations. Neither have we a portrait, except that which fancy can create looking for him among "the grave and reverend signiors" with whom Giotto's followers have peopled their "histories" from Holy Writ, and *Sacre Conversazioni* where Florentines of old hold discourse.

Giovanni Lanfredini is an instance of the greater distinction which often attends the career of younger sons. His elder brothers, are but "walking gentlemen" upon the political stage. We know about Orsino di Bartolo the head of their house in Giovanni's day only through an advantageous marriage into the Frescobaldi clan. "Mighty rich folk" writes Donato Velluti their kinsman who, touchy as his chronicle shews him in questions of family connexions, takes no exception to Orsino's marriage with his cousin Monna Gismonda Dolcibeni Camangerini. "She has but a sorry life with him" from 1348 onwards during the ten years or so of married life, but the fault is clearly not all Orsino's for when she makes a new start, "with another old and gouty, her life is none the better nor the happier." (1)

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whom half were to be cross-bowmen and half trained levies. In time of war Florence undertook to raise and keep under arms 1950 horse and as many infantry, Siena and the lord of Cortona 900 horse and foot and the Commune of Arezzo the remainder; whilst in those four years, in peace time, Florence should keep 650, Siena and Cortona 300, and Arezzo 50 men under arms, the condottiere Pandolfo Malatesta to be Captain during the first six months, after which the nomination was to lie between Siena and Florence."

(1) Cfr. Velluti, *op. cit.*, p. 98-9. Describing the many ramifications of his own and the Frescobaldi connection, the Chronicler records: "Tommaso, son of the said Messer Giovanni (Frescobaldi), had for his wife one of the Rigeletti.... with whom he had a son.... and a daughter who was called Monna Ginevra. The said Tommaso died very young, I knew him well, and he was very agreeable.... The said Monna Ginevra, daughter to Tommaso, was married to Agostino Dol-

There is pathos in these few words, which but for the single reference to Monna Lisa Tornaquinci, when as Giovanni's widow's she accepts the provisions in her husband's will, are all that we know about any of the Lanfredini gentlewomen whose lives unfold within these house-walls. Until the last of their line, it is "la vie subie non la vie rêvée." Generations of daughters and wives, these must be entered in the genealogist's roll, but they leave no footprints in the stone-flagged courts and loggia.

A pensive profile framed in maize-colour ringlets looks upon us in the palace cortile. The Innominata on whom Piero del Pollaiuolo's art confers at least pictorial renown, must stand for the Lanfredini type in the array of Florentine gentlewomen to whom Vespasiano da Bisticci tributes praise: "Ladies not less fair in body than in mind, these chaste and virtuous Dames who sway their husbands lives and rule the home..."

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cibeni Camangerini, and she was a handsome young woman. She died in the mortality of 1348 and of her (offspring) there remained Monna Gismonda. Which she was a very good-looking maiden, and she married Orsino di Bartolo Lanfredini, and with him she had a very sorry life; and after his death, she was married once more to.... (Velluti leaves the name blank) old and gouty, and with him she had it not, nor hath it any better now."

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### CHAPTER III.

#### The Lanfredini home-builders in the first decades of the XVth century

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THAT the year 1370, crucial in Florentine annals through the people's revolt against the renewed lease of power of the oligarchy they had helped the upper middle-class artizans to overthrow a bare quarter of a century earlier, signifies political ostracism for the Lanfredini is tolerably clear. Their name disappears from the lists of office holders; "messi a sedere" made to sit down, — or out, with those *grandi*, magnates of the land or of commerce who, unlike the Medici, are unable to breast the rising flood of mob rule. And yet some of these grand folk, the Oltr'Arno merchant-bankers, now form the nucleus of a strong party with a majority in the Government of Saints — 1376-9, men whose characters will overcome the perils which the Papal interdict against Florence enhances. Thanks to them peace is restored, the advocacy of Catherine of Siena prevailing with the Pope at Avignon to restore the See to Rome; thus making an end to pontifical suasion by interdict from a distance. Such methods are a two-edged weapon, as the relations between the Republic and the Holy See shew under the Medici régime, when the Pazzi conspiracy arrays rival influences in opposite camps.

The Lanfredini, if they doubtless consort with the "Saints": Bardi, Capponi, Soderini and Canigiani, yet remain in the background. They come forward again only in the last years of Maso degli Albizzi's firm rule, his virtual dictatorship restoring *class* government, when the

head of the clan, Lanfredino di Orsino Lanfredini reappears prominently among office-holders.

The decade 1390-1400 forms a term of critical years for the independence of the Florentine state. Gian Galeazzo Visconti, by especial Imperial investiture Duke of Milan, has crushed the rulers of northern Italy: the Scaligers of Verona, the Carraresi of Padua. Venice alone resists stoutly. Ferrara the most extensive and powerful of the central states can be won over by blandishment backed by threats, the Communes: Pisa, Lucca, Siena, accept a Podestà of Visconti's making, virtually his vicar: Florence surrounded by enemies, and with disaffection within, sees her counsels divided; all are hard pressed. A Prior of the Signoria of 1391, who have secured the services of the White Company and their leader Sir John Hawkwood, Lanfredini claims a share in the laurels their prowess gathers albeit sparsely in this campaign. The peace concluded in 1392 proving only a truce, desultory warfare continues and open hostilities break out once more in 1398. Whilst it would be far-fetched now, to credit Lanfredini with preponderant influence in state counsels, his name not being recorded by historians either among the ambassadors and emissaries whose "special missions" to Lucca, Siena, etc., do so much to raise the political prestige of Florence beyond her military deserts, or among the Gonfaloniers of the day to which office after Messer Giovanni Lanfredini's distinguished tenure the family might well aspire, re-election to the Priorate nine years later, in 1400, appears to me evidence of recognized political abilities, as well as of Lanfredini's position in the party then at the head of affairs. Sedition within it is indeed rife and the Albizzi govern by threats of banishment and confiscation, and sentences of death. The Alberti are exiles, the Medici are under a cloud despite the soldier Giovanni's war service, and Salvestro's statesmanship, whilst "fuorusciti" like Francesco di Tommaso Davizi, who has covenanted under his hand and seal to *change* the state, "entering the city to the cry of long live the people and freedom and death to the tyrants", are taken and executed.

The prospect for Florence in the hour of Gian-Galeazzo Vi-

sconti's death in 1402 is dark. In his narrative of the event and the consequent eclipse of the Milanese hegemony, — never to be revived for all that half a century hence the Sforzas may strive with Medici countenance, Scipione Ammirato, following contemporary annalists, pays a high tribute to men of Lanfredini's quality. Reviewing the struggle so long continued by Florence against overwhelming odds, he observes: "it was deemed a mighty wondrous thing that a single state, possessing not one sea-port, nor owning an army of her own, with boundaries ungirt by the cincture of rugged mountain, unprotected either by the barrier of a great river, should yet have withstood so formidable an onslaught, sustained only by the steadfastness and the wealth of her citizens." (1) *Vespasiano da Bisticci*, the biographer of "illustrious men" of the day, *Strozzi*, *Medici*, etc., contemporaries of the *Lanfredini*, says of them that they deemed it a privilege to give their substance and their minds to the state. It is among their company, though unnamed that we can number this family of merchant-bankers.

Yet outside his two nominations to the Signoria in times of national stress no side-lights — or even shadows, lend depth to this somewhat sketchy outline. All we know about *Lanfredino Lanfredini's* wife is her name, *Giovanna*. Her parentage is not given, she may have been of humble birth; and the couple have a son *Orsino*, christened after his grandfather, *Monna Gismonda Dolcibeni's* first luckless choice. That is all. *Orsino's* birth-date is also not stated, but marriage in 1412 suggests man's estate, not much senior to *Cosimo de' Medici* whose elder son *Piero* is born in 1416. History credits *Orsino* with but secondary political activities: three times a Prior,

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(1) Cfr. F. A. Hyett. "History of Florence," pp. 195-204. The events in which *Lanfredini* plays a part if a subordinate one; the acquisition of *Arezzo*, the long protracted conflict with *Milan*, the vast outlay of money in subsidies to *Venice* and her allies, salvation through happy accident, by the death of *Gian Galeazzo Visconti* when all seemed lost, were the salient features of wars of which *Florence* had good reason to be proud. "Almost single-handed she had checked the designs of the *Visconti*, and it is probable that but for her resistance *Gian Galeazzo* would have possessed himself of *Tuscany* and have subjugated *Italy*." This impression is conveyed also by *Scipione Ammirato*, (*Lib. XVI*, ann. 1390-1402) epitomizing these years, in the often quoted phrase about the *Florentine* merchants worth.

neither a Gonfalonier nor an ambassador; not a brilliant record. But these three elections: 1430, 1434, 1436 are crucial dates in Florentine affairs. Although he is more a man of taste than a politician Orsino Lanfredini stands before us as the first of their *house-builders* to leave a distinctive "footnote" upon the ancestral home. He is the parent of the two sons whose names are intimately associated with the enlightened scholarship and artpatronage of the Quattro-cento's second half, whilst their intimate friendship with Lorenzo il Magnifico couples Jacopo and Giovanni di Orsino Lanfredini's names with the foremost Medicean makers of history.

The death of Giovanni di Bicci de' Medici in 1429 — the power behind the throne of Republican Florence, marks the turning point of the *preparatory* spiral in his family's career; and a plain citizen, which he prides himself to remain, Giovanni has rivals but no real enemies. The war with Milan waged off and on during the six preceding years, its culmination, the disastrous Lucca campaign undertaken in defiance of "moderate" statesmanship, and carried on in spite of the overthrow of her hapless lord Paolo Guinigi, the policy thwarted by Francesco Sforza's play for his own hand whilst his prospective father-in-law Filippo Maria Visconti antagonizes the Florentine aims he is overtly supporting, finds Orsino Lanfredini in 1430 a member of the Signoria who would "cut the loss" as speedily as may be. Attributing the prolongation of the contest to Albizzi thirst for military glory, and Medici greed for money gains, the Priors have come to look upon Cosimo and Lorenzo di Giovanni and their able and unscrupulous kinsman Averardo de Medici as a public danger.

The arraignment of Cosimo de' Medici and his clan before the Signoria in 1433 is too well-known and dramatic an episode to need mention except to illustrate an act of violence at which Lanfredini is only one of the onlookers. We do not in fact find his name among the judges, or even the witnesses mostly accusers, ready to throw stones at a falling idol. He is probably one of the many who are personally attached to Cosimo and his brother Lorenzo whose political misdeeds were regarded with sorrow rather than with anger; a friend at heart

no doubt, following with sympathy the peace-making efforts of Eugenius IV. That such is the true reading may be justly inferred from the record of Orsino di Lanfredino Lanfredini's name in the Government or "Balia" elected in 1434, a brief ten months after the Medici exile to bring them back, restoring their citizen's rights "by the most representative body ever elected by the people in this our city of Florence." (1)

The elections for the Signoria of 1436 find Orsino Lanfredini once again Prior for his ward of Santo Spirito. Does he favour Cosimo's policy of reprisals, the exile of the Strozzi, the Albizzi, many among the leading families driven out never to come back, or returning in after years permanently diminished in state? We do not know. The fact that his name now disappears from public record, though he accepts to hold a provincial appointment, the Vicariate of the castello of Pescia for the April-October half year in 1338, and his friendship with Simone Canigiani and Mariotto Segni, both in the Medici opposition certainly suggests disapproval of a policy which Cosimo in after years comes bitterly to regret.

Orsino Lanfredini's marriage — 1412, to Ginevra di Piero Capponi connects the family with a clan whose prestige, founded upon state-service and wealth, runs that of the Medici merchant-bankers very close. Lanfredini is a man of much substance as well. We possess a fragment of his declaration for the "catasto" of 1431 which (App. I.) throws interesting light upon Orsino's personality as a house-builder, the character indeed in which he appears clearest.

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(1) Giovanni Cavalcanti, "Storia Fiorentina" Lib. X, cap. 13-14. The historian is an eyewitness. His account of antecedent events, notably the war against Lucca, has served as the groundwork for Machiavelli and other later historians' work. The scene of October 1434, the People's parliament in Piazza della Signoria is graphically described: Cavalcanti gives the full list of the Ward delegates, and Orsino di Lanfredino Lanfredini's name appears 35th among the notables of the quarter of Santo Spirito, the magnates of the Greater Guilds who rub shoulders with artisans: oilmen, tapestry weavers, butchers, bricklayers, representing the lesser Guilds. The same mingling of classes and callings has occurred in the other wards, and the historian is justified in declaring "this *Balia* to have been the most representative body ever elected by the people in this our city of Florence.... and although I call it the new order, no obsolete usages were revived, neither was any change made in the quality or the number of the parties.... but men of proved worth were added who had found no place in the former government."

The years of youth and maturity coincide with that wonderful first quarter of the century when two Pontiffs hold their court simultaneously in the city, when Florentine "shows" make her the goal of thousands of visitors from far and near, and the craftsmen, the names of Brunelleschi and Ghiberti stand for the type, make her builders' art world famous. Public and private construction, and decoration of court, cloister and home, go hand in hand. Brunelleschi designs a house for the Medici which they deem too lordly, and Michelozzo will erect the noble pile at the end of "Via Larga" the length of which street nearly to Piazza San Marco is a Medici settlement. Orsino Lanfredini's ambitions are less princely, the area of the Lanfredini home is squeezed in between a narrow thoroughfare and the quayside; his triumph will lie in the impression of spaciousness conveyed by exquisite proportion.

It is impossible to connect Orsino's name otherwise than conjecturally with the wall-paintings "di maniera antica" in the family chapel depicting the martyrdom of S. Bartholomew of which their biographer G.B. Dei, writing in 1761, five years before the almost total destruction by fire of the Carmine church, laments the loss. Vasari ascribes the decoration of the Manetti, Ardinghelli, Soderini, and other family chapels in the Carmine to Agnolo Gaddi, Lorenzo di Bicci, Lorenzo Monaco, and Spinello Aretino. Both from his considerable output in Florence at the time, and the probability that a popular craftsman would receive most commissions Spinello Aretino suggests himself to us as the most likely among the probable decorators of the Lanfredini family chapel. That the commission is Orsino's may be inferred from the choice of the Patron saint, filial piety and family pride going together "pro rimedio animae." Bartolo Lanfredini is the first Prior of their house, the first to connect them with Bardi and Frescobaldi magnates.

There can be little doubt that the architecture of the great Loggia opening on to the second court is Orsino Lanfredini's "invention." The proportions are superb: over sixty feet by forty of floor area, and a height about thirty feet form a noble mass. The high-pitched vaulted ceiling springs from arches, supported on brick pillars imbedded in the



modern south wall, corresponding with ornamental capital brackets on the opposite side. The tall modern windows have cut into the lunette decoration, destroying what doubtless was the counterpart of the north-wall paintings. The family escutcheon: argent, three annulets gules and the crest, a leopard passant guardant are displayed in the centre of the vault. The lunettes formed by the arches and the upper part of the two end walls are filled with tournament, hunting, and genre scenes. (1) It is Orsino Lanfredini's misfortune as an art-patron that yet arresting attention from the view point of the family records these vestiges of home decoration no longer offer any artistic interest. The paintings have been "restored" until not only all trace of the original colour scheme, but in places the actual design has vanished although the tongues patterning the walls, to which reference was made in a previous chapter, form part of a series of decorative "motifs" worthy to stand beside such paintings as the Davanzati palace frescoes, and the rooms of Machiavelli's house. (Victoria and Albert Museum).

Despite these demerits the loggia, with the handsome grey stone chimney piece and carved overmantel, and the sculptured capitals and brackets and the ornamental door and window frames etc., represents

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(1) A. Schiaparelli, "La Casa Fiorentina e suoi arredi nei secoli XIV e XV." Cfr. pp. 141-7. The first reference to rooms decorated in fresco occurs in the "Vita Nuova" (Cap. XIV), Boccaccio also (Decameron, Third Day, Tale 9) mentions the decoration executed by Bruno in the home of M. Simone and in IXth Day, Tale 5, he tells us how "Niccolò Cornacchini who lives at Camerata, (an outlying suburb NE. of Florence), having built himself a house there, went over it with Bruno and Buffalmacco who undertake to carry out his scheme of decoration." We possess an almost perfect example of painted rooms in the Davizi (now Davanzati) palace. Tommaso Daviz married Caterina degli Alberti about 1390. Artists whose name is "Ignoto" decorate the bridal chamber with a wall-pattern imitating arras, in which birds, finches and parrots alternate with escutcheons, heraldic animals etc. The Tale of the "Lady of Vergy" the popular fabliau then recently imported from France decorates the frieze. References occur in Sacchetti's "Cento Novelle" to rooms "painted with many coats of arms, wherein the Lily of the commune of Florence is oft emblazoned." Vasari also records instances of such wall decoration, in the lives of XIVth and early XVth century painters: Agnolo Gaddi, Spinello Aretino, Lorenzo di Bicci, Lorenzo Monaco, etc. The practise of plastering over vestiges of an unheeded if not forgotten past in art, with which the conscience of the XVth and XVIIth centuries is burdened, has robbed us of much "maniera antica" home decoration. Baldinucci who laments the fact, recalls also a not less regrettable "painting era" when new names and freshened-up features construct pictorial as well as armorial pedigrees for the "new rich" of his day.

enlightened patronage; and by his "catasto" statement of 1431, and claims for exemption or reduction of his assessment, Orsino di Lanfredino Lanfredini has saved from oblivion the names of one Michele Benedetto *dipintore*, and Gabriello Brunelleschi whose calling is not stated. Signor Guasti is inclined to suggest kinship between the latter and the great architect then building the cupola of Santa Maria del Fiore, Filippo Brunelleschi. That is as may be, but the fine proportions of the Lanfredini Loggia and the beautiful cortile suggest more than a mere name coincidence. (1)

A certain historic significance attaches I think to a salient item of the loggia wall decoration: the tournament. Restorers overpainting has unfortunately not only destroyed whatever art the "dipintore" could have put into his task, but he has not spared the heraldry; fancy blazoning now precluding any valid conjecture concerning the Lanfredini fellow-jousters, though the family arms are correctly given.

A number of these "tournaments" in the latter part of the XIVth century are upon record. That of May 10th 1391 coincident with the rejoicings for the peace with Milan and Lanfredino Lanfredini's first Priorate suggests itself to me as an event worthy of commemoration in the home. The chronicler Benedetto Dei recalls namely "a beautiful and sumptuous joust held in Piazza Santa Croce, for two prizes, to wit small badges, of lions set with pearls, and one side was captained by the German Lapo Corrado, and the other by Count Dante of the Guidi." (2) Rejoicings were indeed a little previous,

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(1) "Gli affreschi del secolo XV scoperti in una villa ad Arcetri," G. Guasti, reprinted in pamphlet form from *Rass. Naz.* Feb. 1st 1900. The author observes that the declaration of property dated 1431 does not seem to cover work commissioned for the villa. When that article was written, the Lanfredini palace was not accessible, or the learned art-critic and historian's attention would have been drawn to the Loggia decoration in which the handiwork of the "dipintore" is clearly traceable, whilst the name of the other craftsman, Brunelleschi, kinsman or namesake, pupil or borrower of the great architect's idea, christens the Lanfredini palace quite as distinctively as the villa fore-court.

(2) Isidoro del Lungo, "Florentia," G. Barbèra, Florence, 1897. These essays which, in their connection with the Medici-Lanfredini friendship, have proved most valuable to me, recall, pp. 404 et seq. numbers of these tournaments. Quoting the chronicler Benedetto Dei for that of 1391, the author emphasizes their political aspect, observing that the farfamed "giostra" of Lorenzo

but that this tournament is the forerunner of peace with Milan, is certain, though the actual cessation of hostilities, will yet only be achieved in the following year; and nevertheless war-weary Florence rejoices. To be a Prior Lanfredini must be forty; tilting is a young man's show and his son Orsino is but a child, there will certainly have been collaterals able and willing to champion the family colours upon this occasion. It may be noted moreover that the festivities to commemorate anniversaries of victories, not to mention the celebration of Patron Saint's days, that of S. John the Baptist on June 24th being usually attended by foreign state-visitors, are recorded so early as June 1283 by Villani, and any one of these may have furnished the opportunity here pictured, which Orsino's legitimate family pride thus recalls.

A work of art by implication only, the tournament for all its unanswerable questions is interesting. The composition taken as a whole compares favourably with such other examples of home-decoration of this period which have come down to us. Filling the east wall and the two demi-lunettes on either side, the nearly lifesize figures people a background of rocks and trees conventionally treated, and the latter, palms, olives, pomegranate trees, appear to have been chosen for their symbolism of victory, peace and plenty. Shields of arms hang in their branches. A countryman is seen playing his pipe with a dog at his feet, to signify rural pastimes and sports. A horseman rides on from the spectator's right; shown in profile and unarmed he wears a breastplate over his doublet. His shield hangs upon a tree. The blazoning though fantastic recalls the Nerli arms: paly argent and azure. The Nerli are house neighbours of the Lanfredini, they may be fellow jousting. A knight fully armed at all points, his helmet-visor closed, comes next, his shield bears his device: or, a dragon or griffin sable, he gallops towards the centre where the Lanfredini escutcheon

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de' Medici in 1469 was intended to celebrate the conclusion of the Sforza-Medici alliance, further cemented by the agreement reached with King Ferrante of Aragon (Naples); and the "giostra" of Giuliano held in 1475 commemorated the peace of the previous year concluded at Venice, when Giovanni Lanfredini is present in the Florentine ambassador's retinue.

hangs on a pomegranate tree. His charger unlike that of the first rider is sheathed in armour and handsome housings flow to the ground. A doubtful phase of the contest is suggested by the esquire's action here, striking the lance upwards and seizing the third horseman's broken spear with his left hand, while the latter rides off in flight. The scene opposite: the stag hunt, and successive lunettes shewing a knight and his lady starting for the chase, standing beneath trees etc., appear rather than actual episodes in the family life, to typify the existence of leisured and wealthy folk. (1)

Signor G. Guasti, discussing the Pollaiuolo frescoes in the Lanfredini villa at Arcetri discovered some twenty years ago, traces some connection in the architecture of the loggia there and Brunel'eschi's art, for which the artificer Gabriello Brunelleschi who is in Orsino Lanfredini's employment in 1431 stands as an indication. The villa is Lanfredini property so early as 1427, and it may well be that building went on simultaneously in both the town and the country home. (2) Decoration of the latter will we know be the sons Jacopo and Giovanni's undertaking, meanwhile it is interesting to include Orsino Lanfredini with villa builders, on a less princely scale indeed than Cosimo

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(1) Howell Wells, "Florentine Heraldry," Dean & Co., London. The heraldic bearing of the Lanfredini fellow-jousters remain uncertain. It may be noted however that the Girolami coat shews per fess undy argent and gules, the Stefani azure three bendlets or, the Carnesecchi azure, a rock in chief, bandlets per fess azure and or, any one of which shew some affinity with the first shield depicted (left to right), The Serfranceschi and Agli, the Uberti, and Infangati bear or a dragon, and or a lion rampant sable, which might be indentifiable in the other shields, had the names of those earlier jousters been as accurately recorded as those of the Medici tournaments.

(2) G. Guasti, op. cit. The Villa named La Gallina... belonged to the Lanfredini family whose arms... recur frequently, notably on the capitals of the columns which are all that is left of a pretty Loggia of the XIVth century. In "I dintorni di Firenze" Vol. II, p. 231, the late Signor Carocci, director of the San Marco Museum, a diligent collector of Florentine topographic data, records the following. "Il Gallo and la Gallina now form one structure built into the "Castle" erected by the present owner, Signor Bardini, upon what remained of the original Lanfredini villa. Il Gallo, the larger villa, was bought by Jacopo and Giovanni Lanfredini in 1464, from the Lamberteschi, and the smaller villa, la Gallina, was Orsino Lanfredini's property so early as 1427. Both Signor Guasti (loc. cit.) and Miss Cruttwell, "Antonio Pollaiuolo", Duckworth, London, 1907, place the fresco decoration in the older part, (the two houses had been thrown together). Attribution to Brunelleschi of the villa architecture is mere conjecture. His influence seems far more evident in the Lanfredini town house.

de' Medici at Careggi, but still among the owners of the " villas " about which as his caustic contemporary Agnolo Pandolfini observes " the Florentines go crazy. " To-day yet, when Beauty's breath alone, a shadow of that which was once and is not, quickens the atmosphere of the Pollajuolos' art in a place long deserted by the family *genius loci*, their first ownership yet betokened by the Lanfredini arms cut in the stone of the portico and loggia, leaves the enduring impression of an undying past. (1)

Our present concern however is rather with the re-building and enlargement of the Lanfredini town house. The older portion no doubt had its frontage on Via Santo Spirito where access would be had to the warehouses " *fondacio*. " A document in Count Passerini's Lanfredini dossier (App. Doc. I.) throws interesting light upon Orsino's building activities, of which too Signor Guasti's researches concerning the fresco decoration of the Arcetri villa afford proof. The distinguished art-critic has printed a fragment of Orsino's " *portata di catasto* " for 1431 in which the house-holder claims abatement of tax, founding his plea upon the diminution in his revenue represented by advances to his craftsmen the " *dipintore* " and the architect, for work yet unfinished. This which read by the right of the arbitral sentence of the Guild-court of Master-joiners and Stone-masons referred to above speaks as much

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(1) Agnolo Pandolfini, " *Trattato del Governo della Famiglia* " devotes considerable space to the description of villa life in Florence. He is a contemporary of Giovanni di Bicci de' Medici, surviving him many years, 1360-1445. Orsino Lanfredini is younger, he marches with Cosimo in years and obviously partakes in his building tastes. Pandolfini tells us that " about Florence there be many villas, a crystal clear air surrounds them, they stand in a smiling landscape, whence extends a wide outlook over the country-side; (they be) free from fog, no deadly winds blow there, all is fair about them, a wealth of clear wholesome water abounds, and many among these houses are like unto princely palaces, others are splendid fortalices. " The allusion to Careggi and Cafaggiuolo is clear, for the Pandolfini who will build on Bellosguardo, the Alessandri at Vincigliata, and the Lanfredini at Arcetri are modest by comparison. Villani (Lib. XI, cap. 94) animadverts already on his countrymen's building zeal. " There is not a citizen, noble or commoner, that hath not built or was building houses in the country, large and splendid welling-houses with many outbuildings, much finer than in the city, and in this wise did they sin, and for the excessive expenditure they indulged in, were they thought crazy. " Burckhardt, " *Kultur der Renaissance in Italien*. " 2nd Ed. Leipzig, 1869, p. 319, note appears to have read the passage in its literal sense, — of mental unsoundness — whilst Villani's words are clearly figurative.

for the owner's taste as for his character traits. The name Gabriello Brunelleschi suggests an illustrious namesake to S.r Guasti for the palace as well as the villa cortile design.

Orsino Lanfredini clearly possesses the keenest sense of his employer's rights which he enforces at law against dependents. He disputes the cost of "the bread and the wine earned by their vigils, the advances of wages" he has made, and the Guild-court are put to it to decide the issue. This somewhat sordid picture of a taskmaster is nevertheless relieved for me as a reader of "history footnotes" by the copious references to the house, which assist the mental reconstruction of the Lanfredini XVth century home, very much in essentials as it stands to-day. Lanfredini claims to have spent over fifteen hundred lire upon structural alterations in the older part of the house. Vaulted ceilings are "plastered over," evidently prepared for fresco-painting, carved wooden ceilings are put up, stone and brick walls are erected, the drainage is mentioned. Handsome chimneypieces and stairways, stone door and window frames adorn the wealthy merchant's abode, and last but not least there are the stone columns of the forecourt and upper loggia. One of the "three chimney-pieces" mentioned in the arbitration suit stands in the ground-floor Loggia; only transferred from its original position there to the window wall. The stone-cutters may well claim fuller remuneration for the beautiful device of the seven rays issuing from the Eucharistic vineleaf (the gifts of the Holy Spirit) which adorn all the work: door-lintels, window frames, etc., and Lanfredini's thrifty soul possess itself in peace, for the money is well spent.

The spatial sense of the Loggia, won through the perfect harmony of dimensions is yet more pronounced in the forecourt where a restricted area required the master-hand to create its perspective. The craftsmen's names mentioned in the Guild-court's award are one and all mute inglorious Miltons, but that a great genius — Brunelleschi — informs the design there can be no doubt. The court small though it be encloses spaciousness. This will be attained by the grouping of the pillars, two at the north and one facing them on the south side, whilst brackets

support the east and west vaulting beneath the upper floors. The shafts are smooth, gray stone, the capitals are the florid Corinthian beloved of the age. The arches describe the graceful, fully circular, sweep associated in architecture with Brunelleschi's name. Only a great master can have fathered this exquisite small court. The Brunelleschi mentioned in Orsino Lanfredini's declaration of property may have been a kinsman, or perhaps a favourite pupil taking the master's name as so frequently happened to mark spiritual or rather artistic parenthood, he is certainly a namesake in whom understanding has been engendered. His fellow labourers are worthy of their hire, and their master Orsino Lanfredini, though claiming his pound of flesh ranks with Giovanni and Cosimo de' Medici, and the many who "in those days" laid the foundations for the city of dark palaces which their descendants brighten with colour, with statuary, and with the sumptuous appointments that cause Galeazzo Sforza to exclaim that in the Medici palace alone more works of art were gathered than in his capital, or indeed in all Italy besides. (1)

The Guild-court's award of October 24th 1431 sets the stage for the next generation. I have already noted that Orsino Lanfredini's name no longer figures in public annals after 1438 although he survives that date some fourteen years. That he is "attending to his traffics" in the sense of the gibe flung by another Medici at his grandson is likely. We can picture him in fact at Ferrara in those years laying the ground out for his son Jacopo, a contemporary of Piero de' Medici, — there is but a twelvemonth between them, learning their respective busines. Young Piero and Giovanni his brother are clerks in the Medici counting house at Ferrara, the Lanfredini bank

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(1) Luca Landucci. "Diario Fiorentino 1450-1516." Ed. J. del Badia, G. C. Sansoni, Florence, 1883, p. 2. "In those days" the diarist tells us, speaking of his childhood, and by hearsay, "the lantern above the cupola of Santa Maria del Fiore was begun, and the palace of Cosimo de' Medici, and San Lorenzo and Santo Spirito, and the Badia on the way to Fiesole, and many houses in the direction of the walls by S. Barnaba, and by S. Ambrogio, and else where." Vasari in the lives of Brunelleschi and Michelozzo, Donatello and Verrocchio, mentions several stately homes building in their day.

has branches there and at Lendinara. Hence no doubt the future connection with the Este family. It does not appear to me far-fetched therefore to picture the entertainment of Ferrarese guests in Orsino Lanfredini's newly decorated home, when the Council for the Union of the Latin and Greek churches is transferred from Ferrara to Florence. In those years Leonello d'Este too is a visitor to the city, and that decade 1439-49 is of unparalleled political achievement in Medicean Florence, the blossoming time for the finest manifestations of her art and her scholarship.

Like the Medici, the Lanfredini of the XIVth and XVth centuries found a house of merchant-bankers, princes in the wide sense; unlike the former, the house not divided against itself in the house of trial which shakes the state of Florence to its foundations, stands firm. The next generations will emulate the ancestral record in plain living, and high thinking, the vignettes they leave upon the family walls may almost be called full-page illustrations to make up to us for what the history written by Messer Giovanni di Gherardo, their first Gonfalonier leaves only to conjecture.

Orsino Lanfredini's two sons who now take up the family records are typical representatives of their age, the Laurentian epoch of the Medici cycle. They will assist in the creation of personal government, of individual predominance in the state which in the minds of its makers is to realize, fostered by the *new learning*, the ideal conditions of Plato's Republic. They leave their mark in history distinctly. They illustrate their family annals with the honours to be won through their ability and uncontested integrity, and they employ no obscure "dipintore" to adorn the town and country home, but link their name imperishably with the representative caste in art, letters, and statesmanship, in the Pageant of the Florentine Renaissance Triumph of Fame.

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## CHAPTER IV.

### Jacopo and Giovanni Lanfredini's early years and patronage of the Pollaiuolo brothers

JACOPO and Giovanni, Orsino Lanfredini's two sons, are not comrades in years with the same generation of Medici. The date of Jacopo's birth is not on record, but events in his life - he has five children, and he becomes a widower in 1448 whilst his first nomination to the Priorate occurs in 1460, go some way to postulate his birth quite early in his parents' married life, i.e. perhaps in the year 1415, a date given, erroneously to my mind by genealogists, to the younger brother. Indeed we possess definite evidence of this mistake, in the family biographer's record which states Giovanni's age correctly at fifty-two at the time of his death in the year 1489/90, "in harness" as Lorenzo de' Medici's family ambassador in Rome; a clerical error assuredly.

Born in or about the year 1415, Orsino Lanfredini's elder son Jacopo is thus the contemporary of both Cosimo de' Medici's boys Piero and Giovanni, whilst his brother clearly over twenty years his junior, fills the gap between the second and third Medici generation. The Lanfredini brothers are old enough to win Lorenzo's deferent regard, the younger is of an age to share his tastes and feelings upon all of which life-long intercourse founds; the friendship endures throughout the vicissitudes of the Laurentian ascendancy.

The elder generation of Medici bear heavily with the weight of their uncontested ability on the government of Florence, and the lustre

their wealth confers upon success from the time of their restoration, - 1434, to Cosimo's death thirty years later, reduces overt opposition to little more than fault-finding. If some demurred against the wholesale deportation of political adversaries the larger number acquiesced though it meant a door closed to all legitimate ambitions, outside the charmed circle. That such methods endured, that personal rule disguised under formulas of freedom lasted was due to Cosimo's personal magnetism, to the success attending his policy. While life lasts Florence is the hub of the Italian wheel driven by uncontested opinion through the Medici name. During those years their approval alone marks talent for opportunity's smile, legislative and executive power run in their channels, the same Signoria is *confirmed* in office over and over again, the Gonfalonier is selected from the selfsame company of Medici clients. Not that complimentary offices are not freely distributed and accepted, but it is increasingly felt especially after 1450, when Medici king-making has placed the ducal mantle of Milan upon Francesco Sforza's shoulders, that a time might be at hand when the shadow behind the republican chair would assume substance upon a throne.

It need not surprise us to find the Lanfredini, - independent-minded folk as the Oltr'Arno atmosphere makes them, seek an outlet for their energies elsewhere. Their connexion with Venice dates hack to the XIVth century, - Giovanni di Gherardo's will referred to in an earlier chapter has been executed in that city. Since Venice was not one of his missions, a banking venture may be postulated. Borso and Ercole d'Este's references in their rescripts addressed to Jacopo and Giovanni in after years, for the services rendered by the house of Lanfredini "men of worth and substance" to the Marquises, their father Niccolò and their half-brother Leonello through half a century, attest business relations at Ferrara from the earliest times. Thus profitable banking interests outside Florence, the home-building and patronage of artists, may be said to hold and keep the Lanfredini mind during these years, 1438-1460, in which their name is absent from the political cast. It is clear too that as Cosimo de' Medici's shadow lengthens, and instead of a clear fairway that of his elder son Piero lies athwart of

ambitions; able men like Agnolo Acciajuoli, Dietisalvi Neroni, etc., collect followers in gathering strength to rebel. It is not less clear that many others without going these lengths will prefer their traffics abroad, and the opportunities wealth brings their way, or yet the cool shades of private life to political risks.

Orsino Lanfredini and his elder son are doubtless thus minded. The former has kept aloof from office after 1438, the latter, after his first nomination to the Priorate in 1460 takes no further part in civic counsels until Piero de' Medici too has rounded off a brief five years of bitterly contested authority, in a sleep. The father's marriage to Ginevra di Piero Capponi has added that family's motives to the Lanfredini aloofness though discussed, Piero de' Medici's betrothal with a Capponi heiress has come to nothing and rivals in popular favour, the families are enemies at heart. Two generations of Capponi, Gino the conqueror of Pisa, 1406, and his son Neri, the conqueror of Anghiari, 1440 - victories which consolidate at once Florentine land and sea power, create an atmosphere in which their Lanfredini cousins breathe opposition to Medici rule. Jacopo in his turn marries another Oltr'Arno heiress Ginevra di Bardo Antinori, small wonder that family sympathies are with the Mountain rather than with the Plain. Not open foes therefore since exile and financial ruin had befallen them, the Lanfredini are not yet the clients of the house of Medici. Only later generations will seek their brides on the right hand river bank, and take them from the master's hand.

Destiny has spared Lorenzo de' Medici, in 1469 the twenty year old, *de facto* if not *de jure* lord of Florence, the odium attaching to the conqueror, even when conquest is the reward of ability and power is wielded with discretion. The brief span, - 1464-9 given by fate to Piero de' Medici had not left him time to live down the frustrated ambitions and the seeds of animosities sown in his father's thirty year-long ascendancy which have sprung up like tares, choking the wheat. *Reforms* of the state, in which Luca Pitti fails miserably and Dietisalvi Neroni succumbs tragically, yet seem likely to change the course of history. But now as ever the magician youth steps gallantly forward

closing the breach, and their father and grandfather's friends and enemies alike look upon Lorenzo and Giuliano de' Medici as their wards; the young men's gallant bearing wins hearts. "Il bel Giulio" will win over antipathies, Lorenzo's intellect will prevail equally with the sullen and rancorous, with the haughty and the ambitious opponent.

Jacopo Lanfredini like the rest yields to the young ruler's personality. In after years more particularly the friend is the younger brother Giovanni, whilst both will in the fulness of time rank with the intimates of the Medici charmed circle.

The Lanfredini brothers' maturity of years coincides with that exceptional time defined as the crest of the Florentine wave in the Quattro-cento tide of Italy's destinies. Taking these twenty years 1450-70 for our present setting, apart of course from political developments in which the Lanfredini so far take no traceable part, where do we find their activity leaving an enduring imprint? In art. Jacopo Lanfredini's present aloofness from politics, for his brief passage through the halls of office as a Prior in 1460, has no yesterday and no morrow, albeit 1459-60 proves the high water mark of Cosimo de' Medici's prestige, is clear evidence of his treasure lying elsewhere, of his heart being with the things of Beauty. There he is at one also with Piero de' Medici whose interest can always be counted upon when the struggling artist needs support, be his name Filippo Lippi, Mino da Fiesole, or Benozzo Gozzoli, or when growing reputations like Luca della Robbia and the Pollaiuolo brothers receive the Medici orders, their official recognition as a matter of course leading to commissions from the Signoria, the Guilds or wealthy patrons.

Jacopo Lanfredini is a member of the "Mercatanzia" or Merchant-bankers company who have the charge, in order and unto edifying, of ecclesiastical ceremonial in the principal churches: and things thereto pertaining for the greater credit of their name, such as the cathedral of Santa Maria del Fiore recently consecrated in state by Pope Eugenius IV., and the Baptistery dedicated to the city's patron S. John. It will fall to him to discuss the terms of the commission for the beautiful reliquary, the so-called Cross of S. Giovanni, which is to hold that

most prized heirloom of Florence a fragment of the True Cross. The commission is intended to commemorate, alas after the fall of Constantinople, the peace of Christendom, in 1455.

We possess documentary proof of the commission to the goldsmiths Miliano Dei and Antonio del Pollaiuolo, the contract and payments extending over two years, 1457-9.<sup>(1)</sup> Lanfredini's share has come down to us in a fragment of an undated letter to his friend Giovanni Canigiani at the time Commissioner at Pistoia, where the writer recalls that the "Mercatanzia" accepted his surety of 2000 florins, gold, in behalf of the craftsman, whom he will afterwards employ to decorate the town and country homes. Canigiani is one of the men whom contemporary annalists will number among Lorenzo de' Medici's most trusted advisers, whilst Lanfredini's co-surety, mentioned in the letter is Bartolomeo Valori, a highly respected citizen, and one of the foremost Greek scholars in Cosimo de' Medici's Platonic academy. The dispersal of the Lanfredini family archives, all but the very few data which cast but a fitful flashlight upon a century-long history, is indeed regrettable, though to judge the Lanfredini by their friendships, evidently founded upon common

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(1) Cfr. Cruttwell, "The Pollaiuolo", Duckworth, London, 1900, and Docs. App. IX, pp. 258-9. The earliest recorded act of Lanfredini art patronage occurs in 1457. The goldsmiths, Betto di Francesco Betti and Antonio del Pollaiuolo, are commissioned by the Merchants' Exchange (*Mercatanzia*) to make them a new cruciform reliquary to hold the fragment of the True Cross, the city's most prized possession, presented to Florence, so tradition avers, by the Emperor Charlemagne. The *Mercatanzia* to which the Lanfredini, bankers, *combiarii* belong who have the supervision of the principal churches, deem the old reliquary no longer worthy of the city's present wealth. The fine silver and enamel cross and reliquary in one, which takes the artificers two years to make, is preserved in the *Opera del Duomo* museum. The reliquary forms the foot or pedestal for the processional cross which as records tell "used to be carried and shewn to the people on days of high solemnity." We are told of "the procession of August 13th 1455, held on four consecutive days to commemorate the peace concluded after the fall of Constantinople, at which the Archbishop walks last, carrying in his hands a reliquary in the form of a massive silver cross within which is enshrined a small cross fashioned 'tis said of the Rood of Christ, that was bought of a Greek who averred that he had carried it away secretly from Constantinople, when that city was taken by the Turk". If it is difficult to reconcile the traditional origin of the relic, with known history no doubts exists with regard to Pollaiuolo's share in the work. The first agreement is dated Feb. 15th 1457, modified at intervals by additional stipulations; the contract closes with the payments registered by the fabric of S. Giovanni in 1459 "for a cross of white silver", totalling 3036 florins odd lire and soldi, divided between the two artificers, of which Antonio del Pollaiuolo receives 2000 Fl. 3. 13 for his share.

tastes, those with whom they rub shoulders have no reason to be ashamed of their company.<sup>(1)</sup>

Although the fragmentary documents, knowledge outside their art that attests artists like the Pollaiuolos' activities, have been so analyzed and coordinated by biographers and art-critics as to place the Medici patron in the front rank and the rest nowhere, the fact remains that the *discovery* in modern parlance of Antonio del Pollaiuolo may be credited rather to Jacopo Lanfredini. His help to Antonio, at a time when the merchant-banker's credit was doubtless indispensable to secure an order which will prove the stepping stone to fame, antedates Cosimo and Piero de' Medici's commission for the saloon of the Via Larga palace by three years, and Lorenzo de' Medici's appreciation of the artist's genius by nearly a life-time.

As the fresco decoration of the Lanfredini villa and their town house will have shewn no suasion nor novel pressure need be exercised with Giovanni Lanfredini in 1489. Lorenzo de' Medici's instruction to the Florentine Ambassador to point out for Pope Innocent's information that "the said Antonio is the chiefest artificer in this city (Flo-

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(1) Cruttwell, op. cit. App. p. 250, transcribes the fragment of a letter (undated) addressed by Jacopo d'Orsino Lanfredini to Giovanni d'Antonio Canigiani, Podestà of Pistoia at that time. The writer recalls the circumstance of the caution money paid for Antonio Pollaiuolo's faithful execution of his agreement. "I expect you will remember, for you were there, how by me and Bartolommeo Valori surety was given in 2000 florins for Antonio di Jacopo goldsmith surnamed il Pollaiuolo, because he had made the cross of S. Giovanni for the said Guild of Merchants". This letter often quoted to suggest that surety was demanded for the Reliquary agreement, appears to me from the context to suggest also a later transaction, perhaps the embroideries for the vestments, and altar frontal designed by Pollaiuolo. According to Scipione Ammirato, Lanfredini's correspondent Canigiani is one of the men "with whom Lorenzo de' Medici takes most counsel". His career as a statesman is distinguished, Gonfalonier in 1459, and again in 1474, he is one of the twenty "men of substance" who with Lorenzo are called upon by the Signoria to defray the estimated cost, 100,000 scudi, of the Volterra expedition. He is knighted by Pope Paulus II. in 1466 for the complimentary mission of which he is a member and the youthful Lorenzo attends unofficially. The first appointment of Florentine Commissioners at Pistoia occurs after Gualtiero Panciatichi's abortive revolt in 1466. Canigiani's tenure of the office would thus synchronize with another dated occasion of the Lanfredini art-patronage, i.e. the Bridal chest for his daughter Cassandra's marriage to G. Carnesecchi. The other friend mentioned in the letter, Bartolommeo Valori, takes little or no active part in politics, he is but once elected to the Priorate, 1470, and he is best known as one of the foremost Greek scholars of the day.

rence), and peradventure there has never been another like him, indeed such is the opinion of all who have understanding, " must to a Lanfredini's ears have sounded one of those discoveries of the obvious to which a younger generation is prone. If the remark appears to force an open door, it nevertheless enforces the Lanfredini claim to posterity's remembrance beside Lorenzo de' Medici for their patronage of the Pollaiuolo brothers, and Antonio survives these two patrons respectively by five and eight years. There can be but little doubt that the affection which Innocent VIII. cherishes for Lorenzo de' Medici, whilst the elevation of his son to the Cardinalate is not unappreciably the family ambassador's work, is regard extending also to the latter and his brother. It will have contributed when both are long dead, to the commission for the monument in S. Peters of Pope Sixtus IV. his predecessor being given to Antonio del Pollaiuolo (1429-1498). Moreover when the cardinals of Innocent VIII.'s creation will also entrust the erection of this Pontiff's tomb to the same master hand, credit here must likewise be given to Giovanni Lanfredini's memory. (1)

Although still under thirty, Antonio del Pollaiuolo stands in the front rank of his goldsmiths craft. And if Vasari's remark need not be taken literally, that he took to painting at that time -1458-60 with his brother Piero merely as a second string to his bow, it does not

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(1) Gaye. " Carteggio inedito d'Artisti.... " Vol. I. p. 341. The fragment of a letter dated November 12th, 1489, to Giovanni Lanfredini, has often been quoted: " In this our return here, (Florence) observes Lorenzo de' Medici to his family ambassador, we have talked together of a certain matter which he (Pollaiuolo) will impart to you, and which I have at heart as much as anything of that kind. " Reproduced in Signor Milanesi's " Notes " to Vasari's Life of Pollaiuolo, and indeed often reprinted, another undated fragment of a letter of Lorenzo de' Medici to Lanfredini read together with the first quoted is supposed to urge Pollaiuolo's claims for the commission of his predecessor's monument in S. Peters upon Pope Innocent VIII. We know that Pollaiuolo needed no *introduction* to his old art-patrons. The passage: " the said Antonio is the principal artificer in this town, peradventure there never was such another, and this is the opinion of all the understanding, " suggests to me rather a personal commission, such as might be the replica of Orsino di Jacopo Lanfredini's portrait which adorns the Lanfredini fore-court. That replica we know is catalogued in the Uffizi Gallery (No. 30 bis) but unfortunately without any data to establish the entrance into the Medici collection. The diarist, Luca Landucci, records that a proclamation, dated October 5th 1512, ordered all who had possession of any Medici property, — previously confiscated and sold, " to make restitution under pain of the gallows, and many things were thus found again. " The painting in question may have been recovered then.

appear far-fetched to trace the stimulus of his painter's energies to the interest of enlightened patrons in works of art that combine painting with other craftsmanship. To create living beauty out of inert elements is the essential key-note of the Florentine Quattro-centist's aspirations. The workshop in Via degli Agli the street name alone recalling the Pollaiuolo bottega is the rendez-vous of art-patrons and artificers.

Among sculptors are the Della Robbia, Verrocchio and Mino da Fiesole, whose proficiency in the distribution of line and mass cannot but attract the genius of a Pollaiuolo who sees eye to eye with them; among the painters we need mention only Alessio Baldovinetti whom the Pollaiuolo address as master, and the young Alessandro Filipepi surnamed Botticelli, who in his turn claims a disciple's mentality from them, and perfects the distinctive character which separates the latter portion of the century's art with a clear cut from the genius of Brunelleschi and Donatello. Beside the Medici father and sons, Giovanni Rucellai, Luca Pitti, the Lanfredinis, artist-clients, stands the patron, the merchant-banker whose public spirit will first adorn places of worship, and afterwards beautify his home.

Benozzo Gozzoli has painted the Medici epic upon their chapel walls in 1459. Fascinated by that rainbow tinting of Michelozzo's gray monochrome, Cosimo and Piero de Medici will commission within the twelvemonth those panels of the Labours of Hercules which in the hands of the Pollaiuolo will prove a kind of New Dispensation, the Golden Book of which Lanfredini patronage will also illustrate several leaves.<sup>(1)</sup> Subju-

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(1) Cfr. Cruttwell, *op. cit.* App. 156. Antonio Pollaiuolo's letter to Virginio Orsini dated July 13th 1494, dates the Labours of Hercules commission conclusively. He asks for permission namely to cross the sanitary cordon, (the plague then was raging in Florence) urging in support of his plea that "I have ever been a servant of their house; and mind you t'is 34 years since I painted those "Labours of Hercules" that are in the saloon of his (the Medici) palace, which one of my brothers and I did paint together, and I know you must have seen them there". Ridolfo Ghirlandajo copies the panels for François I<sup>er</sup>. Vasari, "Life of Pollaiuolo", declares *he* saw them in the Council hall of the Palazzo della Signoria, where they were set up after 1498 together with other confiscated Medici property, which was *not* restored to them, for the Proclamation of October 5th 1512 no doubt excluded from restitution property confiscated to the *state* and the "Judith" was not given back; all trace of their whereabouts has now been lost. Vasari's mistake in ascribing the original commission to Lorenzo de' Medici who in 1460 was but twelve years old is clearly proved by the above-mentioned letter.



gated by their forceful energy, the art-brotherhood and their patrons marvel alike at the richness of the Pollaiuolos' palette, at the hues born of the metal and the fire - the goldsmith's magic, at the depth and brilliancy, the orient and water of the painted gems they scatter with lavish profusion, wondering not less at their divination of anatomical truth, at the intuition of body rhythm, at the harmonies struck by the human form seen in the ecstasy of motion or composed in rest.

The Labours of Hercules have been termed the outward and visible sign before which the Medicean age bows the knee: the symbol of Humanism. Hence no doubt the favour, rapidly spreading beyond Florence, of these expressions of man's physical strength, which illustrate the opening of life's gateway and its close, pictured in and out of season, in the hall of state and at the banquet, to adorn the wedding casket, and to decorate the funeral pile. If the setting changes, the idea remains; the Labours of Hercules become household gods.<sup>(1)</sup>

Jacopo Lanfredini will only follow the general trend of thought when we find him choosing this as a subject suitable for the decoration of his daughter Cassandra's bridal chest for her marriage in 1467 to Giuliano Carnesecchi, which he has commissioned from the Pollaiuolo workshop. One of the "Labours" selected for reproduction is the

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(1) Cfr. Cruttwell, *op. cit.* p. 77. The author remarks that the size and fame of the great Medici canvases probably accounts largely for the popularity of the theme. Not only are "The Labours of Hercules" a stock subject for furniture decoration (the Lanfredini-Carnesecchi cassone) but we read of their reproduction life-size in pastry at banquets. Mr. E. Gardner (Cfr. "Dukes and Poets of Ferrara", p. 136) quotes Corio's authority for the bill of fare at the banquet given in Rome by Cardinal Pietro Riario, nephew to Pope Sixtus IV. on June 7th 1473, in honour of the bride of Duke Ercole d'Este, Leonora of Aragon, elder daughter of King Ferrante of Naples. "There was the story of Atalanta, the liberation of Andromeda, the chariot of Ceres, the *labours of Hercules*, the Triumph of Venus, and many other ingenious devices... At the end of the banquet there was a dance of the sixteen mighty Lovers of olden times, men and women; the fierce centaurs rushed in to carry off the nymphs, but were routed and driven away by Hercules, after which there was the representation of Bacchus and Ariadne, with many other beautiful things of great and inestimable expense". A reminiscence no doubt of his sojourn in the Medici palace in November 1498, the combat of Hercules and the Hydra, and the struggle with Antaeus, adorn the monument erected in Tours Cathedral by Charles VIII. to the memory of his children who have died in infancy. The same feeling — the desire to possess a personal souvenir of the thing he most admires, no doubt inspires Lorenzo de' Medici's commission to Pollaiuolo, to reproduce two out of the three panels in miniatures (Uffizi Gallery).

Combat with the Hydra, identical with the Medici palace painting. We have no "original" to look to for the Rape of Deianira, the fourth scene to be added to these already recorded "Labours," or for the Triumph of David; it can only suggest the series of Hellenic legend illustrations, which the Pollaiuolo doubtless conceived, and left behind, as one of the many intentions unfulfilled with which the way of the Quattro-cento is strewn. The chest, as enlightened criticism justly points out, is but the workshop product, it can prove no test of the Pollaiuolos' art at that time. The interest it possesses lies rather in the indication the subjects chosen afford of Jacopo Lanfredini's taste.<sup>(1)</sup>

Few among great artists have suffered more than the Pollaiuolos in what may be called their intellectual output; symbolic interpretation of Life. Loss has dogged dispersal's steps. We possess for instance but a second hand record of the famous "three mighty panels of the Labours of Hercules," in the two miniature replicas: painted for Lorenzo de' Medici (Uffizi Gallery), of the Combat of Hercules with

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(1) Schubring. "Hochzeitstruhen, Cassoni.. Italia" Leipzig, 1915, Kat. No. 335-7. Lanfredini. A Cassone painted with the Triumph of David, Hercules and Nessus, Hercules and the Hydra, for the marriage of Cassandra Lanfredini and Giuliano Carnesecchi, 1467 (see Catalogue, Cook collection. Borenus & Cooh. No. 334-7). Miss Cruttwell, pp. 78-9 records: "the Cassone on the ends of which are painted the episodes of Hercules and Nessus and the Combat with the Hydra, in the collection of Sir F. Cook, bears the united Lanfredini-Carnesecchi arms thus dating the work in the year of their marriage. The panels are obvious *bottega* work. The episode of Hercules carrying off Deianeira is a reproduction of an original work by Antonio Pollaiuolo, now in the Jarves collection New Haven, U. S. A. The Combat with the Hydra is but another example of the well-known theme by the artist's pupils." It would be interesting to trace the connection between the other subject, the Triumph of David, and a print in the Uffizi collection, shewing a medley of horse and foot soldiers, with a youth, his name David inscribed on his sword, standing over the giant decapitated body of Goliath; a castle with battlemented walls and towers stands on an eminence in the background. Not ascribed to any particular master, the engraving offers affinities with Pollaiuolo's art; and it may be indeed, represents a favourite *bottega* copy. Devoid of all but historic bearing upon the development of the Pollaiuolo's art, the Lanfredini cassone sets a landmark too I think for Lorenzo de Medici's miniature replicas. A tight rein is kept by his father upon "the gosling's" magnificent tastes, and Lorenzo is his own master only at the close of the year 1469.

Antaeus and the Struggle with the Lernaean Hydra, and literary proof with the painter's own statement dating his work in the year 1460. Vasari's and other eye witnesses' descriptions only enhance our sense of loss, for the Pollaiuolo genius developing the form values and principles formulated in Donatello's art would have shewn us here upon quasi life-size scale the source whence in after years Michelangelo will derive his massive body rhythm and his linear harmonies. But that is not all, the vital significance which the Pollaiuolo brothers as painters and engravers attach to form stands in close relationship with their sense of the Greek spirit. Their art namely expresses the themes of which their patrons Medici and Lanfredini alike seek a rational explanation, namely the riddle of creation. *De Natura Rerum* constitutes so to say the Tables of the Law of Humanism of which Lucretius is the exponent. The illustrations he scatters up and down his cosmogony strikes the century with their values. The Labours of Hercules are one theme, the advent of Venus another, the Allegory of Spring a third of which the Medici and Lanfredini will avail themselves for the pleasures of memory.

There can be little doubt but that the passage (*De Natura Rerum*, Lib. V) reads as a profession of the Humanist's belief, which Antonio del Pollaiuolo formulates in terms of art. " With good cause, proclaims Lucretius, we honour him as a god whose teachings spread abroad among all the peoples of the earth, assist to sustain and comfort the spirit in the bitterness of life. If thou believest that the labours of Hercules alone arrest our mind thou labourest under an error. What have we to dread to-day from the Nemaean lion's monstrous jaws, or to fear from the horrid boar of Arcady's assault? How shall the bull of Crete prevail or yet Lerna's scourge assail, though armed with venomous serpents' fangs? Or yet dread we either the triune form of colossal Geryon, and the horses of Diomedes whose nostrils breathed flames of fire in Thrace upon the Bistonian shore o'erhung by Ismarus hard by? Shall these hinder us? or still fear we the crooked talons of the birds of Arcady nesting in the Stymphelean reeds. " Yet more

than Ovid or Virgil, Lucretius informs this period of Quattro-cento<sup>(1)</sup> art, and her scholars rule of life. Their study, the Greek world-picture in Homer, offers a further stimulus to the power of Man to represent the supreme canon of beauty. This viewpoint has come down to us strikingly emphasized in the single illustration of a scene in the Odyssey which has inspired Pollaiuolo. With a superb group: Telemachus bending Ulysses' bow against the suitors,<sup>(2)</sup> whilst in the suprafeminine forms

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(1) *De Natura Rerum*. Lib. V. lines 19-33. My prose rendering lays no claim to merit other than accuracy.

Quo magis hic merito nobis deus esse videtur  
 Ex quo nunc etiam per magnas didita gentes  
 Dulcia permulcent animos solatia vitae.  
 Herculis antistare autem si facta putabis  
 Longius a vera multa ratione ferere  
 Quid Nemeaeus enim nobis nunc magnus hiatus  
 Ille leonis obesset, et horrens Arcadius sus?  
 Denique quid Cretae taurus, Lernaeaque pestis  
 Hydra venenatis posset vallata colubris?  
 Quidve tripectora tergemini vis Geryonai?  
 Et Diomedis equi spirantes naribus ignem,  
 Thracen, Bistoniasque plagas, atque Ismara propter,  
 Tantopere officerent nobis? uncisque timendae  
 Unguibus Arcadiae volucres Stymphala colentes?

(2) Del Lungo, op. cit. pp. 117-26, discusses Lorenzo de' Medici's patronage of Angelo Poliziano who, virtually adopted by his father Piero, grows up to be a permanent member of the household, and in the fullest sense, through his writings and correspondence, its historiographer. He appears before us an accomplished Greek scholar at an age when most lads are yet tyros. At Marsilio Ficino's instance he undertakes in 1469 the translation of the Iliad (into Latin verse). By 1474, Book IV has been reached; but other work in Latin and the vernacular, prose and verse occupies the young scholar, and nothing more is heard of the Iliad translation. Was there ever a suggestion of a translation of the Odyssey? The point might be best put here, though the assistance of a translation, for pictorial illustration, was not necessary in a time when the Greek original was common property among the *litterati*. That the episodes of the Odyssey furnished themes for illustration may be gathered from Pollaiuolo's so-called "Battle of the Nudes" engraved by the artist himself (Uffizi Print Room). Vasari, "Life of Pollaiuolo", records "a battle of nudes in metal, in low relief, of which there exists a cast in plaster in the possession of every artificer in Florence". Vasari's description is held to refer also to a plaque preserved in the Victoria and Albert Museum. The title "Battle of the Nudes" seems to me rather a misnomer, the subject suggesting an episode in the Odyssey which Pollaiuolo interprets in this way; and his fellow artists may well have reproduced it in plaster to serve as an incomparable study of anatomy without heading the *history* it represents. That Vasari's classical knowledge did not assist him to a closer description is not perhaps to be wondered at. Pollaiuolo's representation of Telemachus

in which the age will picture the Theological and Cardinal Virtues, these self-same full tones sound alike in Pollaiuolo and Botticelli's expression of the creed of Humanism that is in them and their patrons. The Virtues are painted for the Merchants' Exchange of which the Lanfredini are members, the brothers can therefore claim a commission, which reveals their share in the spiritual twofold character of the age. Dante's visions "here are we nymphs, and in the heavens are stars" have rarely been interpreted with a more subtle sense of the divine in humanity.

The art that can exalt man and womanhood to a higher heroic plane, in which youth and maid are spiritualized without unsexing, will

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engaging the suitors in combat, and the subsequent episode of Eurymachus and Melenthus, and the unfaithful servants, (Odyssey, Book XXII, lines 3-11, lines 93-8, and 341-6 Pope's Translation), leave it scenes to me nothing to be desired on the score of accuracy.

Full in their face the lifted bow he bore,  
 And quiver'd deaths a formidable store.  
 Before his feet the rattling shower he threw  
 And thus terrific to the suitor crew:  
 " One venturous game this house hath won to-day  
 Another, princes! yet remains to play,  
 Another mark our arrow must attain  
 Phoebus assist, nor be the honour vain... "

*The archer's well-defined action is followed in lines 93-8, by that of the swordsman :*

Swift as he spoke, he drew his traitor sword,  
 And like a lion rushed against his lord:  
 The wary chief the rushing foe repress'd  
 Who met the point and forced it in his breast.  
 His falling hand deserts the lifted sword,  
 And prone he falls extended o'er the board...

*The general mêlée of struggling bodiers is rendered: lines 341-5 :*

No help, no flight, but wounded every way,  
 Headlong they crept, the fowlers seize the prey.  
 On all sides thus they double wound on wound  
 In prostrate heaps the wretches beat the ground,  
 Unmanly shrieks precede each dying groan,  
 And a red deluge floats the reeking stone...

Similar allusions might be traced in other contemporary drawings and engravings; and in *bottega* work of the latter XVth century, of which the sense is now obscure,

be revealed to us now by Jacopo and Giovanni Lanfredini in their country home. The pleasures of ownership are many, not least among these wealth which gratifies taste and gives both means and opportunity to create "the house beautiful." The literature of the day, vestiges, some *in situ*, others removed to the devitalized shade of museums speak to the love the Florentine, rich man or poor, bore his country home, his Sabine farm. Cafaggiuolo, Careggi, Fiesole, Poggio a Caiano, materialize the day dream of three generations of Medici, who have set the pace, building. The Tornabuoni keep step yielding to Botticelli's lure, the Villa Lemmi frescoes are at the Louvre, whilst on the southern river-bank Pandolfo Pandolfini has summoned Andrea del Castagno as masterful a genius as Antonio del Pollaiuolo to decorate his villa at Legnaia with figures of "heroes, past and present." Not least behind the merchant-banker comes the scholar: Poggio Bracciolini whose villa lies far away in the remote Casentino, and midway between Careggi and Fiesole Angelo Poliziano listens to the voice of nymph and dryad, when the moonbeams dip their sheen in the gleams of Fonte Lucente. (1)

The Lanfredini brothers inherit in 1452 La Gallina the small villa

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(1) J. Cartwright, "Italian Gardens of the Renaissance," Smith Elder & Co., London, 1913, p. 17. Angelo Poliziano's letter to Pico della Mirandola which is quoted in reference to the Medici villa, really describes the spirit haunted hill of Fiesole, S. Francesco and the Mugnone gorge where the chapel of Fonte Lucente with its presbytery stands to this day. The Medici villa abuts on the road, it overhangs the wide Arno plain, a valley but in name at this point, it looks full south! Only an indirect acquaintance with the locality could identify the Fiesole-Florence slope with the site he describes thus: "We are on the edge of a valley with but little sun, and the wind is certainly never lacking. The villa itself lies off the road in a dense wood but commands a view of the whole city... of water... there is abundance." But Poliziano will himself leave us in no doubt. Quoted by Signor Del Lungo, the preamble — entitled *Lamia*, to Poliziano's lectures of 1492 on Aristotelian philosophy, recalls his childhood's recollections and describes his present abode. "When I was little he reminds his audience, my grandmother used to tell of certain witches that live in the woods and eat naughty children. Imagine my fears... even to-day at Fonte Lucente which is the name of a streamlet close to my little villa of Fiesole, that is hidden in these secluded glades; the womenfolk who come to draw water there call it the fairies' (*fate*) trysting place." At the western outlet of the Mugnone valley, where "winds always blow," Fonte Lucente yet runs crystal clear below the Chapel dedicated to S. Salvatore. Rebuilt in the XVIIth century, the presbytery now rises over the portico. The exact site of Poliziano's villa however, "commanding a view of the whole city," can be determined at a house hard by, whence a beautiful view of Florence is obtainable. The "roadway" beneath is the main road running at the foot of the hill, through the Mugnone valley now traversed by the Faenza railway.

at Arcetri bought by their father from the Galli family's confiscated property in 1427; they round off the estate with a further purchase of land and a house, from Monna Lena widow of Andrea Lamberteschi in the year 1454. I have already called attention to the date 1467, set upon the bridal casket, as proof of Jacopo Lanfredini's continued interest in Antonio Pollaiuolo his protégé ten years or so since. Taken in conjunction with the owner's status, the art-critic's opinion concerning the recently discovered Pollaiuolo fresco decoration in this smaller Lanfredini villa and suggesting the years 1468-78 for the work, points the same way for these paintings to which the name of "a Bacchic Dance" has been given. They are of singular interest, whilst I hope to make good my plea that they represent rather the Allegory of Spring, with a direct allusion to a family honour, - the admission of the Lanfredini on February 20th 1469 to the privileges of the ducal Este "familiarity" (App. II), thus setting a frame for another of history's footnotes. (1)

Few corners of old-time Florence have given less ground to mutability's assaults than the area bordering to the south and west upon Costa San Giorgio and the line formed by the river. The steep and narrow way that leads through the beautiful San Giorgio gate to "the pleasant suburb of Arcetri," the precipitous Costa de Magnoli and Scarpuccia that overlook the site of former Bardi and Canigiani homes, so steep as to deter the most venturesome motorist, are bordered on either side by the typical dwelling house tall and narrow, at whose windows we might expect to greet the faces handed down by Pollaiuolo and Botticelli, actors and onlookers in Benozzo Gozzoli and Ghirlandaio's picture-chronicles.

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(1) Cfr. Cruttwell, op. cit. pp. 115-6. "The frescoes decorating one wall of a room on the ground-floor of the "Torre del Gallo" represent a *Bacchic Dance* of nude figures, two thirds lifesize. At the time of the recovery, in 1897, they were ascribed to Botticelli by Signor G. Guasti, (cfr. *Gli Affreschi del secolo XV scoperti in una villa ad Arcetri*, "cit.) and Mrs Mary Logan, ("*Chronique des Arts*," 1897) was the first to trace their origin to Pollaiuolo. At that time, La Gallina the old Lanfredini small villa stood in the grounds of the Torre al Gallo, since sold to Signor Bardini and rebuilt." Miss Cruttwell believes the commission to Pollaiuolo to synchronize with the purchase in 1464 of the larger villa, Il Gallo, and the paintings in her opinion mark the full maturity stage of the artist's genius.

Porta San Giorgio, ivy and wistaria hung, pierces the remains of the ancient city walls extending along the ridge from the dip of Porta San Miniato enclosing Boboli. The lane winds a sinuous course beyond, between low sgraffito-traceried walls which the overhanging olive pencils with delicate shadow; and the lone cypress points the finger of the irremovable landmark heavenward. Beyond the tiny church yonder, villas are dotted forming as the historian Benedetto Varchi (1502-1565) observes: "that most agreeable township which lacking a suburb so to say, yet contains so many goodly dwellings and palaces that albeit rustic, yet it in no wise lacks urbanity." There stands a church, he tells us, dedicated to San Leonardo, whence following a straight course the cross-roads meet, one of which is named Volsanminiato. Vasari's bird's eye view is yet accurate, Varchi's impression is still fresh. No "township" planner has drawn the surveyor's tape athwart Volsanminiato, the turning as the name connotes above the Bishop's palace monastery stronghold. The bluff, once the bastion of Florentine freedom for Michelangelo, is graced to-day as of yore by the Lanfredini country home, with but this difference that the present owner, Signor Bardini to whom we owe the recovery of the frescoes, has built the Lanfredini villas into a castle, before which the student of history may well pause in bewilderment.<sup>(1)</sup>

The vicissitudes of property intimately bound up with the extinction of the family are implied in the words *utmost ruin*, which Miss Crutwell applies not without reason to the Pollaiuolo paintings. Ascribed first to Botticelli, to whose art they add nothing, research by giving

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(1) Varchi's topography can be traced in essentials yet to-day, though a castellated structure stands now upon the site of Jacopo and Giovanni Lanfredini's country home. Upon the sky-line above Volsanminiato rises the reconstruction of a typical mediaeval castle, such as the mediaeval painters and illuminators fill their backgrounds with, but it may be doubted whether such a structure can be regarded as anything but an unfortunate *pastiche*. The noted antiquarian Signor Bardini purchased La Torre del Gallo some twenty odd years since from the late Count Galletti whose interest in the place lay not with dead and gone Lanfredini, but with Galileo. The latter is alleged to have stayed there at one time; perhaps the guest of that Senator Lanfredini whose son, the Canon Girolamo, is a frequent visitor at the Monastery of S. Matteo at Arcetri where Galileo's daughter is a nun.



them back to their rightful author the Pollaiuolo, has done justice where it was due; thus adding one more branch of activity to artists, who unite the goldsmith's, engraver's, painter's, and embroidery designer's craft to the fresco decorator's abilities, hitherto unconnected with their name. Miss Cruttwell, who had the privilege of examining these paintings prior to their restoration which has added the act of man to that of fate, speaks feelingly and with warmth for the loss to art thus inflicted. Might not excuse be sought in the artists themselves: a mistaken zeal for experimenting with pigments? <sup>(1)</sup>

Since neither Vasari nor any other records of the day mention these paintings the suggestions of malice or religious bigotry have been put forward to account for an oversight, which in the biographer's case is the more remarkable since his understanding of Pollaiuolo's genius with its appeal to the mastery of form and sculptural rhythm is complete; and, the high priest of outward form to which he often sacrifices the substance, Vasari makes no mental reservation in regard to Pollaiuolo's art. The conclusion would seem to be inevitable, namely, had important frescoes existed then in the Lanfredini villa, Vasari who has more than one informant to rely upon for second-hand information could not have failed to note the fact.

"The scruples of some *Piagnone* Lanfredini" have thus been suggested to account for the loss. That view appears to me improbable, because it rests merely on another kind of scruple. Who is the only Lanfredini to whom that term of scorn could apply then but the owner of both villa and town house, Lanfredino di Jacopo Lanfredini who is honourably mentioned by Vasari for his patronage of Baccio d'Agnolo and Andrea di Cosimo Feltrino, of the leading architect of his day and the introducer of a new style of house decoration, - sgraffito. Lanfre-

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(1) It might well be that the Pollaiuolo, who are goldsmiths before they take up painting, and with the exception of the Lanfredini commissions in fresco, they appear to have confined themselves to tempera should, when attempting a less familiar medium, have departed from the strict rule of fresco painting. Their master Alessio Baldovinetti we know did so in Santa Trinità, where the paintings executed in the apse had disappeared already in Vasari's time, and have we not Leonardo da Vinci's experiments with fresco painting in oil to lend colour to the suggestion.

dino Lanfredini is in the best of company among Savonarola's congregation, and his valuable contribution to the family house-building removes him from the small minority of *Piagnone* wreckers. Lanfredini is one of the Signoria, a Prior at the time of the Frate's trial, the outcome of which he is forced to sanction; whatever protection official position and personal status can give are presumably his. Moreover those iconoclasts upon whose zeal in casting out false gods modern opinion has often animadverted, would have found their ardour cool it may be imagined long before they had breasted the steep acclivity of Volsanminiato.

I should be inclined to look for Vasari's silence rather to the act of war. The beleaguered Florentines' destructive self-defence in the siege of 1529 spared few among the churches and monasteries situated in the *zone of operations*, i. e. the city suburbs. Vasari's own topographical picture-chronicle on the walls of the Palazzo della Signoria leaves little to the imagination. The action of the Papal and Imperial assailants was especially violent along the southern lines of the defences: fortified we know by Michelangelo. The villa was requisitioned, for the Imperial general's headquarters, with the results; of which the years - 1914-1918 - offer a suggestive and sorry picture. Thus it may well have happened that when Bronzino paid a connoisseur's visit to Lanfredini collectors, reported by Vasari in his *Life of Pontormo*, what remained of Antonio del Pollaiuolo's *Allegory of Spring* no longer appeared to the owner, a Senator in the new Ducal régime Bartolommeo di Lanfredino di Jacopo Lanfredini, like his father and grandfather before him a patron of art, worth shewing to anyone.<sup>(1)</sup>

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(1) If "pigment experiments" sound too hypothetical, and *Piagnone* iconoclasm be also excluded as the cause of the occultation, the military occupation of the Lanfredini villa in 1529 might well prove the root of the whitewash evil. Varchi namely, (*Storia Fiorentina*, Lib. IX) describes the positions of the two armies, the attack and defence of Florence with graphic precision. He records "along the ridges surrounding the city as in a half-moon, all that part on the hither side of the Arno,... eastward from S. Niccolò to the extremity of S. Friano... At the Gallo, Count Pier Maria di S. Secondo had his quarters." Consideration for friends, — Bartolommeo di Lanfredino Lanfredini the owner is a supporter of the Papal faction, for his brother Giovanni is of the citizen party, would avail little. The fighting is furious especially around Volsanminiato, and Porta San Giorgio. It would indeed have been a miracle if Pollaiuolo's work had escaped unharmed amid

The villa will be the favourite retreat of the scholarly Lanfredini churchmen of the XVIth and XVIIth centuries.<sup>(1)</sup> If anything their occupation draws the veil closer; plaster and stucco being deemed more pleasing to the eye than vestiges of *maniera antica* art. The family dies out in 1741, and the villa on Volsanminiato, an unconsidered trifle in the eyes of the absentee owner Cardinal Jacopo Lanfredini, is devised by him to fellow clergy, who in their turn dispose of the property to strangers. The veil is now lifted upon these paintings. But the state they were found in spells irreparable loss. To regard them as more than *footnotes*, as though they echoed more than a faint memory of the Pollaiuolos' genius would be to court disappointment. In their present state, *restored*, they present indeed the Masque of Grace and Force interpreting the cadence of body rhythm, - the poetry of motion in virtue of which this Dance of Youth ranks second to none in the art of all time, but they typify also the ever unsatisfied desire we feel rising in our throats at the sight of Quattro-cento triumphs, fading into the penumbra of Time.

In acknowledging my indebtedness for the constructive features of the Pollaiuolos' art, — in the service of the Lanfredini, to Miss Cruttwell whose research has left nothing unaccounted for, I feel that her first-hand appreciation of these paintings, — prior to restoration, justifies my offering her impressions, rather than my own derived only from the late-comer's memory assisted by photographs.

"The frescoes decorate one wall of a room on the ground-floor of the villa, and represent a Bacchic Dance, two thirds life size. Studied when the wash had just been removed, at first nothing but a

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the ruthless destruction of houses, villas, churches, and monasteries in the suburbs and the immediate neighbourhood of Florence, to which all the historians refer regretfully, notably Vasari; record remaining only in a few place-names, and in the still fewer works of art rescued by pious hands.

(1) Domenico Moreni. "Notizie Istoriche dei contorni di Firenze." Raccolte dall'Abate Domenico Moreni, Firenze, 1791, 5 vols. Cfr. Vol. II, pp. 53-6. The author is a Canon of the Duomo of Florence, and the antiquary to whose diligence as a compiler and annotator of records we owe the preservation of many landmarks of old-time Florence. Describing the foundation of the Convent of Poor Clares at Arcetri, where notably Galileo's daughter is a religious, and carrying his narrative through the XVIIth century, Moreni mentions the owner of the Lanfredini villa of Volsanminiato, who is a constant visitor at the convent.

few lines and patches of colour were visible, but gradually forms took shape amid the stains and the broken wall surface. The outline, usual in fresco, is slightly incised, and the faint traces of colour, pink in the flesh tints, green in the garlands, and ochre in the architectural framing of the scene, are suggestions of what might have been. Five nude figures, two maidens and three youths dance entwined with garlands which they hold high above their heads. The movement alternately rapid and measured phrases exquisitely harmonious and graceful attitudes, momentary gesture and action being seized with peculiar skill. The artist doubtless intends to develop some continued episode, arrested in fact in the intention, since one side only of the wall space is painted, and no traces of decoration have been discovered upon the remainder. Decoratively speaking however the visible intent forms a completed whole, and in expressive force the result stands comparison well with the magic rhythm of the Parthenon sculptures. Examined singly, Miss Cruttwell continues, the figures rank with the most perfectly proportioned and most beautiful nudes of modern art. "

" A dancer whose hair is bound with fluttering ribbons his poise obviously suggesting the wings upon which he should be carried, leaps forward seizing the garland above his head with one hand, whilst tiptoe on his right foot he balances his body with the left arm extended. The youthful profile aglow with 'joie de vivre' is turned to the right. His companion's figure emerges only in part from the shade of that which was once and is no more. A delicate feminine face, exquisite small features, laughing lips framed in a cloud of fair hair, the poise of the head on the shoulders, their outline, that is all we behold; but as with a fragment of Greek sculpture the lines materialize in our mind's eye. She wears a crown where the red and green tints suggest blossoms, and the attitude, - the hidden body rhythm sinuous as that of an Eastern dancing girl, suggests the cadence of the spring-tide's blitheness. On the other side of the door concludes the critic, alas cut through the scene, the form of another dancing youth recalls the Faun of the Tribune. The female figure beside him reveals in her attitude the source of Botticelli's inspiration for his famous Allegory of Spring. The compo-

sition is completed with the figure of a beautiful youth shewn nearly full front, he is poised on one leg whilst the body rhythm, - thrown backward as his companion bends forward, constitutes a triumph of equipoise and symmetrical harmony, of coordinate energy emphasized by the contrasting motion. " (1)

The Lanfredini commission is at once an act of homage to the spirit of the age, a draught from the spring at which art and literature in Florence drink deep:

The frolic wind that breathes the spring  
Zephyr with Aurora playing,  
As he met her once a-maying

blows through these dancers' hair, as they lift the tripping heels of Botticelli's Hours upon the flower-starred sward of yonder enchanted woods. Miss Cruttwell's acumen has detected the borrowing. The second female figure she points out is headless, but the poise of the legs and feet is that of the Flora in the Allegory of Spring. That great painting has furnished commentary varied and renewed, ever fruitful as the re-birth of Nature it pictures. We owe it to Dr. Th. Warburg's erudition, tracing the literary source of the Allegory to the fountain head of Lucretius, if we can perceive here also the echo of the famous passage which the Medici and Lanfredini, scholars all, - Jacopo's younger brother Giovanni is credited with *praecipua et incredibilis humanitas* by Ercole d'Este, (App. I. Doc. 3) set their favourite painters to illustrate.

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(1) Cfr. Cruttwell, op. cit. pp. 117-120. I would venture to join issue with Miss Cruttwell's erudition, for the title "a Bacchic Dance", which she has adopted to describe these paintings. So far as the vestiges spared to us admit of forming an opinion of the character of the dance, restraint, never overstepped by licence, such as would be implied by the term Bacchic, prevails throughout. Moreover the representation of Bacchanalia such as the late Renaissance would depict, was foreign yet to the mentality of the early Medicean age to which the Lanfredini brothers, contemporaries of the high-thinking Florence of Cosimo and Piero de' Medici's generation belong. Platonists all, they have nevertheless not yet entered the Epicurean cycle of their philosophy of life. The symposia of Fiesole gather mostly younger minds round Lorenzo de' Medici. Miss Cruttwell's acumen is not at fault, it indeed proves most helpful, discerning just those pictorial affinities with Botticelli's illustration of Lucretius' vision of the coming of Spring, that assist us to trace Pol-laiuolo's inspiration there as well.

Thus it appears to me certain that the measured spring of maidens with whom the youths interweave impassioned yet restrained steps cannot be termed a Bacchic Dance. The Poet's vision partakes rather of the liturgic rite included in the Mysteries of an ancient religion. We behold the goddess of life renewing Nature's youth throughout a perennial succession of Spring-hours, dancing before our gaze. Spring sings, Lucretius breathes her lay, and the Florentine listeners enamoured of their landscape can but set an incomparable frame for her coming in their midst. At Arcetri as at Poggio a Caiano, "Spring has come with Venus and Love her mate, Zephyr leader of the dance beats his pinions, upon their path Flora the Mother strews colours rare and odours fragrant." The cadence of Spring indeed beats time to the Shadows' footsteps, the poetry of motion and light thrills in their forms, the sense of bird-flight sports with their fluttering ribbons, their tossing draperies, frolic April surely blows smiles through the dancers' hair. (1)

(1) That the Lanfredini turn to the illustrative values of the Lucretian theogony after the success of the "Labours of Hercules" is only natural. Simultaneously with the "Allegory of Spring" (*De Natura Rerum*, Lib. V. lines 736-9) often quoted to affirm the literary source of Botticelli's work:

It Ver et Veneris praenuntius ante  
Pinnatus graditur Zephyrus vestigia pronter  
Flora quibus mater preaspergens ante viai  
Cuncta coloribus egregiis et odoribus opplet.

the same flowering paths lace a landscape such as spreads at the Lanfredini brothers' and their fellows' feet. Suggestive as none other in a like degree of penetrating delicacy, the view from the Arcetri hill-side echoes the invocation (*De Natura Rerum*, Lib. I. l. 6-17), with the thrill of the yearly miracle.

Te Dea, te fugiunt venti, te nubila coeli,  
Adventumque tuum; tibi suaves daedala tellus  
Summitit flores; tibi rideat aequora ponti,  
Placatumque nitat diffuso lumine coelum.  
Nam simul ac species patefacta est verna diei,  
Et reserata viget genitabilis aura Favoni,  
Aeriae primum volucres, te diva, tuumque  
Significant initum, percussae corda tua vi:  
Inde ferae pecudes persultant pabula laeta,  
Et rapidos tranant amnes: ita capta lepore  
Illecebrisque tuis, omnis natura animantum  
Te sequitur cupide, quo quamque inducere pergis.

One side only of the wall decoration has been recovered. It is to-day impossible to deter-

Blue mists wreath other scenes, the lush grass-lands of the Po about Ferrara laced with the vine-set streams, where Este villa dwellers drive dull care, Schifanoia, - from the courtiers' days. From Volsanminiato's loggia Jacopo and Giovanni Lanfredini view the dream-city at their feet with an Ivory Tower for contemplation soaring heavenwards; they also recall a more placid and not less expressive landscape where the key-note is green space. Memory is ready with a Lucretian picture. "At thy coming the winds flee, the clouds break away, and the earth spreads the wealth of blossom at thy feet.... scarce has Spring brought back the glad days and Zephyr caught life-giving breath once more, than the winged denizens of space feel thy touch, O Venus, and welcome thy return."

The note of Lucretian harmonies sounds so distinctly in Pollaiuolo's art, both here and in his interpretation of the Labours of Hercules, that it seems impossible to overlook the source of the Volsanminiato paintings. Critics have been busied with these "shadowy apparitions," with the view to determining their place in the Pollaiuolos' art, and have reached the conclusion that the period - 1457-78 is the most probable. Without reading more history into them than is justifiable, a suggestion may be warranted, namely that they commemorate the first grant of privileges given by the Este rulers to their *familiars* the Lanfredini brothers, in 1469.

Botticelli is by far the junior, and the older painter may well claim the birth-right of the composition, since a copy by the master after his disciple's drawing is to say the least unlikely, whilst conversely the latter would regard any master's sketch in the light of common property for the workshop; ideas thrown off as the sparks fly upwards. The Flora, an essential feature in Pollaiuolo's composition, is but an accessory in Botticelli's scheme; we will find understudies in many a "dancing figure" in the art of these days. A consensus of authorita-

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mine whether a sequel to the "Allegory of Spring" had ever taken shape outside the poet's inspiration and the patron's unspoken desire, namely whether dust-laden Ceres scorched by the breath of Aquilo, or Autumn accompanied by the god of vintage (*De Nat. Rer. Lib. V, l. 740-2*) had called forth an expression of the power which places Pollaiuolo beside Michelangelo for *terribilità*.

tive criticism dates Botticelli's Allegory about 1479. The Lanfredini brothers's political career as diplomatists begins in 1474, from which date onwards, barring the terms of office as Priors and Gonfaloniers, they were strangers to Florence. Ferrara, Venice, Bologna, Naples, and Rome are the halting places in life's course until the end, and we may on grounds of probability therefore postulate the commission to Pollaiuolo at a time, - the accession of young Lorenzo de' Medici, - when the brothers have come into their own in their native city.

Priority of inspiration and interpretation for Pollaiuolo however in no way robs Botticelli's illustration of originality. The former claims simplicity a sculptor's gift for his ideal vision of Spring. Under Pollaiuolo's brush the Dance of the Winds and the Hours knows naught of Zephyr's pursuit of Flora beneath Maia's unscrutable smile, her glance travelling from the pair to the Hours whom her son Mercury points out to Eros winging his shaft at the dancing group from the safety of the orange grove tree-tops. Fraught with such a varied significance Botticelli's comprehension of the Lucretian scene is the act of an interpreter of genius. Pollaiuolo transcribes it without additions. Here also we note the cleavage between the two epochs in the age, between the intellectual and the emotional thrill conveyed by the New Learning to the Medicean era. The Lanfredini belong to the former, but their understanding helps to bridge the gulf. They are part and parcel with the Spring that walks abroad in Florence, the men that shape the course for others to tread; her honoured guests, her rulers are young or scarce past the midway of life's course. No shadow yet lies across the path of Medici and Sforza. In this sense Pollaiuolo's Allegory of Spring represents the genuine spirit of the age.

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## CHAPTER V.

### The portraits in the Lanfredini palace, by Piero del Pollaiuolo

**D**WARFING the XVIth century architecture, extra storeys have been raised crowned by battlements above the river house frontage erected by Baccio d'Agnolo and decorated in sgraffito for Lanfredino Lanfredini by Andrea di Cosimo Feltrino. A glass roof to-day spans Orsino di Lanfredino's forecourt, obscuring the portrait medallions and escutcheons of arms, these footnotes of history written upon their walls by his sons and grandsons.

Those portraits, as I hope to shew, are Piero del Pollaiuolo's handiwork, and they constitute at once a human document in the family history and an additional item in the somewhat fragmentary output of the Pollaiuolo brothers which has come down to us otherwise than in the form of literary reminiscence. Indeed Vasari records only three life-drawn portrayals by the Pollaiuolo brothers two of which are lost, and the third is but a traditional resemblance. He tells us that "Antonio painted from life Messer Poggio, Secretary of the Signoria of Florence.... and Messer Giannozzo Manetti a learned man and greatly esteemed.... and the S. Sebastian, himself painted from life, to wit Gino di Lodovico Capponi, and this was the most praised work that Antonio ever executed" That is all. <sup>(1)</sup> The biographer is silent

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(1) Cfr. Vasari, *op. cit.* "Life of Antonio del Pollaiuolo," also Cruttwell, *op. cit.* on Pollaiuolo portrayals.

concerning Piero del Pollaiuolo's portrayals, not mentioning the likeness of Galeazzo Maria Sforza in the Medici collection, duly recorded in that family's "Inventory" of property in the Via Larga Palace and at their country seats, 1494-1512, the Lanfredini medallions, or the replica of one of the latter: the profile of a Youth, preserved in the Uffizi Gallery. (1) He makes no mention either of the other portraits by Antonio del Pollaiuolo which modern research has traced and restored to their true and rightful author.

What can have been the motive of this oversight or of the biographer's neglect of the Lanfredini medallions? Vasari is not reticent about that family, mentioning them three times as patrons of Baccio d'Agnolo, Andrea di Cosimo, and Pontormo. The private owner's reluctance to display family relics might perhaps be invoked to explain the hearsay nature hence misleading of many among Vasari's data.

Filippo Baldinucci, Vasari's successor at a century's distance in the keepership of the grand-ducal art-conscience, whilst summarizing his information and like him confusing the brothers' output, observes that the Pollaiuolo "painted also many other portraits which may be seen in our day in the houses and pictures galleries of the gentry, very well preserved and painted with all the diligence and life-like quality, as could

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(1) Cfr. E. Muntz. "Les collections des Médicis" — J. Rouam éditeur, Paris, 1888. The entry concerning Piero del Pollaiuolo's portrait of Galeazzo Maria Sforza runs as follows: "Nella camera grande terrena detta camera di Lorenzo.... uno quadro dipintovi la testa del Duca Galeazzo di mano di Piero del Pollaiuolo fl. 10." M. Salomon Reinach, "Répertoire de Peintures du Moyen-âge," 2 Vols. Ed. Leroux, Paris, 1907, reproduces in Vol. II. p. 182, the "Lanfredini" panel portrait (Uffizi no. 30 bis). He quotes the attribution to Piero del Pollaiuolo from MM. G. Lafenestre and Lichtenberger's "Catalogue raisonné des collections de Florence," Paris, 1893: where the painting is described in detail, p. 31. "Portrait d'homme, de profil tourné vers la gauche; chevelure blonde et bonnet noir, pourpoint noir avec manches et col jaunes, sur l'épaule des aiguillettes rouges, autour du cou une chaîne d'or plusieurs fois enroulée. H. c. 59, L. c. 45. Bois. Fig. en buste grandeur naturelle. Attribué autrefois à Antonio del Pollaiuolo, Bode le restitue à Piero, en le considérant d'ailleurs comme superficiel et un peu endommagé." M. Reinach concludes his notice with a reference to the inclusion of this painting among celebrated pictures in the compilation: *Klassischer Bilderschatz*, Munich, Vol. XII, p. 1207. This portrait and the medallion, in fresco, in the Lanfredini palace fore-court, represent the same individual.

in those days have been expected of artists. " (1) Thus although not otherwise specified we learn that portraits by the Pollaiuolo adorn many a Florentine home, until the tide of plaster rises and submerges *maniera antica* art in the XVIIth century.

We may well deplore that Baldinucci, who in his few words reveals a genuine insight into the vital force of XVth century Art. rare in his day which pointed the finger of scorn, exemplified by the order *enlevez moi ces magots* given by Louis XIV. to remove from his sight the *early* French and Flemish paintings collected in the Louvre by his predecessors, should have omitted to recall the houses and galleries, or name the portraits he noted there. It might have been possible then to establish with certainty, and not only according to historic surmise, the identity of the portrait of a sallowfaced fair-haired youth preserved as I have stated in the Uffizi, the transfer-replica of which has been recovered in the Lanfredini forecourt: as well as of the feminine portrait facing it, which offers so striking an art affinity with that beautiful likeness of an "Unknown Gentlewoman" in the Uffizi Gallery formerly ascribed to Piero de' Franceschi, restored to Antonio del Pollaiuolo by Miss Cruttwell, and today once more "la dame qui a perdu son peintre."

In the absence however of that certitude which can alone cancel the second death sentence of anonymity, and although so sadly over-

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(1) F. Baldinucci. "Notizie dei Professori del Disegno ecc." 1681, 5 Vols, Florence, 1845. Cf. Vol. III p. 534: "He (Antonio) painted together with his brother Piero many pictures.... He also did the portrait of Messer Poggio Bracciolini, the Florentine, secretary of the Signoria who, in succession to the Aretine Leonardo Bruni, wrote also like him the history of Florence, and that of Messer Giannozzo Manetti, likewise a Florentine, and all three were eminent scholars...." These portraits are mentioned by Vasari. "The two portraits" continues Baldinucci "were painted in the house of the *Proconsul*, which being close to the Badia of Florence was afterwards the residence of the Magistrate of Public Health, and is now that of the Apostolic Nuncio as hath been told elsewhere.... He also painted many other portraits which may be seen in our day in the houses and the picture galleries of the gentry very well preserved, and are executed with all the diligence and life-like quality as could well have been desired in those days." The above-mentioned "Proconsul's house" yet stands in Via del Proconsolo near the Bargello (National Museum) and the Badia. The arms of the Guilds of Notaries and Judges of which that official was the head form a frieze between the ground and first floor windows, but all trace of the Manetti and Bracciolini portraits has disappeared.

painted as to lose all title to the artists name, these medallions yet deserve to stand conjecturally in the Pollaiuolo output among those "many other portraits" the trace of which has long vanished. But that is not all their claim upon our interest. By identifying these likenesses conclusively as I hope with Orsino and Cassandra di Jacopo Lanfredini, that period of the Lanfredini brothers' career which places them in the best of company with the Medici, the Sforza, and other admirers of the Pollaiuolos' genius gains another human element. Contemporary or almost with the Pollaiuolos' Allegory of Spring in the Lanfredini villa, these portraits help to people that brilliant interlude of the Medici Triumph of Fame, namely the Sforza visit to Florence in March 1471. The Masque is led by Youth, the Medici brothers and their guest: and by Beauty, Bona of Savoy Duchess of Milan, and her hostess Lucrezia Tornabuoni's daughters, who are "fairer" than their sister-in-law Clarice de' Medici Orsini. The attendant Graces in Bona's train resemble the Florentine ladies whom Botticelli and Ghirlandaio paint, and Statecraft and Learning, Art-patronage and Wealth are impersonated by the citizens of which the Lanfredini brothers offer types, in those painters representations of Holy Writ, which are actually foot notes to the story of social Florence.

The chance recognition of these portraits I regard as one of study's kind hazards. Looking long one day at those medallions in the Lanfredini palace forecourt, familiarity with something obscurely felt or remembered would not be denied. And after a while memory fastened upon the Uffizi Gallery where this "portrait of a Youth" with his deep-set wide open eye, regular profile, characteristic pursed mouth, smooth yet vigorously modelled cheek, and strong chin, represents a hitherto unnamed Lanfredini. The reproduction here is accurate to the minutest detail, - from the straight thick hair parted with a tuft upon the forehead under the close fitting cap, to the bust sheathed in an embroidered doublet, the neckchain of many strands, and the tags and laces of the sleeve ornaments. The sitter is labelled "Ignoto" in the Uffizi collection. He is one of the many enigmas set for posterity by that most prolific among painters, surnamed likewise "Ignoto."

It will be my endeavour to restore this fine portrait, to Piero del Pollaiuolo; <sup>(1)</sup> so catalogued until recently though the abandonment of the traditional attribution is I venture to think somewhat hasty in favour, albeit tentatively of Ambrogio de Predis.

But that the profile of the Uffizi panel faces left whilst in the Lanfredini palace medallion it is turned to the right, the other features in the picture, from the characteristic parting of the hair to details of the clothes correspond absolutely. Such divergences as strike us - the colour of the doublet, a crimson scarf instead of the gold neckchain, the omission of much detail in the brocading, embroideries etc., lie at the fresco-restorer's door. Unaware doubtless of the original preserved in a museum a few streets distant, he has confined himself to washing colour *to taste* over the lines of the engraved design, which shewed clearly through the plastering. Small wonder that so treated the Lanfredini medallions should have escaped the art-student's notice until, chance favouring the writer one of the portraits could be traced to its source. This very circumstance supports the plea for their authenticity which a friendly critic had called in question, suggesting imaginary portrayals to work in with a general scheme of *style* decoration, such as the purchase of the house for an hotel favoured; and I would moreover submit that in this case, had no original paintings whatever decorated the forecourt spandrils, it would have been more consonant with *style* reproduction to choose a Medici or other well-known Florentine *head* rather than an "Ignoto" profile.

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(1) Professor Bode's strictures upon this painting: "superficial work, and slightly damaged," quoted by Lafenestre and Richtenberger (*op. cit.*), are reproduced by other compilers, and cumulate in the adverse opinion sanctioned thus so to say "by authority," an opinion which Italian art-critics: "Due dipinti di Piero del Pollaiuolo" (*Archivio storico dell'Arte*, 1890, p. 150), merely echo. The official catalogue of the Uffizi Gallery thus ascribes the painting No. 30 bis, only to the XVth Century Tuscan School, and it is omitted altogether from Miss Cruttwell's "Catalogue raisonné" of the notable paintings in Florentine galleries (published by Messrs. J. M. Dent, 1907). The latest tentative attribution names the Lombard painter Ambrogio de Predis, concerning which it may be pointed, the recovery of the Lanfredini palace medallion raises some doubt. There is no record of De Predis ever having worked in Florence, nor does young Lanfredini appear to have been at Milan at the period when the portrait, judging from the fashion of the youth's attire could have been painted.

As the restorer neglected to avail himself of a certain source of knowledge, so the setting aside of tradition in the attribution of a painting, the process of elimination unsparingly applied instead, which sifts an artist's output and rejects all that falls short of a presumed standard of excellence, has deprived Piero del Pollaiuolo of a work of characteristic vigour, the drypoint finish of which is surely traceable to his goldsmith's apprenticeship. It may be indeed that the puppet-like figure supporting a very much "live" head is responsible for the adverse judgment passed upon it, condemned by expert opinion as shallow and superficial. It may however be observed incidentally that certain among the most characteristic Quattro-cento "heads" surmount the most wooden bodies in more than one painting by Benozzo Gozzoli and other reputed artists, whose name has suffered no diminution in consequence. It is not too much to infer that portrait painters felt no compunction in limiting character to the sitter's head, and by hanging such garments as should connote the sitter's personality for his friends upon mere clothes peg shoulders, only emphasizing ornament, they felt that nothing material such as body anatomy was required. On the other hand, if the recovery of the Lanfredini palace medallions can contribute to repair the injustice of destructive criticism to a misjudged artist, it also serves another purpose, to illustrate an historic epoch by lending a true likeness to a generation unrepresented otherwise in Lanfredini annals.

In view of the obvious transfer from a drawing evidenced by the contrary direction of the profile, the question whether the medallion or the panel, was actually the first born child of Piero del Pollaiuolo's genius appears of less moment, to me than the sitter's identity. Who is he? The features are those of a youth apparently aged about twenty-five years. There is an intelligent outlook upon life in the wide open eye, the brow is open and well formed, the countenance bespeaks refinement. A shadow as of brief days in store mantles the closed lips, a wistful expression as though questioning the coming of a morrow lurks behind the "regard émerveillé." The bearing is proud, - not alone in the stiffness remarked upon earlier. The courtier's attire ranks the youth with the arbiters of gallantry of his day, such as Botticelli has

immortalized in the features of the Medici brothers and their Tornabuoni cousins about this time, in his painting of the Magi. Our "Ignoto" is one of their company, but who?

Several possible candidates had suggested themselves to me: one of Galeazzo Maria Sforza's brothers who we know accompany him to Florence, and he might have been one of the Lanfredinis guests, since the Medici palace together with Pier Francesco's house adjoining it, cannot give house room to all the Milanese party. But he is fair and the Sforza are all dark-haired folk. We have been told by the Sienese emissaries that a number of the gentry's houses had been requisitioned. Bearing in mind their connection with the Este court, it might have occurred to Jacopo and Giovanni Lanfredini to commemorate the guests visit in this way: Beatrice d'Este Sforza and her son Niccolò da Correggio fulfilled probabilities. <sup>(1)</sup> But my attention having been called to his medal portrait by Sperandeo, <sup>(2)</sup> the fundamental divergence of the two profiles (both facing left) forced me to set aside what to my mind had accounted for the Lanfredini palace medallions satisfactorily.

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(1) E. G. Gardner, "Dukes and Poets of Ferrara," *op. cit.* p. 109 et seq. The young Lord of Correggio is mentioned in Duke Borso's train in the triumphal journey to Rome 1471, to receive the Papal investiture; one of the most brilliant shows in that age of political pageantry. He is also a prominent figure in the festivities at Ferrara in 1473 in honour of the impending marriage of Duke Ercole and Leonora of Aragon. A poet like Lorenzo de' Medici, he is a visitor to Florence with the Sforza, Gonzaga, Manfredi, Pio of Carpi, etc., great intimacy must have existed between him and the Medici brothers for the loan of the murdered Giuliano's horse to be asked for by Manfredi for the tournament of June 1478, in which Niccolò da Correggio carries off the honours of the day. Manfredi's letter to Lorenzo de' Medici dated May 28th, — a bare four weeks after Giuliano's murder, — is quoted by Signor Del Lungo ("Florentia," p. 395). Niccolò takes up arms on the side of Florence in the ensuing general war and is taken prisoner by Federico da Montefeltro at the great Florentine and allied defeat at Poggibonsi in 1479.

(2) A Heiss, "Les Médailleurs de la Renaissance." Paris, 1881. Sperandeo Pl. VI. No. 1. Obverse, bust profile in armour with the condottiere's cap shewn to the left, inscribed D. NICOLAUS | CORRIGIEN. BRIXILI. AC | CORIGIAE | COMES. ARMORUM | DUCTOR. The reverse displays Niccolò on horseback armed, riding to the left; he extends his right hand to a sage or anchorite, an aged bearded figure wearing a loose robe. The inscription runs: JUS-  
STICIA. AMBULABIT. ANTE. TE. UT. PONAT. IN. VIA. GRESSUS. TUOS. In the centre signed: OPUS SPERANDEI. Sperandeo left Ferrara for Bologna in the year 1479: the occasion for the casting of the medal may very likely be looked for precisely in the war 1479-81, in which Niccolò first exercised independent command.

Failing these suggested visitors, enquiry led me back to what I believe is the truth. The medallions are family portraits, whose originals have their place in the pedigree. Careful examination of this painting assists conjecture, colouring the few *pedigree* data we possess concerning Jacopo di Orsino Lanfredini's family, the date - 1448 - of Madonna Ginevra di Bardo Antinori his wife's death, and the names of his male children, no daughter. Of the four sons, Orsino, Bartolommeo, Antonio and Lanfredino, the two latter alone attain political distinction, and the last named, Lanfredino, stands in the front rank of Florentine statesmanship. His brother Antonio also holds office honourably. The others Bartolommeo and Orsino are little more than name-shadows; and all we know of Orsino is that being called after his grandfather, he is presumably the first born. Now if Jacopo who is born in or about 1415 may be supposed to have married at the age of twenty-four or so, his elder son reaches adolescence in the decade 1450-60 when Piero del Pollaiuolo is a painter of repute. - According to Vasari he took up painting side by side with his goldsmith's craft *before* his brother Antonio, and to have done likenesses from life of Poggio Bracciolini and Giannozzo Manetti the two brothers must have set up together; already prior to 1459 the date of these statesmen's deaths. Their joint success with the Labours of Hercules panels in 1460 for Cosimo de' Medici leads to duplication of the subject in 1467, for Lanfredini's daughter Cassandra's wedding casket commissioned for her marriage to Giuliano Carnesecci; and the portrayal of the elder son two or three years later by the same painter gains likelihood in the light of the family history.

The year 1469 in which I would date this portrait is an *annus mirabilis* for Florence, and also for the Lanfredini. In that year Lorenzo de' Medici succeeds to the rulership, and in that year too the Lanfredini brothers are the recipients of honours and privileges from Borso Duke of Ferrara so comprehensive as to warrant their commemoration. Alone among Jacopo's sons, Orsino is named along with his father and uncle in the Letters Patent (App. Doc. 2.) that exempt the Florentine merchants from duty and transit taxes on their goods, according them the exceptional privilege to arm and equip four retainers as sol-



diers, and most prized; since they are admitted to "familiarity" in the ducal household, the right to use the Este arms and device, entailed upon the elder son.

This should account sufficiently for the son and heir's portrayal, at the age his years shew, as a Ferrara courtier for presentation to the ducal patron. May we read into the lineaments so handed down to us by a two-fold portrait, also his premature death? Orsino's name is absent for good or ill from history, as well as the "chronique scandaleuse" of those years. He is not mentioned in the second issue of Letters Patent to the Lanfredini brothers by Borso's successor, Duke Ercole I. in 1475, where no other son of Jacopo's takes his place; and since Giovanni Lanfredini, has married but recently, his elder son though also called Orsino is an but infant, of whom the Este take no notice. As a corollary to this argument, if my surmise founded upon this omission be correct, family pride would have found legitimate satisfaction in the commission to Piero del Pollaiuolo of the panel portrait first; and its repetition in fresco upon the walls of the Florence home should as eloquently express the parent's sense of loss, since the Este honours die with him. How and when the panel portrait of Orsino Lanfredini enters the Uffizi collection there is no means of ascertaining, and conjecture would add nothing to the conclusions I here put forward.

Orsino Lanfredini, if but a name and a mere walking gentleman upon the world's stage, yet lives vividly in his effigy as a representative type of the fashionable youth of his times. The art of Ferrara, - Francesco Cossa's representation of Borso d'Este's court at Schifanoia, suggests many a comrade in the ranks of the red and black-capped gallants grouped round their lord and master; the art of Florence shews us these sparks of fashion in Filippo, Filippino Lippi, Benozzo Gozzoli and Botticelli's portraits, those wearers of the skin-tight purple and fine linen that il bel Giulio and his compeers affect. Indeed Orsino Lanfredini's portrait typifies the young man about town whom Vespasiano da Bisticci describes as of "gentle mien and greatly addicted to the dalliance and delights of the world.... who being asked his occupation, would answer as young men will, 'why my business is to give myself

a good time'.<sup>(1)</sup> Orsino di Jacopo may therefore well find his atmosphere among the gilded youth of Ferrara, with the Florentine element of Strozzi and Martelli, Guarino's pupils in the New Learning, who gather about Lorenzo de' Medici in 1465 at his first public appearance at Duke Borso's court, or in the young ambassador's train a few weeks later at the marriage festivities of Milan, when Francesco Sforza's daughter Ippolita weds Alfonso of Calabria the heir to the kingdom of Naples. Not less easily can Orsino figure as an onlooker at Lorenzo's tournament in Florence on his return;<sup>(2)</sup> and the crimson aiguillette tags of his

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(1) Cfr. Vespasiano da Bisticci, "Vite di Uomini Illustri del secolo XV." Barbèra Bianchi e Cia. Florence, 1859. "Life of Piero Pazzi" p. 372. The description is so typical that its adjunction to young Orsino Lanfredini seemed justifiable.

(2) Mrs. J. Ross, "Lives of the early Medici as told in their correspondence," Chatto and Windus, London, 1910. I hasten to acknowledge my debt here; and for later excerpts from Medici letters containing references to the Lanfredini. The "Giostra di Lorenzo," or Tournament to which frequent reference is made in contemporary literature, and in Lorenzo's own fragmentary reminiscences (*Ricordi*), dated March 15th 1472, often quoted, took place on February 7th 1469, after his betrothal to Clarice Orsini. He records the occasion modestly enough for himself. "To do as others had done I held a joust in the Piazza Santa Croce, at great expense and with great pomp. I find we spent about 10,000 ducats' di suggello", and although I was not highly versed in the use of weapons and the delivery of blows, the first prize was given to me; a helmet fashioned of silver with Mars as the crest." Luigi Pulci describes the occasion with a wealth of detail in verse. We are told that Lorenzo wore a scarf over his surcoat embroidered with roses in bloom and withered, with the motto LE TEMS REVIENT wrought in pearls. His black velvet cap is studded with pearls, with a feather of gold filagree work set with diamonds and rubies erect in front, his shield displays the lilies of France, — the privilege conferred by Louis XI four years before upon his father, Piero de' Medici, and the great family diamond, "il Libro," gleams in the centre. Duke Borso d'Este has presented the charger, and the armour is the Duke of Milan, Galeazzo Maria Sforza's gift. That the event was regarded with some trepidation in the Medici family, and the outcome welcomed with relief, is clear from Francesco Tornabuoni's letter to his grandson February 15th. "This day letters from Giovanni (Tornabuoni) have come saying how you jousted in the tournament and that Y. M. was unhurt and had achieved great honour." The political significance of this tournament, "proclaimed since May 26th 1468 to celebrate the peace concluded with the Venetians and the Pope on the one hand, and on the other with King Ferrante and the Duke of Milan and the Florentines and their allies...." is recorded by the chronicler Lionardo di Lorenzo Morelli, whom other historians follow. "And on the 12th of February 1469, he continues, (there is a discrepancy of five days here, but the chronicler is probably correct) a magnificent tournament was contested in Piazza Santa Croce with a splendid concourse of young men in companies of jousts (attired), with many embroideries and pearl ornaments galore; and for two most handsome prizes of which the first was won by Lorenzo di Pietro de' Medici and the second by Carlo Borromei." (Quoted from Signor Isidoro del Lungo — Florentia, p. 405).

sleeve, the badge of the *familiar* courtier's status, as certainly connote his presence at the rejoicings of Ferrara which mark Borso's investiture with the ducal dignity by Pope Paul II. (1)

Whilst in its sequence of Piero del Pollaiuolo's art-output Orsino's portrait thus provides the family annals with a vignette of undoubted authenticity and likely identity, as much cannot unfortunately be said of the feminine likeness in the medallion facing it. As has been remarked before, both the Lanfredini family biographer and the framer of their pedigree limit their notices to the names of the wives and mothers needed to carry on the line. Nothing is told us about them, sometimes but not always their parentage, a marriage date, death. Other daughters of the house are assigned to other parents, Cassandra di Jacopo for instance, whom the genealogist gives to Giovanni Lanfredini. Tho name this profile Cassandra Lanfredini Carnesecchi sounds mere guess-work, but it appears to me justified. Cassandra is Jacopo Lanfredini only daughter, and, a widower, she represents to him the wife who has died in 1448, of her birth. This conjecture is permissible; moreover has Cassandra not also died young, in child-birth? If that were the case Jacopo Lanfredini would have caused the likenesses of his two dead children to be painted on his house walls as a sorrowful memory.

Regarded as a Lanfredini type the profile suggests a general rather than an individualized silhouette. The Florentine gentlewoman of this period looks down upon us. Golden ringlets of the simply dressed hair frame a refined semblance in whom the likeness to Sassetti, Benci, Albizzi, Tornabuoni, and other feminine figures in Botticelli and Ghirlandajo's art is striking. Restoration has evidently done its work thoroughly; for the light tint of the background wash round the throat reveals the overpainting of the column neck so characteristic in the Pollaiuolos' technique, substituting the slender sinuous line peculiar to the Botticelli

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(1) E. Gardner, loc. cit. p. 109 et seq. It may be assumed, in accordance with the accepted usage for an ambassador to be accompanied by a son or nephew, that Jacopo Lanfredini, who is despatched to Ferrara by Lorenzo de' Medici to condole with Duke Ercole on the death of his brother, and to congratulate him on his own succession to that state, takes his elder son with him. Cfr. Passerini Papers, loc. cit. Lib. IV. Archivio delle Riformagioni Ann. 1469-1471.

*type.* The cheek modelling too is flat beneath prominent cheek-bones, and the general impression that of a commonplace pastiche. The features connote the passing of the bloom of youth. How much of is this Time's irreparable outrage, how much the restorer's, is impossible to say. But we may thank him for emphasis on the Pollaiuolos' distinctive mannerisms; for these offer us potter's thumb-marks. Those signs recur invariably throughout a given artist's, technique and help to confirm attributions, unsupported by the painter's signature, or by any otherwise authentic evidence of authorship.

The Pollaiuolo mannerisms are strongly characterized, noticeably their tendency towards elongation of the feminine frame, and a full column formed throat; this is marked in the divinely tall "Mercatanzia" Virtues, not less than in the beautiful figures of the Sciences and Arts cast in bronze for the monument of Pope Sixtus IV. in S. Peters. But a more telling mannerism is displayed, - and I hasten to add in no critical sense, - in the portraits which modern research has restored to Antonio del Pollaiuolo, and which the Lanfredini palace medallion shares, namely the vigorously modelled large ear lobe and its wide triangular auricle. I am far from suggesting collaboration here, indeed since Piero del Pollaiuolo is uncontestedly responsible for Orsino's likeness, there is no occasion to put forward the attribution to Antonio of work manifestly not to mentioned in the same breath with the Portrait of a Gentlewoman in the Poldi Pezzoli Museum, Milan. <sup>(1)</sup> The attribution of the beautiful

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(1) Miss Cruttwell (loc. cit. pp. 177-9) laments the loss of all the portraits, on literary record, "by the hand of Antonio del Pollaiuolo, whilst observing: one portrait may perhaps be attributed to him with a fair show of reason; one of the most beautiful works of the XVth century, the authorship of which has always been a mystery.... It is the profile of a lady in the Poldo Pezzoli Museum, Milano.... Ascribed in the official catalogue to Piero de' Franceschi in spite of the obviously Florentine character of the workmanship, the painting has been ascribed variously by critics to Verrocchio, to Piero del Pollaiuolo and to Antonio, though tentatively rather than decisively. The work is certainly that of a realist and one well versed in the scientific methods of Antonio's school, the refined construction and modelling.... the delicate yet firm outline, the suggestion of the goldsmith's art in the treatment of detail.... all point," the critic observes, to Antonio as the painter." The portrait is inscribed on the panel at the back UXOR JOANNIS DE BARDI. Why personal identity is refused can only be conjectured. The destructive criticism which refuses any credence whatever to tradition, disregards the loss of human

Lady "Unknown" (Uffizi) to Antonio del Pollaiuolo has not been upheld, but such a marked resemblance exists between her and the Lanfredini medallion as to strike other observers besides the writer, and thereby, if I may be permitted so to add, hangs this tale:

Although not directly relevant to the Lanfredini palace medallions, I would put forward conclusions in regard to the historic identity of that Lady "Unknown", since if accepted they illustrate better than any picture chronicle or personal impressions (App. II.) the Ducal Sforza visit to Florence in March 1471.. That event of which the comments of the day be they laudatory or critical fail to seize the political logic, was the regal progress through Italy, of which Florence is only the first stage, - Mantua and Ferrara will follow, - intended to prepare opinion for the Sforza's assumption of the Lombard crown, and for the materializing of which day-dream Jacopo Lanfredini, who is a member of the Signoria of Florence in that year, has his share. (1)

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interest in an anonymous portrait. The valuable genealogical notes which the late Count L. Passerini has added to "Marietta de' Ricci," a now neglected historical romance, suggest a clue to the parentage of the unnamed wife. To end a century-long feud between the Bardi and Guidi families, early in the XVth century Giovanni de' Bardi marries Antonia daughter of Count Guido Guidi da Battifolle. Is he that Giovanni de' Bardi to whom Vespasiano da Bisticci inscribes the *proemio* to the life of his kinswoman, Alessandra di Bardo Bardi, wife of Lorenzo di Palla Strozzi? "Giovanni de' Bardi," he tells us, having spent many years in the Island, is highly esteemed by the King of England (Henry VI, 1421-1471), and by all the gentry and nobles with whom he has dealings, his word being held in the same trust as though it were the Gospel. "Vespasiano's record of this King of England would admit of a portrait of Giovanni de' Bardi's wife having been painted by Pollaiuolo. The type is not Italian or Florentine; could she be an English young gentlewoman, whom, a second wife, a stranger and having died prematurely, scontemporary opinion ignores?"

(1) Historians of the day, from the Florentine Machiavelli to the Milanese Corio, emphasize the political aims concealed behind the "vow" to be absolved at the miracle-working shrine of the SS. Annunziata at Florence. Miss C. M. Ady in her scholarly account of the Sforza dynasty, ("A History of Milan," Methuen, London 1907) observes, pp. 93-101, that "Galeazzo allowed over three years to elapse after his succession before going through the form of popular election: the imperial investiture which he hoped to obtain was denied him, but his policy tended ever to the eventual obtention...." On the other hand it is clear that he sought through the channel of the Riario connection, — his daughter Caterina is betrothed to the Pope's nephew Girolamo, — to gain the papal favour, which, by erecting Lombardy into a kingdom, could enable him to do without the imperial investiture. Corio avers that direct proposals were made in that sense by Cardinal Pietro Riario during his visit to Milan for Girolamo's marriage, upon the condition of

Miss Cruttwell analyses this painting with the intent to determine its attribution in somewhat trenchant terms. " Only a very close examination she observes reveals the excellence of such parts.... as have escaped the brush of the re-painter. The face has been so thickly repainted as to have nearly lost its original character.... the heavily stippled red of the cheek.... hair and flesh are overpainted, the outline of the face perhaps once as delicate as the Milan portrait (Poldi Pezzoli Museum) has been lost. The nose especially has been coarsened and modernized.... the ribbons which bind the fair hair have been edged with a different colour, the strings of pearl are glassy and obviously modern. Only on the throat and neck the repaint allows the original lines to appear; while the face and hair and crude blue background have been thus overpainted the white and gold brocade sleeve and deep violet velvet gown are in an excellent state of preservation ". (1) These strictures harsh as

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Sforza support for his own candidature in the next conclave. Miss Ady is inclined to doubt this, but the offer is generally believed by Italian historians; moreover the wresting of Milan, an imperial fief, by the temporal power of Rome would have enhanced the latter by so much more, and whether practical or not as a policy, the idea could conceivably have commended itself both to Riario and Sforza visions of greatness. The Riario visits to Florence and Milan, the Sforza visits to Florence and Mantua are marked with a display outshining alike the Emperor's journeys and all other " official wanderings " of princes and rulers of that time; and no illusions concerning their true inwardness are cherished by the entertainers.

(1) Cfr. Cruttwell, loc. cit. pp. 180-3. The author is inclined, despite somewhat severe criticism directed at the " restorer, " to discern Antonio del Pollaiuolo's superior craft, noticeable, she points out, in such portions of the attire as have escaped overpainting. The former attribution to Piero dei Franceschi is recorded by M. G. Lafenestre, op. cit. p. 37, against which, though describing the painting: " feminine portrait in profile to the left, a pearl coronet in the fair elaborately dressed hair, crimson velvet mantle, white and gold brocade sleeves, a pearl necklace and jewel, " he sets Prof. Bode's opinion: " by some Florentine artist at work in the years 1460-70, whose manner would approach closely the art of Domenico Veneziano and Piero del Pollaiuolo. " The painting is renumbered now (No. 3450 — in the Uffizi Gallery); and whilst the former attribution to Piero dei Franceschi has been abandoned, no other authorship has been definitely adopted by authority, classifying this fine and interesting painting among the Unknown School pieces of XVth century Florentine art. Miss Cruttwell remarks although speculation is now vain, that " the perfect preservation of the lower portions generally most subject to injury, and the XVIIIth century character of the head-dress suggest that repainting may have been due not to deterioration, but rather to an effort to adapt the likeness to some living sitter. " Iconographic forgeries are unfortunately not unknown in Grand-ducal Florence, Baldinucci indeed records one, the overpainting and renaming of Spini portraits, with his own Feroni relations, by the purchaser of that extinct family's palace (Piazza Santa Trinità). Whilst Miss Cruttwell is doubtless well justi-

they sound express the deception felt at "restoration", behind which the painter's identity can only be conjectured, since as she points out, no *documentarily* attested portraits male or female painted by Antonio del Pollaiuolo are in existence to-day.

Documentary deficiencies, however, as Miss Cruttwell justly remarks, do not preclude the same artist having painted the Milan and Florence portraits "such parts of the ear as are visible are precisely the same". This acute critic's study of the art of the Pollaiuolo was published so long ago as 1907. At that date the Lanfredini palace was not accessible; only recently acquired for an hotel, the premises were undergoing extensive structural alterations, and unfortunate *restorations*. Small wonder therefore that no attention was accorded to the medallions in the forecourt, one of which as has been shewn is the replica of a painting preserved in the Uffizi, and the other offers an *ear* structure identical with the feminine portraits described by Miss Cruttwell.

Research that looks first for technique in the portrait and apparently disclaims any interest in the sitter's identity might be content to dismiss the Lanfredini medallion with indifference. Such however cannot be meted out to the real presence of Beauty in the land of shadows: the Uffizi portrait above described, whom I identify with Bona of Savoy, Duchess of Milan: with her husband, the guests of Lorenzo de' Medici.

Recent years' clearances of many centuries accretions from the castle of the Sforza at Milan have restored to us a series of fourteen "official" portraits of the Dukes of that dynasty in as many lunettes in one of the halls; ascribed to Bernardino Luini.<sup>(1)</sup> If too much

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fed in laying blame upon restoration for the alterations that detract from the value of the painting as a work of art, I would yet observe that the dressing of the hair, in which she detects an eighteenth century (?) fashion, and a consequent attempt at personation, can with tolerable certainty be also assigned to the fashions prevalent at the court of Louis XI. where Bona of Savoy has been brought up, and there is a French fashion in head-dress and clothes as well, which she afterwards abandons. A state souvenir portrait such as this would however recall the attire both of French and Italian ladies of rank, and this consideration may well dispose of suggested personation in the over-painting the portrait has undergone.

(1) Cfr. C. M. Ady, *op. cit.* p. 288. The historian of the Castello of the Sforza, Signor A. Beltrami, whose several volumes dealing with the subject have proved a most valuable and indispensable source for information, discusses the Luini lunettes in a paper: "La Serie Atel-

damaged for any adequate appreciation of art-values, neither can anything like first hand portrayal be postulated in the likeness of Duchess Bona. Other factors intervene to blur the impression, since distinction and originality are absent from portraits at second or third hand which can only hand on essentials. The physiognomic signature, Individuality, emerges through type and like our shadow goes with us until it is dark, and individuality fashions that indefinable something, the *non so ché*, of the Poet, that spells magnetism in the immutable look of self through life's changes.

It shall assist us here, to trace the semblance of Duchess Bona back through Luini's official portrait,<sup>(1)</sup> Ambrogio de Predis' state-picture (National Gallery), a medallion, representing the Duchess in the first years of widowhood, (Coll. Baron A. C. de Cosson, Florence) to the Uffizi portrayal which, as I hope to shew conclusively, shews us Lorenzo de' Medici's guest entitled in that bevy of fair women to the name of *la prima Madonna d' Italia*. Features coarsen with time, sorrow and disappointment harden expression, but the unmistakable look, the reply to intuitive questioning of the physiognomy is there. To corroborate this view, we are fortunate to possess more than one

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lana degli Sforza, "Rassegna d'Arte 1903, which unfortunately I have not been able to consult. Miss. C. M. Ady, already quoted, states: "among the most interesting of recent discoveries is the series of lunettes containing no less than fourteen Sforza portraits painted for the Della Tela family, and now generally ascribed to Luini. They are held to date between the years 1521-5, when Luini was most active in Milan, and when too the fortunes of the House of Sforza had experienced a temporary revival," and she concludes, "among all the likenesses, that of the last Duke Francesco II. would alone have been done from life, whilst medals, reliefs or other paintings accessible to the artist were what in the nature of things, given the vicissitudes of the Sforza house, could have afforded data for a second hand likeness."

(1) The same profile, "fat, fair, and forty," appears in a double portrait of the ducal couple, facing one another. Bona's profile turns to the left, she wears a cap embroidered with fleur de lys, fair ringlets peep from beneath the edges. The portraits in question illustrate Miss C. M. Ady's work, (op. cit. p. 107), and are reproduced from a picture in the possession of Dr. F. Gatti of Milan. Held to be a XVIth century copy of contemporary likenesses of Galeazzo and Bona, it may be regarded as an example of the second hand, second rate "official portraiture" from which Luini, who at best can only have seen the widowed and exiled Duchess through the mist of her unpopularity, and he is too young to have a personal impression as a corrective, no doubt drew his version of Bona's features. The resemblance with the Uffizi likeness is if anything made more definite by the vehicle, — oil painting.



contemporary pen-portrait of Bona's beauty from eye witnesses, whose words actually mirror her in that very lovely presence round whom an enchanted wood of criticism has grown up, to obscure the Sleeping Beauty's vision and hush even her name. I would add that probability strongly favours the commission of a companion souvenir portrait of Bona to go with that of Galeazzo Maria which we know Lorenzo de' Medici had painted for him by Piero del Pollaiuolo. Friendship between the two would warrant this, for the acquaintance dates from boyhood when Galeazzo aged fifteen is his grandfather's guest in Florence at the Pontifical Pageant of 1459. Lorenzo is but eleven in that year, but the difference of age between them, so marked then, vanishes ten years later when the youthful ambassador stands godfather to his play-fellow's elder son; and the impression which Bona's presence cannot have failed to produce must I think have contributed, - more than the implied reproof of extravagance, - to the weight of paternal warning admonition.<sup>(1)</sup>

The question lies outside the limits of this study in connection with the Sforza state first to Florence. When this Florentine portrait of Duchess Bona enters the Uffizi collection is not known, the Medici inventory affords no clue. The painting was long attributed to Piero de' Franceschi, and given more recently to Antonio del Pollaiuolo; it has now

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(1) Lorenzo de' Medici tells us in his "Ricordi": "in July 1469 I went to Milan at the request of the illustrious Duke Galeazzo to stand god-father as proxy for Piero our father to his first-born child. I was received with much honour, more so than the others who came for the same purpose, although they were persons more worthy than I. We paid our duty to the Duchess by presenting her with a necklace of gold with a large diamond, which cost near 2000 ducats. The consequence was that the said Lord desired that I should stand god-father to all his children."

Quoting from Mrs. Ross's transcripts and translation of Medici papers, the letter which Piero de' Medici addresses to his wife, July 13th, throws interesting light as much upon the domestic discipline in the family, as upon the "simple life," fast receding into outworn usage. "Thou knowest" he tells Madonna Lucrezia, "how unwilling I was for many reasons, particularly in order not to give any importance to this mission, to allow Lorenzo to go.... let see that everything is ready, and tell Lorenzo that he is not to exceed his orders, he is not to make so many oranges, (non fare tante melerancie a proverbial saying originating in the jugglers' feats throwing fruits, apples, oranges about and catching them in the air).... he is not an ambassador. I am determined that the gosling shall not lead the gander to water."

been labelled *School*. I have already noted the affinity existing between this portrait and the Lanfredini medallion.

The fate of Piero del Pollaiuolo's portrait of Galeazzo recorded in the Medici inventory has also afforded much scope for controversy. A fine likeness of a darkhaired young man with a prominent aquiline nose (Uffizi Gallery) of which a replica by Cristofano dell'Altissimo is inscribed with the Duke's name, was until recently ascribed not to Piero but to his brother Antonio, and it has now been restored to the former.<sup>(1)</sup>

Luini's likeness of Duchess Bona can only be termed a libel at second hand. Born about 1475, the painter is an infant at the time of the Sforza tragedy which widows Bona at five and twenty or little more. He is aged five in 1479, when having been constrained first to share the guardianship of her son, she resigns the regency of the Dukedom to Lodovico il Moro her elder and masterful brother-in-law; and she retires to the Dower-residence of Abbiategrasso. Her appearances at Milan are now few, and only occur on ceremonial occasions: the marriage of Gian-Galeazzo, her son, to Isabella of Aragon his cousin,

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(1) It should be stated in connection with the dispersal of Medici household gods, that so early as 1488, Lorenzo was constrained through financial embarrassment to part with some of his possessions to his cousins Lorenzo and Giovanni di Pier-Francesco, whom long minorities both in their own and their father's case had enriched. A sale might account for the companion picture's omission from the inventory of 1492, in which Galeazzo Maria's portrait figures. But it should also be borne in mind although Lorenzo and Giovanni di Pier-Francesco escaped exile by renouncing their family allegiance in 1494, that did not save Medici property. Careggi was broken into and the contents wrecked, and beside the property in works of art: the Judith etc. confiscated to the state and removed to the Palazzo della Signoria, a judicial sale of the rest was ordered to the highest bidder. The Diarist, Luca Landucci ("Diario Fiorentino," 1460-1515, ed. Signor Jod. Del Badia, Florence, 1884), records that the auction sales went on day by day for close upon a fortnight, at Or San Michele. A certain amount of property was no doubt recovered and bought in at the family resettlement in 1512. Among the survivors who claim shares then are Lorenzo's two sons: Giovanni and Giuliano, his widowed daughter-in-law Alfonsina Orsini in behalf of her children Lorenzo (Duke of Urbino) and Clarice married to Filippo Strozzi, and the descendants of Lorenzo and Giovanni di Pier-Francesco, grandsons and nephews to Lorenzo and Cosimo *Pater Patriae* his brother. The apportionment gave rise to much quarelling, and indeed, the antagonism — only quelled by the Pontiff's liberality — broke out violently after the death, of Leo X. when Clement VII. lays the weight of his pontifical will into the balance, in favour of illegitimate Medici stock.

that of Lodovico to Beatrice d'Este, and of her daughter Bianca to the Emperor Maximilian, until 1494, when after her son's death she leaves Milanese territory definitively. These shadowy apparitions are now commemorated by Ambrogio de Predis' *state* portrait. But Luini is not yet twenty, and his painter's career commences only when Bona's memory after her death in exile "unwept, unsorrowed and unsung", is that of *une femme de petit sens*. That "official" likeness in the line of Sforza rulers in the Castello expresses little else, both in Philippe de Commines' and in contemporary opinion.<sup>(1)</sup>

The Castello portrayal thus only reveals essentials in the cut of feature, shared with Ambrogio de Predis's work executed probably

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(1) Cfr. C. M. Ady, *op. cit.* pp. 116-124. Galeazzo Maria's murder on December 26th 1475, placed Bona in a position of difficulty which none but a ruler in her own right then, which she was not, could have mastered. Miss Ady gives us a lucid account of the intrigues against Cecco Simonetta, the able secretary to Francesco Sforza who had become virtual prime minister under his son and supports his widow, and who clearly alone stands in the way of the ambition to rule on the part of Lodovico il Moro, the ablest and far from scrupulous senior of five brothers-in-law. Faction politics are rife in Milan, and Bona is ill-advised enough to sacrifice Simonetta. Her act which has been severely judged by posterity met however with the approval of her family, who at heart side with the Riario responsible for Giuliano de' Medici's murder. Lodovico's apparent reconciliation with Bona is only a stage towards her discomforture. History has disposed of the malevolent aspersions upon Bona's character for the marks of favour she bestowed upon her Modenese secretary, Antonio Tassino. The fact however served to deprive her of the custody of her two boys, Gian-Galeazzo and Ermes aged ten and eight respectively. Tassino is exiled to Duke Ercole's court at Ferrara and she writes, a victim rather than a culprit as her words shew: "we have always found him (Tassino) faithful and studious of our comfort and honour, nevertheless it is necessary for us to adapt ourselves to the conditions of the time and the will of the majority." Bona is absolved on the major count; but she is forced to subscribe to conditions which make her virtually a state prisoner, seeing her children only at intervals, handing over the control of the Treasury, etc. In November 1480 she determines to leave Milanese territory and seek refuge at her nephew's court at Turin, but is detained at Abbiategrasso, the dowager Ducal residence, by order of Lodovico. She complains bitterly of the restrictions on her actions and movements, "outraged by that iniquitous and perfidious Signor Lodovico." Bona's presence is recorded at the festivities surrounding her son Gian-Galeazzo's marriage to Isabella of Aragon, and also at the wedding of Lodovico il Moro to Beatrice d'Este, in 1489-91; and she takes her final departure to her nephew King Charles VIII, of France's court after Gian-Galeazzo's death in 1494. The cloud about to overshadow the fortunes of the House of Sforza hides Bona from our view henceforward. She is known to have been still living in 1506, that is all. We need only remember her a bride. As Pollaiuolo has painted her, so she lives for us.

from life, or at any rate from first hand vision when Bona makes her last regal entry upon the Ducal stage. She is about forty years old then. (1) A very few years farther upstream bring us to the presentment of Bona in widow's garb, in Baron de Cosson's plaquette. (2) The likeness with Ambrogio de Predis' portrait there is striking, far more so than with the Luini profile or the numerous other conventional likenesses of Bona to be met with frequently in North Italian collections. Her appearance is unprepossessing, the form has lost its contour, and an unbecoming coif covers the once fair ringlets that stray now as elflocks over o short fat neck. The bald forehead from which fashion has shaved the hair, to which the widow's veil lent dignity is now uncovered, bereft of the aureole of youth. The heavy double chin weights the profile. Nevertheless, both here as in Ambrogio de Predis and in the medallion's lineaments it is still possible to trace the seduction of *la bella Madonna*. The wraith of Beauty who had once claimed all suffrages, Duchess Bona is but fifty-four when the life which had

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(1) " Scarcely anything is known, observes the compiler of the painter's biographies (Catalogue, National Gallery, 1913), about the artist's life." Morelli believes Ambrogio de Predis to have been born about 1450, and suggests his apprenticeship with a miniature painter of some note, Cristoforo de Predis. In his art he is a follower of Foppa, prior to Leonado da Vinci's arrival in Milan. High in favour at Lodovico il Moro's court, several members of the Sforza family figure among the portraits ascribed to Ambrogio. Two pictures only signed and dated 1494 and 1502 respectively exist, though others are credibly ascribed to this painter. The year of his death is not known. The portrait of Bona of Savoy (No. 2251) presented to the National Gallery by Sir G. Donaldson in 1908, depicts her in full length, profile to the left, a crimson brocade gown with puffed sleeves and a mantle of striped brocaded material. She wears a necklace of red beads, and holds a spray of columbine in her right hand. (Canvas 34 in. H. by 24 in. W.). The aquilegia, columbine, so-called from the number of the sepals symbolizing the gifts of the Holy Spirit, and the form of the flower vaguely recalling the form of a dove, is likewise a symbol of prayer. It is often met with in religious art to typify " the gifts or virtues of the donor or the model."

(2) Collection of Baron A. C. de Cosson. Kindly communicated to me by the owner. " Plaquette, bronze, cast and chased, representing the bust of a lady in profile to the left, in the dress of a Milanese widow. Bona Sforza? The likeness with the Ambrogio de Predis portrait is marked. Diameter of the plaquette, 75 mm. The ground is gilt and the bust was originally coloured with enamel paint. There are faint traces of flesh tints on the face, the dress and under-veil were lilac, the outer-veil is dark blue. This plaquette, hitherto unpublished, is so far as is known unique."

opened under the fairest auspices, closes in oblivion amid the ruins of her House.

How strange yet how haunting is personal magnetism traced back to the fountain head of Youth. The profile of the Uffizi portrait, which clearly pencils a short not too thin nose and rounded chin, pictures the "face neither long nor yet short." The writer is the bridegroom by proxy in 1468 Tristano Sforza, and he will continue, "the eyes are beautiful although they might be blacker, the nose is well shaped, the mouth is handsome, she hath the most lovely throat, good teeth and beautiful hands." The husband of Madonna Beatrice d'Este of whom it was said that wheresoever she went was Paradise, such was her charm, was well-placed to give an authoritative opinion; and reading his remarks with the Unknown Gentlewoman before us, though the painting may have suffered so much at restorers' hands as to reckon the masterlimner's name well lost, sufficient genuine beauty and individuality remains and to spare, to assist the indestructible self-testimony which links this portrait to the accepted later and far from prepossessing likeness of the beautiful Duchess of Milan.

Nothing is known as to the date of the painting's entrance into Uffizi gallery. Though presumably a crystal in the nucleus of Medici possessions and subjected to their family vicissitudes, to dispersal, it may have come back in the dowry of a bride of the house.<sup>(1)</sup>

Bona di Savoy finds her place in Florence not only in the sequence of Pollaiuolo's art. The statesmanship of the Medicean age in which the Lanfredini now will play a noteworthy part is influenced by the Sforza star in its course towards eclipse.

The presence in the Uffizi portrait, as much as the type semblance of the Cassandra Lanfredini-Carnesecchi, adds but another dream-

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(1) Princess Claudia de' Medici, daughter of Ferdinand I, and Cristina of Lorraine, grand-daughter of Catherine de' Medici Queen of France marries first, Federigo della Rovere Prince of Urbino, and on becoming a widow, she returns to Cosimo II. her late brother's court, with her only daughter Vittoria; the latter is betrothed to her cousin Ferdinand who succeeds his father in 1621. A number of the finest paintings in the Pitti Palace museum by Raphael, Titian, etc., came from the Ducal palace of Urbino.

face to the forms of fair-haired women whom Lorenzo de' Medici will follow in the Lover's Quest. (1)

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(1) "Selve d'Amore." Lorenzo de' Medici epitomizes his vision of Beauty in the concluding sonnet of which a prose rendering is subjoined. "Ye Lovers glances fair.... An ye fix your gaze on this or that beauteous face, a thousand forms of loveliness ye instantly descry: Yet be those eyes, beacons bright now turned away from you, a madman he that deemeth then to have looked on Beauty's self. She alone is Beauty, here clustered all in one; from her abundance all gifts derive, that in others singly we find difused. Who hath but challenged Beauty's glance, shall sigh for evermore, and yearn in vain for Love eternal."

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## CHAPTER VI.

**Galeazzo Maria Sforza and Bona of Savoy described and painted by eye-witnesses at their progress through North Italy to Florence.**

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SOME discursiveness might be charged against me for matter not immediately relevant to the Lanfredini in Florentine annals, did the precincts of their old home itself not afford justification for the intent to create a living atmosphere round the silent walls. Much of the deed of life happened there, and the events which the Lanfredini brothers now, from 1469 onward to their death, assist to shape, and to thwart as seemed best to Lorenzo de' Medici, are too closely bound up with Sforza destinies, for that ducal pair not to provide the most telling pictorial illustrations.

*Place aux dames.* A pen-portrait of those days seldom conveys to us a really pictorial impression, the limner too often, be it from political discretion or apprehension for his neck, taking our knowledge for granted with his own. The Milanese Emissaries to the French Court however, instructed to report home concerning their future sovereign's lay us under a distinct obligation with regard to the Florence portrait of Bona. Zannone Corio and Giorgio Annone's words need no editing, no hair-splitting adaptation to the picture before us. They are both thoroughly trustworthy. Corio who attends the young Count of Pavia to France, when to the general astonishment the Duke of Milan, instead of an experienced leader of men, despatches his twenty year old son

to command the contingent Louis XI. has asked for, perceives quickly enough that the political alliance is to be sealed with a marriage. Proclaimed Duke of Milan, and no longer heir presumptive on sufferance, Francesco Sforza finds the Gonzaga alliance not quite good enough! Neither his parents nor Galeazzo have yet set eyes upon the bride of their day-dream, but the Lady Bona, daughter of Count Louis of Savoy and the renowned beauty Anne of Lusignan, might serve; she who, orphaned of her mother, has grown up to girlhood under her sister the Queen of France's eye. The Duke and Duchess of Milan have commissioned a portrait from their court painter Zanetto Bugatti, and Corio keeps his sovereign at Milan fully informed. This is the first of our pen-portraits. Writing on January 23rd 1466 from Lyons, Corio hastens to assure his young master's mother, the Duchess Bianca, that "the Count Galeazzo hath manifested much satisfaction with the goods (i. e. the portrait). He has shown it," he continues, "to the French Ambassador Monsignor de Goacourt for his opinion," and adds "he is reported to assure us without any gainsaying, that she is lovelier far more than the artist has known how to paint her." Withal the Queen's Majesty observes the informant, "was not content to offer the Lady Bona to the painter's appreciative gaze under every guise in which it be feasible or meet to paint a noble maiden, she hath even he avers permitted him to see her clad but with a kirtle upon her shoulders." The Queen of France clearly intends where her sister's establishment is concerned to leave nothing to the imagination: "for she hath likewise bidden her put on the attire of a young Lord in a 'morisca', and she would have her foot a dance measure with the ambassador, upon terms of the greatest good fellowship." Other details, the worthy Corio adds, "I shall soon have the opportunity to report by word of mouth to Your Ladyship." (1)

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(1) Cfr. P. D. Pasolini, "Caterina Sforza", IV Vols. E. Loescher, Rome, 1893. In Vol. III, p. 10. Doc. 6. Letter from Zannoni Corio to Bianca Visconti Sforza Duchess of Milan. Orig. In Bib. Nat. Paris. Fonds Italien, No. 160, f. 22, translated in the text. The editor of Castiglione's "Cortigiano" Signor Vittorio Cian, records a performance of the Calandria at Urbino, February 13th 1513, where the interval between the first and second act is filled by the *Moresca* or Masque of



Giorgio Annone, Corio's colleague, has seen the portrait's original, and he adds such detail as will make Bona stand before us, not only a beautiful full length figure, but standing in the central foreground of the French Court intimacies of which le Plessis, Amboise, and the Loire châteaux frame the splendid setting. His appreciations are personal and have a true pictorial touch. He has come to Lyons to meet Corio having left Galeazzo at the French King's camp at Liniers and he breaks the journey at Orleans, where the Queen holds her court. He will describe his reception and his first meeting with his young master's bride, according to established ceremonial. " Having been given leave to depart hence, by the King's Majesty he writes on February 12th, I came to Orleans bearing his credential letter addressed to the Queen, the purport of which was that I be admitted to wait upon her pleasure in the interest of the Illustrious Count Galeazzo's suit. And at the second hour of that day, Her Majesty whom I found seated in a handsomely furnished chamber with her two sisters, and about them a number of courtiers, — cavaliers and ladies, — garbed in mighty fine apparel as is their wont in France, did suffer that I pay my respectful duty to them all together. And I deemed it meet that from my address the Lady Bona should be led to believe I had come to see her sister as much as herself. After which, the Queen who had deigned to take the credential kindly and accepted my obeisance, likewise being pleased to note the words of homage I had spoken in his

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Jason. In a letter of Lodovico da Canossa to Castiglione: " the first intromesso was a moresca of Jason who appeared upon the stage from one side dancing armed 'all'antica', (i. e. after the Greek and Roman fashion) most goodly to look upon, with a sword and a beautiful shield. Suddenly from the other side there came on two bulls so like unto life that by many they were deemed so, breathing fire from their mouths.... Now the bold Jason accosts them, and putting a yoke upon their necks forces them to draw a plough; and he sows the dragon's teeth, and behold from the front stage rise men armed likewise as the ancients, so well done as I deem it to be possible anywhere, and these then proceeded to dance a brave *moresca* and made believe to set upon Jason to kill him, and then they fought all together, and were killed one by one, but we did not see them die. Jason then went off in pursuit and came back at once, dancing most excellently, with the Golden Fleece upon his shoulders; and the part was acted by the Moro." The *morisca* frequently met with in descriptions of state festivities in the latter half of the XVth, and the XVth centuries, is one of those " follies " which Messer Cesare Gonzaga observes in the symposium of courtiers are among their fitting pastimes.

Lordship's name, made known her goodwill to the suit, and furthermore, turning a benign countenance upon, me, gave me leave to pay my addresses to her sisters." (1)

The interview is clearly intended to test Bona's queenly deportment. Her maidenly reserve comes in for most praise. Annone does not like later informants enter into details of the bride's femininity. He tells the Duchess, "howbeit I have but looked upon her face, yet I am bold to say, an Your Grace could see her, you would be satisfied that she is a most beautiful Madonna." Bona shews him, — at seventeen she is every inch a Queen, how she will accept her subjects' homage and win their hearts. "To each, the envoy continues, I did commend the Count's excellency, and during that time which exceeded half an hour in length I spent in the Queen's presence, I kept my glances fixed upon the Lady Sister, who likewise seemed not to weary in her attention to me; I do apprehend the motive in that they had whispered of my coming hither to address her in the Count's suit. Moreover several among the Queen's attendant lords kept urging me to look my fill, and that reverence for her ladyship's presence deter me not, I thanked them retorting with a laugh, that the end of my journey being but to wait upon the Queen's pleasure, yet was I mightily gratified withal at the sight of so fair a Lady. And, it seeming to me t'were time to take my leave, I addressed the Queen, and afterwards in turn the sisters as hath been told, and they severally bade me commend them to the Count Galeazzo."

Annoni concludes his report with golden opinions of hearsay import, the drift of which can be guessed from his insistence that Bona is "fair, in sooth a very fair most beautiful Madonna", and had it been given him to see her "one or two more times", the discreet courtier sets no limits to what he might say. There is much in the portrayal of King Edward IV and his forsaken bride, which Shakespeare's impersonation suggests, but does not visualize for us. In the

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(1) Cfr. Pasolini, loc. cit., p. 11, Doc. 7. Giorgio Annone to the Duchess of Milan. Bib. Nat. Paris. Fonds Italien, No. 1619, Fol. 30.

Poet's historic drama *Bona* is but an apparition, yet we sense there a personality which the three years of her young girlhood in the forcing house of a court develop foreshadowed in the spirited message: "in hope he will prove a widower shortly, I'll wear the willow garland for his sake," the words picture less regret for a laggard bridegroom, than the consciousness of triumphant charm notwithstanding, such as *Annone* underlay, and is written for all to read, in the portrait painted at a further distance of a very few years. (1) Indeed the time of betrothal, — Galeazzo has returned to Milan on his father's death to take the reins of Government, and seems in no hurry, has only brought us nearer to the picture in Florence. So *Tristano* testifies; the bridegroom's halfbrother and proxy at the marriage celebrated at Amboise on May 19th 1468, vows "she hath the sweetest manners and the most discreet bearing," over and above the perfections of form and countenance he dwells upon admiringly. (2)

A last pledge reaches us from another eye-witness, Galeazzo's chamberlain *Guido Parato*, appointed to meet *Bona* at her entrance into

(1) The breach of promise upon the part of Edward IV, to marry the Princess *Bona* was an insult only to be avenged by war. Family feuds carried on through generations had often no other origin than this. The formal betrothal, was deemed as binding as marriage itself. Hence the reference by the annalists of the *Holinshed Chronicle* to an apparently insignificant episode; pictures quely retold by *Shakespeare*, *King Henry VI*, Third Part, Act III, Sc. 3. *Bona's* acquiescence with *King Edward's* suit is only in accordance with the attitude required of the bride. But the feeling of wounded pride which she expresses: "My quarrel and this English Queen's (*Margaret of Anjou*) are one," a sentiment in which her sister *Charlotte of Savoy* and her brother-in-law *Louis XI.* as well as *Margaret* herself and *Warwick* uphold her, seems tempered with some feeling for the faithless *Edward*, who is past master in the ways of the man with a maid. The words: "Tell him I hope he'll prove a widower shortly, I'll wear the willow garland for his sake," contains both a dismissal and a regret. The date of this episode, May-June 1462, — *Edward* had married *Lady Elizabeth Woodville* a twelvemonth earlier secretly, and the marriage was now only made public while *Warwick* was pursuing the negotiations for the betrothal with *Bona*, — makes her age about 12-13; and the words put into her mouth by the chronicler and the poet are evidence of anything but "small wit."

(2) Cfr. *Pasolini*, loc. cit., Vol. III, pp. 33-4. *Tristano Sforza's* letter is quoted from *C. Magenta* ("I Visconti e gli Sforza nel Castello di Pavia"). He informs his brother "that he has conformed to the usage, placing his foot by the bride's side as she lies in bed." Evidence to *Bona's* moral qualities is afforded by *Foglietta*, *Hist. Gen.*, Lib. XII. "Placidis et amoenis moribus muliere." And her disposition is defined by a contemporary anonymous diarist of *Parma* "Quae merito *Bona* vocari meruit."

Milanese territory. The young Duchess has been greeted admiringly along the route; she is escorted by a caravan of litters and pack-animals; typical of the march of the Israelites, the progress of the Queen of Sheba, or the Wise Men's journey, which artists interpret in contemporary guise on the storied walls of church and cloister. At Lyons the Milanese and Florentine mercantile community give their own Duchess, and their Ally's bride, an enthusiastic welcome. The party embark at Marseille. Though hugging the shore to Genoa where they land, the passage is stormy, and tells upon Bona's appearance: "somewhat thin, *magolina*," reports Parato, in attendance upon Lodovico il Moro who represents his brother at the landing stage; yet impressed by her charm he will report on June 28th, that "fairer looks were never seen, nor bearing more noble and glances modestly controlled." The fresh recital of Bona's good points leave nothing to be desired for frankness: "the eyes, brow, nose, and mouth are lovely, the throat and bosom of surpassing whiteness, the person most lissom, with those twain fruits that meet not, — as is our wont," he observes gallantly, "but lie a good hand's breadth apart..." (1)

The presence outlined only by Corio and Annone, the stately fair-haired beauty pictured for us by Tristano Sforza and Guido Parato looks upon us in the lineaments of the "bella Madonna" whom Florence will paint. Though the portrait may as critics complain, have suffered so much at the restorer's hands as to prove a stumbling block to whole-hearted satisfaction, sufficient beauty remains to enforce the in-

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(1) Cfr. Pasolini, loc. cit., p. 34. The Milanese envoy, Guido Parato's letter is also quoted from Magenta's history of the Visconti and Sforza. The bride dismounted at the gates of Genoa, and made her state entry on foot, walking beneath a canopy of cloth of gold the staves of which were borne in turn by representative Genoese and Lombard noblemen. A deputation of fifty gentlewomen welcomed her, and the Castellan of Genoa, handing Bona the keys of the citadel, then joined in the procession. Galeazzo meets his bride at Novi near the frontier of Piedmont on June 25th. They proceed together to Vigevano, the Visconti Dukes' fine favourite country seat; the French household is now dismissed, and the Lombard fashion in dress substituted as well. It may be recalled in this connexion that the elaborate coiffure in the Uffizi portrait suggests a *foreign* fashion, contrasting as it does with the smooth hair, plainly parted on the forehead, the ringlets and simple plaits met with in Italian contemporary hair-dressing, as it is pictured by Lippi, Botticelli, Ghirlandajo, etc., in Florentine, and De Predis and Luini etc., in Lombard art.

destructible evidence of self, to trace Duchess Bona in the flower of her young wifhood, in the blonde beauty of the Unknown Gentlewoman of the Uffizi Gallery. The Milanese witnesses are outspoken. With Corio's strictures upon the portrait limner's failure to do his sitter justice, bearing in mind such paintings of the Milan Court painter Zanetto Bugatti as have come down to us, we can acquiesce with composure now in the loss of *his* delineation. The Florentines admiration is more discreet, they suggest only what Parato and his friends proclaim. Whilst the Sienese envoy Balduino's account of the Ducal progress to Florence (App. I. letter 8.) reports the admiration in general terms only her appearance aroused at Lucca, he notes carefully the pearl and sapphire pendant worth 2000 ducats, and an ornament of fine precious stones worth 1000 ducats, the gift of the city to their guest. The Florentine Chroniclers Morelli and Rinuccini are content to record the visit with satisfaction, that is all.

It may be questioned whether Galeazzo and Bona who spend but a week in Florence find time for both to give sittings to the painters of the Labours of Hercules panels which adorn the great saloon of their host's palace. The brothers Pollaiuolo are clever draughtsmen, there are no imperfections to be slurred over or made the best of here if Bona can give them but one half hour. Her beauty is of the quality of Helen's, that steals upon memory and dwells there for evermore; and if such were needed, the goldsmith painter would have sought to add proof of identity by the accurate reproduction of the beautiful pendant which hanging from white pearls sets off the whiteness of Bona's throat. The brooch that fastens the amethyst velvet "*giornea*," the colour of which is regal, and not less than lily-strewn blue is *le fard des blondes* might well be identified with the above mentioned pearl and sapphire ornament.

If as I hope to have shewn we can recognize Bona of Savoy in the Unknown Gentlewoman of the Uffizi, the inference is permissible that the picture was intended to form a companion souvenir double portrait with that of Galeazzo Maria which we know Piero del Pollaiuolo paints for Lorenzo de' Medici. If such were the case it was

only partially carried out, bearing in mind the differences of dimension between Bona's portrait, and the panel with which the Medici inventory portrait of Galeazzo is at present identified in the Uffizi Gallery. (1) The description; a portrait on panel of a Duke of Milan with gold ornaments and a coat strewn with gold lilies, " (2). accords too closely with the narratives of the Sforza couple's "joyeuse entrée" in Florence, when both the "Duke and 'Madama' wear blue of the colour and brocaded with the lilies of France," for the circumstance not to have

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(1) Signor Ugo Rossi, "Archivio Storico dell'Arte," 1890, p. 160, observes: "Another painting which should be restored to Piero is the male portrait exhibited hitherto in the Uffizi Gallery (No. 30), ascribed there to Antonio del Pollaiuolo.... According to all probability this is the picture recorded in Lorenzo de' Medici's post-mortem inventory, 1492." "That inventory be continued formed the basis for the list of the property which had been preserved, and that was which recovered in 1510, a recoverer upon which the re-settlement and redistribution effective in 1512 among the survivors, descendants only of Giovanni di Bicci de' Medici, was founded.... The painting recorded in the Palazzo della Signoria inventory for 1553, then the Ducal residence, is there described more fully,... "a portrait on panel of a Duke of Milan with gold ornaments and a coat strewn with golden lilies...." That the above-mentioned," concludes the critic, "is the portrait of Galeazzo Maria Sforza is evidenced by another likeness by Cristofano dell'Altissimo identical in essentials who copied it from an original extant in Mgr Paolo Giovio's Museum, to the commission of Cosimo I. The two paintings identical in all their details, obviously depict the same personage.

(2) Cfr. Cruttwell, op. cit., pp. 182-3, recalls Signor Rossi's conclusions: that among the portraits of illustrious personages painted for Cosimo I, there is one similar in all respects to the first mentioned, except that the hand holding the glove is omitted. Cristofano dell'Altissimo's *cauvas* notes Miss Cruttwell is inscribed at the top, GALEACIUS M. SFORTIA. MED. II. DUX, and she is inclined to agree with Signor U. Rossi that both paintings are copies from a lost original by a Lombard artist. Cristofano dell'Altissimo's copy — (Uffizi-Pitti corridor No. 506) — is recorded by Vasari thus (cfr. Vol. VII, ed. Milanese, p. 608) ".... The pupil first of Pontormo and afterwards of Bronzino.... having in his youth painted.... several portraits, he was despatched by the Duke Cosimo to Como, to copy in the Museum of Monsignor Paolo Giovio many likenesses of famous personages, among an immense number which that rare spirit of our day has gathered together.... On which task Cristofano worked with great diligence and skill copying these likenesses, which are so far done and adorn three sides of a cornice in the closet of the said Duke and, as shall be told hereafter thereof, will number upwards of two hundred and eighty (heads); pontiffs, emperors, kings and other princes, captains of arms, men of letters, and those who considered altogether likewise be me who for any cause are deemed of note and wide renown." Signor Milanese adds in a note, "Cristofano dell'Altissimo went to Como in the month of July 1552, and by May in the following year he had copied twenty-four portraits. He despatched them to the Duke via Milan in August, and a letter to the artist dated September 11th acknowledges the receipt of the pictures." (Cfr. Vasari's letter to M. Angelo Biffoli Ducal accountant, loc. cit., Vol. VIII, p. 274). The Duke expresses his gratification and desires the painter to continue the work and to include "poets and other learned and virtuous personages" in the collection. No list has come down to us of the "heads," ten of which were still in Vasari's keeping so late as January 1563-4.

been recorded by the painter. Nevertheless in the absence of *complete* concordance: Luini's official likeness of Galeazzo in the Castello series is a notable exception, and though the resemblance of the Uffizi portrait and Galeazzo's coins is sufficiently well-marked to warrant the present general identification, the last word may yet be left unsaid.

For the purpose of this study, dealing more particularly with the illustrative values of certain historic portraits, the present attribution in no wise detracts from the rare brilliancy which surrounds this hour — 1469-71, and marks the entrance of the Lanfredini brothers into the charmed Sforza and Medici as well as Este court circles. Therefore, whether Galeazzo's portrait was painted from life during his brief sojourn in Florence at this occasion, or was copied afterwards by Piero del Pollaiuolo from a sketch or a finished drawing by a Lombard artist as has been suggested; whether a Pollaiuolo or an "Ignoto" painted Bona, are questions apart from my aim which is to people the Lanfredini atmosphere with folk of real flesh and blood, picturing them in the guise they appeared in to their contemporaries. The Sforza pair make a handsome couple; her head aureoled with fairy-gold radiant in the chryselephantine loveliness with which Nature endows her Helens, contrasts with his dark auburn locks framing a profile carved in ivory, hawk-like, commanding, and as his legend of a Prince Charming proclaims, a lure. The eye is fine, wide open upon life, and the deeply shadowed sockets stamp the countenance with the potter's thumb-mark. A peculiarity strikes us in this portrait: the gloved hand so infrequently met with in the art of this epoch. A passage in Guido Parato's letter is suggestive here. Descanting upon Duchess Bona's perfections he lays stress upon her hands which he compares for whiteness to "Your Lordship's." Read beside the portrait, the courtier's comparison seems to me no empty flattery. Would Galeazzo vain of his hands not wear gloves habitually to preserve their "whiteness?" If so the master limner then would only be following rule: and paint a habit to ensure recognition. (1) Miss Cruttwell animadverts somewhat severely upon its

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(1) The question whether this portrait does not represent Ferrante of Aragon who like Galeazzo Maria Sforza wore the French "coat" habitually, and wore gloves always to conceal a

" dilapidated state, the picture having been cleaned apparently with some corrosive substance which has exposed the underpaint. "

Unfortunate as restoration nearly always proves, the damage, limited to the surcoat, has been less than the sweeping criticism implies. (1) At the distance of four and a half centuries, may we not be content if enough remains of the head of " Duke Galeazzo, " and sufficient resemblance can be traced in Bona of Savoy's Florentine portrait, to visualize, with the help also of the Lanfredini medallions, those halcyon days of the Lenten season of 1471 when both were the city's cynosure, no shadow yet lay athwart the Sforza and Medici lives, and no murderers fingerprints yet stained their escutcheons red.

If Lorenzo de' Medici is alone named by the Milanese historian Bernardo Corio (nephew to our old acquaintance Zannone) as the Ducal hosts in Florence, the Siense Envoys letters are more explicit. We are told namely that Galeazzo's family: three brothers, a sister-in-law, two children, and courtiers innumerable, are entertained in the

physical deformity of his hands, is open to argument. Ferrante of Aragon's profile represented in old woodcuts was strongly aquiline. A passage in Castiglione's *Cortigiano*, Book II, Cap. XL, pictures the Naples Court in king Ferrante's day with reference to the fashion of wearing gloves by men. Messere Gaspare Pallavicino is made to observe; it is fitting that one who excels in anything should wish to display his proficiency, etc, and likewise seek to conceal a defect. He points his moral with the example of King Ferrante of Naples who, " to shew off his figure would doff his doublet before his courtiers, and similarly, because he had not too fair hands, he would hardly ever take off his gloves. " Galeazzo covers his hands to keep them white, which is but another way suggested for the nice conduct of the courtier of calling attention to personal advantages.

(1) The entry in the inventory of 1553: " uno ritratto in tavola d'un Duca di Milano con ornamento dorato, e vesta piena di gigli dorati, " clearly describes the Uffizi portrait No. 30, which is painted on panel. A careful examination, the picture was taken out of its frame by the courtesy of the distinguished Director of the Uffizi Gallery, Professor Poggi, at the request of Mr. Charles Loeser in the writer's behalf, revealed that the over-painting had been limited to the surcoat and to the part unprotected by the frame, beneath which the original colour had retained its freshness. The face and hair had not been overpainted at all. Examination of the panel shewed it to be poplar which was the wood commonly used by Tuscan artists, whilst had the panel proved to be oak the suggestion of North-Italian origin would have been substantiated. That it was a copy by Pollaiuolo of a Lombard artist's original is of course arguable, but the fact recalled by the Siense Envoy Baldino that Galeazzo Maria wore the colours of France for his state entry into Florence would necessarily painting on the spot, be regarded by the artist as the keynote of his portrayal. I would take this opportunity to convey my best thanks to Professor Poggi and to Mr. Charles Loeser, whose art-critic's insight and erudition proved of the greatest assistance to me.



Medici home in the official guests residence, at S. Maria Novella, the Rucellai palace, and other citizens' homes. Pictured therefore as we behold them in their portraits, welcomed as all the chroniclers of the day combine to record, in the Oltr'Arno, their vitalizing individuality leads us, perhaps along the truant's roundabout way, yet straight to the Lanfredini home and its owners.

The medallions have told us all they can to give us a picturesque background, but that is not all the Lanfredini story. The family have painted in another vignette to support the suggestion of illustrious guests welcome: the Este diamond, which they introduce into the ceiling decoration of one of the ground-floor rooms overlooking the riverfrontage. (1) The ring of which the Este battle cry "Diamante" was often the tragic echo, constitutes a visible link with such guests as Beatrice d'Este Sforza, and her brother and sister-in-law, whose daughter will be betrothed to the heir to the Ferrara throne, linking up the fortunes of the two families eventually to Bona's detriment.

The grant of Este privileges of which the right to emblazon their arms is one may again be noted with a query. Whether the decorative scheme of family and civic heraldry, commissioned in after years by Jacopo Lanfredini's grandson to Pontormo, included those arms in the fourth shield which stands empty to-day, cannot be asserted. Vasari is silent and no vestiges of decoration have been recovered.

The Florentine portrayals of the Sforza couple would seem to me to afford some extenuating circumstances to history's judgments. Galeazzo's character at this turning point of his short life has been painted in contemptuous hues which a dispassionate view would qualify in so far that, had a longer span been granted him, the cycle of irresponsibility which the assassins' daggers bring to a tragic close might, indeed

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(1) Passerini Papers. The family biographer referring to the grant of the Este arms, which are copied on the rescript of Duke Ercole, together with the emblem: the letter H. within a ring set with a pointed brilliant-cut diamond, does not actually state that this device *was* comprised in the membership of the House, and the right to display the Este arms. The device or emblem was indeed a personal distinction. But the peculiar form of the ring in the Lanfredini Palace ceiling decoration similar to the device shewn in the Rescript, differing as it does essentially from the familiar Medici emblem connotes its Este origin.

probably would, have evolved normally, to produce in reality the moral semblance that the portrait, of no mean appearance and quality if it be indeed Galeazzo, suggests. Neither time nor pains were spared to make Galeazzo's education complete, yet it was not given him to learn the lesson of life in the way that Lorenzo de' Medici's younger but far more mature mentality had taught him. That failure, due to the *despot's* environment which for good or ill governs his life, has thrown the portrait of the young Duke of Milan "a monster of vices and of virtue" out of focus with actual reality upon history's screen. Many sided for ill, Galeazzo was both cruel and profligate, many sided for good he deserved well of art and learning. That there was something loveable in the masterful and faithless husband is clear from his widow's prayer to the Pope in her grief to grant post-mortem absolution for the guilt he have may incurred, and *she* will do penance in herself. That prayer of the morrow of December 26th 1476 has been put down to weakness of character, but something else should be read to Bona's credit into the offer: sacrifice of self. (1)

In like manner with Galeazzo, Bona's abrupt severance, though not by direct murder, from her rightful share in the making of her family history is as final, and in its consequences more unfair to her

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(1) Cfr. P. D. Pasolini, op. cit., Vol. I, Cap. I. Galeazzo's character is reviewed with some severity by the author of this standard history of the latter thirty years of XVth century Italian feudal and city-state rule. With all his faults to which contemporary Milanese historians are not blind, Galeazzo was no monster of cruelty for the sake of merely inflicting suffering, he was rather an embodiment of the egotism of power capable in turn of acts generous and ruthless. The historian Bernardino Corio is an eye-witness, to all the principal events of Milanese court life. The son of Zannone Corio the Envoy to France at the time of Bona's betrothal, he is appointed in 1471 at the age of fourteen among Galeazzo's pages, whilst his turn of duty takes him to the scene of the tragedy on December 26th 1475; he traces a portrait that, enumerating faults and hideous vices, yet suggests a not altogether unattractive character. The murderers' sentences did not make them martyrs in the eyes of contemporary opinion, a proof that Galeazzo was not unanimously loathed as a tyrant. Had he lived to wear the crown of a Lombard kingdom of Italy instead of the Ducal cap, the course of history might have been changed; a "King" of Milan had not invited the descent of French forces into Italy. There can be little doubt that the prolonged sojourn of Lodovico il Moro at the court of France, and also in quasi exile in Florentine territory, — Pisa at Duchess Bona's instance in the first years of her regency, — brought that possibility: to attain sovereign rule *somehow*, be it through French influence, within the field of his ambition's visions. French support then was to prove a long-dated bill, which Lodovico will meet with the ruined fortunes of his house.

portrayal. Attractive as her gentle character, seductive as her feminine charms are to the mind's eye, Bona has not found grace at the easel of posterity. Her virtue as a wife and mother is called in question, to justify her brother-in-law Lodovico's policy, but no case can justly be made against her. In that gaze of tranquil security of belief in her beauty's power the Florentine portrait shews us no light of love. The great denial however was to be hers, as she failed the trusted counsellor of her house Cecco Simonetta, so his betrayal, — for which she had her family's sanction, proved Bona's Nemesis. She is rudely thrust into history's margin, to be pictured as Philippe de Comines whose sympathy goes out ever to the spirited fighter defines her, "a woman of small wit." Such she may well appear in the later portrayals, but Florence beholds the young Duchess of Milan not so. (1) Bona's critics have not recognized her in this delineation. Within its setting of time and place it should absolve her of weakness which few women when confronted with fear for the morrow overcome. Life is a riddle for the young widow of seven and twenty, the regent of a state but recently subdued her path beset by problems which her upbringing does not fit her to meet. Possessed of more seductiveness than vigour; if physiognomy is a test, and Bona's later portraits do not belie this view, she stands before us at this hour, unknowing, a beautiful and pathetic sport of Fortune.

The portraits are courteous political exchanges of goodwill. They signify also a community of tastes which adds the key-note of a sincere welcome to this occasion, a compliment in which Lorenzo and his family go shares. So much can certainly be inferred from contemporary

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(1) Pasolini, loc. cit. The author has collected a vast mass of documentary evidence to rebut the inferences drawn from Commines' judgment of Bona of Savoy. We are given glimpses of family differences. There is an elder sister-in-law's jealousy in the case. The wife of Tristano Sforza, Beatrice d'Este, has spent the years of her girlhood and first widowhood at the Court of Ferrara, where "the sight of Madonna Beatrice opened the gates of Paradise." Her position in Milan, the wife of a "half-brother" irks her; moreover her niece, the younger Beatrice, is betrothed to Lodovico, and that succession is barred only by a delicate boy of ten. The conclusions to be drawn by the student of human nature under the interplay of conflicting emotions and interests are obvious, they suffice to account for history's judgment of Bona, a judgment of which the overthrow in one lifetime, of the century-long upbuilding of the Sforza house, enforces the severity.

opinion. Galeazzo we are told, " marvelled greatly at the sight of the many paintings by the hand of the most excellent masters ; he being by inclination most partial to the painter's craft, whereof he swears he hath seen more examples in the one palace of the Medici than in the rest of Italy taken all together. And similarly added he, t'is certain their drawings and statuary, and the marbles wrought by the ancients are wondrous as well as the craft of to-day, the jewellery, the books, and the other things of exceeding rarity and great price, looking upon which he deemed that any quantity of gold and silver shall seem as mere dross. " (1)

We can thus fairly conclude that the young Sforza couple, portrayed in the time and place of their progress through central Italy in the spring and summer months of 1471, intended to lay foundations of a kingdom which materializes only in day-dreams. They are effectually pictured with due regard for historic probability ; and within this brief interlude the extenuating circumstances of youth may be accorded alike to hosts and guests. These lend grace to ambitious aims, they colour the fair scenery in the background of which the Lanfredini brothers stand draped in *the Prior's and Ambassador's* robes at their house door, ready to welcome guests.

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(1) Cfr. Scipione Ammirato, " Istorie Fiorentine, " Lib. XXIII, ann. 1475. The words put into the mouth of the King of Denmark, Christian I, who makes a halt at Pavia on March 11th 1474-5, on his return from a pilgrimage to the shrine of S. James of Compostella: " that it befitted not a mighty and generous prince to hoard treasures, " have been interpreted only to suggest ostentation and pride of purse, the stigmata of a vulgar mind, in Galeazzo. Whilst allowing for loyal prejudice in his late master's favour, Corio's and other contemporary pen-portraits which shew him indeed no saint, and little can be brought forward in extenuation of Galeazzo undeniable vices, nevertheless shew that as a patron of art and learning, he yields nothing to his contemporary fellow-rulers. Justice has been done to Galeazzo by the learned historian of the Castello of Milan, Senator Luca Beltrami. The restoration of that magnificent pile under his direction has brought Galeazzo and Bona's share in the house-building into proper focus.

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## CHAPTER VII.

### The Sforza journey to Florence, and their host's welcome

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THE decorative aspect of the Ducal progress has found a place in all contemporary records. It is described with legitimate pride by the Milanese historians. Bernardino Corio writing in the perspective of boyhood's reminiscences, — he was once a page at Galeazzo's court, — remembers only the bloom of youth upon life's fruits; and it is focussed under the dry light of the rate-payers' humour by Florence chroniclers; whilst Machiavelli, analyzing the philosophy of those events at the farther end of half a century's vista, with the Sforza and Medici tragedies in his foreground, perceives only the pitiless fate of families, in actions to which the principal actors are blind or incurious. For him the Milanese visit has not only the ostensible character claimed, namely the accomplishment of a vow in the pilgrimage to the world-famed shrine of the SS. Annunziata at Florence, in thanksgiving for the birth of a Sforza son and heir, — 1469, an occasion which the Medici honour and requires due acknowledgment, but it signifies a sign of the times, a portent of evil days to come. The community is open to the lure of leisure and pleasure. "If the Duke, he tells us, found the city of Florence steeped in a court's vanities, and displaying manners and customs inimical to any rightly ordered state, his coming and sojourn hath left her increasingly so." (1)

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(1) Machiavelli, "Storie Fiorentine," Lib. VII, Cap. XXVIII.

As a chronicler Machiavelli is pleased to trace in unseasonable because Lenten entertainment, the Nemesis which shall overtake both houses. As the philosopher-historian he justly prides himself to be, he is able to point to the true cause: revolt against one-man despotism, which that century, of oligarchs bred in the tradition of an ideal republicanism, could ill brook. He is withal not unreasonably sceptical concerning the colourable pretext of a religious pilgrimage, in view of the numerous retinue where political satellites: the diplomatic representatives of Italian rulers, combine to impersonate a revival of the Visconti-Milanese protectorate over the smaller and ever mutually jealous neighbours of Florence. The atmosphere of secret diplomacy breeds justifiable suspicion. Jacopo Lanfredini who has been elected again to the Signoria in this year, must yet be held though not named directly by the chroniclers Filippo and Alamanno Rinuccini, to have shared the city's apprehensions.

Galeazzo had seen the road to the Sforza ascendancy smoothed for his father by Cosimo de' Medici and his son's policy, it behoves him to remove the Florentines suspicion of his double-dealing which later events will justify. (1) The Visconti ascendancy was in all mens' memories, and the meteoric course of the Sforza's career, from the soldier of fortune's saddle to the ducal throne in Francesco's person, made the kingship of a Lombard state no mere day-dream void of all potential reality. (2) The first steps had already been taken behind Lorenzo

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(1) "Ricordi Storici di Filippó di Cino e Alamanno Rinuccini." Ed. G. Aiazzi, Florence, 1840. Alamanno Rinuccini is an eye-witness to the events he describes. He states (p. CV-CVI); "Whereafter the said Duke, escorted by a concourse of citizens despatched towards him by the Signoria, proceeded to visit them, having first informed them of his wish to speak in the presence of a goodly number.... and they entered the Council-Chamber, where all being seated and the Duke likewise beside the Gonfalonier, he spoke at great length, justifying his attitude and setting forth the reasons that had moved him to delay the ratification of the stipulations of the Universal league.... and he furthermore proposed to the Signoria to enroll for their service at once the forces agreed upon in the terms aforesaid, moreover placing himself and his state at the service of the Signoria."

(2) History has done full justice to Francesco Sforza. The seneschal of Sartirana (a border stronghold not far from Alessandria on the confine of Piedmont and Lombardy), Zohanpetro Cagnola, senior by a few years to Bernardino Corio, an eye-witness therefore of the rise of the Sforza ascendancy, conveys in his history the opinion of Francesco Sforza accepted by posterity. "This prince was much beloved and acceptable to the nobles and the Milanese people, wherefore great were the grief

de' Medici and the Signoria's back in the Milanese negotiations for the detachment of the Manfredi and Ordelaifi, Lords of Faenza Forlì and Imola, from their allegiance to Florence in view of Galeazzo's daughter, Caterina's establishment. (1)

Suspicion is rife also in a neighbouring neutral state, Siena, where Milanese sympathies dated back to far off Visconti days, although the party of civic independence now hold the reins of government. The Signoria of Siena therefore are justly apprehensive of innovations *novità* such as appear to be the likely outcome of the Ducal progress, and they instruct two envoys, the notary Ser Balduino da Lucignano and another citizen whose calling is not stated, Lorenzo di Antonio Venturini, to watch the contingencies of Galeazzo's coming: *ad explorandum adventum Illustr. Ducis Mediolani*, and to report all they learn. Whilst these men are not invested with official

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and lamentation; and in sooth every one mourned him personally, deeming to have lost not only an excellent prince but a most merciful and kindly parent as well.... This soldier Duke was of goodly and admirable presence, and in stature above the middle height. There was in him a suitable proportion of limb and his countenance displayed a pleasing gravity, and mastery shone therein in such wise that in any assemblage he would have been recognized as the leader and captain among them and he commanded respect from all. None surpassed him in strength and agility in his time. Hunger, thirst and fatigue, howsoever, he endured unflinchingly and neither heat nor cold deterred him in his campaigns. Of courage so undaunted and fearless, that by night or by day, an unwonted noise would find him the first under arms and ready to defend the post of danger; and in all his enterprises he scorned apprehension, ready, gallant, and prudent to boot; and in his wars he was prompt in action, and most quick to perceive and divine the counsels and the movements of the enemy. Leading his forces, distributing their order in massed attack and in scattering the onrush, he shewed such foresight and dexterity that all confessed that his side could not be beaten. And not only was he generous in his gifts but most liberal in all things. He loved justice and equity, and it may be said in very sooth that since Julius Caesar, our Italy has known no captain to equa Francesco Sforza who, victorious always, never suffered defeat. "

(1) Cfr. C. M. Ady, *op. cit.*, pp. 101-2. "Imola was nominally a papal fief, but the ruling family of Manfredi had long treated it as a private possession, and they now ceded it to Galeazzo." Pope Paul II. died unexpectedly in the sommer of 1471, and the "deal" of Imola and Forlì was only completed in the following December by the newly elected Pontiff, but it was for Sforza and not for Florentine benefit. There can be little doubt however that a snitable marriage for his elder natural daughter Caterina Sforza had been in her father's mind long before; and since it was clearly impossible to dispose of Milanese territory for her dowry, the alleged acquisition of Forlì and Imola the overt explanation of these negotiations, in Florentine behalf, could not fail to strike the Signoria with a keen sense of the hollowness of protestations, which the event was to nullify.

diplomatic status, yet if they announce the likely despatch of a Siense diplomatic Mission they do ambassadors work. Such a move will prove a delicate compliment at once to the Signoria of Florence and their guests, and may tend to forestall adoption of a policy likely to jeopardize the civic sovereignty of Siena, only recently freed from the Anjou indirect suzerainty and rejoicing in the respite before, the Neapolitan House of Arragon only proves a change of masters. The letters throw interesting light upon the state held by the Ducal party,<sup>(1)</sup> the composition of the court and household which, coming from the pen of outside witnesses, corroborate at once Bernardo Corio's courtier's appreciation,<sup>(2)</sup> and Machiavelli's *ex post facto* strictures. The narrative of the preparations for the Sforza welcome along the whole route to Florence, - the letters unfortunately break off at the beginning of the

(1) These curious letters are printed in the Appendix, No. 2.

(2) Cfr. B. Corio, "Storia di Milano," Part. VI, Cap. 2. "Galeazzo and his wife Bona went to Florence... with a state unknown to memory of man... His principal counsellors and vassals were given apparel of gold and silver cloth and their household clothed with new liveries. The court-officials in his pay had velvet and silk suits and the gentlemen of his privy chamber had finely laced tabards given them; forty among them had gold chains about their necks, the least costly of which was worth not less than 100 ducats. Vercellino Visconti was his sword-bearer. Fifty grooms wore coats respectively of silk and of silver cloth, and even the clerk of the kitchen and his men were garbed in silk and velvet raiment. Fifty chargers saddled in cloth of gold, with gilt stirrups and silken bridles, were mounted by as many pages, goodly youths in doublets of cloth of silver and tabards of the Sforza colours. The Duke's body guard numbered 100 men at arms, picked troops dressed as captains all, and 500 picked infantry besides; and all had received the prince's guerdon. Fifty hackneys had been prepared for the Duchess, caparisoned in housings of gold and silver cloth, all ridden by pages richly dressed, and there where twelve covered litters with curtains of gold and silver cloth wrought with the ducal insignia, and upholstered with in with cushions of brocaded cloth and others of silver silk and damask of purple for her conveyance, and even the horses' cloths were of silk. The train numbered 2000 horses and 200 packmules all furnished with cloths of white and mulberry coloured damask, embroidered in silver and gold with the Ducal arms; and the drivers also had new liveries given them of their masters colours. A kennel of five hundred couple of hounds made up His Excellency's hunt with hawks, and falcons and huntsmen, a band of 40 trumpeters and pipers, and musicians proficient in diverse instruments, play-actors and jugglers all provided their entertainment. It was calculated that the cost amounted to upwards of 200,000 ducats." Corio's narrative if detailed yet conveys but the impression of senseless extravagance; it lacks the perspective, and the atmosphere of political opportunity of the Siense letters. Machiavelli's commentary is coloured by wisdom after the event, though it certainly reflects the more sober-minded Florentine citizens' views, which we perceive in the letters referred to, as well as in the chroniclers' records, notably L. Morelli and Rinuccini, and Giovanni Cambi. The two former are eye-witnesses of the events they note.



memorable week March 16-23, sets up a most vivid pictorial background in which most of the landmarks of that day are yet standing. Whilst the pageant stage is peopled with a characteristic cast the aspect of the city herself is so full of life, that but a slight effort of the imagination visualizes the entire processional route; the welcome in the Piazza della Signoria, at the Medici palace, in the Oltr'Arno, etc.

The list of the Ducal retinue, which we now read in full for the first time (Letter 2.) offers an illuminating commentary to the characters of Galeazzo and Bona and the atmosphere quickening their portrayals. The Duke's suite namely includes three of his brothers, his own and their *courtiers*, and the ambassadors of Naples, Ferrara, etc. "each one mounted and equipped at the Duke's charge according to their respective rank and precedence." It is clear that in his mind Galeazzo impersonates the Young King of Legend, to whom all homage goes out as to the rising sun. To illustrate the acquiescence of opinion with and the general submission to the despot's caprice, the composition of Bona's retinue, is indeed an object-lesson. The young Duchess is indeed "mothered" so to say by her elder sister-in-law Madonna Beatrice d'Este Sforza, and the wives of the leading nobles of Galeazzo's court form an honourable state, but one name among them strikes a jarring note. Lucrezia Landriani is Galeazzo's mistress and the mother of the little Caterina whom she also accompanies, being styled "Madonna Nutrice," and Pietro Landriani the complaisant husband is the Duchess Bona's *seneschal*. The presence of this pair sounds a false note in the Pageant's harmony.

Two children are mentioned, one we know is Caterina, the other most likely her younger sister, for it does not seem probable that the heir to the throne the baby Gian Galeazzo, or his infant brother Ermes, would have been subjected to the risks of so long and arduous a journey across the Apuan Alps and coastwise Appennine range at the tender ages of two years, and of a few months. Moreover no "nurses" are scheduled, as would certainly then have been the case. Caterina Sforza is eight years old now, she regards her parents as amiable if fortuitous accidents in her life, and Bona is "our illustrious mother" throughout a life-long

affectionate family correspondence. (1) It is the little maiden's first visit to the city, with whose policy, first as the ruler of a semi-vassal state and afterwards as the wife of Giovanni di Pier-Francesco de Medici, the ancestress of the Ducal Medici line, she intertwines the original family alliance. Today Caterina is yet only a straw afloat on the stream of Florentine and Milanese joint policies, but the acquaintance of this child and the Lanfredini brothers, especially the younger, Giovanni, will introduce the personal factor into their diplomatic action when the widowed Countess of Imola implores Medici protection against her husband's murderers; and so no doubt childhood's winning ways govern coming events. (2)

Galeazzo Maria Sforza is no stranger in Florence. His first visit dates twelve years back when aged fifteen, the youthful Count of Pavia represents his father at the gathering of Italian princes round Cosimo de' Medici and Pope Pius II, prior to the plenary conference at Mantua where the Pontiff endeavours vainly to galvanize the strength of Italian rulers into action against the growing Ottoman peril. The lad is the

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(1) Cfr. Pasolini, loc. cit. pp. 73, sq. Duchess Bona, following in her mother-in-law's steps, had accepted Galeazzo's natural daughter as her own. The tragedy of December 26th 1476 only brought them closer together. A few letters exchanged between Caterina and her family have been preserved, revealing genuine reciprocal affection between "our illustrious mother" and her putative daughter. Caterina shews herself quite as affectionate towards her real mother Lucrezia Landriani styled throughout the correspondence "Madonna Nutrice."

(2) Giovanni Lanfredini is the Florentine Ambassador in Rome in 1488. He is instructed by Lorenzo de Medici to plead Caterina Sforza's case, after her husband Girolamo Riario's murder on April 14th on that year. Quoted by Mrs. Ross (loc. cit. p. 287), a letter from Aldovrandini Ferrarese Ambassador in Florence goes far to shew that Lorenzo de' Medici had no hand in the murder, but was anxious that the rights of the widow and children should be recognized by the Pope. Imola and Forli were papal fiefs, and failing direct heirs would revert to the gift of Innocent VIII. Lorenzo indeed was anxious to obtain a suitable princely establishment for his daughter, Maddalena, betrothed to the Pope's nephew Franceschetto Cibò, but his political sagacity if nothing else would have deterred him from furnishing the *de-facto* Duke of Milan, Lodovico il Moro, with a justifiable pretext for aggression upon Florence as an act of retaliation. Aldovrandini reports April 24th, that "the Ambassadors of the League have arranged with his Holiness that Imola and Forli should go to the Count's sons." If, he observes, the children have been murdered, Lorenzo would recognize the papal claim, but he adds, "his Magnificence would far rather see Forli and Imola in private hands, — meaning a regency if possible under the protectorate of Florence, — than in those of powerful prince. Count Pasolini, op. cit. Vol. III, prints some Lanfredini correspondence with the Florentine Signoria covering these events.

elder Medici's guest at the palace, where he is entertained with a torchlight Pageant of Love enacted in the street below in which Lorenzo, aged eleven takes the title part.<sup>(1)</sup> So pleasant are those memories that in 1467 (he is then betrothed to Bona) when his mission and position are the client's who asks for aid and has his motives questioned, he will insist that the visit be paid in the Medici home, and not in the official guest rooms at S. Maria Novella; much to Piero de' Medici's vexation, a fact which Lorenzo writing in 1473 when policy had cooled youth's friendships, recalls grimly: "he *would* come to our house." The present occasion therefore shews us Galeazzo bent upon effacing the unpleasant political impression he finds, by the composition and number of his retinue, to which the feminine element of which Bona's beauty is the symbol lends its halo.

(1) The Florentine chroniclers' narratives in prose and verse of the festivities held in Florence in April-May 1459 to celebrate the visit of Pope Pius II. en route to Mantua, and his reception, together with a suite of princes and cardinals, by Cosimo de' Medici, have often been quoted. Foremost among the Italian princes the young Count of Pavia represents his father Francesco Sforza. Galeazzo Maria is a lad of sixteen. We possess a letter he addresses to his parents describing the "day in the country" given him by Piero de' Medici at Careggi. An anonymous chronicle in rhyme, published by Signor G. Volpi in Fasc. No. 55 of the reprint of *Muratori's Rerum Italicarum Scriptores*, is less well known. The versifier describes minutely all the antecedent arrangements, naming the citizens appointed as escorts, and entertainers. He tells us all about the guests, processions, and their retinue, the tournaments, and games performed in their honour. But perhaps the most interesting *show* is the "Pageant of Love" which a number of *filii de familie*, with young Lorenzo de' Medici at their head, lead past the Medici home. It is "a company fair to see who gather to honour the Count of Pavia by all beloved." The palace windows are filled with spectators, "a hobby-horse made of wickerwork, and other such like conceits opening the cavalcade, is followed on horseback by Lorenzo with his esquires as challenger, who ride a tilt with safely blunted lance." The other jousts are Averardo di Bernardetto de' Medici, Matteo di Bono Boni, Renato di Piero de' Pazzi, Giovanni d'Antonio Pazzi, Lorenzo di Diotisalvi Neroni, Tommaso di Puccio Pucci, Domenico di Piero della Luna, Ioanni di Adoardo Portinari, Jacopo di Francesco di Ventura, and Piero di Giovanni della Luna, "each with escort and twelve torchbearers apiece." They acclaim Lorenzo "a manly youth tender in years but mature in mind howbeit speaking yet with childish pipe." A procession of cars symbolic of the god of Love's court follows, and Lorenzo interprets the allegory; his concluding words are an envoi and a promise: "Remember ye all our god of Love, Yours I am and in all that's mine to make, through many a day of long and honourable life, we yet may hope to meet in higher revelry." It may not be out of place to note that the panels ascribed to Jacopo del Sellaio representing the "Triumph of Love" bear a striking similitude with the anonymous author's description. Formerly preserved in the little disused chapel of S. Ansano, these paintings are now displayed to better advantage in the Museo Bandini at Fiesole. Galeazzo's second visit occurs in 1467, his third in 1471, and the children and youths of 1459 are all grown men.

This is Bona's second state progress. The first, but three years before had shewn her the fair lands of southern France, and the bridal route from Genoa to Abbiategrosso, Pavia, decked with Nature's fairest ornament, and Milan, which was reached in July. The vines are trellised upon trees, stretches of corn and pasture land lie to the right and left of her litter, threading its way across the rolling uplands. She has become acquainted with her young host two years ago at the christening of her first born son, the ill-fated Gian-Galeazzo, and the godfather is a bridegroom of a few months standing. Boyhood's attachment, common tastes are bound up with the politics of a family-alliance. The young people are all *familiars* as the saying goes of Louis XI, and just as Galeazzo and Bona wear the colours and lilies of France at their state entry to Florence, so the French King styles the Florentine bankers his cousins, granting them family rights with an azure and fleur-de-lys ball in their escutcheon of or and gules. (1) Indeed Piero de' Medici does not live to see this return visit paid, yet welcoming the man whom he had known but as a stripling or an uncertain client, like Lorenzo he would have realized the need for Florence to hold the balance of her independence true, coordinating his Sforza family policy with the bid of Milan for preponderance in central Italian affairs. The triple alliance, of Milan, Naples, and Florence, formed so soon as the latter definitively abandons the support of Anjou claims to the throne of Naples, an agreement ratified and renewed by Galeazzo with Lorenzo and his brother Giuliano after their father's death a few months subsequently to the memorable Milan visit, is ratified by this coming; and it will stand the strain of Galeazzo's murder, followed three years later by that of Giuliano de Medici.

The political horizon is now fairly clear, the Aragon counter-claim to the Dukedom of Milan, at best shadowy, has been brushed aside by

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(1) Lorenzo de' Medici recalls in his "Ricordi;" " " in that year 1465, H. M. King Louis of France, out of regard for the friendship between our grandfather, our father and the House of France, decorated our escutcheon with three lilies of gold an azure field, which we bear to-day. We have the patente with the royal seal attached, which was confirmed and approved in the palace with nine beans (votes)." The patent is dated May 1465.

consent. The Milanese suzerainty over Genoa is accepted, and though Venice has not yet been placated either by Milan or Florence, - an act which heralds Giovanni Lanfredini's first appearance on the political stage in 1474, the hour is not far distant when that hatchet will be buried. Meanwhile Ferrara has been raised to a Dukedom, and Florence binds herself to recognize papal territorial suzerainty in the Marches and Romagna. Such are some of the safeguards and provisions of the *universal league of princes* that in spite of the disturbing but not far-reaching "alarms and excursions" between Venetian and Milanese rivalries, yet surround the Sforza programme of family and political aggrandizement, of which Florence is the "overture," with an appropriate peace atmosphere; to which Lanfredini special missions, as we shall see, contribute. Although spectacularly speaking the visit to Florence has been the most advertised, the call at Mantua immediately afterwards, is perhaps from the political family alliance standpoint, wider in its scope. The insult to the Gonzaga in the broken betrothal of Marquis Lodovico's daughter Dorotea to Galeazzo has been condoned, both father and son accept service in the Milanese forces. The ducal party will be entertained in state at Borgoforte whither they betake themselves by water. The procession of state barges upon the Po is a counterpart of the progress to Florence. There can be little doubt also that Bona's beauty and seduction, she is described by the Marchesana Barbara Gonzaga in a letter to her husband as a most gentle, *humanissima*, and fair Madonna, proves propitiatory to wounded family pride, a valuable asset in favour of Milanese aims. And if I may be permitted to refer once again to the Uffizi portrait, this side light casts its rays upon that fair head cumulatively. (1)

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(1) Cfr. Del Lungo, op. cit. p. 292-3. Galeazzo's envoys conclude an agreement in May 1471, with the Gonzaga. Marquis Lodovico and his son Federico accept a command in the Ducal forces at a stipend respectively of 3000 ducats and 800 lire per month for their service. A complimentary visit upon Galeazzo and Bona's part to Mantua completes the reconciliation on July 17th. It is a procession by water this time. Magnificent velvet and purple draped barges float down the Po to Borgoforte. The Marchesana Barbara of Brandenburg and her sons and daughters welcome the travellers at La Rocchetta. Lodovico will await them at Mantua where he has stayed "to make preparations for 3000 mouths," Barbara's letter to her husband is of interest for its

That the significance of the journey into central Italy is clear to the historian and is apprehended by the public he writes for may be deduced from the sequence of Corio's narrative. Bona has been brought to bed safely of her second son *Erme* (July 1470), and the League is at once confirmed between the Duke, the King of Naples and the Florentines. And, he continues in the same breath, in the year 1471, "the grass having sprouted, Galeazzo betook himself with his forces to Bologna, to Bubano and Mondano Medicina, and creating *Federigo of Urbino* Captain in Chief, proceeded with his wife to Florence." The shadows yet hang over a full and unalloyed peace prospect: Venice and Florence are indeed still foes, but such battles as are fought, where the Venetians are captained by *Bartolommeo Colleone* and *Alessandro Sforza*, and the Milanese-Florentine forces are led by the son-in-law of the latter *Federigo of Urbino* to culminate at the *Riccardina*, are for all the world like a sham fight, a realistic interlude in the *Triumph of Life* about to be enacted, almost a part of the *Sforza* pageant. (1)

Corio describes the ducal progress from hearsay, his narrative suggests splendours hitherto unknown on such a scale: velvet and satin

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pen-sketch of Bona: "I trow in sooth (from what I have seen that this illustrious Madonna is verily a most gentle and exceedingly fair lady." The writer comments upon the visitor as follows. "At this time, about the 17th hour, their illustrious Lordships the Duke and Duchess have come in with a most sumptuous and noble retinue. The craft were fifteen all told, in five groups of three barges each, lashed together, with the draught-animals all harnessed in front, a goodly sight... And I went, she writes, down to the river-side with all our childre<sup>n</sup> to pay our duty to their Highnesses, and, exchanging the usual words of friendly welcome the while, I led them afterwards to their chamber in the castle, where I left them by themselves to take their rest." The chronicler of the Mantua festivities, quoted by Signor *Del Lungo*, limits his' comments unfortunately: "Mighty honours were paid him (*Galeazzo*) by the Lord Marquis, the court spent their time night and day in dance and revelry and tournaments and games." We know that *Poliziano's "Orfeo"* was staged on this occasion, and no doubt mystery-plays and masques were included in the programme.

(1) Cfr. Corio, op. cit. P. VI, c. 2. "The enemy (Venice) fought the Florentine openly, engaging that soldier of fortune *Bartolommeo Colleoni* as well as *Alessandro the brother to Francesco Sforza* in their cause, and he was named captain of the Venetian forces... also *Galeazzo's* brother *Sforza* who slighted by him had left with other veterans, since when created Duke, *Galeazzo* had formed a new court and household, and many of obscure condition were raised to honour, and contrariwise his father's familiars were deprived, wherefore many then turned against him." As well as other historians Corio emphasizes the "leader's wariness that contained the other," making or insincerity in policy and action.

coats, gold chains for the courtiers, tabards of cloth of gold and silver, embroideries lavished on all material that can bear it are " the only wear of the thousand or so of the retinue.... " It is a *féerie*. The Sienese letters sound more real. They record impressions gained at first hand in Pisa, Lucca, and in Florence itself, and vitalize scenes for us in a way the official Milanese historian misses. Their correspondence frames the picture of this stage of the Lanfredini fortunes.

The first letter is addressed by Ser Balduino da Lucignano to the Signoria of Siena, and is dated March 6th. The writer enumerates some of the guests expected, - the Marquis of Mantua among others, - and the Florentines who ride forth to Lucca and beyond to welcome the cortège. The notary hastens to mark the potential surprises in politics, but he is naturally more taken up with the personal aspect, and the *show* in prospect. " I came to Florence on Tuesday morning, and to-day at the same time, he notes, the 14th hour, I hope to ride to Prato on my way. " He is bound for Lucca, and the bridle road thither leads through that pretty little walled city whose black and white marble bell-tower and Duomo, and her grim grey palace of the People an outpost of Florence in art and in romance, yet recall Donatello and Filippo Lippi. The way goes past Pistoia into the Val di Nievole and Montecatini, to the remote seclusion of Lucca, cradled in her chestnut-clad solitude. In Florence great preparations are on foot to welcome " the Duke of Milan and Madam his Duchess. " Quarters are prepared for both, " at the house of Pier-Francesco de' Medici. " (1) " There are great things doing at Santa

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(1) In reply to my enquiries, the Keeper of the Archivio di Stato in Florence, Dr. U. Dorini kindly informed me that the declaration of property of Pier-Francesco di Lorenzo de' Medici makes him the occupier of a *small house* adjacent to the palace in Via Larga. Pier-Francesco de' Medici, born according to genealogist in 1430, marries Laudomia di' Messer Agnolo Acciaiuoli, before 1459. The two sons of the marriage, Lorenzo and Giovanni are born respectively in 1463-67. The little boys will thus be Caterina Sforza's play-fellows, and the younger, Giovanui, will eventually marry her, Girolamo Riario's widow. Pier-Francesco's home where the overflow of Galeazzo and Bona's personal suite were no doubt accomodated, can be recognized in Granacci's painting of the state entry of Charles VIII. (1494) recently purchased from the Crespi collection (Milan) for the Uffizi Gallery, and in one of Vasari's Palazzo della Signoria decorative frescoes depicting a " joust " before the palace windows. The rebuilding and enlargemen of the

Maria Novella, it is said for those Lombard lords who accompany the Duke, <sup>(1)</sup> but I have not heard definitively he adds, that the Marquis of Mantua is coming; <sup>(2)</sup> neither are Messer Antonio Bentivoglio, <sup>(3)</sup> nor the Count of Urbino <sup>(4)</sup> coming, as I have heard tell there. " Balduino obviously does not wish to alarm the Signoria of Siena in the way his insistence on the number and importance of the guests of Florence would certainly effect, and he continues to enumerate the Florentine contingent. These magnificent Signori of Florence have despatched as their Ambassadors to the Duke, Messer Buongianni Gianfigliazzi, <sup>(5)</sup>

palace by its XVIIth century owner Marchese Riccardi, absorbed the *small house* the site of which in the new wing is traceable by the Riccardi device, a key, introduced in the wall decoration. I take this opportunity to express my thanks to Dr. Dorini for his courteous response to my enquiries.

(1) So early as the first years of the XVth century, the great Dominican convent of Santa Maria Novella had accommodated the state visitors of the Signoria. Pope Martin V. spent two years, 1417-9 there, Pope Eugenius IV. also as the guest of Florence in 1434-5, and again during the sessions of the Council in 1438-9. Pope Pius II. takes up his quarters in the " Sala del Papa " in 1459, Galeazzo it will be remembered is offered hospitality there in 1467, but prefers that of the Medici. Other visitors are John Duke of Calabria, 1454, the Cardinals of Pope Pius II's train, Lodovico Marquis of Mantua in 1460, etc. Leo X. dismounts there also in 1515.

(2) Lodovico, 5th Lord and 2nd Marquis of Mantua, 1414-78, married to Barbara daughter of Margrave Johann of Brandenburg. One of the great soldiers of his day, he is also a patron of letters and art. He visits Florence in 1460 and both his sons, Federigo, 3rd Marquis and Francesco, raised to the Cardinalate by Pope Paul II. are close friends of the Medici brothers and their circle. Lodovico Gonzaga's announced visit is not substantiated by history.

(3) The name Antonio is absent from all *contemporary* Bentivoglio record. In view of the family connection between Sforzas and Bentivogli, Giovanni II. the Lord of Bologna since 1464, having married Ginevra, the daughter of Alessandro Sforza, Francesco's younger brother, (she is the widow of his kinsman and predecessor Sante Bentivoglio) we may I think put down the substitution of *Antonio* to clerical error. Giovanni Bentivoglio's long roign, 1464-1506, places him in the forefront of the Renaissance Triumph of Fame, beside Lorenzo de' Medici his junior by five years, whom he survives, living to see the downfall of his own, and the Medici and Sforza houses.

(4) The Count of Urbino recorded here is Federigo of Montefeltro. He is married to Battista, Alessandro Sforza's elder daughter; Ginevra, the younger, is Giovanni Bentivoglio's wife. A year-long friend of the Medici he has led the forces of the Signoria, and has received their thanks and the rewards conferred upon successful generals. He is in chief command at this moment of the Florentine and Milanese forces, and he would obviously not leave the camp where his presence is more necessary than in Florence. The fine double portrait of Federigo and Battista, by Piero de' Franceschi is well-known. (Uffizi Gallery, No. 1300).

(5) Bongiani Gianfigliazzi was one of the Ten of Government nominated in 1467 with Piero de' Medici, he is elected to the Gonfaloniership, an office which he holds at the time of Galeazzo Maria's visit in that year, and again in December 1470 when Lorenzo de' Medici is named Sindaco of the Commune, a dignity second only to the Gonfalonier. His appointment three-



and Messer Tommaso Soderini, <sup>(1)</sup> and as Commissioners to welcome and pay their duty to the Duke at the state boundary, Messer Agnolo della Stufa, <sup>(2)</sup> and Messer Jacopo de' Pazzi, with a well equipped and goodly company of gentle youths. <sup>(3)</sup>

The emissary's impression of the Florentine public is that of

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fore as Commissioner to welcome Galeazzo Sforza proves him *persona gratissima*. He is one of the embassy nominated in 1471 to compliment Pope Sixtus IV. on his accession, by whom he is knighted. He is one of the twenty rich men laid under contribution in 1472 for the cost of the expedition against Volterra. Ambassador to Naples to compliment King Ferrante on his second marriage with the daughter of King John of Aragon (1476), he is named one of the Ten of War in 1478, for the campaign opened against Florence after Giuliano de' Medici's murder: by the Papacy in league with Naples. He serves with considerable distinction, being repeatedly selected for special missions, the last in 1484 being the Commissionership with the forces besieging Pietrasanta. Vasari records that Alessio Baldovinetti introduced Bongianni Gianfigliazzi's portrait in the fresco in the apse of S. Trinità church depicting the visit of the Queen of Sheba. These paintings were much damaged already in Vasari's day through the artist's experimenting in fresco painting with oil-pigments, as the biographer observes regretfully. No trace of them beyond faint shadows can now be guessed at beneath the uniform brown colour-wash.

(1) Tommaso Soderini is Lorenzo de' Medici's uncle by his marriage to a daughter of the Tornabuoni. He has a distinguished record as Gonfalonier, Ambassador, etc., one of the knights created in 1464 by Pope Paul II. on his accession chosen among the Florentine Ambassadors of obedience. The cross-keys now added to the family arms may be seen on upon Benedetto da Rovezzano's beautiful Soderini monument in the apse of the Carmine. Soderini's last embassy to Rome in 1501, makes him the bearer of the wedding gift of Florence to Lucrezia Borgia on her marriage to Duke Alfonso of Ferrara.

(2) Agnolo della Stufa is elected Gonfalonier for the first time in 1455, and again in January 1471. He has thus just relinquished office when he rides out to Pietrasanta to welcome Galeazzo Maria Sforza. One of the Envoys with Gianfigliazzi and Lorenzo de' Medici in the complimentary embassy to Rome for the election of Pope Sixtus IV. in 1471, della Stufa is also one of the twenty *rich men* commanded by the State to defray the cost of the Volterra expedition, 1474. Ambassador to Milan and Naples in 1476, he is one of the Ten of Government at the time of the Naples mission of 1479, Lorenzo de' Medici's diplomatic master-stroke which puts an end to the long standing enmity between the Aragon dynasty and Florence. Agnolo della Stufa is believed to have died at an advanced age in 1480.

(3) F. Hyett. <sup>5</sup> Florence, her history and Art, etc.,<sup>5</sup> Methuen, London, 1903, cfr. pp. 341. et seq. The Pazzi were one of the families disfranchised in 1293, civic rights being restored only in 1434 after Cosimo de' Medici's return. Jacopo is the elder of Messer Andrea de' Pazzi's three sons. A family of merchant-bankers like the Medici, trade rivalry adds fuel to political jealousies. Guglielmo, Jacopo's nephew is Lorenzo de' Medici's brother-in-law. Relations in 1471 were still friendly, for Messer Jacopo who is knighted in 1469 accepts the mission to welcome a guest whose coming honours a rival house to his own, recalling King René of Anjou's state visit and sojourn at the Pazzi palace a few years before. Jacopo de' Pazzi is a victim more than an accomplice in the conspiracy to murder the Medici brothers in April 1478. He escapes, but is discovered brought back to Florence and executed.

cool-headed bystanders somewhat critical, as behoves their republican temperament. Not much is said 'in vulgo' about the said Lord's coming, and speaking generally he reports, the public shews wonderment more than aught else. "No jests are bandied, be it for reverence of the bride, or for doubt of untoward happenings; and one and all discuss the signs according to their several minds." Balduino thus traces an unconsciously humorous sketch of the typical diplomatic attitude of Florentines towards questions for which the wait and see policy seems the only safe course. "Yesterday, he continues, I waited upon the Magnifico Bartolommeo da Recanati the King's (i. e. Neapolitan) Ambassador, with whom for old days sake I have familiarity, and in our discourse he held that the visit is of a single purpose as befits a young and mighty Prince, without hidden aims, and that he intendeth thereby but to give pleasure to Madam the Duchess whom t'is said he loveth dearly."

That the Neapolitan's ambassador's complacency is not shared by Florence is clear to the interviewer from the precautions he reports the Signoria, are taking, "who having learned Galeazzo's desire to make a state entry to Pisa, lose no time, and they have made provision for the defence of that place." As the subsequent letters shew, difficulty was experienced in getting Galeazzo to keep to the appointed route: "his way leadeth by Pontremoli, Lucca and Pisa, and thence to Florence," whilst the Signoria had mapped in their mind a postponement of the call at Pisa to a time when the appearance of so numerous a retinue including an army of *provvisionati*: 1000 horse and 500 foot, would no longer shake the subject city's loyalty. A former rival is never very secure in her allegiance before possible Milanese promises of restored independence. The comprehensive list of Galeazzo's train fully justifies the political misgivings of the States he traverses. The political note is struck by the presence of the Duke's Chancellor Cecco Simonetta who holds the threads of all the Sforza hidden aspirations in discreet and silent hands, Niccolò Tranchedino of Pontremoli, Messer Giovanni Antonio Montecatini the Ferrarese Envoy, who have watching briefs. Four Sforza brothers, Luigi Count of Saluzzo, the Counts of

Rieti and Pusterla, representative members of the Lombard nobility, the Trivulzio, Visconti, Pallavicini, Campofregoso the ex-Doge of Genoa, Giovanni Castiglione the father of the author of 'il Cortigiano' to mention these only, are a brilliant galaxy of satellites.

The second letter, March 8th, finds Ser Balduino at Lucca. Leaving the "mountain that hinders Lucca from the Pisan" to our left, that Beauty as Lucca has been called asleep amid enchanted woods has altered but little in essentials. The tracery of marble bell-towers yet laces the blue hill and sky-line, and the Duomo, S. Frediano, and S. Michele, enshrine the same changeless beauty. S. Michele is yet the heart of mediaeval Lucca, the palace of the Anziani who entertain Galeazzo and Bona rears the frontage they looked upon in the area of the Roman city. The exiled Guinigi's residence the Palace of the Borgo, which will be prepared to lodge them yet points a tall tower of red brick sky-wards, crowned to-day with wild olive.... we can picture Ser Balduino riding in "at the 16th hour," just after midday through Porta San Pietro. The fine Piazza with the grove of plane trees and the present Ducal palace cleared to-day formed then a labyrinth of narrow lanes about Castruccio Castracane and Paolo Guinigi's fortress dwelling, which the latter will abandon for the Borgo. His inn will not be far off, in the precincts of Via Fillunga, then as now the main business street; and he loses no time to remark upon the open-minded and open hearted welcome prepared "without any trace of suspicion or jealousy, rather with a free and frankly open sentiment." Dismounting at my inn at this hour, he notes the arrival of the Florentine Ambassador Agnolo della Stufa, "who rides on at once."

Though the party travel in sections, some going ahead always to prepare for the nights lodgings, the secretaries, chaplains, physicians, librarians, musicians, and players, besides the servants: valets, cooks, grooms, etc. for whom wheel and horse transport is needed, and the animals number not less than 1064 head of horse and pack-mules, cause the Anziani of Lucca to regard with dismay the mooted change in the Ducal itinerary to which the third letter alludes. "Yesterday, at the second hour of the night, reports Ser Balduino letters arrived

from the Duke telling that his Lordship is minded to proceed (to Florence) from Pisa, without for the nonce dismounting at Lucca. " They suspect design rather than an autocrat's caprice : " their Worships of Lucca are mightily surprised and they charge therewith some friend, - or enemy, who hath done this thing. " The point at issue, the expense, is a serious consideration, " for in very sooth they have made exceeding great provision for the Duke's welcome, and they have prepared, most sumptuously, quarters for them all in the former lord's palace in the Borgo, which is most goodly and suitable. " It will transpire that the ever suspicions Galeazzo scented a trap in the Borgo or suburb which covered the area of mediaeval Lucca beyond the inner circuit and within the bastion walls, remembering his attempted kidnapping by the Count of Savoy on his return from France. The Anziani accordingly despatch a mission post haste to Pontremoli, the boundary of Lucca and Milanese territory, to explain the position of the Borgo Palace, and request that no change be made. " Hopes for the best sustain the Anziani, who, concludes Ser Balduino, acting with caution and an open intent bear themselves up, and deem despite those letters that he will come this way, and they swerve not from the hour's obligation. " Remembering the plight to which Visconti and Sforza crooked policy had reduced Lucca a bare forty years previously, the doubts and alarms of the Anziani cannot have been altogether groundless.

The suggested change in the itinerary is not without arousing Sieneſe misgivings as to its purport. Ser Balduino announces now his immediate departure for Pisa where he hopes to learn the real truth. Writing on March 9th, he finds the temperature there *very cool* toward the expected guests. The Signori of Pisa have been taken aback as much as their colleagues of Lucca, and he supports this statement with " the letter he learns from a certain source came at the 24th hour, which advising them of the Duke's intent to give Lucca the go-by now, has astounded the Signori del Mare, and they aver the impossibility of making adequate preparation in the brief time available.... albeit they work night and day. " The unspoken feeling on both sides is natural : the Pisan galleys cannot put to sea at once to

help transport the Sforza party for their name is legion, and the cost proportionably heavy will not be refunded. Galeazzo on the other hand fears the dangers of the road. Might not accidents occur, armed attack, for instance in the Lunigiana where the authority of Lucca is but slight now? If the Pisan fleet is not ready, the Genoese galleys could carry the party in safety from Spezia to Pisa as they will again on the return journey?

Whilst these doubts and fears are besetting their hosts minds, the travellers have left Bologna. They cross the Apennine by the Cisa pass, and break the journey at the head of the Magra valley. Pontremoli here is not only the border-city of Lombardy's defences, it was the dowry of Bianca Maria Visconti and "the good Duchesses" lieges welcome her sons and daughter-in-law loyally. The party from far inland may well have exclaimed like the Greeks of old - the sea, the sea! The valley broadens, the foothills intersecting it shelving gently to the spurs of the Apuan Alps at the foot of which nestles Massa, where the independent lords of Lunigiana, the Malaspina hold their state. There and at Sarzana a little way beyond, astride of the lower Magra, rises the latest of the Medici purchase-conquests, commanding the entrance to the Lucca Garfagnana, Sarzanella once with Pietrasanta hard by Serravezza, the eagles' nest of Castruccio Castracane. Giuliano de' Medici and Guglielmo de' Pazzi Lorenzo's brother and brother-in-law will welcome their guests to Florentine territory here, whilst the other commissioners take up the tale at other coigns of vantage along their road.

We can easily picture the caravan drawing its length of nearly three miles, of man and beast. The Duke's *stalla* alone numbers fifty chargers, caparisoned in cloth of gold with saddlery silk-embroidered and bits and stirrup-irons of silver-gilt. The grooms are "neat youths" wearing the Sforza crimson and cloth of silver and damask tabards, and the household down to the scullions have all been given velvet and satin liveries. The Duke's brothers and the court have a proportionate number of horses and attendants assigned to them according to their rank. Bona's particular company includes her half-sister-in-law

Beatrice, that bright particular star of the Este House whose three brothers in succession occupy the throne of Ferrara, <sup>(1)</sup> and another half-sister-in-law, Madonna Fiordalisa Sforza wife of that Lord of Faenza Guido Manfredi whose rulership is a latent but very real source of dissension between Florence and Milan. Her court numbers the wives of Galeazzo's friends, his chamberlains, and secretaries, foremost among them "Madonna Nutrice," who is none other than Lucrezia Landriani Galeazzo's mistress and the mother of little Caterina Sforza and her sister, whose presence other informants reveal. Her retinue is not less splendidly appointed. Fifty white hackneys are ridden by as many pages. The twelve covered litters or *coaches* in which she and her ladies travel are upholstered in crimson damask. Cloth of gold cushions line the inside and the waggon hoods are embroidered with the Ducal arms. Even the pack-horses and mules have cloths of white and black damask embroidered to match the jackets worn by the drivers and horseboys....

The scene resembles nothing so much as those progresses of the Wise Men and the Queen of Sheba which the Art of the day has interpreted in their contemporaries sumptuary magnificence. The illusion is heightened by the landscape of this dream-land loveliness. In Tuscany's art as in her reality, the roadway is overtopped on the one hand by towering crags: these are the marble peaks of Carrara; it threads then a winding course through ilex and chestnut glades, across sunscorched flats barren of vegetation, above which silver grey mists, tufts of olive, fleck the great rifts of limestone worn deep by wind and rain that blush crimson in the waning sun's pathway. The blue Tyrrhenian spans with a faint bow of pearl: across Lerici and Tellaro, and lost Roman Luni, to Pisa's towers beyond the travellers' gaze. These brown walls of Pontremoli, the bastions of Sarzana yet perfect in outline

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(1) Beatrice d'Este born in 1428, marries first the Count of Correggio, and secondly Tristano Sforza. Her son, Niccolò da Correggio is born in 1450; a poet and soldier, Ariosto numbers him among the flower of chivalry of his day. Beatrice survives her husband, but dying in 1497, she is spared the sight of the Sforza overthrow, and the virtual loss of Este independence consequent upon the rise of the Borgia star.

may even Pietrasanta, though the Guinigi's castle is but as a seashell murmuring the music of long spent waves, nestle within walls that form a garden enclosed of peace symbols. The olive groves and vine-yards and the wheat fields waving over the land trodden in the stages of Galeazzo Sforza's quest, seem yet to hold the echo of that joyous hour, the moments we would stem but may not.

Letter No 5 gives a succinct account of the stages so far covered. " On this Sunday evening (March 10th), the Duke will halt at Sarzana, and the next halt, after skirting the coast to Pietrasanta, fifteen miles distant will be reached on the following day. " Balduino is still under the impression that the visit to Lucca has been abandoned, and he announces accordingly that " on the next day Tuesday or Wednesday he will arrive here, - in Pisa, where quarters have been prepared ' in the house of Lorenzo di Pietro de' Medici ' ; and the rest of his household will be accommodated in the leading citizens homes. A portion of the suite : 300 horses.... likewise the womenfolk of Madam's household, and the Duke's servants in good order, horses, carriages, have arrived in civil and courtly trim. " The point to be noticed is implied by the term *courtly*, i. e. unarmed ; Galeazzo wishes to avoid giving umbrage to the independent states he visits by a parade of military strength, and public opinion in Lucca and Florence will approve of the dismissal at Pontremoli of the *pensionati*, or paid soldiery.

Meanwhile the anxiety of Lucca is great. The Anziani do not conceal their concern at the projected altered itinerary, " since his Lordship hath written to them differently, and now, they having made such expensive preparation, he doth change his mind ! "

Apart from the outlay incurred, of which Venturini, Balduino's colleague will give us a picturesque account, an outlay that burdens the State finances heavily, the Anziani feel the insult to the good name of Lucca keenly. They reject the aspersion on their welcome, setting it down to calumny " that they had denied his coming with more than a limited following, that they intended therefore to lodge him in a suburb ! outside the city gates, and had imposed other restrictions that had led to suspicion of their good faith and fair usage of the guests.... "

If Ser Balduino is perplexed to trace the cause of the alleged change of plans and the apprehensions it causes, his own impression being "that of a wholehearted welcome without reserve or jealousy whatsoever," such is not far to seek. Reciprocal mistrust was the time honoured attitude taken up by all the Republics in Italy towards the Princes who visited them or asked leave to traverse their territory. They were always *aliens* those Emperors, Popes, or Kings, who made a halt at Lucca, and indeed the suggestion that the Duke be lodged in the palace of the Borgo might well bear the appearance of a slight to those who did not know its state. The splendid town-house in distinction to the Castracane fortress in the heart of the city which Lucca's late ruler forestalling Medici house-furnishing, had built himself, - beyond the maze of the old town, perhaps represented something less lordly and secure to Galeazzo, accustomed to the walls and battlements of the Milan Corte Ducale. The fancied slight holds more than meets the eye. It is of interest consequently to learn from Balduino's letter of March 12th, that the community of Pisa have interposed their good offices successfully, and Lucca will be visited first; whilst Pisa receives the promise of a call on the homeward journey, a promise which as we shall see will not be kept; not altogether probably to Lorenzo de' Medici's disappointment: his friends are expensive guests.

The Envoy now takes us back to Lucca. He has hardly, he reports to the Signoria, despatched his letter of doubts and surmises, when the news came that "his Lordship was travelling towards Lucca, and thus all the folk that had come here departed them thither." The Duke has received the State Embassy praying that by every means and "for the good cheer to the spirit of their people he do come; and their prayer was granted." Balduino accordingly takes horse straightway, and losing no time reaches his destination the same evening, with the sightseers crowds. The speed of his ride will enable him to be present at a splendid show, on Tuesday March 12th at the 22nd hour.... when the illustrious Lord Duke and the Duchess enter the city with 1400 horses and the company of the foremost lords and courtiers,



full bravely equipped and mounted magnificently, which truly considering the number of the wheeled carriages is a sight wondrous to see. "

We had left the Ducal party at Pietrasanta, whence, instead of skirting the foothills and venturing upon treacherous ground in the marshland watered by the Serchio, they retrace their steps some three miles past Cerbaia and Serravezza entering the beautiful inland valley which the modern railway route to Lucca skirts, and where to-day the ruins of the towers of Nozzano and Massarosa stand for landmarks of all those stages of historic journeyings between Florence, Lucca, and Milan. (1) Lucca has spared no effort to welcome her guests, and "well-nigh all the worthiest and honourable citizens together with the Gonfalonier and two other Lords of the palace went forth to meet the Duke several miles outside the gate. " Lucca as we know is divided

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(1) Mrs. Ross. "Lives of the Medici as told in their correspondence," London Chatto & Windus, 1910, cfr. pp. 138-9. The XVth century route, Florence-Milan via Pistoia-Lucca-Pontremoli is illustrated in Lorenzo de' Medici's tutor, Gentile Bechi's narrative of their journey to Milan in July 1469, when Lorenzo as his father's representative stands god-father to Galeazzo and Bona's first-born. "After leaving you" he writes "in the early morning we arrived at Prato during the cool hours... There was some breeze when we left about the 16th hour (4 p. m.), and reached Pistoia on the same evening, Friday... On Saturday he (Lorenzo) mounted his horse at 9 in the morning, and dined (noon) at Pescia with the castellan, there being no better hostelry... he left at twenty of the clock (8 p. m.), passing through Lucca at the 23rd hour... He dismounted at the inn della Corona, outside the town on the Pisan highroad." Lorenzo is hospitably entertained at Lucca by the Anziani and spends two days there receiving and returning the notables' visits. The next stages: Chiesa, Mazzarosa, and Capezzano at the southern end of the Garfagnana valley are indeed as Bechi states "very pretty places." The party reach Pietrasanta by 23 of the clock, and take up their quarters at the Campana inn outside the city gates, "for it is an untrustworthy town, S. George (Genoa) had not much faith in Santa Zita (Lucca)." Their reception here nevertheless is friendly, "Lorenzo supped with some of the citizens under an arbour." The striking scenery with the background of the Carrara Alps compels the letter-writer's admiration just: "the place is beautiful with the sea in front and fertile plains behind, stretching towards Pisa," i. e. SSW. At 8 of the clock they mount once more and follow the coastwise road. At Montignoso, — the vestiges of the castello are yet traceable above the railway station between Pietrasanta and Massa, — a twelve miles stage, Lorenzo is met by the Marquis Malaspina's envoy; the party bait their horses at Lavenza not far from the ancient Luni, then already a quarry for the Roman marbles ready for use at Sarzana, which they reach by nightfall. Recently acquired by Piero de' Medici, with Sarzanella, the stronghold of Castruccio Castracane and Guinigi rule, the visit here is an affirmation of Florentine power. The road now leads up the Magra valley to Villa-Franca, the next stage being Pontremoli, the frontier town of the Sforza state. Twenty-four hours more brings the party to Milan.

into three wards; represented by their standard-bearers, their procession will meet the travellers outside Porta S. Donato to conduct them with " a great triumph of mortars, ringing of bells, and cries of Duca resounding in the excellently well decked streets to the Borgo palace, leading to which a postern gate will be passed, a great gate that hath long been walled up and to prove their trust of the Duke's friendly intentions, is reopened, so to stand. "

The three carriages drawn by horses richly caparisoned in cloth of gold, and their gorgeously attired occupants are a surprise even for the people of Lucca, accustomed though they are to the pageantry of Papal and Imperial pilgrimages to the world famed shrine of the Volto Santo; <sup>(1)</sup> and the sensation produced is considerable as the party dismount in the courtyard of the " Palazzo del Signore, a most worthy and commodious abode in which to entertain guests of such rank and quality. " The Duke and Duchess, our reporter continues will occupy separate apartments, and as many as two hundred beds have been prepared for the night's rest. Balduino cannot believe his eyes, the sight beggars fancy. The state kept by the late owner, the hapless exiled Lord of Lucca carried off into captivity by Francesco Sforza a bare forty years before has fired imagination, and no wonder Galeazzo's

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(1) A. Guerra. " Storia del Volto Santo di Lucca. " Tip. Arciv. S. Paolino, Lucca. 1881, cfr. Cap. XI. Among the notable pilgrims to the shrine of the Holy Face, are Emperors: S. Henry, Otho I and II, Henry III and IV, Frederick Barbarossa, Charles and Otho IV, Frederick II; and the Emperor Sigismund in 1432 two years after the Guinigi downfall. The author enumerates the Popes who visit Lucca, Gregory VII, Eugenius III, Pascal II, Lucius III, Urban VI... The contemporary chronicler of Lucca and an eye-witness, Giovanni Sercambi, describes the visit of Pope Gregory XII. in 1408. His splendid entertainment by Paolo Guinigi extending over several months, and the ceremony of the gift of the Golden Rose to the Lord of Lucca are legendary. Records are unfortunately incomplete for the century's middle years; no mention is made of Lorenzo de' Medici's pilgrimage to the shrine, a fact which Bechi recalls; " Messer Niccolò da Noceto, Paolo di Poggio and many other citizens, came on Sunday morning to fetch him, and placing him foremost in their midst, and after him Bernardo Rucellai (Lorenzo's brother-in-law, married to his sister Nannina), and their Chancellor following, they accompanied him to hear Mass in the Chapel of the Holy Face... " nor is Galeazzo's visit mentioned. The Tempietto of the Volto Santo in Lucca cathedral was completed from Matteo Cividale's design only in 1484. Neither Lorenzo de' Medici in 1469; nor Galeazzo Maria Sforza two years later, could have seen more than the foundations, but King Charles VIII. of France on his way to Florence in 1498, is recorded as having attended Mass in Cividale's *temple*, erected in the cathedral nave...

childhood has been fed upon his father's prowess, which he can now test. The rooms are hung in brocade and tapestry, the bed hangings, canopies, and curtains are arras and silk cloth of gold, plate gleams on the dressers illuminated by the torchlights in sconces. These treasures represent the remnant of confiscate Guinigi magnificence, seen now probably for the last time before neglect follows on dispersal. (1)

Though feux de joie are lighted in the streets and the city fountains pour wine, though the Anziani present Bona with a white hackney and cloth of gold saddlery valued at 500 ducats, a pearl and sapphire pendent costing 200 ducats, and another jewel set with beautiful stones valued at 1000 more, (has not the artist rendered them faithfully in her Florence portrait), whilst Galeazzo is offered two large silver basins and ewers very beautifully wrought, such lavishness is not as spontaneous as might appear. (2) The entertainment is sumptuous but the cost is heavy, the gifts alone amount to 4000 ducats.... in 24 hours! Our emissary however suggests - value received in insurance against risks to Lucca's welfare. "Inasmuch as by honest and discreet methods they have caused secret inquiry to be made concerning reports rife in parts

(1) Salvatore Bongi. "Paolo Guinigi e le sue ricchezze," Lucca, Tip. Benedetti Guindotti, 1871. A succinct account of the rise of the merchant-banker, and for a brief thirty years princely family of Guinigi. Deposed by his fellow-citizens in August 1430 and taken prisoner by Francesco Sforza in command of Filippo Mario Visconti's forces and carried captive to Pavia, Paolo Guinigi is arraigned for high treason before the state tribunal of Lucca. The "Anziani" name a commission of six citizens to investigate the extent, nature, and whereabouts of Guinigi possessions declared confiscate, on the capital sentence "in contumaciam," against Guinigi and his son, and exile in perpetuity being pronounced for their descendants. Signor Bongi prints the inventory of Guinigi valuables, rivalling the Medici collections in the matter of jewellery, plate; and two dozen table forks of silver and silver-gilt are notable items, cloth of gold brocaded velvet and silk wearing apparel and tapestry hangings, books etc. Guinigi had indeed managed to save some of his property handing "certain jewellery" over to banker-colleagues as security for money losses in the interval of his imprisonment and trial, but the description of the things actually found in his house, allowing for all possible abstraction provided an ample store of valuables for the political generosity of the "Anziani" to draw upon in the interest of Lucca.

(2) Might not "the jewel" presented to Bona "set with beautiful stones valued at a thousand ducats," be identical with "uno fermaglio con uno balascio quadro et sei perle grosse legate in oro," entered in the inventory of Guinigi confiscated wealth. It certainly seems identifiable with the jewelled brooch — carefully copied by the painter, which fastens the Duchess Bonás hyacinth velvet "giornea" as she sits for her portrait in Florence.

of Lombardy or Romagna, or in Tuscany, of persons favouring innovations, " Lucca is suspicious of her guests. As it happens needlessly, for Galeazzo at this hour cherishes only visions of Sforza principality grafting on other stock but Lucca, and the placid backwaters of the Serchio remain unruffled by political upheaval. A very Lethe flowing down the vista of centuries to come.... until the Napoleonic stirring of the waters.

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## CHAPTER VIII.

### The arrival and sojourn of the Ducal travellers in Florence

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THE sequence of the Sieneſe emissaries' letters now brings the aspect of Florence, to be visualized yet to-day with perfect distinctness, into pictorial relief. Ser Balduino takes horse once more ahead of the travellers, and he sets the milestones: Pescia, Pistoia, Prato, that like Florence tell their story in terms of beauty.

The key-note is delicate and full of colour melody. Thickly wooded to their summit the mountain ranges swell in rounded curves, their forms billow into the sky-line softly, as the summer seas of the Mediterranean lap the horizon. Many *castelli* and tiny walled cities are poised, straight from fairy-land, upon verdant cones, the valleys are threaded with silver rills. Val d'Arno is the land of always afternoon to which the rugged grandeur of the Carrara peaks sounds the evensong's organ notes. Pescia, our travellers first stage out of Lucca, with a marble campanile and girt with tawny-hued ramparts, nestles to-day in green remoteness, unaltered. Frowning Serravalle yet guards the Val di Nievole access. Montecatini Alto rears castellated battlements to the left, and another couple of miles along, the vine and poplar fringed road past the spur of Mont'Albano opens into the Arno plain, where Pistoia outlines a yet perfect girdle of ramparts around her cathedral and marble striped bell-tower, and a miniature reproduction of Brunelleschi's cupola above S. Giovanni Fuoricivitas.

Overshadowed by the Apennine, a city of the plain, Pistoia shares with Prato the disadvantage of too close proximity to Florence. Yet both can shew visitors to-day the very atmosphere the Sforza breathed, the things they admired. Lorenzo Venturini, Balduino's colleague reports from his end, Florence March 13th, " that the night will be spent at Pistoia, and to-morrow without fail the Duke is expected to dine at Prato. " A bare ten miles of level road separates the two, a two hours stage in the *coaches*; there will be time before dinner, — at noon, to visit the Duomo and be shewn that curious plait of blue and gold silk thread, the Holy Girdle of the B. V. Mary, the Sacra Cintola which a Prato crusader in the XIIth century, or as another legend runs, " a prentice-lad of Prato out to see the world had as it pleased the Almighty brought home in a basket of rushes. " Michelozzo and Donatello's pulpit for the exhibition of the relic, Fra Filippo Lippi's frescoes, are but just completed.

The journey from Lucca to Florence, about forty miles will be covered in three days. In Florence itself the last preparations are complete. Although many citizens, knights, and worshipful gentry, have ridden forth days ago to meet " his Lordship, " numbers of potential horse-owners have remained at home, and the Signoria now order that " all men who know how to bestride a horse shall mount and be ready at the appointed hour. " Visitors are flocking daily into the city, from far and near. The cry is still they come.

But the emissary's business is not devoted only to outward detail. Not less spectacularly curious, like his colleague Ser Balduino's narrative and speculations, the letters of Lorenzo Venturini shew us the adroit diplomatist at work as well. He exchanges views on the hidden purport of Galeazzo's coming with the Gonfalonier Gino di Neri Capponi, and with the Neapolitan Envoy Bartolommeo da Recanati; the former of whom he visits ostensibly " on a matter of my own business, " but in reality to learn the length of the guests' proposed stay. " T'is not discussed openly, but t'is believed it will be from eight to ten days, " and the writer concludes his remarks with a cryptic monition, which Siena might lay to heart and meditate in this hour of political ascen-

dancy for Florence. " The things of this world and Fortune's whims are of this nature, to wit that, ever gladdening one they cross another, when he that more fears is most dumb, and he feigneth to ignore, and mindeth not that which seemeth aimed at him. " " These gentry he continues are wise therefore and put on a fair mien, howbeit I trow they hold but a different taste in their mouths; and I think t'were well that some of Your worshipful citizens, so he advises the Signoria of Siena, had discourse here, for they would learn much from them that know. " Venturini clearly does not want be the official Sienese ambassador, but he is making a bid for the post of his confidential adviser " I hold it not amiss he will insist, to make privily some preparation for your Worships Ambassadors, since they who have charge of lodgings, seek to occupy not alone the houses belonging to the Commune and to the citizens, but have hired the public hostelries as well, where travellers arrive daily. "

The vivid pictorial atmosphere is vitalized by Venturini's accurate topography. His landmarks have not been removed. The leading citizens' houses are being decorated, he tells us, notably the home of the Magnifico Lorenzo, " where t'is said his illustrious Lordship and Madonna will dismount and lodge. " The letter (No. 6) dated on Sunday March 10th, recalls the *beaux Dimanches* of the professional class who to this day turn out in strength to promenade up and down the Via Larga, few perhaps stopping to recall any of the scenes witnessed from the Medici palace windows yonder. The family have thrown their doors open for all who care to see the plate, tapestry, furniture, and works of art which have set the stage for festivities in the last half-century. Venturini however refrains from looking in, he has heard that visitors of his quality are not yet welcome, and he would not appear guilty of a boorish curiosity. Let us therefore follow his itinerary.

The Casa del Patriarca has been taken for some of the guests, " t'is a most sumptuous dwelling, " <sup>(1)</sup> so is Giovanni Rucellai's palace,

\* (1) Borghini. " Discorsi della Chiesa e de Vescovi Fiorentini. " Tip. de Classici Italiani, 1809, cfr. Vol. IV. p. 519. To-day part of the Corsini palace via del Parione, the house

the scene but five years since of brilliant festivities when the son of the house Bernardo weds Nannina de' Medici Lorenzo's sister, and the Piazza before the Loggia is roofed in with blue and gold draperies, the family colours, for the *al fresco* banquet, no room being large enough in the house to seat the guests. (1) Guests will be lodged at Santa Croce: the convent cloisters hold two storeys of cells, and several other *luoghi* i. e. monasteries, are also available, besides the fine rooms at Santa Maria Novella the state guest-house, for the Popes and Princes, whom Florence delights to honour. Niccolò da Uzzano's legacy to scholarship, the Sapiientia and the University buildings beside the church of the SS. Annunziata, own a vast open area adjacent to S. Marco where " a large number of horses will be stabled. " It is none too large for the 1500 horses and mules, and the 400 grooms of his Lordship's " stirrup " who are expected, to say nothing of Madama's stable retinue. (2) It may be observed that Venturini adds the words " several other citizens " which, bearing in mind the circumstance already noted that the Lanfredini brothers are considered members of

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known by the name " Casa del Patriarca, " the property of the Ardinghelli, confiscated on the exile in the XIVth century, was frequently the abode of official guests. The name was derived from the residence first of Giovanni Vitelleschi Patriarch of Aquileia, a see he held conjointly with the bishopric of Florence, and he died there on April 2nd 1438. His successor in both dignities is Lodovico Scarampi created Cardinal by Pope Eugenius IV. to whom the house is given (for life) in recognition of his own and his brothers' services, with the Pontifical forces joined to the Florentines which win the battle of Anghiari, June 29th 1440, against the Duke of Milan. Cardinal Scarampi's fine monument is in SS. Lorenzo e Damaso, the basilica built in by Cardinal Riario to the Palazzo della Cancilleria at Rome.

(1) Designed by L. B. Alberti for Giovanni Rucellai, the palace in Via della Vigna Nuova is perhaps the most graceful example extant of early Renaissance domestic architecture. It displays to the full the dignity of the age, yet without the massive strength and sternness that characterize the design of the Medici and Strozzi palaces.

(2) The Florentine statesman Niccolò da Uzzano, 136?-1432/3, devises his house, adjacent to the Servite monastery of the SS. Annunziata, and a sum of money, in trust to the Calimala or Foreign Wool-merchants' Guild for the maintenance of fifty students at the University. The house distinguished by a fine escutcheon of the Uzzano arms now forms part of the University buildings. The gardens at the rear are now partly built over. Facing S. Marco the present Botanic garden was begun, in the XVth century. The lion-pits *Senagiti* were transferred here from the rear of the Signoria palace, and the Grand ducal stables in close proximity to the Medici Casino and gardens opposite. The open space thus lying between the bet Servite and Dominican monasteries served to picket the Sforza riding and pack-animals.



the Este household, goes some way to support their character of hosts, preferably to Madonna Beatrice d'Este Sforza and her train. Jacopo Lanfredini, who is Prior this year for his ward of Santo Spirito, would not lag behind in hospitality when colleagues older than he are unsparing of their time, health, and purse.

" The Duke continues Venturini, is expected this week " on the Thursday or Friday at latest. " We have already been told that the route goes by Pontremoli, Sarzana, etc. Agnolo della Stufa, Capponi's predecessor in the Gonfaloniership, is Commissioner at the frontier city; and the Signoria " have elected several ambassadors to honour and escort Galeazzo, some to meet him in one place, some at another." Most have taken horse already, and the others are completing their equipment to gain those first cities *terre* on the state boundary, (meaning Sarzana and Pietrasanta), where already four days ago Lorenzo de' Medici and several others have betaken themselves. The family are fully represented, " for this morning have ridden thither Giuliano de' Medici and Guglielmo de' Pazzi the husband of Bianca de' Medici Lorenzo's other sister, and a considerable body of worthy gentry. " The gold of Florentine welcome rings true, but a humourous touch is not absent from the report he quotes, " of a religious come from Milan this day, who departed thence at the same time as the Duke, and whose cloth and repute lend substance to the story now going about Florence in the accounts of Milanese pomp and circumstance; all is not gold that glitters. " Some of the plumes are borrowed he says " for the honour of his Lordship! " In name they are indeed all great lords, come in their courtly state, but several have had to *tax* one another in order to shew off their own magnificence " and that of their households. Squalor lurks in the splendour of those times we know, so that although Venturini is careful to give his information hearsay value only, I expect we may take the Friar at his word. " Indeed concludes Venturini, the Florentines are not loquacious and men of repute say but little, albeit outwardly they affect a satisfied look and devote themselves with alacrity to the business in hand; " i. e. to pay and look pleasant.

Venturini's impression of the public's attitude does not support

some of Machiavelli's accusations. Of levity, there recurs little trace, public shows are ecclesiastical. " The great concourse of people in the churches, the signs of devotion are he says in my opinion born of a good will, and they will be staging a number of handsome performances in diverse churches. " We see therefore that the *Sacre Rappresentazioni* or *Mystery Plays* with which the Florentines were accustomed to solemnize the great Church festivals of the year, appeared to them now the fittest means of conciliating the demands of religious discipline with the programme of state hospitality. Three favourite plays will be chosen. The name of the playwright, the titles, have come down to us. Feo Belcari's *Mystery of the Annunciation, the Ascension of the Lord, and the Descent of the Holy Ghost* will be acted curiously enough, exclusively in churches of the Oltr'Arno: San Felice in Piazza, and the Carmine, and in Santo Spirito, all belonging to religious Orders.

Machiavelli, to put the matter gently, is but a formalist in religious practice, and he clearly does not share the popular belief that the destruction of Santo Spirito through some of the decorations catching fire is a judgment of Providence for the non-observance of the ordinance of fasting, or of abstinence from the flesh meat, " where of the ducal court partook without respect for the Church of God ". (1) We get a simpler and truer impression of the event as it struck the educated contemporary. Leonardo Morelli suggests a mere accident, for which no one is to blame: " on the 21st day of March.... the ' Apparition of the Holy Ghost ' was staged in that church to honour the said Duke, as was their wont yearly at Pentecost... And neither the Duke nor the Duchess went, and thereafter in the night of the 21st to the Friday 22nd, the fire started and burned the whole church together with many cloths of Arras (tapestries), *spalliere*, — carved and gilt, and painted settles and panelling, and other ornaments which had been lent for the decking of the said church. " Venturini unfor-

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(1) Machiavelli, " *Istorie Fiorentine*. " Cfr. Lib. VII, cap. XXVIII.

tunately will not add anything material to the episode pictured, which historians, diarists, and chroniclers merely repeat. (1)

We may regret also that no details are vouchsafed of the street decorations approaching completion: "regal and marvellous things indeed to look upon, and so mighty a number of master-craftsmen and garzoni (apprentices) are all intent thereon, that to tell them all would write me down a liar." Reticence and generalization is with rare exception the eye-witnesses rule in this century. The later diarists who expatiate on the doings of Florence to solemnize the Medici restoration, Vasari who unites the literary gift with the professional decorator's eye, belong to another generation, more practised in stage craft. The Florentine citizen remains unmoved now by this pageantry, his work-a-day life does not stop, "those in authority alone excepted;" for Venturini's conclusion hits the real cause of the apparent indifference on the head truly, "all agree that the expense will be very heavy, and this it seems dislikes many."

Not only does the Ducal retinue number 1200 men, with mules and horses and 300 mounted cross-bowmen, in addition to lords of high degree, "but says the envoy from everywhere it now rains newcomers." The last announced are the lords of Imola: Galeotto Manfredi, — together with Taddeo Manfredi who sells his birth-right in Imola to Girolamo Riario, soon to be officially betrothed to the little Caterina, afterwards Galeazzo's son-in-law. He comes "with a train of 50 and more horse, and a bevy of ladies besides;" whilst the son of the Count of Urbino is accompanied by no less than 80 attendants, for whom accommodation must be found. (2) These guests' expenses fall

(1) "Cronica di Leonardo Morelli" published in "Delizie d. Erud. Tosc.," Vol. 19. Morelli is the Florentine authority for the presence of the little Caterina Sforza and her sister. "On the 15th March, there came to Florence the Duke of Milan with his wife and with two children;" and Morelli, like Rinuccini, Cambi, etc., report the fire of Santo Spirito, the damage being estimated at 12,000 florins.

(2) Cfr. E. Gardner, *op. cit.*, p. 184, mentions Ottaviano da Montefeltro, a brother of Federigo Count of Urbino, calling him "a subtle politician of ambiguous reputation." At the death of Federigo in 1482, he holds the regency of Urbino for his youthful nephew Guidobaldo, 1471-1508. Ottaviano da Montefeltro is Galeazzo Maria's first cousin by marriage, his sister-in-law Battista Sforza is the elder daughter of Alessandro, the late Duke of Milan's younger brother.

in their entirety on the public purse. They are *found* from the date of their entrance into Florentine territory to that of their departure, small wonder then as the Sienese remarks grimly, that "grumbling is audible and many shake their heads.... Nevertheless he adds, though all admit the cost will be great, they bear it all gladly for the obligation they are under to the Duke." The Florentines have remembered the cost of supporting an unsuccessful cause such as the Anjou claims to Naples, and the Milanese policy at that juncture, which so to say enabled them to *save face*. They must meet gratitude's bills as best they may.

The political undercurrents once more absorb Venturini's attention. The trained bands of Florence under marching orders to Pisa parade the streets, with pennants waving, helmets and shields gleaming in the March sun, to the martial strains of their drums and fifes. The public, not in the secret, wonders, he remarks at the appearance of such a "numerous company well armed and suitably equipped." The secret seems to be well kept, but his perspicacity is not at fault; he mentions in the same breath what he learns from certain Genoese merchants "that their state has fitted out two galleys and twenty large craft with crews exceeding in number 100 men apiece, to await the Duke's coming at Pisa and carry him to Genoa." The conclusion is obvious to Venturini. The Signoria of Florence, aware of the impression calculated to be produced by a display of sea-power greater than theirs, will have to shew their iron-gloved hand in Pisa, and take care that their guests are sped overland the way they came.

These *dessous des cartes* clearly preoccupy the diplomatist. He has concluded the "private business" which was the ostensible motive of his stay, and he would have hastened his return to Siena, to report by word of mouth matters that had best not be written; "yet desirous to view so mighty a triumph, he will await Galeazzo and Bona's state entry, adding however that he will not stay over the rest of their visit the festivities of which, some believe, will last over Lady-Day; the plays performed in the churches already mentioned "being expected to take up several days." Venturini's description, if it was ever written, has not reached us, and Ser Balduino takes up the story in the

last two letters, unhappily breaking off also with the first day's doings.

The aspect of Piazza della Signoria can be easily imagined. Indeed latter-day Florence had the opportunity on July 4th 1918, to view a scene essentially similar, when the freedom of the city was conferred upon the late President of the United States of America, Mr J. Woodrow Wilson. On that occasion the house windows were all decked, garlands of foliage hung round the cornices of weather-worn palazzi, tapestry panels decorated the Loggia and the Signoria balcony, whilst before the steps were assembled deputations from the neighbouring townships with their banners; and the pennants of the wards of mediaeval Florence formed another characteristic group....

Ser Balduino's sketch is of graphic directness. " This morning after the 22nd hour (10 a. m.) the Illustrious Duke and Madama the Duchess made entry in this magnificent city. He came by the Prato gate and rode up to the Piazza to the foot of the Palace of these Worshipful Signori, riding between the Ambassador of the King's Majesty (Naples) on his right and on his left hand, the Envoy of the Illustrious Signoria of Venice. " Their hosts have caused the terrace before the Palace to be suitably decorated, and here with the " courtly urbanity of citizens, " they await the Duke, " descending the steps to greet him, " as the procession comes into view from Via Vacchereccia.

The Prato gate has witnessed many a show beneath its archway, and the broad street has seen even in modern days the *corso de' Barberi*, riderless horses racing down its length for the palio prize. Galeazzo's procession moves thence along Borgo Ognissanti, up Via della Vigna Nuova, where Giovanni Rucellai's palace awaits some the guests, across Via Tornabuoni where at the corner facing the Strozzi palace hangs the sign of the Sun, over the grocer Luca Landucci's shop-door. He is an onlooker, not approving, for so we can but construe the silence of his diary. Modern street-planning has respected essentials, though one feature - the Strozzi palace facing us, the building and completion of which Landucci will chronicle, is yet, - in 1471 barely showing its bosses above the street level. The market place with its

huddled, tall, narrow house-fronts and towers, its medley of little shops and stalls, amidst which Donatello's statue of Justice towers on her pillar, a busy mart where the bright lights and shadows contrast, pictorially unparalleled, has indeed vanished: but the area now built over retains its *genius loci*. Crossing the piazza diagonally we follow the cortège, in sight of Or San Michele set with statuary, the same yet, go past the Mercato Nuovo area, the Loggia is not yet in being; and enter the Piazza from the western end.

There is something changeless in the spell of an historic atmosphere which no improvements for good or for ill can modify. Of all the statuary to-day filling the terrace and Piazza: Cosimo I. on horseback, Neptune and the Nereids of Ammannati's fountain, Michelangelo's David, Cellini's Perseus, and the Judith by Donatello, only his Marzocco, the lion of Florence has actually witnessed the Ducal reception, seated at the identical corner of the *ringhiera*. So set the staging is ready for the actors. Against the background of gray stone are grouped the Gonfalonier and Priors, Lanfredini among their number, in scarlet gowns and hoods, mingled with them the purple robe of past and present Orators of the Republic, bare-headed, with their hat like a flat turban slung across their left shoulder; the Captain of the People wears his armour, the Knights of the Golden Spur appear with their banners. Balduino has been careful to note the Duke and Duchess's attire, both are dressed "in blue brocaded with lilies of the fashion and the arms of France."

All show-loving Florence, — unchanged — throngs the streets. Balduino cannot describe "the numbers of citizens and men of substance that have ridden forth to meet the said Lord, nor the concourse and great multitude of men and womenfolk assembled, nor the worthy *apparati*, i. e. triumphal arches, etc., that were set up in the streets along which he was to have passed." The Ducal train has been noted. His brothers and the other Lords and courtiers are preceded and followed by a huge bevy of retainers wearing their masters' colours in their liveries; the armorial bearings of Visconti and Trivulzio, Pallavicini and Castiglione etc., complete the brilliant colour palette.

Messer Pier-Francesco Visconti, the first-Chamberlain's following presents a gorgeous spectacle, his men are dressed in crimson, and the grooms handsomely mounted hold grey-hounds in leash. Sixty pages wear doublets of green velvet, their horses *grossissimi*, no doubt the great Flanders breed, are caparisoned in crimson and many-coloured brocade housings, with stirrup irons and bits of gold and silver; a train of 65-70 pack-mules carries the ducal *forzieri* and strongboxes.

The caravan of waggons with emboidered silk hoods, bring up the rear. The state surrounding Bona's *damsels*, the forerunners of Catherine de Medicis flying squadron, is not less wonderful. The Signori of Siena can better imagine it all than he can describe the cortège, "I will say no more, he says or of the marvellous decorations here, they are things almost incredible." Our old acquaintance Zannone Corio, is one of Galeazzo's *courtiers*. He no doubt will have given the historian his nephew a first hand account of occurrences, which however under his pen reads banal enough; and Corio by naming Visconti as the Duke's sword-bearer adds but one tiny personal touch to Balduino's picture.

The Duke and Duchess dismount at the terrace, where compliments are exchanged, and they straightway take horse once more, and go to make their devotional appearance at the *Numptiata*; and they end by dismounting at the quarters prepared by Lorenzo de' Medici, where a company of thirty damsels most beautifully dressed had gathered to greet "Madama's most illustrious Ladyship." Balduino's laconic statement will be filled in by Alamanno Rinuccini, the Florentine chronicler. (1) The outward aspect of things strikes no discordant note to-

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(1) Cfr. Cron. Rinuccini, loc. cit., CXV-VI. Galeazzo Duke of Milan came hither with a mighty and goodly retinue, carrying his wife with him.... who, entering the city, rode immediately behind him. They proceeded first to the Palace of the Signori where the Signoria awaited them, standing on the terrace, together with many other citizens. And when the Duke had gone as far as the Loggia, (Orcagna's Loggia) perhaps at the distance of 80 braccia from the terrace, he dismounted and the Duchess likewise. The Signori stepped down to welcome them at the foot of the terrace, and here meeting, the Duchess touched the Gonfalonier's hand, and she likewise touched those of the other Signori; whereupon a circle being formed, the Gonfalonier spoke a few brief words of welcome, congratulating themselves on his coming, whereto the Duke also replied briefly. And remounting their horses the Duke and Duchess, whilst the Signori went in to the Palace, rode by Via della Prestanza, past the house of the Bischeri, and went to the Annun-

day. The itinerary is the same as that followed by numberless processions to this day. The Ducal cortège has turned down Via della Prestanza, sweeping past the Merchant's Exchange at the corner decked with the banners of the Guilds, carpets at all the windows framing countless onlookers. If the Gondi palace hard by is just completed, the Oratorians' church of S. Firenze occupies the site of Mancini and Magalotti houses, but the grim old pile of the Podestà's palace — Bargello — which they pass, and the Badia opposite are unchanged. They enter Piazza del Duomo at the Canto de' Bischeri S. E. end. Bound by their vow to the SS. Annunziata their pious goal, no stop will be made here, and they merely skirt the apse of Santa Maria del Fiore. They pass the stonemasons and sculptors workshops, recorded by an inscription, indeed it may fairly be concluded that these craftsmen of Florence: who form so to say the chorus of the Medici Pageant, are drawn up here to welcome their patrons' guests. At this point the vista of Via de' Servi opens upon the church of the SS. Annunziata still shewing a narrow portal of two columns. The votive chapel within recently completed by Piero de' Medici's munificence, blazes with a hundred lamps; and the flat dome, for which Leon Battista Alberti has given the design, is being erected with the money given by the Marquis of Mantua Lodovico Gonzaga. Whilst of course the bronze statuary now *in situ* did not exist then, the travellers yet looked upon the characteristic colonnade which runs along the East and West sides of the Piazza.

After a halt at the wonderworking shrine where doubtless Cardinal Francesco Gonzaga, whose presence is recorded in Florence at this time to represent his father as pious donor, awaits them, the party ride in to Piazza San Marco, past the Dominican convent and church and "Lorenzo's garden," at the opposite side, whence another straight line of route brings them to the adjacent *family settlement*. The

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ziata of the Servites which was their first object, since t'was said they came to release a vow to the said Annunziata. And from thence turning round San Marco, by Via Larga, they betook themselves to the house of Lorenzo di Piero di Cosimo de' Medici where quarters had been prepared for them.... "



Medici palace welcomes Galeazzo, but we have already been told that *not* Lorenzo, but his cousin Pier-Francesco de' Medici is Bona's host. The reason is not far to seek. Clarice Orsini Lorenzo's young wife is a mother of brief days standing, whilst Madonna Laudomia Acciaiuoli de' Medici, has no further additions to her nursery in prospect.

The Signoria do not intend to let the political seed sown by the "touch of hands" reported by Rinuccini, to wither for lack of attention. On the selfsame afternoon Balduino informs us in his last despatch, a body of fifty citizens call at the Medici palace and carry Galeazzo "with his court and state" to the Council-hall. The procession starts on foot, though the Duke will be permitted to ride home, horseback: he will be met by the Signoria with the Gonfalonier at their head, "with exceeding courtesy half way;" down the present Via de' Calzaiuoli, at the Canto de' Stampatori, says Rinuccini. Galeazzo is given the *second* place, on the Gonfalonier's left, the third place on his right is filled by the Ambassador of the King's Majesty "Lo Turco,"<sup>(1)</sup> and to the left again, so that Galeazzo walks between two Florentines the fourth is filled by "one of these Magnificent Signori, I believe adds Balduino, the Provost."

Rinuccini's narrative suggests that the Duke had *asked* for this interview "in the presence of a goodly number;" and his request having been duly pondered, the Signoria had directed the Council-Hall to be prepared for the meeting. The Signoria are seated, beneath Miche-

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(1) This personage "Il Turco Cincinello" is the Neapolitan Ambassador whose presence Corio mentions (Stor; Milano, Part. VI. Cap. 2) in his description of the state reception given by Galeazzo in September 1473 to Cardinal Pietro Riario, who visits Milan at the Duke's invitation, when the negotiations for the betrothal of his daughter Caterina Sforza to the Cardinal's brother Girolamo Riario, both nephews of Pope Sixtus IV, were officially concluded. "Approaching Milan," the historian tells, "the Duke went forth to meet him (the Cardinal) with the orators: of Naples which he was "Il Turco Cincinello," and of Florence, Ferrara, and Mantua, and behind came the magistrates, and courtiers; and at a short distance from the bastions the said cardinal was welcomed by the Duke with great honour and courtesy, with such trumpet blasts and sound of diverse instruments as seemed to rend the air; on entering the city the canopy of white cloth of gold was held over his head by the colleges of jurists and physicians with their hoods and caps of vair; and the clergy walked in procession, and he was thus escorted to the cathedral church, after visiting which he proceeded with the Duke to the castle, where he was lodged with honours as though he were the pontiff in person...."

lozzo's superb blue and gold carved wood ceiling and the Duke is placed beside the Gonfalonier, on the dais. He discourses "for a very lengthy space justifying himself, to explain the motives, says Rinuccini, that had withheld him hitherto from ratifying the provisions of the universal league.... and in addition thereto, he offers the Signoria the choice to dispose at their pleasure of the levies he had covenanted under the league to enroll; and, concludes the chronicler, he was openhanded in offers of himself and his state to the service of the Commune." It would seem however that these fine promises notwithstanding, the Signoria yet harbour misgivings of Galeazzo's sincerity, for hardly has he ridden off, than "immediately behind him come eight or ten of the notables of the city. These gentry all knights retire to the garden in the Medici palace, and there "they remain apart, and have separate audience with the Duke." The political setting thus outlined is perfect, even to its externals completing a frame-work for our mind picture.

There exists unfortunately no detailed record of these Medici family hospitalities, reflected by laudatory adjectives only. It may nevertheless be presumed that the ordering of the banquets, etc., will have followed established custom: the tables are set out in the two courts, the family plate on dressers lines the walls. Music and dancing is going on upstairs in the great saloon overlooking Via Larga, whence coin and even costly vessels as souvenirs, will be thrown to the crowd; whilst the elder ladies of the family, Monna Contessina Lorenzo's grandmother, Madonna Lucrezia Tornabuoni his mother, and probably also Madonna Bartolommea Minerbetti de' Medici, aunt à la mode de Bretagne, who mothers all the young folke indiscriminately are onlookers from upper windows. (1) Bona maks friends with Medici babies, and

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(1) Cfr. Mrs. Ross, *op. cit.*, pp. 129-134. An eye-witness, Piero Parenti's description of the festivities for Lorenzo de' Medici and Clarice Orsini's marriage extending over three days June 4th, 5th, and 6th 1469, may be quoted, affording as it does a graphic idea of the scale of Medici entertainments. Tables for the banquets, "of which there were five," are set in the garden and at the side as far as the doors, "one of which leads into the house, the other outside." The garden referred to by Parenti has been recently restored to its former aspect, the great gate opens on to Via Ginori, and an archway divides it from the fore-court, with the main entrance in Via

the mens' evenings will be spent in the company of scholars. Galeazzo has had the love of books instilled in him early, and his own home atmosphere is as intelligent as his sturdy old father, who was better acquainted with saddle leather than with book bindings, yet admired "the learning without which you cannot be a humane prince," could make it. Angelo Poliziano who is now part of the permanent Medici household will no doubt read them passages of his *Orfeo*, "the classic" *Masque* to be produced shortly at Mantua, where indeed Galeazzo and Bona are bound in the early summer months. Visits to churches and convents, to Florentine artists who acclaim the Medici for their art benefactions for the decoration of the Milan Corte Ducale will also occupy their time fully; indeed it may well be that some such engagement precludes attendance at Santo Spirito, the *Miracle Play*, fraught with such dire disaster. An offering of no less than 2000 ducats to the church, as a partial set off for the damage done by

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Cavour. "In the loggia," continues the narrator, "which surrounds the court-yard.... the tables were set on three sides.... following the wall there were six tables.... In the ground-floor hall dancing went on. The order kept for the service is great. The dishes are brought in from the street, the bearers turn to the right and walk round the tables, returning by the foot of the stairs, some go up to a balcony in front of the upstairs saloon where the older members of the family are served." Parenti observes that there was little ornamental show of plate, no dressing of sideboards this time, but only tables with large copper basins for the glasses, set round the "handsome column on which stands the *David*, and the men who hand wine or water to the servers for the guests' use." A similar arrangement meets us in the garden where, "on the tables are silver vessels to hold the wine-glasses." But as Parenti notes that the salt cellars, forks, knife handles, bowls, and dessert dishes, and jars to hold fritters, almonds, comfits, and pine-seed preserve were all of silver the array of plate *is* considerable; "all but the basins and jugs for the guests' hands," which no doubt are of the Cafaggiuolo majolica ware, painted and fired in the Medici kilns and highly prized. The table linen is of the finest "according to our fashion...." It was home spun and woven and beautifully embroidered, as are still extant samples of XVth. Century cut and drawn linen work. Every person of note who came in was taken to the ground-floor hall through the outer loggia and offered refreshment of fruit, sweetmeats, white and red wine.... at about the 20th (4 p. m.) they danced till supper time on a stage outside, which was draped with arras, and benches, and forms were set beneath a huge canopy of purple, green, and white cloth, wrought with the arms of Medici and Orsini.... From what they tell of courts of mighty princes, the like had never been seen, the jewels worn by certain great lords are magnificent "and he concludes, "of the women I say nothing; such coats and gowns of silk all embroidered with pearls! I had rather blame than praise this height of civilization."

the fire, attests what must be admitted to be no niggardly disposition. (1)

The Duke of Milan clearly wants to leave a good impression behind him. Severe penalties are threatened against any of his court who should transgress any of courtesy's unwritten laws. He himself will set the example, rewarding the proffer even of a flower with a ducat. (2) Thus the fears of the Florentine ratepayers that the ducal visit will be protracted beyond their purses endurance are tempered by his "courtliness;" and at the term set, March 23rd, the guests take their departure, "as much pleased by the public reception, Rinuccini states, when Galeazzo gives definite assurance of his intent to abide loyally by the League, as by the honours paid them by their hosts." The party journey home the way they came, leaving Pisa out, and travel swiftly through Lucca territory. Giuliano de' Medici has ridden ahead, and will meet them at Massa escorting them to the Florentine boundary; they arrive on March 29th at Spezia, to embark on board the Genoese fleet which had returned there from the Pisa anchorage, and Giuliano under instructions from his brother, pushes on to Genoa for a last leavetaking. (3)

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(1) Cfr. Cron. Rinuccini, loc. cit. The annalist notes the staging of the "Descent of the Holy Ghost," in the church of Santo Spirito, "in the manner customary for the solemnity of Pentecost." He records that neither Galeazzo nor Bona attended the performance, and that "in the following night, to wit that of Thursday to Friday, 22nd, a fire broke out in the church and burned many arras, benches, and settles and other ornaments which had been brought thither, lent by the gentry to decorate the church...." Corio however will tell us that the Duke, "to indemnify them for the damage, presented a gift of two thousand ducats, to the church."

(2) Scipione Ammirato, Lib. XXIII. ann. 1471, and Corio, loc. cit., observe that Galeazzo enjoined proper and courteous behaviour upon his court, under pain of his severe displeasure and punishment without mercy, and the latter adds that his liberality and open handedness gained him great popularity among the Florentines, all who came to pay their respects; being most *humanely* received and sped with gifts." Corio observes that the offer of a flower or two was rewarded with as many ducats.

(3) Signor Del Lungo, op. cit., p. 289, and note refers to both Marquis Malaspina and Giuliano's letters to Lorenzo de' Medici on March 29th and April in reporting the Sforza progress. As the travellers leave Pisa out of their homeward itinerary after all, the route is that followed by Lorenzo de' Medici on his way to Milan in 1469. The Ducal party are escorted by Giuliano de' Medici as far as Sarzana. He reports his leave-taking there on March 29th, and rides on ahead to Genoa, whilst Galeazzo and Bona will embark at Porto Venere on board the Genoese galleys which had been sent to meet them at Pisa.

Florence will now resume her workaday mien, trade interests prosper, — cane sugar is first seen now in Europe on her citizens' tables, the people watch with breathless interest the hoisting of the great gilt bronze ball on to the lantern which completes the cupola of Brunelleschi's dreams. State visitors — Cardinal Francesco Gonzaga, offer pretexts for some more "representations;" this time Lorenzo de Medici is the playwright. The citizens' minds are however momentarily at rest, at one with their young ruler's statesmanship which has achieved alliance with Milan and Naples; a friendlier disposition in Venice prevails, amicable relations with Ferrara and Mantua continue, and Lorenzo's mastery has not yet aroused pontifical jealousies. Such is the diplomatic field which the Lanfredini brothers will now enter, enjoying Lorenzo de' Medici's unchanging confidence to the end.

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## CHAPTER IX.

### Jacopo di Orsino Lanfredini, Statesman and Diplomatist, 1415-148?

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SOME places seem to surround people with their peculiar atmosphere more distinctively than others, so much so that to write the name at once creates a sort of mind picture. Chance rather than design is the creator of this vitalizing quality of a city name. A nucleus of associations crystallizes, and behold the locality magic at work fashioning a real setting for individual lives. Ferrara seems the place-name which fits the Lanfredini brothers best. They appear to me more at home there than in Florence, indeed this foreign residence appears to have marked them for the diplomatists destiny laying their lives in many pleasant places, but other than the city of their birth.

The early stages of Jacopo Lanfredini's life-apprenticeship are blanks for us. We know him to be married and a widower with a young family at thirty-three. He has only followed his banker's calling so far, a calling which the Merchants Exchange membership cumulates with art patronage, and in 1460 he is already forty five years old when his turn to be elected to the Priorate comes round. It does not seem difficult to assign the motive for so tardy an entrance into public life. As we know the Medici policy steadily pursued during the last twenty-five years has weeded out rivals; and Cosimo may in-

deed now desire to infuse fresh life from outside into his group-government, but he is over-ruled. (1) The conclusion to be drawn from the election which has no sequel or morrow is plain. The aloofness of Orsino Jacopo's father had shewn that he liked Medici family rule but little, that of his son denotes that he cares for it still less, in spite of Piero de' Medici's attractive personality at Ferrara where, contemporaries within a twelvemonth, the young men will have dangled their legs as bank-clerks at the same counting-houses; — the Florentine merchant-bankers wherever two or three are joined together forming a close corporation. And if Piero de' Medici in the last years of his father's life fails to assert himself against the Pitti opposition, the Lanfredini who are closely connected by marriage with the Capponi though also opponents of the Pitti, will find the call of early estrangement from Florentine affairs louder, and the pull to Ferrara strongest. (2)

Ferrara occupies an unique position in Central Italy, her extension nearly across the Peninsula's width being capable at once of bringing victory to an ally, or causing an adversary's hopeless discomfiture. Thus a buffer-state geographically between north and centre, the commanding personality of her rulers: Marquises, and Dukes in the sixty years now current of the century, has made the *Queen of the Po*, a mediatrix between conflicting powers, and a magnet of singular strength more particularly for Florence. We have seen her Condottiere — Marquis Niccolò d'Este befriending the Republic in the hour

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(1) Cfr. Mrs Ross, *op. cit.*, p. 60. Letter from Contessina de' Medici to her son Giovanni, August 28th 1460.... "Cosimo has put an end to the worry of being one of the Eight, and Pier-Francesco has been named in his stead; this might also be done for thee...."

(2) Machiavelli, Lib. VII. The historian points out that Cosimo chose the second of two courses open to him after Neri Capponi's death, which removed the only personality likely to give the Medici party umbrage through his popularity and political standing. One was to proclaim his own rule, the other to fill the elective offices with those whom he reputed his friends. Cosimo de' Medici chose the latter. "This opened the door wide, as the historian points out, to intrigue, the result of which made itself felt in the oppressive measures enacted by the partizans of Luca Pitti... It was this kind of Government in the eight years of its duration — arbitrary and irksome, that Cosimo weary and stricken in years, unable to control it by his presence, acquiesced in; and a handful of citizens despoiled the state. Luca Pitti was knighted for his services to the Republic.... and received rich gifts from Cosimo and the Signoria.... wherefore he rose in such esteem that not Cosimo but Messer Luca ruled the community."

of her need when Visconti ascendancy still threatens, — 1424; and again in 1428-9, when the Florentine negotiators, Palla Strozzi and Averardo de' Medici are pitted against the keenest Milanese and Venetian wits in the battle for the maintenance of the balance of power, by which alone Florence could expect to cope with the superior forces surrounding her. Niccolò d'Este is no stranger to Florence, visiting the city in that decade — 1410-20 when Medici statesmanship was bearing its first fruits. The men he knew then will now include among Florentine exiles Palla Strozzi, foremost among scholar-merchants, whom he welcomes with others of his clan, when Medici vengeance overtakes all adversaries. These *fuorusciti* of 1435 form the nucleus round which, in a very few years more when the bitterness of the hour has softened, the Florentine merchant community of Ferrara crystallizes; a community where the Lanfredini become the Este bankers.

A mass of warm red-brick architecture above which towers the Castello, Ferrara commands the lush green of the lower plain of the Po in solitary state to-day, grass-grown in more senses than one. Geographically speaking her choice as neutral ground seems to fall naturally upon her for the half-way house for Emperors on their way to and from Rome. The residence of the Pontifical Legate, to whom the Marquis of Este plays host, Ferrara holds a kind of permanent court of arbitration, with the privileges of a *conference-city*. Second to none thus as a centre where political life pulsates, Ferrara is preeminent in the cultivation of scholarship and in the pursuit of trade; though Florence is watchful of both, she is not yet jealous.

The Council session transferred there from Bâle preparatory to a move to another city, the interest displayed by Florence in the choice, in which finance speaks with no uncertain voice, coupled with the political lustre which will be hers, make it easy to picture the firm of Lanfredini hand in glove with the Medici, Martelli, etc. (3) Orsino Lan-

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(1) Cfr. Domenico Moreni "Esilio e Ritorno di Cosimo de' Medici," notes to Books IX-X of Cavalcanti's History of Florence. The Martelli are managers of the Medici Bank at Ferrara, and are instructed in Cosimo's behalf to make payments to and meet the travelling expenses, etc., of the Greek clergy and laity at the Council, to be transferred from that city to Florence 1438.



fredini is we know like his compeers creating the house beautiful in Florence. He will seize the occasion to extend his traffics, to that end withdrawing from active politics, the more profitably now that thanks to Ferrara, a relative truce reigns between Milan, Venice and Florence. Duke Borso d'Este's Letters Patent (App. I. Doc. 2) granted twenty years later to the firm (now represented by Orsino's sons) styling them *prestantes viros et circumspectes mercatores* of Lendinara and Ferrara, and of Venice, without mentioning expressly the Florentine branch of the business, — to whom he and his predecessors are greatly beholden for assistance, — place the Lanfredini before us in a clear light in their capacity of cash-purveyors to the House of Este, just as distinctly as similar Royal and Papal warrants appoint Bardi, Frescobaldi, Medici, etc., Bankers to Kings and Pontiffs. The connection extends over half a century, implying frequent and prolonged residence at the Court of Ferrara; a fact which accounts in some measure for the absence of the Lanfredini name, with but one exception in 1460, from public record until Lorenzo de' Medici takes up the reins of government.

The Letters Patent possess however not only illustrative value, they are eminently suggestive of the man, *vir nobilis et prudentis simus*, who unites these qualities with the shrewd merchant's sense that makes for confidence in rectitude of purpose, which is essential to success. The enumeration of the Lanfredini privileges, prerogatives, and exemptions throws up into bold relief the features whereby we may know the man of substance, Borso and Ercole d'Este's *familiar*, and their predecessors Niccolò and Leonello's confidential advisers. We learn that within the boundaries of the state of Ferrara the Lanfredini may arm and equip an escort of four men at arms with baggage and horses, their goods are free from gate, bridge and turnpike tolls and dues, day and night travel is permitted without let or hin-

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Lorenzo, Cosimo de' Medici's younger brother is the Florentine Ambassador and his commission (printed by Mrs. Ross, *op. cit.*, p. 42-3) records: "We consent to begin the payment of 1500 florins or ducats per month from the day the Greeks leave Ferrara, to continue... in Florence, but not for more than eight months..." A supplementary instruction raises the amount to 1700 ducats which must not under any circumstances be exceeded.

drance. If it be remembered that these duties formed a considerable item of the Ducal revenue, the exemption is a mark of signal favour. The sumptuary laws in operation are waived in the Lanfredini's favour, *they* may possess and wear garments of any cut fashion or material, adding gold and silver ornaments to taste, *they* may own and use in public gold and silver plate and arras and such like things; and lastly in their rank of familiars of the Este household they may adopt, wear, and use the family arms and device in their houses, on their persons, etc. The picture of the wealthy merchant on his travels between Florence and Ferrara and Venice thus thrown on the mental screen bears a strong if miniature resemblance to the Sforza road-pageant.

There are but two family events documentarily attested within this period of the Lanfredini career both of which fill in the outline sketched above; namely Jacopo's purchase of villa property in 1464 at Arcetri to round off the paternal estate acquired in 1429, and the marriage of his daughter Cassandra in 1467, both of which entail active participation in the art-patronage of the day. These, along with his interest in Pollaiuolo's work in 1457, and the single Priorate of 1460, form the link with Florence.

Whilst the Este policy has on the whole favoured the Medici ascendancy, and during Leonello's reign, - 1441-50 - the interchange of visits was frequent and cordial, there can be no doubt but that the presence of the Strozzi clan, - the exiles of 1435, at Ferrara and high in court favour, fosters the tendency not to regard the Medici *combine* as a political permanency. Hence probably the support Borso, and Ercole his half-brother and successor, give in 1467 to the Neroni attempts to subvert Piero de' Medici's rule, and the welcome given to Dietisalvi and his fellow exiles: Pitti, Soderini, and Acciajuoli, when the repression, not sparing even family friends and benefactors of early days, reveals the iron hand in Piero de' Medici's invalid glove. It is of course impossible to differentiate these *fuorusciti*, whose welcome makes things unpleasant for a while between Florence and Ferrara, and the standing members of the trading community like the Lanfredini, one and all more or less closely connected with them by marriage.

Borso's reign 1450-70 creates a wonderful background for the Lanfredini. His subjects worship him almost as a god, he is more handsome than can be described, pleasant of speech yet modest, robust in his person and without blemish, his character is distinguished for his liberality; all comers are welcome, and their sojourn at his court enhances the lustre which surrounds Ferrara. We possess a thumb-nail impression of the young Lorenzo de' Medici's passage and halt there on the way to Milan, when the ambassador of sixteen summers rehearses so to say the part he will play at the marriage of Francesco Sforza's daughter Ippolita to Alfonso of Aragon, heir to the Neapolitan throne. In these his first steps on the public stage, - 1465, he will be watched by Jacopo and Giovanni Lanfredini with the sympathy which the youth gathers as his birthright everywhere, and doubtless also by the son of the house, Orsino, the youth then about five and twenty, whose pensive gaze regards us from the walls of the home in Florence, and who will have taken part in the doings "to please the Duke," which meet with Piero de' Medici's approval. (1)

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(1) Cfr. Mrs. Ross, *op. cit.*, pp. 93-4. Piero de' Medici writes to his son, at Milan, on May 4th and again on May 11th 1465. "Thou hast arrived at Milan later than I thought, and perhaps than thou didst wish, on account of the delay caused by the honours paid thee by the Duke at Ferrara. I have written to thank him, and to say we are his debtors, and also to Messer Giovanni Bentivoglio I have sent thanks.... Remember to be polite and alert; act as a man and not as a boy. Show sense, diligence and manly endeavour, so that thou mayst be employed in more important things, for this journey is the touchstone of thy abilities.... Arrange.... about inviting Don Federigo one day to our house." The house is that presented to Cosimo de' Medici by Francesco Sforza. It was occupied by the Medici bank until the closing of their branches in Italy and abroad in the XVIIth century. The handsome doorway was removed upon demolition of the building and is now preserved in the Castello Museum. Piero is anxious that his son shall do their name credit. "Arrange with him, (Pigello the bank manager) after due reflection," he writes, "and whatever is settled, do thou carry out in honourable fashion, and with magnificence.... whatever is decided will please me, only as I said, do not stint money, but do thyself honour...." The second letter shews that Lorenzo had passed through Venice on his way from Ferrara.... "Alessandro (the bank manager).... tells me of thy departure and of what thou didst at Ferrara to please the Duke, and of thy visits to the Doge and other gentlemen, all of which I approve and commend.... if thou givest dinners or other entertainments do not let there be any stint in money or whatever else is needful to do thyself honour." Don Federigo who will be handsomely entertained in Florence, on his way to Naples escorting the bride whom he has married as his brother's proxy, is the last king of the Aragon house of Naples — succeeding his nephew Ferrantino in 1496.

Jacopo Lanfredini now, - March 1471, walks on again in Florentine politics. Cosimo de' Medici and Piero are gone, with them animosities of past days are buried. Jacopo is elected to the Signoria who welcome the Sforza. He is brought thus into close political contact with the Milanese young ruler, and his selection therefore as a *persona gratissima* also to carry the condolences of the Florentine Republic to Ercole d'Este at Ferrara for his bereavement by his half-brother's death, and their simultaneous congratulations upon his own accession, (August 14th, 1471), forms a fitting end to the political inactivity of Lanfredini's fifty odd years.<sup>(1)</sup> The succession of Duke Ercole under his father Marquis Niccolò's will, after his two illegitimate brothers Leonello and Borso, had not been free from strife, even in the dying man's last hours. He announces the fact to Lorenzo de' Medici simply, as a matter of course. The battle in the streets of Ferrara between his own partizans *the Diamond*, and *the Sail*, Leonello's son his nephew's followers, seems to deserve no especial notice: "this our most faithful community.... and peoples have elected me for their prince and lord, he tells him, and have given me the sceptre of government;" and he expects Lorenzo to "provide for the continuance and confirmation of the peace of Italy." The instructions to Jacopo on October 15th, directing the Ambassador after tendering the customary compliments, to recall past favours and anticipate those to come, adding that "he should offer himself to the Duke," are a clear indication of something more than mere formal politeness; they suggest a character of liberality in the new-fledged Ambassador which his subsequent career confirms.

Gifted signally with the sense of statecraft: rapidity of thought, decision, ambition for himself, clear sighted in the choice of its instruments, Lorenzo de' Medici is acclaimed at the age of one and twenty Syndic of the Republic, - the charge which to attain Messer Giovanni

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(1) Cfr. Passerini MSS. Lib. L. Archivio delle Riformagioni, 1469-1471. "A 15 Ottobre 1471, Jacopo di Orsino Lanfredini è mandato ambasciatore al Duca Ercole di Ferrara, per condolarsi della morte del Duca Borso, suo fratello, e rallegrarsi della sua successione, della sua persona, a quello stato, pregarlo a volerlo confermare per la pace d'Italia, ed offerirsi...." A money subsidy or present is suggested in these instructions.

di Gherardo Lanfredini a century ago awaits nearly old age ; - in an oligarchy jealous of its independence, and still wincing under the ferule of his family name. He has learned from his father and grandfather's experience how *not* to deal with the ambitions of his seniors in years. The appointments, - so-called elections, of these early years call to his side many who had stood or been thrust out hitherto. Still Lorenzo must have the casting vote, with this result that the Signoria's authority is voided of all but its outward dignity. The Gonfaloniership and Priorate are mere semblances of responsible government, and these offices come to be regarded as a stepping stone to an embassy ; the best men find there only the indispensable qualification for the foreign missions, alone satisfying the independent spirit which the Medici brothers have effectually curbed at home. Hence we note the very considerable number of eminent men in her diplomatic service which Florence shews at this time, and it also accounts for the insignificant part home appointments play in the Lanfredinis' careers.

Both Jacopo and Giovanni Lanfredini enter the charmed circle of Medici *family* Envoys who foster the general opinion, voiced by King Ferrante of Naples, " if we wish to obtain any kind of favour from the republic of Florence, we long for no other mediator and representative. " The Syndic Lorenzo, keeps the conduct of foreign affairs in his own hands, letters and reports are addressed to him personally, and the writers are thus co-partners in the diplomatic game. The Signoria at home, the Ten, the Eight, are satisfied so long as Fortune smiles upon the Medici pair of brothers, — life-partners in the corporation of State and family interests, — so long as the survivor will assert his prestige more and more, as the axis of political power travels slow but surely towards Central Italy. The Signoria, Lorenzo de' Medici's co-directors, are content with his sole management.

The halt at Ferrara, en route to Milan six years since, has brought Medici and Lanfredini together upon a stage where the latter are the more prominent figures. Jacopo's selection for his first recorded diplomatic mission to that court, shews him to be *persona gratissima*. That embassy has not only drawn Florence and Ferrara closer together, but

doubtless forms the starting point for continued Lanfredini favour. Of this we have the earnest in Ercole's Letters Patent addressed separately to the two brothers Jacopo and Giovanni, dated February 18th 1475, confirming and extending his predecessors' privileges to "the Florentine merchants whose diligence is tireless, to whom no trouble appears too great to face" (Cf. App. I, Docs. 3-4); praise coupled with especial reference to their services: "rendered to his house in Venice." The allusion is clear.

The policy followed by Florence since Ercole's accession, lends no countenance to support of the attempts of Niccolò d'Este to raise the standard of revolt in Reggio and Modena, and even Ferrara itself, and the rising is put down swiftly and with ruthless severity. It will induce Venice to keep on the same side as Florence, notwithstanding her desire to seize every opportunity of encroachment on the Ferrara borders. We have record of the ceremonial conclusion of the peace between Milan and Venice, and the League to which Florence is a party on November 7th 1474. Here in the presence of Galeazzo Maria Sforza who has paid another of those state visits in which his soul delights, and of the Doge Niccolò Marcello, we meet with Giovanni Lanfredini in the Florentine mission, the Ambassador being Lorenzo de' Medici's maternal uncle Tommaso Soderini; and the other members are a *family party*, Piero Soderini the Ambassador's son, and Alessandro and Filippo Tornabuoni his cousins. Friendship's ties are being strengthened now that the Lanfredini, *familiars* of the House of Este, are empowered to blazon those armorial bearings together with their own upon their house-walls, liveries, furniture, etc.

A scene from which, in view of their political and personal status both here and at Ferrara, the Lanfredini brothers cannot have been absent, forms a setting for the future ambassadors careess at Naples, Rome, etc. In June 1473. Florence is *en fête* once again. The guest at the Medici home to-day is Leonora of Aragon, the Duke of Ferrara's bride. The cortège of Ferrarese nobility who have travelled to Naples to welcome their future sovereign, and conduct her to her dominions, eclipses anything that had yet been seen, even though the ducal progress

of Galeazzo and Bona is yet fresh in men's memories. At the halt in Rome, the Pope's nephew Cardinal Pietro Riario will give a banquet at which the Labours of Hercules are reproduced life-size in pastry. Leonora will look upon the original Pollaiuolo masterpieces in a few days time. The route to Florence passes Siena, thence following the course of the Elsa, until opposite S. Gimignano the road threads the maze of the Chianti and Pesa valleys. San Casciano where Machiavelli will in after years meditate on the downfall of many idols is left behind, also the magnificent pile of the Certosa. Leonora's train, in litters, on horse-back, and walking, 1400 persons all told, enters the city from the Oltr'Arno. Though the Porta Romana to-day towers as of yore ivy-clad, opening a heavy mail-studded gate beneath the fresco decorated archway, the postern of S. Pier-Gattolino no longer exists; marked only by an inscription near S. Felice in Piazza, for Sforza pageant memories; and the frontage of the Pitti palace, of seven windows only with a flat roof and loggia, is yet framed by the Boboli hill-side olive grove and vineyards. A baby face at the window, in that tall house yonder in Via Guicciardini yet adorned with the family shield, Niccolò Machiavelli in his nurse's arms, gazes haply in wonderment at the brilliant scene. Who can tell if at four years old the vision of purple-robed ambassadors does not project its shadow on the future historian's career.

The procession now crosses the Ponte Vecchio, forging its way through the crowds massed before the huddled little shops, past the Lamberteschi towers, and turns into the Piazza from the western end, Via Vacchereccia. The Signoria with the Priors past and present, including therefore Jacopo Lanfredini, and Gonfalonier Luigi Guicciardini, await the travellers, as is customary at the foot of the terrace. The youthful Duchess, whose dark-haired beauty is in striking contrast with la Bella Madonna her sister-in-law Bona's blonde seduction, does not dismount, but rides on to the SS. Annunziata where visiting the shrine, she is welcomed by her host, Lorenzo de' Medici. The stay extends over two days including June 24th, when the festivities in celebration of the Patron Saint's day fill the streets with a mid-summer

holiday multitude. The procession of the *Ceri*, huge structures decorated with flowers and multitudinous tapers, a danger to life, carried shoulder high, cars drawn by yokes of white oxen, symbolize the glad allegiance to Florence of her daughter cities for the visitor's admiration. The race for the Palio is run this time from Porta al Prato to the market square; masques and games are held in open spaces in the several wards at the expense of the notables, each quarter striving to outshine a rival.

It is all done with a purpose, but still the rate-payer grumbles at the cost: 10,000 florins, "a bad and useless piece of extravagance."

The party, with their expenses defrayed by the State, is escorted by Giuliano de' Medici whose particular province appears to be the welcome and speeding of guests. A halt to change horses will be made at Cafaggiuolo, Medici country in the Mugello, and the caravan threads the then thickly wooded valley to Faenza, and Imola, — soon to welcome Caterina Sforza as their Countess, — reaching Ferrara on July 3rd. The *joyeuse entrée* is described with wealth of detail by the Ferrarese Chronicler Galeffini, Giuliano and a bevy of Florentine gilded youth, is Orsino di Jacopo Lanfredini among them I wonder, are present in the Duomo, and the former representing his brother takes precedence of other Ambassadors at the marriage ceremony July 4th, and leads the revels which extend over a week. (1)

Home politics in the three years now following are dismissed by

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(1) Cfr. Corio, *op. cit.*, Part. VI. Cap. 2. The festivities organized in Rome for the passage of the Duke of Ferrara's bride exceeded in magnificence anything that has hitherto been attempted by Medici, Sforza, Este or Gonzaga. The Riario were determined to assert their aspiration to rank with the foremost in the land. Mr. Gardner, (Cfr. "Dukes and Poets of Ferrara," pp. 135-8) records what is clearly an eye-witness's report of the bride's passage through Florence. The cavalcade of 1400 persons enters the city on June 22nd. The sojourn of two days at the Medici palace is marked by the customary festivities for S. John the Baptist's Day (June 24th). Taking their departure on the morrow, Ferrara is reached on July 3rd, and Giuliano de' Medici is present, representing his brother at the marriage, solemnized in the Duomo on July 4th. The Ferrarese Chronicler Galeffini, quoted by Mr. Gardner, comments on Leonora's dark beauty, telling us that the bride danced according to Neapolitan usage with her black hair flowing upon her shoulders, and a crown on her head like a Queen."



the historian in a few words, Scipione Ammirato, recording this period as a time when "quiet reigned, not only in Florence, there being nothing to be told about any of the Gonfaloniers." The elder Lanfredini has clearly returned to his business, the younger is gaining diplomatic experience under Tommaso Soderini at Venice. Meanwhile daughters alternate, in the Este Medici families, in the former those bright particular stars of the century's feminine galaxy Isabella and Beatrice d'Este, in the latter Luisa whose premature death will sorrow Giovanni Lanfredini,... and change the course of history. Sons also are born within a few months of one another: Giovanni de' Medici, the future Pope, and the heir to the throne of Ferrara, Alfonso the future husband of Lucrezia Borgia.

This event affords Lorenzo the opportunity to assert once again the position which the Ferrarese Envoy Antonio Montecatini, who was present in Florence with Galeazzo Sforza well defines: "the reputation of Lorenzo depends upon the consideration with which he is regarded by the powers of Italy and foreign monarchs." (1) Although intermarriages among the ruling houses had spread a network of family interests over the political sea, the Medici dream of greatness is too closely hemmed in by republican tradition for that generation at all events to break its bonds, and spiritual kinship is the next best thing as Lorenzo perceives, binding as a family alliance. Then the Signoria shall stand sponsor to the baby heir of Ferrara.... what if the future shall shape for sovereignty; it might be through the tiara, so dreams Lorenzo de Medici. Who shall represent Florence upon this momentous

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(1) F. Hyett, Florence, p. 335. "Lorenzo.... had not forgotten how his father's rule had been threatened by a cabal of powerful friends.... he sent men of position on foreign embassies, or counteracted their influence at home by promoting his dependants to important office.... He kept the conduct of foreign affairs exclusively in his own hands, despatches from the rulers of other states were addressed, not to the Signoria but to Lorenzo individually.... He was regarded with consideration even by Louis XI, who entrusts him, though but twenty-four years of age, with the preliminary steps to bring about a marriage between the Dauphin Charles VIII and the eldest daughter of King Ferrante." The Ferrarese Envoy Antonio Montecatini concludes his despatch in 1482 with the remark: "if he (Lorenzo) did not possess this consideration he would not be so highly valued in Florence as is the case."

occasion but Jacopo di Orsino Lanfredini. He is *persona grata* to the Este, and he will be instructed "to hold in baptism in the name of the Republic, the son born to Duke Ercole on July 21st, (1476) and to proffer the present." The christening is indeed delayed by state disturbances, the last abortive revolt of Niccolò di Leonello d'Este against his uncle's rule, and takes place only in October. The Venetian Ambassador is Lanfredini's fellow-sponsor, for Venice will not allow herself to be outwitted by a sister and rival republic; and one of her prelates, the Bishop of Chioggia, is the celebrant. (1)

Since distinction is not to be gained in office at home, the fact that Jacopo Lanfredini passes the Gonfalonier's chair in the last months of 1477, (January-March 1478) "without having done anything worthy of note in the time," is no reflection we know upon his abilities. (2)

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(1) MSS. Passerini papers, loc. cit., Arch. Rif. Lib. L. Ann. 1475-8. "Jacopo di Orsino Lanfredini è mandato a Ferrara per tenere a battesimo in nome della Repubblica, il figlio nato del Duca Ercole, e che dia il regalo." The instruction is not dated, but the Duke's letters to his Envoy at Florence noted by Mr. Gardner, (loc. cit., p. 149, and notes) place the christening ceremony solemnized in the Duomo, the Florentine Republic standing joint sponsor with Venice, also represented by a special ambassador, on October 4th, 1475. As the author justly points out, the omens of Alfonso's birth, the baby whom his father calls "our sweet first-born, our little angel-son" are fraught with the signs of violence, Niccolò di Leonello d'Este's armed revolt against his uncle Duke Ercole's rule is quelled with a ruthlessness which heralds the tragedy of Milan, "and the wars which are the cruel fate of an epoch and stamp it with ruin."

(2) Scipione Ammirato, "Istorie Fiorentine," Lib. XXIII, Ann. 1477-8. The events of a whole year, — in home affairs, — six Gonfalonierships are compressed into one page. We are told that in the first, Giovanni Aldobrandini's term, an embassy of condolence was despatched to Milan, "to comfort the wife of the dead Duke, provided the state were openly secured to the son, Gian-Galeazzo, the Republic proffering her forces and finance for the maintenance of the (Sforza) line." The historian observes that in the following term, "matters were very quiet in the city." The third Gonfalonier Giovanni dell'Antella, who follows Jacopo Guicciardini, has the task of pacifying Carlo, natural son of the Perugian condottiere Braccio da Montone, who had raided Siensese territory. The Siensese doubtful always of Florentine designs upon their liberties suspected their complicity but they eventually accept Florentine explanations, and Carlo di Montone carries his sword into Venetian service. New "accoppiatori" (scrutators of the ballot), are appointed under Francesco Federighi, the city dues on wine are increased; and no doubt to facilitate collection, though Ammirato "cannot see their motive," four of the city gates are ordered to be walled up. Giovanni Lorini and Jacopo Lanfredini's terms close the year "without having done anything notable." It may be observed however that since, — by Florentine time reckoning the year commences *ab Incarnatione*, — Lanfredini leaves office within a month of the outbreak; the Pazzi conspiracy April 1478 is clearly a bolt from the blue.

The murder of Galeazzo Maria Sforza on December 26th 1476 has closed the halycon cycle of days; the strength of family alliances seems shaken, and its shadow lies athwart Medicean day-dreams. The Riario, Papal nephews in Rome, foster animosity against Medici rule in Florence, pointing to Lorenzo and Giuliano as tyrants to whom the fate of the late Duke of Milan may well be meted out. The plotters weave their nets under the Pontiff's eyes, other hands bolder than his, if not as little weighted with scruples, are the instruments, and the blow falls on Giuliano, in the Duomo of Florence on April 28th 1478, Lorenzo de' Medici escaping with a serious wound. The deed owing to the echo it awakens beyond the peninsular, opens a fresh chapter in Italian affairs, foreshadowing foreign intervention into events not foreseen by any of the actors. It brings the Lanfredini brothers now permanently into the front line of Medici policy. <sup>(1)</sup>

All Italy takes sides. It behoves Lorenzo that as many as possible shall stand by him. Duchess Bona is losing power. Lodovico il Moro has a personal grievance against Lorenzo for his *quasi* exile and forced residence at Pisa, he will nevertheless for the present remain true to the traditional friendship, which Soderini the Florentine Ambassador at Milan does his best to foster; for Venice is an essential ally, and his former secretary Giovanni Lanfredini accredited here carries out instructions so skilfully that the Doge promises substantial aid. <sup>(2)</sup> Forlì with

(1) Mrs. Ross, *op. cit.*, pp. 192-3. The letter of condolence addressed by Louis XI. to the Signoria is dated May 12th 1478. The French King here stigmatizes the act as "a great and inhuman outrage, opprobrium, and injury.... committed against your Seigneury, against the persons of our most dear and beloved cousins Lorenzo and Giuliano de' Medici... whereat we have been and are as much grieved as though it had happened to ourselves.... we cannot permit this deed to go unpunished." The King thereupon announces the despatch of his faithful and well beloved councillor Messire d'Argenton to Florence, with instructions to assist in organizing the coalition forces. Philippe de Commines will spend about a year there, gaining golden opinions; "better treated, he avers, on the last day of my sojourn even than on the first." French influence at Milan and in Florence paves the way for Lodovico il Moro's invitation to Charles VIII. fifteen years hence to cross the Alps. The breach is open through which Louis XII. and François I. follow.

(2) Mrs. Ross, *op. cit.*, pp. 194-8. Lorenzo instructs Soderini, June 10th, that Venetian help is conditional upon peace with the Turk, he is to urge Milan to refrain from delay in securing the Lord of Pesaro, Costanzo Sforza's services, who might perhaps join the enemy. "There

her Manfredi lords is still doubtful <sup>(1)</sup> but Ferrara is staunch, Mantua under Lodovico and Federico Gonzaga, Bologna under Giovanni Bentivoglio's rule will need but a little encouragement to keep to the Florentine side. The elder Lanfredini is entrusted with these delicate negotiations. Giovanni Bentivoglio is to be reminded of past favours and of the necessity, — despite the pontifical authority personified by the Legate, to hold his own.

A curious document dated August 14th 1479 speaks eloquently to the Ambassador's ability to stand well with both sides. He is granted the freedom of Bologna for himself and all his descendants in perpetuity, this diplomatic success is an undoubted achievement, for the honour of citizenship accorded to an alien envoy is unprecedented. It must also be remembered that the Cardinal-legate who affixes his signature to the rescript is Francesco Gonzaga who, if in virtue of his cloth and of his office he should look askance at Lorenzo de' Medici's envoy, is yet mindful of his own Florentine hey-days. Cardinal Francesco's state reception following immediately upon the Sforza pageant not less magnificent was more cordial. His expressed approval of the dis-

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must be no tarrying as our adversaries hasten their preparations; if they see that we are strong and able to resist, they may change their minds." A similar note of alarm at hesitancy, is observable in Lorenzo's correspondence with the Ambassador at Venice, Giovanni Lanfredini, and his Venetian colleague in Florence. The letters to Lanfredini and Soderini are dated the same day, and the former is to keep in touch with Lorenzo's uncle. He is to implore the Signoria of Venice "to hasten any aid.... We have need he says of more men than the force on this side of the Po.... in order to prove that we are united, for our adversaries count much on our disunion.... T'is no time for loitering.... if the Venetians will only make a demonstration.... at small cost to themselves, they would do us a signal service."

(1) Mrs. Ross, op. cit., pp. 201-3. Cecco Simonetta, in a letter dated July, advises Lorenzo to build a golden bridge for the lord of Forli: Manfredi. "It would seem to me wise to make every effort to draw him to our side, he suggests, for the honour, advantage, and reputation of our League; the said Lord is clever, and I think as Your Magnificence says, he will attempt to get as much money as he can from the Pope and then *cum sua justificatione* withdraw. I have lived for many years with these lords of Romagna and know their nature, but one cannot count on this, and we must do all we can to get him on our side." The letter goes on to discuss the arrival of the French Envoy in Milan and the support Louis XI. will give the League *usque ad vitam*, and the determination of Milan to remain of one mind and will with Florence. Simonetta also advises the despatch of an Envoy to Bologna whither the French Ambassador is bound. This Envoy is clearly none other than Jacopo Lanfredini.

inction awarded to Jacopo Lanfredini is a significant indication of the Medici-Lanfredini prestige, in the Curia despite Pontifical animosity. (1)

Naples having cast her military lot against Florence in this conflict of ambitions, abundantly clear in the Papal Bull of interdiction, though cloaked under punishment for alleged insubordination to spiritual authority — the ostensible cause of the war, presses Florence hard. Alfonso of Calabria is acclaimed by Siena as her protector, and he has been joined by Federigo of Montefeltro. The Count of Urbino who has forgotten past favours, and the gifts he had received for his service with Florence: money, house property, the confiscated Pitti villa of Rusciano, and a "silver helmet," is now her most dangerous adversary. The defeat of Poggibonsi on November 7th 1479, where the leader of Ferrara's contingent, the young Count Niccolò of Correggio is taken prisoner, is a serious blow for the Florentine coalition. Federigo Gonzaga wavers, he has discovered that his presence is needed at home, and pretexts the Marchesana of Mantua's illness to leave the Florentine camp. The Signoria are perturbed at what looks uncommonly like betrayal but, feigning belief of the *official version* of the incident, they despatch their most trusted envoys at this juncture to Mantua and Ferrara. Jacopo Lanfredini is ordered to ride on there straight from Bologna, ostensibly to condole with the widower, but in

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(1) Cfr. Mrs. Ross, loc. cit., p. 202. A passage in a letter from Lorenzo de' Medici to Giovanni Bentivoglio at Milan, dated July 4th, is of interest in respect of Lanfredini's mission to Bologna. Lorenzo, after discussing the pretensions of the Lord of Forlì as to his stipend conditional upon taking service, joins he says, with "the Illustrious Lords of Milano" in the request that Bentivoglio should "take steps to obtain the recall of the Legate.... our League being no longer in any way bound to obey the Pope, his presence can only be harmful and a cause of suspicion...." Lorenzo adds significantly, that the advice is for Bentivoglio's own good and reputation, and that in following it he will "gain in credit and security." That Lanfredini was able to procure the Legate's removal is not on record. Indeed so drastic a measure could have only brought Bologna under the same ban of interdict as Florence to no good purpose. It would seem however from the Patent countersigned by Cardinal Francesco Gonzaga, that Lanfredini by ingratiating himself with him had attained the object of his mission. It may be noted also that Scipione Ammirato, loc. cit., Lib. XXIV, Ann. 1478, records that "the Ten without further waiting for the Venetians again despatched Jacopo Lanfredini to Bologna, and a while afterwards Cristofano Spini, with 10,000 scudi, to Ferrara in order that this Lord should take horse.... inasmuch as on one side and on the other war was being gallantly fought."

reality with a timely offer of an increased subsidy to revive his zeal in the Florentine cause. (1)

The Lanfredini's missions seem to mark crucial phases in the long-drawn conflict, which has shaped but ill for the coalition. Louis XI. is loyal to the Medici in his diplomatic support, and spares no effort in Rome to placate Sixtus IV. Matters look ominous in Milan where anxious to rid himself of his hapless nephew Gian-Galeazzo standing in the way to succession, Lodovico il Moro makes a bid for alliance with Naples, and to gain over Ferrara he presses his suit for the hand of Duke Ercole's daughter, Beatrice d'Este. Jacopo Lanfredini is at Ferrara now. Lorenzo de' Medici is his own Ambassador to Naples; the master-stroke in that visit of January 1480 played at the risk of his life, if the olive branch is slow in striking root, will herald the end in favour of Florence. The Duke of Calabria, Alfonso, remains at Siena menacing until the Turkish incursion on Otranto forces him to acquiesce in his father King Ferrante's peace stipulations. Rome remains suspicious. Though fearing now to be left alone to continue the struggle whilst the other states are war weary and apprehensive of a more serious conflict ahead with the Turk, Sixtus IV will consent to treat with his spiritual rebel, provided she assents to an act of public apology and penance.

The year 1480 has been signalized in Florence by a change of far-reaching significance. A Council of thirty citizens is formed from whom future office-holders are to be chosen; appointment is for life,

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(1) Scipione Ammirato, Lib. XXIV. Ann. 1479. Lanfredini is at Bologna we know, in August 1479. In the following month of September the Florentine coalition suffer a crushing reverse at Poggibonsi at the hands of Alfonso of Calabria and Federigo of Montefeltro. Lodovico of Mantua makes his appearance unexpectedly on September 12th in Florence, announcing his intention to leave the Florentine camp, owing to the Marchesana's illness. "Which, the historian observes, displeased the Florentine greatly doubting lest the same (i. e. military discomfiture) should befall, as at the Duke of Ferrara's departure, but unable to prevent him they gave him, outside his familiars, only an escort of 23 mounted cross-bowmen and a few foot-soldiers." The battle engaged round Colle and San Gimignano continues with varying alternatives, and Lanfredini is instructed to proceed without delay from Bologna to Mantua, "to condole with the Marquis on the death of his consort, and to see about settling his affairs, (i. e. the offer of a renewed subsidy) to facilitate his return to their camp...."

and the number will be extended to seventy, all close adherents of the Medici policy. Jacopo Lanfredini's appointment in the first group of twenty, recorded in the *Libro delle Riformagioni*, classes him therefore with the men whose definite acceptance of the limitation of the oligarchy's power lays the foundation of Medici principality in the future. His selection moreover among the twelve "leading citizens appointed to ask for the Pontiff's pardon, which an they petition it of the Pope, will be given them," makes a family ambassador of Jacopo Lanfredini also. Bernardo Rucellai, is Lorenzo de' Medici's brother-in-law, and the Gonfalonier who assists to frame the instructions. The Bishop Francesco Soderini, of Volterra only recently acquired by Florence, is their Orator. Four among Lanfredini's colleagues are knights: Luigi Guicciardini, Antonio Ridolfi, Giovanni Gianfigliazzi, and Piero Minerbetti; another, Guid'Antonio Vespucci learned in the law, has but lately returned from his French Legation. The other envoys are Maso degli Albizzi, Gino Capponi, (averred by Vasari to have stood for Antonio del Pollaiuolo's S. Sebastian), Domenico Pandolfini, Antonio di Bernardetto de' Medici, and Giovanni Tornabuoni, Lorenzo's maternal uncle. A truly representative group.

The journey is shorn of all pictorial state. The mission enters Rome at night, unwelcomed. They proceed the next day in a body to S. Peter's where prostrating themselves before the Pontiff and his court assembled before the portico, each envoy in turn is struck with a wand in sign of punishment. Machiavelli records that the excessive publicity given to the submission smarted, but perhaps more still the severe conditions: to arm and keep at sea a fleet of fifteen sail so long as the war against the Turk shall demand it; and the historian recalls feelingly the efforts made by Vespucci afterwards resident ambassador in Rome, to mitigate the conditions. (1) The diarist Luca Landucci records on

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(1) Cfr. Scipione Ammirato, op. cit., Lib. XXIV. Ann. 1481. The historian enumerates the members of the mission, and adds that "they entered Rome after nightfall, without any honourable welcome, and on the appointed day, they went in a body to the portico of S. Peter's, where the Pontiff, surrounded by the court of Cardinals and numerous Prelates, seated upon the

April 13th 1481, also the impression the papal admonition produced in Florence. (1)

This is Jacopo Lanfredini's last mission, and it may seem somewhat surprising that he should apparently have no part in the events which follow the peace, as it happens only a truce. The renewed outbreak of general strife consequent upon the Pontiff's quarrel with his Este vassal, has doubtless involved Lanfredini's interests at Ferrara, his business takes him back there, and to Florence leaving the work of diplomatic representation in his family to his younger brother Giovanni, now Lorenzo de Medici's envoy at Naples. The elder man's

Sedia Gestatoria, awaited them. Here the twelve Ambassadors threw themselves at his feet and with mighty signs of humble contrition, they entreated his pardon for the misdoing of their state, protesting their readiness to submit entirely to all the penalties laid upon them. Whereupon the Pope lightly struck their shoulders in succession with a wand he held in his hand, and reading the prayers appointed therefore in the Pontifical ritual, gave them absolution for all past error, admitting them to the offices of the church; and he gave leave that, henceforth as good Christians, and no longer schismatic and disobedient sons, they be escorted home by the Cardinals and prelates and their train...." Writing nearer to the event Machiavelli (1st. Fior. Lib. VIII) summarizes the Envoys' address where they emphasize the dire plight the Republic was in, "risking the penalties of necessity, the wickedness of others, popular fury, and the Pontiff's anger even as those wretches that are forced to fight, or to succumb." The Papal reproof is accepted in all humility but, Machiavelli continues, "the envoys complained loudly of the additional burden, — maintenance of galleys for the assistance of the King of Naples, but they failed either by negotiation or entreaty to obtain any relief." One of their number however, Guid'Antonio Vespucci, is more successful. Appointed permanent Florentine Resident in Rome: "he succeeded by his prudence in bringing the conditions within bearable limits, obtaining many other favours from the Pontiff, which was the sign of complete reconciliation." Giovanni Lanfredini, Florentine envoy in Naples will be Vespucci's successor in Rome, accredited to the new Pontiff, Innocent VIII.

(1) Cfr. Luca Landucci, "Diario Fiorentino," — 1450-1516,.... ed. Jodoco del Badia, Firenze, Sansoni, 1883, p. 37. The Diarist, as we know, a grocer, with a shop "at the sign of the Sun," facing the Strozzi palace, (in Via Tornabuoni at the corner of Via della Vigna Nuova) notes current events, minor incidents of the city life, market prices, the weather and the crops etc., as these things come under his purview. His standpoint is that of the independent, sturdy, law-abiding but liberty-loving Florentine ratepayer, and his comments therefore disclose a vivid personal character, reflecting the life-giving light of personal observation also upon the powers that be. "And on April 13th 1481, the Pope sent us a joyful indult of pains and penalties, and he gave the same to six Churches: in Santa Maria del Fiore, the Nunziata of the Servites, at Santa Croce, Santa Maria Novella, Santo Spirito, and San Jacopo in Campo Corbolini. And the indult commenced on this day and lasts until Eastertide. Whosoever shall wish to gain it must visit these, six churches on three mornings, and contrite and shriven, he shall proffer alms therein, to fight the war against the Turk."



part is unrecorded in the events of the last years of Pope Sixtus' pontificate and of his war policy, for the advancement so soon to crumble, of his Riario nephews.

We meet Jacopo Lanfredini's name for the last time in the family records in the year 1487. He has left three score and ten years long behind him. His elder son Orsino has predeceased him, the second, Antonio is a candidate for the Gonfaloniership, the third Lanfredino is holding minor office preparing to make good the reputation which will be his in the dark days ahead, following upon Lorenzo de' Medici's death. His wife Ginevra di Bardo Antinori has died forty years ago. Long a widower, he is therefore eligible for the dignities in the Order of S. John of Jerusalem with which the favour of Innocent VIII., the new Pontiff to whom his brother Giovanni is now Ambassador, invests him. The Papal Bull (Cfr. App. I. Doc. 5), dated August 4th 1487 namely grants Jacopo Lanfredini the Capua Grand-Priory, one of the richest benefices in the Order in succession to the present life-tenant, Mario da Cignano, besides other benefices and revenues in the diocese of Volterra, to be held and enjoyed by him, until his nephew Orsino di Giovanni Lanfredini, the Ambassador's son then aged barely fourteen, shall have attained canonical age. That is all Jacopo di Orsino Lanfredini's record. He has written his name honourably in Florentine annals; his patronage of the Pollaiuolo rescues him from the neglect that overtakes outworn politics, it remains in the writing upon the wall in the family home.

No portrait of Jacopo Lanfredini has come down to us. It is nevertheless permissible to picture him as a youngish man in that characteristic group of red and black-capped Este *familiars* gathered round Duke Borso, whom Francesco Cossa has portrayed with their lord, in that haven of the Ferrarese mockers of dull care, Schifanoia. Possibly too he may figure among the very numerous portrayals of Florentine worthies peopling Old and New Testament *histories*, of whom Vasari has rescued but a few from anonymity; among the *heads* who play their part of historic foils to Medici greatness in Benozzo Gozzoli and Domenico Ghirlandajo's picture-chronicles.

But even without an authentic *vera effigies* of Jacopo Lanfredini, it seems to me that enough fine potter's clay can be gathered from these historic vestiges to fashion a human vessel conformable to the refined type of the merchant-banker, humanist, art-patron and statesman ; an image not unworthy of his part in the most brilliant interludes of the Medici Masque of Fame.

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## CHAPTER X.

**Giovanni Lanfredini, the Medici "family," ambassador.**

1437-8 — 1490.

**G**IOVANNI DI ORSINO LANFREDINI, the younger brother's personality is more definite than his senior's both in moral and material outline. We possess namely an authentic likeness of one around whom the Medici correspondence, the references to him by others, and the recognition of his services in Florentine annals, create a vital atmosphere. The profile to which Sperandeo's medal has given material permanency, thus gains spiritual substance. But that is not its only merit. The work observes Baron A. C. de Cosson, to whose numismatist's erudition the writer is already indebted for data to assist the identification of Bona Duchess of Milan with a portrait in the Uffizi Gallery, connotes the fact that Giovanni Lanfredini is the single Florentine, private citizen, among the forty-eight signed portraits of princes and potentates, by the Mantua medallist that have come down to us.

This circumstance should not I think be regarded as fortuitous, but tends to strengthen our impression of the Lanfredinis status at Ferrara. The time-table, so to say, of the Sforza, Este, and Gonzaga courts-medallist's sojourn at Ferrara and Bologna, coincides with the period during which the Lanfredini are most in the public eye, as *familiars* of the Este household, and Florentine special Envoys in those capitals. We have heard of Giovanni Lanfredini's first diplomatic

appearance at Venice in 1474, of his brother's missions of congratulation and condolence to Duke Ercole, both acknowledged in honourable ducal letters, of Giovanni's Embassy to Venice in 1478, which brings that Republic into line with Florence and her ally Ferrara in the great war, and of Jacopo's activities at Bologna and Mantua during those years 1478-80. Sperandeo's movements, between Ferrara, — 1463-1477, and Bologna, 1478-95, accord with his patron's, career and if we may judge the likeness, a man in the prime of life say forty years old, from the sitter's probable age at the time — the date 1478-9 would fit both the moral and material aspects of the case. (1)

If, stating his death in 1490 to have occurred at the age of fifty-two, the family biographer is correct, Giovanni Lanfredini just turned forty presents a plain enough appearance, and his profile if not at ogether unpleasing cannot escape the charge of homeliness. The burly figure is thickened by the folds of the *lucco*, the thick neck supports a large head with a curiously flattened occiput, but the forehead beneath the cap is high, open, and well modelled, the eye though not large and sunk beneath a beetling brow is expressive of humour, the mouth and thin lips are firmly characterized. The nose is the least good feature, fleshy and thick at the nostril. But Sperandeo's realistic portrayal on the obverse stands for more than an interesting likeness.

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(1) Fabriczy, "Italian Medals," London, 1904, records the following about Sperandeo. Born at Mantua c. 1425, son of Bartolommeo di Sperandio a goldsmith. Went with his father to Ferrara in 1437. At Mantua again, c. 1450, and at Milan after 1460, where he made the medal of Francesco Sforza supposed to be his earliest work as a medallist. From 1463 to 1477 at Ferrara working for the Este family. After a brief stay at Faenza in 1477 he went to Bologna where he worked from 1478 to 1495, in which year he returned to Mantua. Armand says that it is not absolutely certain that the mortuary notice of a Sperandio at Mantua in 1528 refers to this artist. Bertolotti: "Artisti Minori alla Corte di Mantova," Milan, 1899, p. 12, quotes from Malagola a document of 1477, which shews that the family name was Savelli, namely: "*Magistrum Sperandeo quondam magistri Bartolomei de Savellis olim habitorem Mantuae, et modo Faventiae.*" Baron de Cosson, who has kindly furnished me with this information concerning the time-table of Sperandeo's activity, — 1460-95, notes the fact that the portrait of Giovanni Lanfredini is the only Florentine likeness in the forty-eight works signed by the artist. He queries, how did Sperandeo who as far as we know never worked in Florence come to make a medal of Giovanni Lanfredini? The answer I think is given by the Lanfredini brothers' life at Ferrara and their courtiers' connection with the Este House.

The reverse namely depicts a somewhat recondite theme: — a temple is shewn raised upon a pediment, a pillared nave and two aisles frame a vista, the dome is fronted with a triangular architrave. At the sides two children play the lute, whilst a man standing at the foot of a flight of steps aims an arrow at a female figure kneeling above him. The whole is inscribed SIC PEREUNT INSAPIENTIUM SAGIPTE ET ILLUSTRANTUR IUSTI. " Thus perish the ignorant by the dart, and the just are exalted, " is obscure, but would seem to have some bearing upon the aspects of moral and intellectual life at Ferrara, in which Lanfredini plays the part of critic. The following picture may serve to illustrate my meaning.

Duke Ercole has taken up arms against his suzerain, the Pope and his father-in-law the King of Naples. Ferrara joins with Florence in the challenge to battle; she accepts to avenge Giuliano de' Medici's murder, it is fool's play to imagine that murder can avail against the just man: Lorenzo de Medici. Strife is abroad in the land, but the social life of course undergoes no check. Florence indeed puts on mourning and for ten years will abstain from *shows*. Not so Ferrara. Within a few weeks of Giuliano's death, the customary tournament in honour of the Este patron S. George will be held, June 1478, and one of the jousters, Galeotto Manfredi, — we have met him in Florence at the time of the Sforza visit, — will ask Lorenzo to lend him a trained steed "belonging to the late Magnifico Giuliano for a friend whom he holds dear as a brother. " The animal shall have every possible care, no expense will fall upon the lender, and it will be ridden in the lists in his honour. Should Lorenzo be unable to oblige he is asked to look about for a charger trained in the riding school and *apto a giostra*. We learn furthermore that Niccolò da Correggio has won the prize. (1) Might we not infer that together with the

(1) ... Cfr. Del Lungo, *op. cit.* p. 241. Galeotto Manfredi's letter (Arch. Med. A. Prin. f. XXXVI, 572) is dated May 16th 1478... " Having been earnestly entreated by a friend most dear to me and held ever as a brother from the manifold benefits received from him, that I beg from Y. M. the loan of the horse which belonged to the late lamented Giuliano your brother, for a tournament which is to be challenged at Ferrara, I can do no less... but ask this favour of you. I would not save for the instant need make this request, in so far however as it may com-

tournament on horseback, a literary contest of wits, rival madrigal and sonnet writers had been held; Tito di Vespasiano Strozzi, Poliziano, and Lorenzo de' Medici's productions read? Perhaps even Giovanni Lanfredini had ventured into metre, and the prize in this "Court of Love" adjudged to the absent ambassador, is commemorated by Sperandeo's medal.

Be this attempted rending of the allegory acceptable or not, the actual portrayal on the obverse visualizes Giovanni Lanfredini for us perfectly, and confers individuality upon the group of *family* ambassadors whom Vasari introduces into the scene he describes as an "imaginative representation of the meeting of the youthful prelate Giovanni de' Medici and his father." It is the occasion when, thanks to Lanfredini's favour with Pope Innocent VIII, the candidate's extreme youth is not to be allowed to stand in the way of advancement from violet to scarlet robes, and the Cardinal's hat. Foreshadowing the realization of a dream for which the Orsini family annals, — and they are blood relations now, afford ample justification, Vasari shews us a trio of typical Ambassadors' figures. (1)

The names of the trio to whom Lorenzo de' Medici entrusts the care of his clan's advancement are known. Guid'Antonio Vespucci is Jacopo Lanfredini's colleague in the propitiatory mission to Pope Sixtus IV. and he receives fresh credentials to his successor upon the Pontiff's demise in 1484. Giovanni Lanfredini follows Vespucci to Rome in 1487. Thanks to "his integrity, modest bearing, exalted piety, prudence and singleness of mind which greatly endeared him to that Pope," Lanfredini reaps Vespucci's sowings, and achieves the promotion of the thirteen year old Medici cleric to the highest dignity in the Papal gift. Lanfredini will not indeed live to hear the award

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mend itself well and seeming good to you. An were it otherwise, another steed possibly trained for the lists could be obtained from some of your friends..." Simone Malaspina's letter to Lorenzo under date June 2nd, informing him of the occurrence on which Niccolò da Correggio has taken the first prize suggests to Signor del Lungo the likelihood that he is the friend "dear as a brother" for whom Manfredi asks the loan of Giuliano's charger.

(1) Palazzo della Signoria. Quartiere di Leone X. The painter has only his imagination to draw upon, with the result that Giovanni Lanfredini can not be identified by his medal portrait.

proclaimed at the *public* Consistory, an act that places the appointment beyond cavil; that honour will fall to his successor, the third *family* ambassador in Vasari's group, Piero Alamanni, whose task to overcome the ever renewed fears and scruples of Innocent VIII. is not less arduous. No likeness of Piero Alamanni has been identified. Vasari's attention had not been drawn to Domenico Ghirlandajo's group of the Vespucci family in the Church of Ognissanti, where a figure wearing Ambassador's purple is doubtless intended for Guid'Antonio, and he was not aware of Sperandeo's likeness of Giovanni. The type-group nevertheless serves to set up Giovanni Lanfredini where he belongs, a *familiar* in the inner circle, the trusted servant of the state and Medici family interests. This type-portrayal yet helps to construct a dignified figure who would otherwise suffer from the homeliness of the medalist's profile of Giovanni Lanfredini.

Over twenty years separate the ages of the two brothers. Jacopo is born about 1415, Giovanni's birth is presumable in 1438. The elder is married, the father of a family and a widower in 1448, when his junior is of an age to play and work with nephews for whom the ten year old Giovanni is but a *new* brother, not an uncle. The years of childhood are blanks. We can but form a conjecture that the patter of little feet enlivens and young voices cheer the grandfather Orsino's hours in the old Lanfredini home during those years. Attendance at a public school, — Benozzo Gozzoli has pictured the shiny morning faces at lesson-time, <sup>(1)</sup> doubtless combines with membership of the congregation of S. Giovanni, the company of *pious and devout children* who meet weekly in Santa Trinità, enrolling indifferently the merchant-bankers', the small tradesmen's and artizans' boys; their diversion being the performance of Mystery plays where Lorenzo de' Medici and his brother and cousins are prominent in the cast. <sup>(2)</sup> And the same paternal counting-house marks the several stages of Lanfredini and Medici youth. A like veil obscures Giovanni's private life throughout.

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(1) The Life of S. Augustine frescoes in S. Agostino at San Gimignano.

(2) Cfr. Ricordanze di Bartolommeo Masi, Calderaio, ed. G. O. Corrazzini, G. S. Sansoni, Firenze, 1906, also Del Lungo. Florentia, op. cit.

We do not know his bride's parentage, — he is married within a year of Lorenzo de' Medici; of the four sons: Orsino, Lorenzo, Jacopo, and Bernardo, only the eldest and the youngest rise ever so little above the threshold of name remembrance. The first-named has the sorrowful privilege of lifting a corner of that veil.... upon a father's bereavement, which will call forth the most touching accents of Medici and Lanfredini friendship.

In the absence of family landmarks Lorenzo de' Medici's attachment lends all the body we could wish to Giovanni Lanfredini's personality. His mind obviously goes out to the younger rather than to the elder brother; marriage and entrance upon public life synchronizing them from the time in life when the difference of ten years or so no longer raises a barrier to intercourse upon the level of intellectual equality. Thus Lanfredini's first appearance is in the Medici circle, as a member of such an embassy as Tommaso Soderini's to Venice, 1474, when his colleagues among secretaries and attachés are the Ambassador's son, and Medici Tornabuoni cousins. From this starting point, the friendship gains consistency as Giovanni shares responsibilities at the crucial hour for the Medici's political alliances, when Giuliano's murder in April 1478 arrays Italy in two warring camps. The thread of friendship remains unbroken through many years, official and private correspondence, and terminates only with Lanfredini's death; in 1490 Ambassador for Florence in Rome.

The renewal of the tripartite league between Milan, Venice and Florence which heralds Giovanni Lanfredini's first diplomatic steps is celebrated in the following year by the memorable rejoicings in Florence of which "Giuliano's Tournament," sung by Poliziano and commemorated in art by Botticelli's *Allegory of Spring*, is the culminating feature. Public attention centres on the Medici brothers, cynosures of every eye, their personality is one of those imponderabilia that cumulatively considered, leads to disaster. Unconsciously the Medici fill too large a place in the sun claimed by the Riario. Lanfredini's next appearance upon the political stage occurs immediately after the tragedy; at Venice where he is now the head of the Florentine Embassy.



The appeal which the envoys of the Signoria accredited to the several Italian rulers, and to foreign potentates like the Kings of England and France, are instructed to make good, will find an echo wherever the name of Medici is in honour. Lorenzo pleads for sympathy in his bereavement, and for help to avenge the wrong done to the principle of liberty at home. Louis XI. will express his horror at "the great and inhuman outrage, the opprobrium and injury" which "his beloved and great friends" the Signoria of Florence have suffered. The King announces the despatch of Philippe de Commines who is also the bearer of a comminatory memorial addressed to the Pope. Lorenzo's uncle Tommaso Soderini has no difficulty in moving the widowed Duchess of Milan's feelings, Bona lives over again her own tragedy but eighteen months old, and remembers also her own bright Florentine hey-days; and he will go also to Ferrara, and to Venice to strengthen Lanfredini's hands, where Venetian verbal sympathy is to be transmuted into active help.

The instructions to Lanfredini shew how carefully the position requires to be managed, and the trust placed by Lorenzo in his Ambassador's deftness of hand. "I write at once in order that you may hasten any aid we can get from Venice.... we have need of more men than those who are on this side of the Po. If the Signoria (Venice) approve of our attacking Imola (the Riario main stronghold).... we should prefer that our men be employed there.... if not.... it is imperative that they be sent with all haste to guard our territory. We are most anxious.... not on account of the number of men but in order to prove to our adversaries that we are united, for they count much on our disunion. Try therefore, he says, to settle this one way or another." Grave anxiety prevails in Florence, for though submission has been tendered to the Pope, "he shews no sign," and encourages the adverse party. Lanfredini is instructed to say that "if the Venetians will only make a demonstration with small cost to themselves, they would do us a great service." These instructions have a noticeable modern ring. The human instinct of self-preservation speaks there with no uncertain voice, and the concluding counsel, "present

these questions skilfully, keeping back what is not advisable to say outright, so as not to cause any friction, " is testimony to both diplomats' quality. (1)

The course of the war, in the first phase at all events until the coalition reverse at Poggibonsi, attests the success of the brothers diplomacy in keeping the allies in line: Jacopo is at Bologna and Mantua, Giovanni Lanfredini in Venice. The correspondence of this time however, so far published, leaves his activities in the shade which is the lot of the ablest permanent official, and we hear of him again only as Gonfalonier, for January-March 1484, burdened with nominal responsibility only, but very real anxieties attaching to this office at a crucial turn in Florentine fortunes. The war-map is unrolled. Louis XI. has died in the preceding month of August, his successor already caresses the vision of Italian conquest to materialize within a brief decade, the succession to the Papacy is imminent. Now, although Pope Sixtus has not disarmed and does not forgive Ercole d'Este for siding with Florence, Venice is openly jealous of Lodovico il Moro's bid for influence at Ferrara which she aims at controlling herself, whilst the Neapolitan *protection* at Siena is as aggressive as ever.

It is at this juncture, after his term of office closed in March, that Giovanni Lanfredini receives Ambassador's credentials again, this time to King Ferrante at Naples. Alfonso of Calabria is still in possession of the Florentine border *castelli* in the Val di Chiana and Val d'Elsa. The latter has been laid waste by his soldiery, as the broken walls, the stone cannon balls imbedded in the defences, and the crumbling towers and bastions of Poggibonsi, Vico, and Certaldo shew to this day; albeit the desolation of havoc long ago is softened, transfigured, as Sorrow more beautiful than Beauty's self, nay made fair, by the magic of the Mediterranean. Boccaccio's last home records the Ambassador's first personal success. King Ferrante promises to withdraw from Siena, the Val d'Elsa fortresses will be restored to Flo-

(1) Cfr. Mrs. Ross. op. cit. pp. 192-197. Letters from Louis XI. to Pope Sixtus IV., and Lorenzo de' Medici to Tommaso Soderini and G. Lanfredini at Milan and Venice, June 1478. Extracts quoted also in notes 11-13.

rence. And in earnest of kingly goodwill that much prized relic and *palladium* of Certaldo, the head of the Sainted recluse Giulia, carried off by Alfonso's orders will be restored to the little church by the Castello postern gate, where the mediaeval ascete and her contemporary, Boccaccio the epicurean moralist, sleep the same dreamless hours. (1)

Riario and Orsini demands and Sforza ambitions continue to claim the Ambassador's careful attention, matters to be adjusted with due regard to the interests of Florence, which are contested step by step in Naples. Many intrigues and battles will be fought before Florence regains the possession of the sea-board lost in the early part of the great struggle, after Sarzana and the foothold gained north of Pisa are jeopardized. The king will add a further mark of his personal appreciation of Lanfredini "in recompense for services," the latter being his mediation in the quarrel with Pope Innocent VIII, whose affection for Cybò kinsfolk is not less open than his predecessor's; with this difference that now family alliances between Orsini, Cybò, and Medici, uphold pretensions they had condemned in the persons of the Riario nephews. The reward in question takes the form of an official residence for the Ambassador, which failing a nominee or in his absence, shall be occupied by the *Consul* of that nation in Naples. (2)

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(1) Cfr. Scipione Ammirato, Lib. XXV. Ann. 1484. The quarrel of Innocent VIII. and King Ferrante of Naples involves Florence, and Lanfredini, who has been Ambassador to that court from 1484 onwards, has two years of anxious negotiations, resulting in expressions of Ferrante's friendship, sincere for the nonce, "inasmuch as Florentine support could not then be dispensed with." "Lorenzo knows that I really love him and his city," writes Ferrante to his envoy Luzzo Nasi, "for I have had practical proof of his attachment to me and mine, but for him they and I would no longer be in this kingdom..." Cfr. Reumont, "Lorenzo de' Medici." (English translation, Smith Elder, 1875, Vol. II, p. 255, and note). This author also quotes the date, September 27th 1485, of Giovanni Lanfredini's letter to the Signoria, announcing the return of the relic of the Blessed Giulia of Certaldo, and of the war trophies carried off in 1478 by the Duke Alfonso of Calabria, the King declaring as Reumont notes, "that he did not wish to preserve memorials of past strife, when nothing should be thought of but reciprocal friendship."

(2) Cfr. Passerini Papers. The family memorialist records this gift of a house, "this was in recompense for services," and the circumstance is noted likewise by Reumont (loc. cit.), who recalls a similar gift to the representatives of Venice in Naples, made by the brother of Queen Joanna II., and last male ruler of the Anjou line, King Ladislaus (1376-1414). Another instance

With the exception of these few sidelights we have nothing to illustrate Lanfredini's character during this mission, except a single personal request which he prefers to the late Pontiff; indeed a modest plea beside Lorenzo de' Medici's persistent cry: give, give, even to a former bitter foe. The rancour of Pope Sixtus IV, had been placated less in 1481, by the humbling of Florence to which Jacopo Lanfredini had been a party, than by Lorenzo's abandonment of claims to the protectorate over Forlì; that Manfredi stronghold reverting thus to Papal suzerainty, free to be presented to the favourite papal nephew Girolamo Riario who is already lord of the neighbouring Imola by the right of his wife Caterina Sforza. As a set off, Lorenzo is tireless as a petitioner for his boy-prelate son Giovanni, who thanks to Louis XI. has started on the pluralist's career, the titular of bishoprics, abbeys, and parish benefices beyond the dreams of avarice. Lanfredini will endeavour to gain the Pope's ear for himself through that self-same nephew, Girolamo Riario, the prime mover of Giuliano de' Medici's murder. He appeals to him in June 1484, two months prior to the Pope's decease, to enlist his interest in behalf of his son aged twelve; Orsino Lanfredini, for whom the revenues and reversion of the Florentine parish church of S. Jacopo sopr'Arno are asked. The request sounds humble enough, the parish is by no means of the wealthiest, the motive should therefore be sought rather in family sentiment, the earliest association of the Lanfredini with the little church in Borgo S. Jacopo where *their houses* stood, and their forebears lay buried. <sup>(1)</sup>

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of the gift of an official residence to a friendly state for their ambassador's use, is the Palazzo di Venezia in Rome. Presented by the Venetian Pope Paul II, 1464-1471, to Venice, and after the incorporation of that Republic in the Empire of Austria, 1815, the official residence of the Austrian Embassy in Rome, the palace reverted to the Italian State in 1915, upon the entrance of Italy upon the side of the western Powers in the Great European War.

(1) Cfr. Pasolini, "Caterina Sforza," Vol. III, p. 95, Doc. 219. The letter (original, in British Museum, Ital. No. 21515), addressed to Lanfredini by Girolamo Riario, from Rome, June 23rd 1484, in reply to his request for patronage, runs: "Mo. Oratore: Having learned from yours of the 16th, the desire that your son be preferred to the parish of S. Jacopo sopr'Arno in Florence, it has certainly been a source of no slight disappointment to me that matters should have resulted in such wise as to make it impossible for me to oblige you, inasmuch as in regard to the said benefice, it had some days since been vouchsafed to another. In God's sooth, since I learned

Sixtus IV. has proved personally placable to Lorenzo de Medici but the renewed warfare is a severe drain on Florentine resources in men and treasure, and endangers future safety. His death on August 8th 1484 however, shews that Fate is still fighting in the Medici interest. Lodovico il Moro comes into line once more, and advises that his own and the King's ambassador and the Florentine Resident in Rome proceed in common accord for the election of a Pontiff who, " more than had been the case in the past should have at heart the peace and tranquillity of Italy. " Within three weeks the Cardinal of Molfetta Giovan-Battista Cybò is elected. The cardinal's mind and disposition are not belied by the Pope Innocent VIII. A trustworthy chronicler and eyewitness, Giovanni Cambi, will place upon record, — and history's course confirms the judgment, that Innocent VIII. " is a man of peace and a mighty great friend to Lorenzo who governs him. " And adds Cambi he keeps as his ambassador in the name of the city of Florence, Giovanni di Orsino Lanfredini. Introduced in the chronicler's narrative of events for 1492, but for its evidence of the Lanfredini mission the sequence is inaccurate. Giovanni has been dead already two years, and he was not the first *family* envoy to the Pope, that charge falling to Guid'Antonio Vespucci whom Lanfredini will only follow in 1487.

As a statement Cambi's record is of value only to stage a picturesque Roman background against which, thanks to the official correspondence of these three years, and to outside references to Lanfredini's activities for the Medici and their interests great and small which he is called upon to serve, certain episodes stand forth with a rare freshness and human touch. The ambassador will be instructed to satisfy the most heterogeneous demands: applications for preferment, the protection of reputations under taint of heterodoxy, the purchase of works of art on

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your wish, it has caused me mighty displeasure, just as though I had known of it in good time and had failed to make any possible effort for your satisfaction. Wherefore I do assure you " *in futuram* if any such other need on your part should occur, and it were in my power, so you make it known to me, you shall always find me ready and well disposed for your convenience and intentions... "

commission, match-making, the recognition of humble if self-styled merit, engage all his energies. The presentation of Poliziano's Latin translation from the Greek of Herodian's History of Rome is the first occasion upon record of his power of suasion with the Papal Treasury. Writing on July 22nd 1487, Lorenzo de' Medici reminds his ambassador that " my Messer Agnolo has despatched.... I believe to you, the book that he has translated for our lord the Pope ; I commend this to you to the full extent of my liking of the work, and as much as his learning deserves. " Now we know that the commission had been given to Poliziano so far back as 1484 when, a subordinate member of the Embassy, he attends Giovanni Tornabuoni, Lorenzo's uncle who is one of the Ambassadors of obedience sent by Florence to compliment the newly elected Pope, and the latter extends this mark of his favour to the young scholar. (1)

(1) Del Lungo, *op. cit.*, p. 240. Poliziano, on a later occasion in attendance upon young Piero de' Medici, had now accompanied the Florentine customary Embassy of obedience to compliment Pope Innocent VIII on his elevation to the Pontifical chair. Scipione Ammirato, *Lib. XXV, Ann. 1484*, gives us the ambassadors' names : Francesco Soderini, Bishop of Volterra, Orator, Antonio Canigiani, Bartolommeo Scala, Guid'Antonio Vespucci, Agnolo Niccolini and Giovanni Tornabuoni. The latter is Lorenzo de' Medici's maternal uncle, manager of the Bank in Rome and represents the family interests. The departure of the mission is delayed by the vicissitudes of war, the operations for the recovery of Sarzana and Pietrasanta, which Lorenzo supervises from Pisa, and by the insistence of Lodovico il Moro that the ambassadors of the League should make their entry in Rome simultaneously to impress the Pontiff with a sense of their strength. But the Signoria looks upon this proposal as mere bombast and moreover, through departure from time-honoured precedent, likely to indispose the newly elected Pontiff against Florence. The mission therefore sets out independently only on November 27th and we know is well received by Innocent VIII, who takes the opportunity to display his interest in scholarship in a manner flattering to the Medici, with the commission to Poliziano of the translation of Herodian's " *Historiy.* " This of course is not the young scholar's first Greek translation. A pupil of Marsilio Ficino, Angelo Poliziano (1454-1494), had translated the first four Books of the Iliad between the years 1469-75, after which other interests, literary etc., detach him from Homeric studies. Cardinal Jacopo Ammanati Archbishop of Pavia had seen the MSS., forwarded to Rome for the Pope, Sixtus IV, inspection. Nothing however comes of the offer, the Riario jealousy of Medici protegés doubtless at hand to forestall Papal favour. The commission given by Pope Innocent VIII, is therefore a somewhat tardy recognition : Poliziano is thirty and his repute as the foremost Greek scholar in Italy well established. The selection of Herodian's history of his own times, from the death of Marcus Aurelius to Maximinus, may thus be regarded as a " consolation prize. " Poliziano's translation however enjoys the distinction of being the best version of an author (born in Alexandria, A. D. 247) possessing " a peculiarly elegant style, if lacking in precision his book comprehends the history of Rome of 70 years, and he asserts that he has been an eyewitness of whatever he has writn. "

The dedicatory epistle accompanying the MSS. joins the Pope and Lorenzo in the same flattering appellation of Italy's peace-makers, recalling the first commission in fulsome terms. The reward is not delayed. A laudatory Brief and 200 ducats, "in order" Poliziano is told, "that thou mayest have leisure to fulfil other like laborious tasks," and a further letter to his patron stating that "the Herodian will be of great ornament to our Library," serve to whet Poliziano's gratitude and to stimulate his desire for more. The letter of thanks, July 31st, is rapturous, "this small field of mine will be tilled ever for the benefit of Your Holiness who has so generously assisted the husbandman". But Lorenzo has long promised his family's tutor a cleric's benefice. He accordingly writes to Lanfredini on March 22nd 1488, that deferred hopes sicken his protégé, and "although His Holiness has deigned to confer the revenues of Gruopina parish upon Poliziano, the Brief has not yet passed the *Piombo*. Such matters, he observes, are precarious until completed.... the Pope must not forget, "inasmuch as no greater satisfaction to me than this were possible." There is more to come. In October the rumour reaches Poliziano that the Vatican Librarianship is about to fall vacant. That appointment is his day-dream for years past. Lorenzo will press the matter upon Lanfredini's attention, but the rumour proves unfounded, Giovanni Lorenzi the present holder has no intention of resigning, nor is there any promotion *ad maiora* suggested in view for him, as Lorenzo has been made to believe. (1)

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(1) Del Lungo, op. cit., pp. 241-45. A passage in Poliziano's letter of thanks for the Papal gift: "If ever I may rest me in the shadow of your supreme worship (*nume*). I shall be freed from all those cares that beset man's estate, in like guise as the shadow of the Apostle Peter, whose honoured place you fill, delivered men of their infirmities," foreshadows the scholar's heart's desire, namely the hope of the ultimate succession to the librarianship of the Vatican. A friendship between Poliziano and the Librarian Giovanni Lorenzi had sprung up at the time, and the two scholars remained in correspondence afterwards. As Signor Del Lungo observes pithily, the suggestion to put in a request for the succession of the Librarianship may have come from Lorenzi with a promise to help his friend. Lorenzo accordingly writes to Lanfredini on October 3rd, 1488: "I understand that it may well befall that the person presently charged with the custody of our Lord the Pope's books shall quit the place for promotion *ad maiora*. Should such be the case our Messer Angelo of Montepulciano would gladly take it, and I should feel much pleasure thereat

The correspondence concerning Pico della Mirandola, the young scholar having been accused of pantheism, and of propagating heterodox opinions, his private character even being impugned in the presence of the Pope, shews that Lanfredini is not without misgivings, on the later count, being inclined to take the narrow view. Lorenzo in his letter emphasizes the Pontiff's intellectual limitations, of which he is sure *his* friend is free, he adjures him to give free rein to one who thwarted or wisely led, would commit either great evil or do great good. It seems tolerably clear that the old Oltr'Arno spirit, reluctant to change its view point is at work. The sequel however, Pico's rehabilitation, proves that Lorenzo's magnetism prevailed against Lanfredini's scruples. (1)

in behalf of Messer Agnolo, to whom, as a man favoured of the Pontiff and learned as any other man to my knowledge, I deem it shall not prove arduous to give that charge. I commend this to you with all my power, and beg you to lay your hands thereto in such wise, as it be possible, that we be obliged." Lanfredini's reply is dated October 8th. "I have taken note of what you write concerning your Messer Agnolo anent the librarianship here. You had been obliged, an the matter were as you had been told, but I hear no report that Messer Giovanni of Venice is about to be promoted to any other office, or relinquish this, and that I believe is the truth of the matter." In the interval of this correspondence, Lorenzo had reminded Lanfredini that the Brief granting "our Messer Agnolo the revenues of the parish of Gruopina" still awaits the pontifical seal. Another letter, undated, quoted by Signor Del Lungo, forwards a congratulatory epistle from Poliziano to the Pope on the promotion of young Giovanni de' Medici: Lorenzo adding significantly: "It is very lengthy, *he* would wish it to be delivered in time to be read in the Consistory as well as by our Lord the Pope." "I think it best," he adds, "to set warily about giving it to His Holiness, as also to do the other thing; in this too I leave it to your better judgment. You understand of course that the address (*epistola*) is *his* work." The inference to be drawn is the fear that Poliziano's unseasonable flattery may damage the business Lorenzo has most at heart: his own family aggrandizement.

(1) Mrs. Ross, *op. cit.*, pp. 310-11 and 318-19, quotes letters addressed by Lorenzo de' Medici to his Ambassador, 1489-90, in which the latter is desired "to use all your cleverness in order to arrange matters." Giovanni Pico della Mirandola namely, during a sojourn in Rome in 1485, had published a treatise, *De Omni Re Scibilt*, containing nine hundred propositions for dispute among scholars. Of these thirteen were brought to the Pope's notice unfavourably. Lorenzo has but an indifferent opinion of Pontifical acumen, observing that, "if His Holiness had the intelligence to understand this, and he were not too busy, I am sure these accusations would fall to the ground and truth would prevail." He is at pains to dispel Lanfredini's own misgivings about Pico's character. ".... Believe me Giovanni, he is one who would commit either great evil or great good. His life and character demonstrate this. If *they* drive him into another path, I shall lose little, as I know wherever he may be he will always bear me good will, because of my great affection for him. I have never been able to make you understand this," continues Lorenzo, "and without entering into details which I cannot do, I must tell you he has been sorely tempted by something



The letter to Lanfredini dated October 14th 1488 further evidences the community of their collectors' tastes and Giovanni's understanding of things artistic, concerning which the often quoted observation with regard to Antonio del Pollaiuolo's merits was hitherto only regarded as an instance of Medici art acumen. Here Lorenzo advises his Ambassador that "some days since, Giovanni Tornabuoni has forwarded thither, the to Rome, all the intaglios belonging to Monsignor of Mantua.... Nofri Tornabuoni has full instructions as to what is needed to be done." That the purchase of the late Cardinal Francesco Gonzaga's collection as a whole or in part is contemplated, seems clear, and Lanfredini has obviously a watching brief, for the "cameos and bronze statuettes," which were the Cardinal's hobby from the time he first paid a visit to Lorenzo de' Medici. (1)

The Medici state policy now that a friendly papacy forms the make-weight in central Italy pursues its course steadily, balancing power in Rome with the Orsini connexion intent under Innocent VIII. on carving principalities for themselves, and endeavouring to thwart Lodovico il Moro's will to power asserted with success over a feeble-minded nephew. Caterina Sforza will bear the brunt of her widowhood and Orsini ambitions will be supported, at all hazards. But the *key-note* of the correspondence is always the same; the family advancement of

which might raise a great scandal, and I have always stopped him. Latterly he has been leading a saintly life here, and his mind is at rest...." A high moral standard, austerity and reserve, are obvious traits in Lanfredini's character, against whose severity Lorenzo makes appeal to his friend's understanding, whilst asking for sympathy with his own personal wishes in the matter. As a friend he makes sure of this. "If you knew how much it vexes and irritates me," he concludes "you would never rest until you had taken it off my mind."

(1) Del Lungo, op: cit., pp. 295 seq. Cardinal Francesco Gonzaga the second son of Marquis Lodovico of Mantua, appointed Papal Legate at Bologna by Pope Paul II, is confirmed in the same office by his successor Sixtus IV. to whose election he had contributed materially by his influence on the conclave. The Cardinal makes a stay of a week in Florence, from July 14th 1471, on his way to Rome, and is lodged at Santa Maria Novella. Several Mystery Plays are performed in his honour by the Children's company of S. John the Evangelist. He is acquainted with Poliziano's first playwright's work, and he despatches him to Mantua where the "Orfeo" appears in the programme of festivities prepared by the Marquis his father in honour of the Duke and Duchess of Milan. The Florentine festivities are interrupted by the news of the Pontiff's death, and the Cardinal departs in haste to Rome.

which the Pope is to be unceasingly reminded; pontifical favours, tax Lanfredini's *sagacity* to the utmost. Such are the primary issues of the policy to be carried out in Rome. Girolamo Riario and Galeotto Manfredi's murders are omens of insecurity, it behoves Lorenzo de' Medici to lose no time. <sup>(1)</sup> The murder of the former on April 18th 1488, and the fate of his widow and children forms the principal issue of the few merely political Medici-Lanfredini despatches at this time.

Rumour has associated Lorenzo with complicity in those murders, but though he doubtless foresaw the probable result of Riario's misrule, and he seizes the opportunity to recover possession of Piancaldoli, a stronghold which the lords of Imola had seized and kept in spite of the promised adjustment of Florentine claims in 1481, his letters do not bear out any definite accusation. He discusses with Lanfredini whether to abet the despoiling of Caterina Sforza, or to help her keep her childrens' patrimony. Lanfredini is clearly on the side of justice, and here also expediency, for aggression would bring Venice into the field, and Ferrara has lost Rovigo; moreover Lodovico il Moro now champions his niece.... It will prove to the advantage of Florence to keep an independent state on her north-eastern border in being, and the Ambassador is instructed to extend assistance with the Pope to Caterina Sforza who has taken refuge in papal territory where she is more a prisoner than a guest. <sup>(2)</sup>

(1) Cfr. Mrs. Ross, *op. cit.*, pp. 319-22. The lengthy despatch to Lanfredini dated October 17th 1489, reviews the entire field of Italian politics, forecasting the danger of a change of dynasty in Naples to which the papal policy appears to tend. Lorenzo places no such reliance on Charles VIII. as he did on the sagacity and good faith of Louis XI. The Pope is urged to refrain from action which would drive Naples into open war. Lorenzo also mistrusts Lodovico il Moro: "I have said what I thought of him," and he advises that unless "the Pope has secret information unknown to him," the utmost caution is necessary. The despatch winds up with the observation that for "the nephew of a Pope," Cybo's state is insufficient, and the principality of Cerretti, unless it can be rounded off, a paltry affair, and Lanfredini is instructed to point to "the increasing family," which is a valid reason for our Holy Father's aid."

(2) Cfr. "Illustrazioni Storico-critiche di G. Roscoe alla sua Vita di Lorenzo de Medici" ... con un appendice di Documenti.... V. P. Magheri, Firenze, 1825. Annotating the Italian translation of Roscoe's "Life of Lorenzo de' Medici" Signor Polidori prints several letters addressed to Lanfredini in the months prior to Girolamo Riario's murder, in which the Pope's vacillating

Though the setting may change : Florence or Ferrara, Venice, Mantua, Milan or Rome, the cast in the Masque of Fame undergoes few alterations. Piero Alamanni has replaced Soderini at Milan, Piero Vettori is Lanfredini's successor at Naples, both are able colleagues, and Giovanni holds the threads securely in Rome. The two brilliant marriages, which as Lorenzo dreams will make with his son's cardinalate for the greatness that the Florentine plain citizen's status does not give him, are accomplished facts. The first shall prove fateful, for an Orsini alliance in the second generation making Piero de' Medici more than half a Roman will alienate home feeling, — his hold on Florence is sapped at the foundation ; the second is only unhappy, but its shadow lies over Lorenzo de' Medici's last years of life. But these events are yet in the lap of the gods.

The first act opens with *Messer Giovanni's* promotion to the Cardinal's dignity, the unwritten price of which is the marriage of Lorenzo's second daughter Maddalena, to the Pope's worthless nephew Franceschetto Cybò. Born in 1475, in minor orders at the age of eight years, the Abbot of Fontedoulce, — the gift of Louis XI to his Medici banker-"cousins," — is a candidate. The Pope's memory must be kept alert, nothing is safe until a Bull has passed the *Piombo* office. Lanfredini is ill now, March 1488. He will despatch his secretary *Messer Giovan-Antonio* in his place to the audience. The scene is pictorial. The Pope protests inability to read Lorenzo's hand, " he would have me help him, it seeming me that every day you write

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policy with regard to the Barons (of Naples) and Lodovico il Moro's designs, are complained of. Count Pasolini (cfr. "Caterina Sforza," op. cit.) quotes two other despatches written after the murder, and the attitude taken up by Lorenzo is clearly suggested by Aldrovandini, the Ferrarese Ambassador in Florence. (Mrs. Ross, pp. 285-7 and 294-5). He informs his master, "that the Mo. Lorenzo is of opinion that the acts of the Pope will be worse than his words.... H. M. would far rather see Imola and Forli in private hands than in those of a powerful prince.... if they are to belong to a potentate he had rather it should be Milan than the Church; for Milan has several baronies, and might bestow the state on some lord.... but the Church would never do so, and whatever she seizes she holds.... and although I argued with him.... he reports he remained staunch, saying the time would come when the Church would be more dangerous than the Signoria of Venice, and that this belief more than anything else, induced him to favour the King of Naples.... "

worse. " Innocent VIII. is vexed that the indiscretion of a messenger has made the promotion *in pectore* prematurely public; the rejoicings in Florence have caused jealousy among the *others*. Lorenzo is warned to be more discreet in future. The lad is not to change his mode of living because of the dignity thrust upon him at thirteen, but Innocent " would have him grow up to a good and learned priest and do us honour. " The Pope's measuring the size of the new prelate's robes, his gift, upon his own shoulders with the assistance of the secretary, and pretence that it is for one of his household, to the amusement of the bystanders, affords an entertaining glimpse into the familiar simplicity of life of the papal court, and the Pontiff's character. (1)

The concluding passage in the letter demurring against ambassador's rank being given to Piero de' Medici on his approaching arrival in Rome to thank the Pope for the support given to the betrothal in the previous year with his cousin Alfonsina Orsini, shews with what care the susceptibilities of *the others* must be hedged round. Poliziano accompanies the bridegroom and dwells in a letter, May 2nd, on the high spirits of the party " picking up new tunes and May songs. " " Uncle " Tornabuoni and Piero arrive in Rome with less state than had been intended and the marriage takes place soon and quietly in

(1) Del Lungo, op. cit., pp. 427 seq. A letter, addressed by Ser Giovanni Antonio, Lanfredini's secretary, to Lorenzo de' Medici is dated March 14th 1488. Lanfredini is ill and his secretary takes a letter of Lorenzo's to the Pope: "And he would have me help him read it, because it seemeth him your hand growth worse daily. He said to me, Gianantonio, what we have done is naught, for we would place that house in Paradise. We shall assist Messer Johanni little by little, and if God lends us life we will see to it that his state be not less than any one of the others. " The secretary's explanation of the messenger's heedless talk, whereby the promotion *in petto* which was to have remained secret is divulged, is accepted by the Pope with " a shrug of the shoulders and a smile; 'well t'is done now.... and let there not be the least change in the life led hitherto.' I gave him, " he continues, " the measure of Giovanni's stature and he would have me help him measure himself; and it actually reached his chin, howbeit he wore slippers. He then bade me call Messer Guglielmo, nephew of our Calagrano, and said to me laughing: Gianantonio do you take the measure of that brocade robe which we would make Guglielmo.... And Calagrano who came in guessed what was in hand, and we laughed awhile thereat...." Lorenzo is anxious to know whether Piero de' Medici should have ambassador's rank, but the Pope fears to give umbrage to " the others " and whilst expressing his desire to see him privately, he instructs his secretary to inform Lorenzo that credentials to that effect has best be delivered to the Ambassador, i. e. Lanfredini, for presentation.

consequence of his mother Clarice Orsini de' Medici's illness, although Lorenzo would have liked to delay it until the Pope's consent had been obtained for the other young couple's visit to Florence. Lanfredini is urged to impress upon Innocent VIII that Maddalena is "the apple of her father's eye, and that it grieves him Messer Franceschetto's household should not be well ordered". Permission is at last granted, and a letter from Lanfredini's secretary Ser Giovan-Antonio to his chief in Rome May 25th, reports their arrival, adding that Lorenzo is much out of health and depressed in spirits. "Wherefore from exceeding merriment we find ourselves in most sorry case, and we go to Poggio a Caiano for eight days until this tide of heart-break (corrotto) shall have passed," remarks the secretary. But for Lorenzo, the death of his youngest daughter Luisa, betrothed to her cousin Giovanni di Pier-Francesco de' Medici, a match that should unite the two branches of the family, is the first blow in his family affections from which he will not recover. (1)

Lanfredini's multifarious activities, beside the advancement of the Medici family: ecclesiastical preferment for one son, brilliant alliances for another son and a daughter, include also humbles folks *wants*.

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(1) Del Lungo, op. cit., pp. 428 seq. Lorenzo discusses the position arising out of papa reluctance to receive a special embassy with Piero at its head. He writes to Lanfredini on April 19th: "I note what you tell me about Clarice and I am sorry, albeit her ailment is not unknown to me. I have written her the reason which determines me perhaps to delay Piero's coming, but let her not mind if she prefers to come away, although I should prefer that she conveniently could await Alfonsina. I would wish Maddalena to come with them, for she is but a child, and the household of the lord Francesco is ill ordered; and also an it were for Clarice's comfort. But I would fain achieve this with the good will and without the least dissent upon the part of our lord the Pope or the lord Francesco, and whatever you effect I shall receive gladly, and any action of yours in this please me...." Piero leaves for Rome at the end of April accompanied by Giovanni Tornabuoni and Angelo Poliziano who writes (cfr. Mrs. Ross, op. cit., p. 288) to Lorenzo on May 2nd from Acquapendente en route: "We are all in high spirits, and find good cheer, and all along the road we pick up new tunes and May songs, which seem to me more original here than elsewhere; *alla Romanesca, vel nota, ipsa vel argumento*." Lorenzo has in the meantime advised Lanfredini on April 15th: "My Piero will be leaving shortly to fetch his wife; and for Clarice's comfort, and should she be in health sufficient to travel it would please me greatly; meanwhile see that she lacks nothing any more than hitherto, and so far all has been well done." Short of coming to Florence himself, Lanfredini can do no better than despatch his secretary Gian-Antonio with the party, who reports their arrival in due course, and the family sorrow which has clouded their welcome.

Perhaps the most loveable among the Medici familiars, the assistant tutor to Lorenzo's children, promoted to be Chaplain and Secretary to Maddalena de Medici on her marriage to the Popés nephew Franceschetto Cybò, Matteo Franco asks for more. (1)

A letter from Matteo Franco to Ser Piero de Bibbiena urging his desire "to accompany his angel mistress to Florence" induces Lorenzo to invoke Lanfredini's good offices with Cybò for permission (May 31st). "It would please me greatly, he writes, that since the Lord Francesco is coming, that Franco be despatched ahead to put the house in order, for I am alone with many matters on my hands, and I cannot attend to everything. Should the lord Francesco agree to send him, see I pray that it be as quickly as possible." But Lanfredini is not successful in *this* diplomatic mission. Francesco Cybò finds Franco more useful to *him*, he considers his bride's family wishes of little moment, and Franco who reports the refusal, has at all events the satisfaction of learning the motive: his honesty and administrative skill, as a set off to his disappointment. (2)

Franceschetto Cybò's state entry into Florence on June 21st, il-

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(1) Cfr. Del Lungo, *op. cit.* Most of Franco's correspondence is addressed to his fellow tutor and secretary in the Medici household, Ser Pietro Dovizi da Bibbiena. He traces an entertaining picture of their family life, the journeys, and public festivities, at which he is present, with humorous comment upon men and manners, the protectors he seeks to engage in his behalf, and his own and rival benefice-seeker's hopes deferred.

(2) Cfr. Mrs. Ross, *op. cit.*, pp. 289 et seq. Concerning his wish to be included in Maddalena Cybò's train, Matteo Franco traces an amusing thumbnail sketch for his correspondent Lorenzo's secretary, Ser Piero da Bibbiena. "His angel mistress" had, it seems, made these requests to her husband: "She says, as for a chaplain, I wish only for Franco; and someone to write my letters, and for this Franco will serve, and I would like your Lordship's necklace (to wear) while am in Florence, and certain gowns etc., and the footmen... so it please you.... Which she handed the list in person to his lordship in the evening, who having read it over replied: all thou askest of me I give thee gladly, excepting only Franco, and my necklace. The child answered him: but Madonna Clarice desires by all means he should come. And he retorted: and I want him by all means to remain with me. They (i. e. the Medici) have no more concern with Franco, Lorenzo once having given him to you (i. e. Maddalena); and I wish you to leave him here to look after your interests, howbeit I would that the income from these baths be your property. You know well that I have no one who doth not rob me, and in the fortnight he has been there (the baths of Stigliano), Franco has done better than all the other managers I have had since I was given possession of Cervetri...."

lustrates another page of Medici pageantry. An eye-witness, Benedetto Dei, records that " he entered the city at the 22nd hour (10 a. m.) with a goodly retinue and many attendants on horseback. Many citizens, noble youths and others commissioned to welcome him had ridden forth towards him ; and he dismounted at his home, — which it had been the house of the Pazzi, mighty well furnished and hung with arras and diverse hangings, and as well provided with vessels of plate as benefits a noble lord's state. " (1) Another correspondent, one of Lorenzo's secretaries, Ser Piero da Bibbiena, informs the ambassador that Messer Franceschetto who has been made a citizen of Florence, has chosen to attend the procession of the " Omaggi " together with the other liverymen of the ward, Le Chiavi, where the Pazzi palace assigned for his domicile is situated, and in accordance with precedent to carry their standard in the ceremony of obeisance to the Signoria in the Piazza. " Many folk, continues Ser Piero, have come great distances from the country for a sight of the Pope's son, welcoming him with cries of " Cibo e Palle " (i. e. Food and Bowls, a punning reference to Franceschetto's surname and to the Medici arms, here signifying ' panem et circenses '); and now in his honour after ten years or more that such had not been seen, six edifices and triumphs have been staged which had seemed wondrous indeed to his lordship; a divine work quoth he. " The San Giovanni celebrations had

(1) Del Lungo, *op. cit.*, pp. 433 et seq. Franceschetto Cybò's midsummer visit fills in the pictorial outline gained from Benedetto Dei's letter and Ser Piero da Bibbiena's report to Lanfredini. Lorenzo's son-in-law is accorded citizen's privileges one of which is the possession of real property within the city gates. The citizen's house-holder obligations in return include attendance in state — at no small expense to himself — with the Ward Standard, and Cybò hastens to assert his privileged position. The Pazzi palace, confiscated to the state upon the capital sentence upon Giuliano de Medici's murderers, is a princely abode. Designed by Brunelleschi; the graceful double lancet windows adorned with foliage and the family arms, the great escutcheon ascribed to Donatello at the corner abutting on Via del Proconsolo and Borgo degli Albizzi, the beautiful court-yard set with handsome stone pillars, the massive unhewn stone frontage surmounted by fine carved wooden eaves unite the characteristics of the merchant-prince's home more perfectly to-day even than the Medici palace, of which the XVIIth century addition has marred the harmony; more perfect too than the Strozzi palace to which the unsymmetrical cornice lends an unfinished aspect. The Pazzi palace stands in the old " processional " route and its windows, could they speak, would frame for us all those scenes which chroniclers' narratives assisted by the unaltered topography of Florence, enable us to visualize.

remained in abeyance from the date of Giuliano de' Medici's murder, and Dei's letter above mentioned will fill in Bibbiena's outline effectively. For this San Giovanni he tells us, " a mighty fair Pageant is in preparation: angels and clouds, and cars and diverse other structures, and popular games withal to speed the hours, over and above the customary rejoicings of other days " (Appendix III).

Not the least noteworthy item in the four days programme will be the Mostra. This shop-front dressing competition is held on S. John's eve, and the merchants of all the guilds vie with each other in the exhibition of their most costly wares: " ever so many rich and rare goods, brocades and silks, cloths of gold and silver, jewellery and pearl ornaments, plate and precious vessels of all kinds, that it was a marvellous and amazing sight to behold.... " It was intended to impress the visitors with the commercial wealth of Medicean Florence. That Franceschetto was not so much struck by this, or the state kept up by parents-in-law of whom at heart he thinks little, we know. He will complain to Lorenzo about the difference between the first and subsequent days welcome: the family life here is too plain for his taste! Lorenzo who has we know been at great pains to make things pleasant confides his annoyance to Lanfredini's discretion. The Pope will be asked to entrust Cybò with a mission to Perugia, thus ridding the family of a discontented son-in-law's presence, whilst the father wishes to keep his daughter at home, ostensibly on account of her mother's failing health. Family trouble is once more at hand. Clarice Orsini de' Medici dies in July after a lingering illness and Lorenzo himself is a victim to growing infirmities. (1)

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(1) Cfr. Del Lungo, loc. cit., p. 437. The correspondence exchanged in this summer, 1488, between Lorenzo de' Medici and Lanfredini, deals with home life in Franceschetto's company. Country visits to Careggi and Poggio a Caiano are reported, anxiety is expressed about Clarice's failing health, she is consumptive and decline is rapid, etc.; also the Ambassador is requested to obtain papal permission for an extension of time for the young couple's stay. Franceschetto is given a mission to Perugia for a colourable pretence, and Maddalena is left behind with her mother, who expires in her daughter's arms, Lorenzo meanwhile having proceeded to Spedaletto for the water cure in consequence of a recrudescence of his infirmities. Signor del Lungo unfortunately only alludes to this correspondence, without quoting the passages he comments on.



The year of correspondence closes with the preparations for another marriage, this time representative of past Medici-Sforza intimacy, for which Lanfredini is instructed to use all his arts of suasion. Lorenzo namely writes to him in December (1488) that " il Signor Lodovico " (il Moro) has pressed an invitation on him for his son Piero to attend the double marriage at Milan: that of Bona's son Duke Gian-Galeazzo to Isabella of Aragon, and his own to Beatrice D'Este, as the family Envoy. Lorenzo is anxious that Piero, whose presence he points out, " is most useful also in the Pope's political interest, " should not be outshone. To that end submitting that the time at home has been short for making due preparation, he begs the favour of an ornament to deck the young man's person. Lorenzo does not know whether the Pope has anything suitable in his collection of jewellery, — or least he pleads ignorance, probably feigned on the papal banker's part to whom the contents, including the tiara, are more often than not given as security for advances. Lanfredini is thus urged to walk delicately and point out that " the desired jewel need not be large, but it should be valuable. " (1) That the Pope saw his way to *oblige* may I think be inferred from the enthusiastic report of the secretary to the Florentine Embassy in Milan. Stefano da Castrocaro's informs Lorenzo, that his chief, — Piero Alamanni will be Lanfredini's successor in Rome, — has been knighted and presented with a brocade robe. The bride and bridegroom's attire is of unparalleled splen-

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(1) Cfr. " Illustrazioni storico-critiche " etc. Op. cit., p. 195. A passage in a lengthy political despatch addressed to Lanfredini on December 22nd 1488 is of interest in connexion with the marriage of Gian-Galeazzo Sforza at Milan, where Piero de' Medici will appear at Lodovico il Moro's invitation as his father's representative. " Signor Lodovico, " he tells Lanfredini, " has hinted to me through our Ambassador (Pietro Alamanni), and his envoy here, that it seemeth him meet my Piero should go for this solemnity; nor have I thought it feasible for my credit to gainsay him, and he is therefore equipping himself for the purpose. Let our Lord the Pope know this, and consider if by Piero's going thither one or another course (i. e. policy) were mooted, that he will carry out His Holiness' wishes faithfully. And Moreover if it were possible there (Rome) to furnish him with some handsome jewel in order that his estate appear more honourable, it would be most dear to me; it should be something not very large, but valuable. I know not whether such is to be found among the ornaments of our Lord the Pope; yet having but little time before him to put his state in order, it behoves you as I say to help us from that side. "

dour, the Milanese courtiers outvie their masters if possible, but *our Piero* outshines them all in his brocade doublet, with the *broncone*, wrought in silk embroidery, "deemed a wondrous sight." This is not courtier's flattery for Piero is but turned eighteen, he has inherited good looks from his mother, and he has had no opportunity so far to reveal his fundamental unfitness for the greatness his name thrusts upon him. (1)

The joyful episode will cheer Lanfredini somewhat; he is in grief for his son Orsino's death, and ill health incapacitates him to some extent from business. Although his services cannot be dispensed with by the family, and the Signoria will appoint a *locum tenens* in the person of another *familiar* of the Medici household, Ser Niccolò Michelozzi, during the ambassador's illness, (2) it is obviously not for long. The Florentine mediation in Rome in the differences between the Pontiff and the King of Naples engage the constant attention of the Signoria during this half year, May to October 1489. Writing himself in May, Lanfredini is at pains to rebut the impression with the Signori Otto di Pratica that the Pope is prepared to inflict the *ultima ratio* of censure and deprivation upon the King for his vassals refusal to pay the customary tribute, or that the King would anyhow take the field against Virginio Orsini of whose encroachments he complains,

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(1) Cfr. Roscoe, "Life of Lorenzo de' Medici," translated by A. Polidori, Vol. III. App. XXIV. Piero's device is a "broncone" in flame. The "broncone" is a kind of hurdle or espalier upon which vines were trained, Poliziano invented it giving the motto: "*In Viridi Tenerae, Flamma medulas exudit.*" It was held to be allusive to Piero's devotion to his bride whose reserve his ardour should kindle.

(2) Niccolò Michelozzi is the younger son of Michelozzo di Bartolommeo the renowned architect of the Medici palace, employed as we know throughout a long life by Cosimo and Piero de' Medici. The elder son, Bernardo, takes orders, he becomes a Canon of the cathedral of Florence, and afterwards bishop of Forli. Greek scholarship found so earnest a votary in Bernardo that he undertook a journey to Greece in quest of MSS, and his name is recorded with that of Poliziano among the teachers of the Medici boys. Ser Niccolò's name recurs frequently among the foremost Florentine diplomatists of this day. Scipione Ammirato records Michelozzo's special mission to Milan in March 1485, where Bernardo Rucellai is the resident Envoy, to protest against Lodovico Sforza's action at Genoa, detrimental to Florentine interests. He is successful, and the temporary credentials in 1489 recorded by the family biographer, to take charge of the Rome embassy during Giovanni Lanfredini's illness, shew the status he holds in Lorenzo de' Medici's estimation.

thereby justifying his own attitude. The Pope appeals for the support of Milan a matter to which, quoting Lanfredini, Lorenzo refers in the instructions there to Piero Alamanni. The Milanese Ambassador in Rome, Taverna, is instructed to act with his Florentine colleague. Cardinal Ascanio Sforza in Rome brings personal influence to bear, and although the Pope summons the King in open Consistory, and the latter retorts by arraigning Pope Innocent VIII. before a Council, thanks to the mediators suasion the Pontiff softens the terms of his protest and refrains from taking action, though restating his rights emphatically, and the reatening to leave Rome. Lanfredini's last letters report audiences in company with Taverna and afterwards alone, on October 14th and 15th, where the Pontiff stresses his own rights and the wrongs of Naples; and in a letter undated to Lorenzo, the Ambassador points out the Pope's suspicions, and his "desire only to live and die in peace" should forestall anymore extreme measures. The correspondence emphasizes this side of Lanfredini's character; his aim is to steer a middle course always, a line in which his own and Lorenzo's statesmanship agree. (1)

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(1) The Medici State Papers sold by Marchesi Cosimo and Averardo de Medici in London by Messrs Christie: in 1918, included several hitherto unpublished Lanfredini letters. Nine in all, they cover the half year May-October 1489. On *May 28th*, Lanfredini addressing the; Signori Otto di Pratica sets forth the position, pointing out that Florence is mistaken in believing that the Pope will proceed to extremities against the King of Naples, or that the King would fight anyhow; ecclesiastical censure would bring him into the field at once, and the Ambassador urges caution. On *May 31st*, he reports that the Pope will not launch this censure, yet the King of Naples complains of Virginio Orsini's conduct which, he urges, determines his antagonism. The Pope would welcome the mediation both of Florence and Milan. Lorenzo reports this in another, despatch to Piero Alamanni Florentine Ambassador to Lodovico il Moro, quoting Lanfredini. On *June 11th*, Lanfredini reports Cardinal Ascanio Sforza's conciliatory attitude, his aim is to prevent at all costs the Neapolitan aggression and the Pope must be assured of eventual Milanese and Florentine support. On *June 17th*, he announces that Innocent VIII. has issued his formal protest against the nonpayment of the Neapolitan tribute, but he will not take further action at present; indeed the Ambassador adds, two months at least must elapse. On *July 3rd*, the intervention of Taverna, Milanese Envoy to Rome, is reported, restating the Pontiff's grievance against the King of Naples. Writing in *September*, Lanfredini reports happenings at Faenza, he recalls the Milanese mediation, stating that the citation in the Consistory Court though public does yet not signify censure and deprivation; whereas Ferrante has retorted, summoning the Pope before a Council. Another despatch dated *September 11th*, reports the meeting of the Consistory court where the Pope places the case in forcible tones; and Taverna end eavours to restrain the Pontiff from action which

Cybò and Medici interests meanwhile are under constant discussion. The young couple are settled in Rome; and Franceschetto covets the Dukedom of Bracciano, this castle Lanfredini points out is Virgino Orsinis, and to dispossess the Count of Pitigliano might cause trouble. Cybò had best be content instead with Anguillara. Curiously enough the correspondence of the year between Lorenzo and his family ambassador ends on the domestic note. Maddalena has not forgotten her former secretary, who but a year ago had boasted of his place in the papal household with the run of his teeth when *spending freely* he tells Ser Piero da Bibbiena, "and expecting better things yet;" Lorenzo appeals to Lanfredini's *love*, but vainly. (1)

The sands of life are running fast. Giovanni Lanfredini's end is hastened at fifty-two by domestic sorrow. His elder son, named also Orsino, has died early in the year, and he survives him only a twelve-month. Great expectations were placed upon this youth, for though but five years since Giovanni had been content with a modest ecclesiastical benefice, — the parish of S. Jacopo sopr'Arno which he had begged of Girolamo Riario's interest with Pope Sixtus IV, that Pontiff's

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would certainly precipitate war. On October 14th, Lanfredini reports their joint audience; the Pontiff dwells on his own conciliatory disposition, he has modified the terms of his citation, which the King interprets as weakness; and he foreshadows the "acceptance of offers from foreigners, and the consequent removal of the See from Rome. The last despatch in this correspondence, reports October 15th, Lanfredini's own private audience in which the position is restated as above.

(1) Cfr. Del Lungo, loc. cit., p. 440, the letter is dated October 30th 1489. "You and others, writes Lorenzo to Lanfredini, have written me so well anent his services to Maddalena, that besides my long standing natural desire to reward him, I feel constrained by those fresh services of his to speak my mind to you. He has told me in these days of a business he has on hand with certain folk, to obtain a benefice of some kind, and he asks for my counsel and opinion. Methinks I can help him better by my influence than opinion, inasmuch as I would leave to his own good judgment to take one step rather than another. In this matter, and aught wherein I could serve him, I would do so most warmly, and that way in sooth is to commend him to you, to whom I am certain it will be very easy to work for his deserts; howe'er I know you love him and you are aware that he is among the first and dearest creatures of my house. Moreover these renewed deserts of his also engage your own interest in his favour. I commend him to you with all my heart, and I pray you Giovanni to point out in time and season to Our Lord the Pope how eager I am to perform any service for his weal, so that he grant that which Franco presently desires most; and speaking generally for the future, that you shall minister to him as you are wont with those who enjoy the privileges he does in my house."

successor has made Orsino Lanfredini Grand Prior of Capua in the Order of S. John of Jerusalem; and the lad's uncle Jacopo is to administer the benefice until his nephew shall have attained canonical age. (App. I, Doc. 5). But now at sixteen years of age Orsino Lanfredini is not "of discreet and modest bearing;" he has joined, so the Papal diarist Jakob Burckhardt avers, the company of profligate youths who have made Rome as Lorenzo de' Medici warns his son, "a sink of iniquity", and he is the victim of a drunken brawl of Orsini and Cybò followers. Yet the parent's grief is poignant. He turns to friendship for consolation. Lanfredini's letter has not come down to us but we possess Lorenzo de' Medici's reply dated January 18th 1489. It honours both men's characters. Lorenzo has had all that life can give her spoilt darlings: fame, riches, friends, domestic affections, but life too has robbed *him*; of his only brother, the mother who held the family in the hollow of her hand, his wife, and a beloved daughter, who have all left him within the ten years just closed. His friend knows it as well as he does, and does not need the comparison to mark understanding and sympathy. A man thus acquainted with grief, he admonishes Lanfredini not to mourn his loss, for those that depart this life early are to be envied. A deep and sincere affection rings in the assurance that Lanfredini will ever find his family true and ready to consider him as one of them. (1)

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(1) "Illustrazioni Storiche-critiche," etc., op cit., p. 207. The letter is dated January 18th 1488-9. "I have learned with much concern the fate of your son which I have grieved at the more that it was news to me, not having heard before that he was ill. Did I not know your fortitude of soul, equable in good or evil days, I should say many words more than I will to strive to comfort you, naming to wit the example of the manifold adversities that I have borne, and that are well known to you. Howbeit I pray you to conform your mind to the will of God, more especially because your son should be envied rather than mourned, and to you and to them that remain, friends will not be wanting, and persons who shall ever consider your welfare as their own. I in particular for the sorrow I feel with you and for the sake of our long-standing friendship, and for your love for me and mine, shall ever stand by you as your deserts and good works merit, and the sense of my gratitude indeed warrants. Nor do I doubt at all that your needs singly and severally shall ever be met with honour and advantage for you, as had it rested with me to restore to you the son that God has pleased to take to Himself, I had surely so striven. Take comfort Giovanni, and draw upon your fortitude for strength, set your hope firmly in God and in your friends who do not nor will ever fail you. So no more. Yours de' Medici.

But that Orsini Lanfredini's premature end is uncontrovertibly timed for us in January 1489, at the age of " sixteen years, five months and five days " and the Uffizi portrait and Lanfredini palace fresco both represent indeed a youth but not a stripling, I had been inclined to identify this Orsino with those paintings. As matters stand, Orsino di Giovanni Lanfredini floats past our mind's eye, only as a pallid shade. The bereaved parent will dictate the epitaph, carved on the marble sarcophagus which the Pope causes to be erected. Innocent VIII. as a proof of his regard for the Florentine Ambassador defrays all expenses; and when Giovanni Lanfredini follows his son into the same grave, the Pontiff will order the like ceremonial to be observed, as Pontifical etiquette lays down, for the funereal honours paid to rulers and princes in Rome. (1)

Giovanni Lanfredini shares with his brother Jacopo the credit for befriending Antonio del Pollaiuolo. His place is among the artists patrons, though it is not in Florence, nor except as a participant in Este honours has he written his name upon the family house-walls. On the other hand the two brothers, the younger especially, stand up before us, vital figures against the background of their city's annals where indeed they uphold to the full the tradition of a family of decent folk: " whose integrity modest bearing, exalted piety, prudence and single mindedness, had endeared them, especiality Giovanni, to the Pontiff. "

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(1) Cfr. Passerini papers, loc. cit., fol. 473. The family biographer writing in 1751 states, " that a marble sarcophagus, erected in the Sacristy of the Basilica of S. Peter at Rome, was inscribed as follows: URSINO ADOLESCENTI LINGUA UTRAQUE DOCTO. SPE MAGNO NOBILITATE ET INDOLE. GRATO AB HAEC. INN. VIII. PONT. MAX. JOAN. LANFREDINUS. LEGATUS F. P. POS. VIXIT ANN. XVI. MEN. V. DIES. V. QUANDO ITA SORS VOLUIT DE SE SPERA REPENDO GAUDIA. NATO BREVI. MISERUM TUMULO. The sarcophagus which stood in the Sacristy of S. Peter's in the middle of the XVIIIth century, where G. B. Dei saw it, was removed to the " Grotte Vaticane ". The biographer's statement that Giovanni Lanfredini died within a few months of his appointment to the Rome embassy in 1487 is a mistake. The correspondence printed and referred to by Signor Del Lungo, Mrs. Ross, and other modern historians of this period carries us down to the end of 1489. G. B. Dei states Lanfredini's age at the time of his death as fifty-two. In the absence of other knowledge the dates 1438-90 can be accepted as approximately accurate. They are not controverted either by the known development and sequence of Giovanni Lanfredini's public career. Pope Innocent VIII. directs the Ambassador's funeral expenses to be charged to the Papal treasury with the ceremonial appointed for rulers of states, and gives permission for the remains of father and son to be placed in the same sarcophagus; to mark his appreciation of the Ambassador's character.

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## CHAPTER XI.

### The Last of the old order, Lanfredino Lanfredini.

THE Lanfredini house-walls so far as the passage of their generations within doors goes, illustrated their lives only with history's vignettes. These : portraits, armorial bearings, scenes recalling some episode in the family history besides symbolic devices, though vitalized by their significance more than by the art they connote, are nevertheless little better than chapter headings, of a Book of Life where too many pages are missing. The present occupier, Lanfredino Lanfredini, will however fill a broad gap. The erection of the Lung'Arno frontage and its decoration with his own device now, which summarizes the achievement of a lengthy and full political career, supplies so to say the frontispiece and illustrated cover of the family chronicle.

Beside his father and uncle's patronage of the Pollaiuolo, artists whose renown has kept the name afloat upon Lethe's stream, Lanfredino's share, in actual artistic values : Andrea di Cosimo and Baccio d'Agnolo, seems meagre enough. The name silhouetted in Vasari's pages, is a record daily growing more indistinct since in spite of restoration, indeed perhaps on its account, the device painted by Andrea di Cosimo, — the Lanfredini leopard wreathed in laurel and olive foliage and inscribed PUER DUC LEO. — has wellnigh faded from sight. No painted likeness has come down to us, not a line of Lanfredini's writing exists, except perhaps instructions or despatches resting, unde-

cyphered and unpublished, in the state archives; and Lanfredini's portrait has yet to be traced, a moral likeness, for which material will not be lacking. Constructed from contemporary opinion, his true effigy will resemble the figure of a forebear, of a century and a half earlier, the first Gonfalonier of their house: "that noble and virtuous citizen Giovanni di Gherardo Lanfredini," even as under a *reformed state* once again, Lanfredini will figure among the last Gonfaloniers of Justice.

"As bold a spirit as ever there was," says one, "of ripe experience and highly respected, all listening to his word" says another historian. Lanfredini surpasses both his father and uncle in distinctive character. Capable and trustworthy public servants they are, yet over-shadowed in history by their friend Lorenzo de' Medici's prestige. In modern political classification, Lanfredini would be a Tory-democrat, at heart the supporter of his own order of oligarchs. The overthrow of the Medici in 1494, finds him on the side of civic liberty, but not with Piero Capponi. He will have no half-measures such as *popolani* Medici stand for, he asserts a sturdy independence in support of Savonarola's ideal state. The liberties of Florence find in him a defender, and only when these aims can no longer be upheld will he place his energies at the service of a Medici; a forlorn hope to save what may be of Florentine civic selfgovernment from the upper and nether mill-stones of Medicean theo-autocracy.

Without a direct portrayal we can know no more of the personal appearance of Jacopo Lanfredini's third son than the Florentine type, with which the art of his times have familiarized us. He is born about 1446, about three years senior therefore to Lorenzo de' Medici. A family likeness might be approximately established with the frescoed portraits of his elder brother Orsino and his sister Cassandra on the walls of the palace fore-court... Lanfredino Lanfredini's two marriages, first to Selvaggia di Pier-Paolo Tornaquinci, and secondly to Francesca Bartolini, the one a daughter of the Medici-Tornabuoni clan, and the other of that house of corn-merchant-bankers whose device of poppy-heads and the motto "Per non dor-



mire " stands for riches through early rising, set no more than genealogist's landmarks about his family life; and the latter is the mother of his children. That is all we know.

The years of adolescence and early maturity are silhouetted for us against the man's environment, which in Lanfredini's case may be surmised to have been Ferrara. Here as the second surviving son he would have charge of the family counting-house. His father and uncle are mostly absent upon the diplomatic missions in which they make their names; and his elder surviving brother Antonio is in Florence where so early as 1488, simultaneously almost with his uncle Giovanni, he passes the Gonfalonier's chair. At Ferrara two strong characters will be brought into contact. Girolamo Savonarola is indeed six years younger, but personality takes no account of years and the Friar can sow the seed of his own austerity easily in the older man.

The tendency to aloofness which we have traced in previous Lanfredini generations, thus fostered by the social reformer's spirit accounts sufficiently, it appears to me, for the fact that Lanfredino is past his fiftieth year when he first enters public life. His abstention from the commissionerships, memberships of missions etc., in which young Florence wins its statesman's spurs is the more significant, since he is about five and twenty when his father is elected for life in 1480-1 to the Council of Twenty, — afterwards extended to seventy members, — Lorenzo de' Medici's advisory, legislative and Executive board, the "Balia" which controls all offices; since his uncle Giovanni, ambassador to Venice now, and soon afterwards to Naples and Rome, enjoys the master's intimate and unlimited confidence, and his own brother takes office at the high-water hour of his family's Medicean favour.

The years of Lanfredino Lanfredini's fruition will come to pass only when the Frate's whirlwind sweeps the dross of his age away, sparing few, himself not at all.

The year 1492 is crucial for Europe, for Italy, and for Florence. Within three months Lorenzo de' Medici dies, leaving his policy and the family tradition in hands too young, and by character

unfitted to hold steadily the nicely adjusted equipoise of the Florentine republic, surrounded on all sides by covetous neighbours. The seeds of Medici unpopularity are growing into a lusty plant, through family and legitimate if conflicting ambitions now freed from control. Three months more elapse and Pope Innocent VIII. descends to the grave. His successor will be Cardinal Rodrigo Borgia, a Spaniard. Granada has fallen and with its possession Spain attains geographical unity, the leverage of the will to expand beyond those natural barriers, mountains and seas, whence new worlds to conquer prove no day-dream for Spain; as a foothold in Rome is the first step towards hegemony in the Italian peninsular. France will not yield up the Florentine influence without a struggle.

Better than Machiavelli, whose picture is coloured by the consequences of a policy imperceptible at the time to its framers, better perhaps than Francesco Guicciardini whose family tradition places him in opposition to Piero Capponi, a diarist of the people, Luca Landucci has left us a singularly telling impression of the popular sentiment of dismay in Florence in that month of November 1494, when the splendour of the French King's reception scarcely conceals the deep resentment it arouses. (1) During these two years France and Spain have divided the house of Italy against itself. The French King will be invited there by Lodovico il Moro, forestalling the French succession to his Duchy of Milan, to conquer Naples and to prevent that Kingdom falling to Aragon and Castile now united under the Spanish crown in

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(1) Cfr. Luca Landucci. *Diario Fiorentino, 1450-1516*, pub. Jodoco del Badia.... G. C. Sansoni, Firenze 1803. Events will justify Landucci's misgivings concerning the Florentines subservience to the French: "lilies sprout everywhere," he observes grimly. The Diary entry for November 24th 1494 shews that the people then already looked to Savonarola as their "strong man" in the hour of peril. "It was reported that Fra Girolamo of Ferrara, our renowned preacher, went to the King and admonished him saying that by tarrying thus in their midst he obeyed not divine behest, and it behoved him to depart thence. And t'is said furthermore that he went a second time, seeing that he yet tarried in the city, and told him that by thus disobeying God's command the evil that had come to others would surely overtake him also. And these words it was believed had hastened the King's departure, inasmuch as by all men in Florence and throughout Italy at that time, the said Friar Girolamo was revered as a man of God, one of saintly life, and a prophet."

default of a direct Anjou claimant. Lodovico's hatred of King Ferrante of Naples will prove the undoing of Medicean Florence. Charles VIII. makes a stepping stone first of Milan, then of Florence, where Piero de' Medici subordinates Florentine policy to fear, and his kinsmen the *popolani* Lorenzo and Giovanni di Pier-Francesco, work their own aims of aggrandizement.

It has been a subject for speculation more than once, how had he lived to see them, those changes and especially the widened world outlook of Amerigo Vespucci and Christopher Columbus, would have been mastered by Lorenzo de' Medici's genius. The state is personified by monarchs over wide flung boundaries, mediaeval internationalism symbolised by a powerful Papacy is waning. The commercial axis moves westward, the centre of political gravity moves north and west also; thought too tends to dissolve the statal fabric of Mediterranean centuries growth. Those that have grown up with Lorenzo and survived him, and Lanfredini is among their number, are thus met by problems which no Florentine precedent, of Italian balance of power — the Naples-Milan alliance as a set off to Venice and Rome having crumbled, — assists them to solve.

The elevation of Alexander VI. to the pontificate has brought a new group of papal nephews and their political followers into the arena. Both Orsini and Medici feel that to counter the Pontiff's policy, which as has been said raises nepotism to a fine art, and Borgia and Colonna now hold the field,... they must, in the fierce struggle for Naples, cast their lot with France, who may perhaps then restore the waning Medici prestige. The French are intruders in Naples but so is Spain, in the kingdom where after the death of Alfonso the house of Aragon ceases to represent an Italian dynasty. The Medici are torn by suspicion of papal designs as much as by their time-honoured French leanings. Terror-stricken, Piero places his family tradition and trade interests before a truly Italian policy, and the penalty will be the Medici overthrow when the King of France invited as a guest charges his price against the integrity of the state. The figure of Piero Capponi the people's tribune, now looms great, and it is interesting to note a

Lanfredini's presence, Antonio, Lanfredino's elder surviving brother, once already Gonfalonier, nominated to the Priorate with him in that year.

The historian Francesco di Piero Guicciardini recalling his father's part in the policy of the Signoria which culminated in the mock-trial and judicial murder of Girolamo Savonarola on May 23rd 1498, shews clearly the party cleavage in the oligarchy, deepened by the *odium theologicum* of the Franciscan and Dominican communities; friendship with one or the other classifying individuals with the Medici or the Savonarola popular government factions. He enumerates the moving spirits in both groups, in the first prior to Piero Capponi's death in 1496, are the Nerli brothers Benedetto and Jacopo, the historian Filippo Nerli's father and uncle, Lorenzo de' Medici's brother-in-law Bernardo Rucellai and Cosimo his son, Guid'Antonio Vespucci who was the late Giovanni Lanfredini's successor in the Rome; Lorenzo di Pier-Francesco de' Medici also find a place here, Savonarola's partizans include all sorts, as Guicciardini notes shrewdly: "some naturally inclined through their inborn disposition to religion, some cunning and evil-minded spirits who seek to retrieve their good name under that cloak of sanctity; and others of regular life in the world's eye, but who seeing popularity and power thus come within their grasp, strive leaning upon the people to win repute and consideration." These critical silhouettes of the Friar's following introduce us to their leader Francesco Valori, to the writer's own father Piero Guicciardini, and to other future colleagues of Lanfredino's in the Priorate, such as Jacopo and Alamanno Salviati, Paolo Soderini, and Giuliano Salviati; and together with "several others who bore themselves with moderation in the disputes," we find Lanfredini himself.

Giuliano Salviati is elected Gonfalonier in January 1498 for the ensuing two months term. The antagonism of the Pope to the Signoria, whatever party nuance may differentiate the Priorate and Colleges is relentless. Savonarola's prestige as preacher and prophet is not shaken by ecclesiastical penalties. He has been excommunicated since the previous June, but, though no longer in the Duomo, he con-

tinues to preach in San Marco to growing congregations of believers, for as Guicciardini notes, " there was a Signoria and a Gonfalonier that had not prevented him ". The resentment of Alexander VI against one who had dared question the canonical validity of the papal election is fed by his annoyance that even now, after the overthrow of Lorenzo de' Medici's line, others remain at the helm to persevere in the traditional Florentine friendliness towards French aims which in the matter of the succession to Naples cuts across Borgia ambitions. The Pope will ask for extreme measures.

Piero Popoleschi whom Guicciardini also records as a follower of the late Piero Capponi and a bitter opponent of the " Frateschi, " replaces Giuliano Salviati in the Gonfaloniership, March-April, " with a Signoria " observes Filippo Nerli, " very different from that which had just resigned office. " The historian, his uncle Jacopo is one of Lanfredini's colleagues in the new Signoria, and the Prior's term extends over four months, relates with evident gusto how Lanfredini who is deemed by all a man of mettle and as bold a spirit as ever had been known in the city, " will have his hand forced, inasmuch as out of their number there were six banded against the Frate, and three only favoured him, wherefore that which had unseasonably been permitted in carnival time is no longer to be countenanced. " (1)

The Pontifical remonstrance purports ostensibly to condemn as " brawling " the assemblage of Savonarola's congregation that had formerly filled the Duomo, to hear " that true psophet " as Landucci the grocer diarist calls him, in Piazza San Marco, " where joining hands

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(1) Cfr. Luca Landucci, loc. cit. Further entries at intervals in the following three years note the numbers that flocked to Savonarola's sermons in the Duomo and S. Marco with comments upon their spiritual value. Landucci's narrative of the conflict between the Frate's partizans, the episodes of the prosecution and the procedure of the mock trial and sentence mirror faithfully the feeling of indignation among the people. He has preserved the names of the Signoria and the Eight of Government in his entry of May 27th 1498, namely : " the Signori and the Eight who were found to hand over for judgment and have convicted these three friars were: Piero di Niccolò Popoleschi, Gonfalonier, Chimenti Ciarpelloni, Filippo Cappegli, Alessandro Alessandri, Lionardo di Giuliano Gondi, Antonio Birlinghieri and Lanfredino Lanfredini; and the Eight who delivered that sentence were Piero Parenti, Antonio di Domenico Giugni, Francesco Pucci, Domenico Faggiuoli, Dosso d'Agnolo Spini, Ruberto di Giovanni Corsini, Francesco di Cino, Gabriello Bechi.

they had danced, singing devotional songs to music composed for secular revels by Girolamo Benivieni. " The public singing of hymns, be it in the Lenten season, is now called " brawling, " and is forbidden accordingly, for the Frate's prestige can thus only be undermined. " The upshot was, " Nerli remarks, " that since six beans numbered against the Frate, needs must be that Lanfredini, as bold a man that ever was, should yield to the other Signori's behest. " " This was the more naturally done, " he concludes, " since the Gonfalonier Popoleschi, and Chimenti Serpelloni another of his way of thinking and entirely beholden to our interest especially Jacopo Nerli's, had kept him, Lanfredini, under close watch throughout and he could in no wise gainsay them. " (1) Without laying down a hard and fast character distinction we can discern the dilemma forced upon Lanfredini later on, to acquiesce in a course against which his conscience revolts, or resign.

If Lanfredini yields now he will speak up at the Frate's trial. Prominent among the " men of worth and standing " who gather round Savonarola under pain of excommunication and at the risk of their lives, — and Francesco Valori lays down his, — Lanfredini figures among the witnesses to the Frate's guiltlessness of the charges of blasphemy, heresy, and political sedition piled up by his accusers. The interrogatories name all those who own to spiritual intercourse, as well as to the exchange of political views, with the Dominicans. The accused confess that the Lanfredini brothers, — and the list of their friends is long, excepting only the few whom Piero de' Medici's folly and Lorenzo di Pier Francesco his " popolano " kinsman's intrigues have not weaned from name worship, — had encouraged the Dominican friars to submit to ordeal by fire. How else can they prove their innocence; first of the imputation laid at Fra Girolamo's door to proclaim himself Pope, and secondly of the intent to rouse the people to rebellion

(1) Filippo de' Nerli, " Comentari.... dell'anno 1315-1527. " Lib. IV, pp. 75 etc. The historian is a nephew of that Jacopo de' Nerli, whom he mentions as Lanfredini's colleague in the Signoria of 1497-8. The Nerli were " Arrabiati, " i. e. anti-Savonarola partizans and the historian's commentaries are thus coloured, — albeit first-hand, — by political antagonism against the " Frateschi " in whose ranks the Lanfredini brothers are prominent figures.

against the authority of the Signoria. But the first count only voices the Florentine opinion of Pope Alexander's election, the more so that it has opened an era of political misfortune for Florence ; it is clearly if an absurdity, yet consonant with popular feeling. With regard to the second count, Savonarola is consistent throughout in his solemn *not guilty*, affirming his loyalty to the Signoria in which so many of his own friends have held and continue to hold office. (1)

The tragedy is too well known to need recapitulation, except in so far as it pictures Lanfredini's unwilling part. The scene of April 13th is graphically described by an eye-witness, Luca Landucci. The Piazza of the Signoria is filled with the rival clergy and their supporters : *Palleschi* and *Frateschi*. The former include the Franciscan Friars who occupy the Loggia de' Lanzi where an altar has been erected for the celebration of Mass prior to the ordeal. The Dominicans stream in, a picturesque white-robed black-cloaked company, followed by a crowd of faithful from San Marco, into the Piazza, the north end of which they fill. In the open space before the terrace, the faggots through which Fra Girolamo and his companions are to walk unscathed are piled : " dry heather, sticks smeared with resin, and brushwood several braccia long. " The test is delayed through the day by endless parleyings " with the Palace " concerning the Dominicans claim to carry the monstrance. That the minority in the Signoria wish to gain time is clear ; and luck befriends them, for a heavy downpour scatters all alike, a circumstance which Landucci remembers well, " for it occurred on the day the news reached Florence of the French King's death, and I had come home wet to the skin " he records ; " though many remained to vent their disgust at the spectacular disappointment, with a free fight. "

The last phase, Savonarola's execution on May 23rd, finds Lanfredini in office no longer. Another yet more complaisant Signoria has

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(1) P. Villari, " Vita di G. Savonarola, " Ed. Le Monnier, Florence 1869, 2 Vols. Cfr. Vol. II. Caps. IX-XI and notes, also App. Docs. XXVI-IX. We possess here a very comprehensive list of Savonarola's followers comprising office-holders past present and future, including Antonio and Lanfredino Lanfredini, as well as the proceedings of the trial.

been elected to see the thing through. Through he had championed a lost cause gallantly, yet jeopardized by association with time-servers, his good name had suffered, but for the publication of the proceedings, which exoneratês Lamfredini from complicity in a judicial murder.

Historians of 1494-1502, the eight years elapsed between the overthrow of the Medici and the radical reform of the statute, which instituting a new Grand Council abolishes the elected Gonfaloniership, and replaces it with tenure for life, agree in the picture of internal strife and disorder formented by the intrigues and foreign war due to the repeated attempts of Piero de' Medici to regain a foothold. The vacillation of the Signoria's foreign policy, between recourse to French support and reliance upon Pontifical good will, was felt even by the humblest citizen. The people avers Luca Landucci, "lived in fear and mighty suspicion, and greater apprehension was felt at the doings of those wicked citizens of ours than of the Duke Valentino's hordes." The popular voice has a true ring. Savonarola's murder has not proved an acceptable peace offering in the Pontiff's sight. Alexander VI, is determined to make a dynast of Cesare Borgia. Machiavelli's "Prince" has overthrown the last of the Montefeltro and the eagle's nest of Urbino is his; Imola, whence he has driven Caterina Sforza, enables him to threaten Florence effectually from the north east, as he has already hemmed her in from the south: Milan is as wax in the hand of Louis XII, of France, and Ferdinand of Aragon is at Naples. The Signoria is constrained to submit, masking Cesare's *protectorate* under the guise of a three years appointment to command the Florentine forces.

Appeals to the Pope for a more generous treatment, to Louis XII. for aid, fall upon deaf ears. The Florentine Ambassador at Rome, Tommaso Soderini, has failed to propitiate the Pontiff with the wedding gift, a silver and cloth of gold gown valued at 3000 ducats, presented to Lucrezia Borgia on her marriage to Alfonso d'Este. Alexander VI, openly avows his indifference to what may befall Florence, pressed harder than ever before. With the French bent only on the occu-



pation of Milan, and the Spanish forces asserting their military superiority in Naples, and favouring the exiled Medici, the election to the Gonfaloniership of a bold spirit such as Lanfredini is reputed to be, seems at this juncture a lucky hazard for Florentine destinies. Under his eye a successful resistance will be put up, repelling Piero de' Medici's last abortive attempt aided underhand by Cesare Borgia to fight his way back to a restoration. Piero "brings the enemy to the city's very gates," but is conclusively and finally beaten off.

Lanfredini's Gonfaloniership in 1501/2 opens the last year of the reformed statute of 1498, which had modified Lorenzo de' Medici's institution, by a permanent Council of Two Hundred free only in name. A pawn in the game of France and Spain for Italian hegemony, Florence is weary of her failures in the field and in diplomatic counsels. An attempt will be made to restore the Signoria's prestige by another reform of the statute. The Venetian dignity of Doge, that Council of Ten, has a magic ring. The system will be adapted to Florentine conditions by naming the Gonfalonier for life and giving the Signoria: the Council of Eighty, the Ten of Government, the Eight "di Pratica," executive authority to which the Gonfalonier is subordinate. (1)

As Machiavelli, now Secretary to the Signoria, is clear-sighted

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(1) Cfr. Scip. Amm. op. cit. Lib. XVII. Ann. 1501-2. "Lanfredini held the last Gonfaloniership of the year (January-March 1502), subject to the ceaseless mistrust of the Pontiff and his son the Duke.... The pope's ill will was ever more apparent, the tithes were taken from the city, molesting her also in matters spiritual with threats of an interdict. But the Republic feigned not to heed these vexations, continuing in the policy of keeping friends with the Pontiff in spite of all, and at all hazards. Wherefore at the marriage of his daughter Lucrezia with the son of the Duke of Ferrara the shops of Florence were stripped of their wares.... and Tommaso Soderini went with gifts for the bride of cloth of gold and silver worth over 3000 ducats." The Embassy fails in its propitiatory object. Lucrezia, we learn from Landucci, has avoided Florence on her bridal progress to Ferrara. The Pope probably remembered how the Signoria, of which Lanfredini was a member, long resisted the proceedings against Savonarola, and he did not conceal his feelings, for Ammirato adds that what occasioned the greatest dismay to all the mission was that the Pontiff had been heard to exclaim in the presence of many cardinals, that "in future neither for good nor ill would he trouble about Florence, and since he was mighty astute and kept his own counsel, it appeared as though these words boded great danger, even now in sight, and at hand to the state...."

enough to perceive, even a controlled life tenure accustoms opinion to personal government. Though the sentences against the exiled Medici are aggravated, and a price is set upon Giuliano's head, " inasmuch as they are not ordinary citizens, " Piero Soderini's election in November 1502 welds a link in the logic of coming events which the Gonfalonier's own character combined with the disappearance of the wreckers of the Medici fortunes hastens. As we know, Piero de' Medici in December 1503 ends his troubled existence in the waters of the Garigliano. Cesare Borgia dies in captivity. A new Pontiff reigns in Rome, Julius II, who protects the churchman Medici Cardinal Giovanni; the future Pope Leo X. who is living unobtrusively in Rome. The youngest of the brothers, Giuliano enjoys the hospitality of Urbino, of which the Pope's nephew Francesco della Rovere is the heir presumptive, and King Louis XII; now extends his favour to the family. Giovanni " Il Popolano " of the other Medici line is long dead, and his brother Lorenzo di Pier-Francesco, the abler of the two, passes away in 1506. The way to a Medici restoration is being slowly paved.

Piero Soderini's rule is dogged by ceaseless failures. He endeavours to mark out his own political course, guided according to Guicciardini by family interests; his niece, Maria, is betrothed to Lorenzo's son Pier-Francesco de' Medici, and the Council discern here the desire to graft a new Soderini-Medici shoot on to that tree of ambition. The Signoria of Ten and the Eight thwart him at every turn. Lanfredini is one of the former who oppose the ill-fated expedition in 1504 to retake Pisa; a miserable failure, for the Pisan defence is assisted by Spanish troops. We meet Lanfredini's name again in the opposition when, as Francesco Guicciardini records, his father Piero is to lead the mission despatched to the Emperor Maximilian upon his adherence to the League of Cambrai. Machiavelli is Soderini's candidate but opinion holds " that there are many other young men quite as able, " and Francesco Vettori is named as Guicciardini's colleague; nevertheless Lanfredini insists that " older heads should not be overlooked, whence adds the historian, Piero Guicciardini and Alamanno Salviati's

appointments " were sanctioned, for which he is beholden to Lanfredini's influence. (1)

Soderini's motto : *the just man shall flourish like the palm*, is typical of his attitude towards events, he expects them to develop of themselves, fostered by ideals. A plant of delicate growth in those days for Florence, she will soon prefer the shade of the Medici laurels : the proverbial green bay-tree ; not the tree of liberty. The Medici have cast their lot with the Empire. The French star is waning, an Italian hegemony with Borgia crushed and Sforza in exile is impossible. Florence is war weary and will accept the conditions that prepare the Medici second restoration. They are hard, the Signoria shall rescind the Statute and depose their life-Gonfalonier, they shall abandon their French policy, accept the union of Spain and Naples, and pay an indemnity of 8000 gold florins to the invaders of their state, the Medici-Spanish allies. They hesitate, and the sack of Prato countenanced by the Medici who raise no voice to restrain their allies' vandalism is an omen of worse to come, if Soderini be not deposed.

He will be. The story of Piero Soderini's forcible ejection from office, August 1512 has been told against Baccio Valori and the Vettori brothers, Francesco and Paolo. Incidentally we learn from a letter of Jacopo Guicciardini to his brother Francesco at that date Florentine Ambassador to Spain, the conspicuous part Lanfredini plays in the drama enacted in the great gilded, lily starred, and blue, Hall of the Priors. Soderini has at that moment offered to resign, his speech as remote from reality as his entire policy throughout his ten years of office. As is known, the resignation is not accepted, but at the end of the session his deposition is decided. Lanfredini is among the armed company who force their way into the council chamber. He and one other writes Guicciardini, step forward, and laying his hand on Sode-

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(1) The references to Lanfredini in connection with the historian's father Piero Guicciardini's career are on record in the fragment of a " History of Florence " : cfr. Opere inedite etc. Vol. III.

rini's arm Lanfredini takes his hand, " he having agreed to go with them. " Lanfredini and Francesco Vettori are sureties for the hapless Gonfalonier's life ; and he conducts the " foolish soul ", Machiavelli's *anima sciocca*, to the safety of the Oltr'Arno. The Lanfredini, Soderini, and Vettori houses are adjacent, the Gonfalonier is taken first, to the latter and it is a fact that in the night following Paolo Vettori, who procures horses and a guide, is really Lanfredini's agent in his prisoners escape to Rome. (1)

The old Council of Two Hundred is now again *reformed*. The provisional government established pending the return of the Medici and the enactment of a new order, is a compromise between a life tenure and the two months election to office. That Lanfredino Lanfredini is a prominent member of this body follows as a matter of course. He was a follower of the Frate upon personal grounds, and his father and uncle's tradition of friendship will move him to bring the Medici back, and to proclaim with them the advent for good and all of a Medici one-man rule in Florence.

The effects of this *reformed statute* are indeed not perceptible in the manner of the brothers' return, strangely similar in the privacy observed, to the *restoration* of Cosimo and Lorenzo de' Medici in 1434. They rode in at the gate of the Servi with but one attendant ; Giuliano comes with six horsemen only, about midday: " the 23rd and 24th hour of September 12th,... and the people shewed no gladness at his coming ". In accordance with usage, and no doubt also to conciliate the pious-minded whom the violent ejection of Piero Soderini from office had angered, Giuliano dismounts at the SS. Annunziata to give

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(1) Opere inedite di Francesco Guicciardini.... Firenze M. Cellini e Com. 1864, 10 vols. Cfr. Vol. VI, pp. 95-104. Jacopo Guicciardini writing to his brother Francesco, in Spain, on September 5th 1512, describes the last phase of their resistance, Soderini's failure to enforce his policy: and the growing distrust of his ability to master events: " howbeit he says the Gonfalonier would insist manage affairs by precedent, and to his own liking whereat men of note were displeased yet they could not do otherwise, because the majority were with him.... and behold one morning he put it to them that he leave them all to counsel together, whether they would have the Medici, or contrariwise, and that moreover he would yet go, for the sake of the City would he go gladly.... "

thanks ; and instead of proceeding to the dismantled <sup>(1)</sup> Medici home, he goes for greater privacy to lodge with a friend, Francesco degli Albizzi, at their palazzo in the Borgo of that name.

The new Balìa of Two Hundred, in whom supreme authority is vested whilst the office of Gonfalonier is restored for the two months term of the old régime, coopt members among the former Ambassadors, Commissioners and Gonfaloniers exclusively to make up their number. Their names have been recorded. Lanfredini figures in the list of his ward, Santo Spirito, where his colleagues are house neighbours and fellow magnates : Alamanni, Dei, Corbinelli, two Ridolfi, Tanai de' Nerli, Neri di Gino Capponi, and Francesco Vettori ; all men who will play important parts together in the next years. The hour is dramatic. On September 16th the great bell in the Signoria palace tower is tolled. At the tocsin sound all hurry to the Piazza, a proclamation is read announcing the selection of notables to promulgate the new statute. Giuliano has collected a band of his followers in the alleys behind the palace ready if need be to storm the position. The cry of *Palle, Palle* goes up, — Giuliano represents that immense force, the magic of a name with all these men, and before the constitution framers know what has happened, the hardly rewon independence of the oligarchy has been signed away. <sup>(2)</sup>

Lorenzo de' Medici did not take the Gonfaloniership, nor does Giuliano his son. He was acclaimed Chief of the State, so will Giuliano be, with this difference, that the rule of the latter is only vicarious,

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(1) Landucci, op. cit, " .... and on July 9th, 1495, the chattels belonging to Piero de' Medici were sold by anction, likewise his wearing apparel, and hard work it was during several days at Or San Michele." A further entry in the Diary under date August 9th records the continuance of the sale. " And on the 11th (July) and for many days thereafter the auction of Piero de' Medici's goods continued, There were velvet and gold embroidered counterpanes and many other things : paintings, furniture, pictures and a quantity of beautiful stuff. All this to demonstrate, as the Diarist moralizes, " what Fortune can do in these transient matters, or say we rather Divine permission, that man may thereby learn that God giveth all things and taketh away at His will. "

(2) " Ricordanze di Bartolommeo Masi. Calderaio Fiorentino. 1478-1526. " Ed. G. O. Corrazzini, pub. G. C. Sansoni, Florence, 1906. This Diarist has preserved a highly picturesque record of the events of which Giuliano and Cardinal Giovanni de' Medici are protagonists, and

and it carries the germ of failure accordingly. When Bernardo Segni the historian writing the life of his uncle, the last Gonfalonier Niccolò Capponi many years later, reviews those times, he recalls " how Bartolommeo di Lanfredino Lanfredini had told him that his father, who by all and sundry was reputed a wise head, admonished the Cardinal Giovanni when the Medici came back in 1512, about the fittest way to rule the state, exhorting him to govern with civility, and rather than outstrip the state kept up by his father Lorenzo, to lessen it... and that, learning from their recent sorry experience, the Medici should seek the adherence of plain citizens; for these were the folk who, more than force of arms had cleared the road for their return." And he concluded: " Lanfredini had pointed his moral with remarks anent the men and families it behoved the Medici to conciliate, holding up above all the rest the Capponi, and Niccolò especially as a man of worth." (1) How far the young Cardinal laid to heart Lanfredini's counsels to conciliate the plain citizen is uncertain, since elevation to the Pontificate in the following month of February removes him from the Florentine stage; and Florence is covertly but effectually governed from Rome. (2)

The customary protestations of *obedience* gain additional significance from Lanfredini's presence with the mission which the newly elected Pope's fellow-townsmen will send to Rome; for Florence can

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Lanfredini is one of the principal actors. Giuliano enters the city almost as a fugitive. It is clear that the newly elected Signoria are loath to yield up authority. Negotiations are protracted during these September days, and Giuliano's acclamation as Chief of the state is brought about after a show of resistance, by consent. The Signoria summons the brothers to their presence to render account of their subversive agitation on September 16th, and upon their appearance hasten to give way to the semblance of popular demand asserted by the organized tumult and clamour raised by the Medici following.

(1) " Vita di Niccolò Capponi, Gonfaloniere della Repubblica, l'anno 1527-8," descritta da Benedetto Segni. The author is Niccolò Capponi's nephew; an eye-witness as a young man of the events he describes. His close family connection with Guicciardini, and his friendship with young Bartolommeo Lanfredini impart a vital personal value to his evidence. He refers briefly to Bartolommeo in the history of Florence, to which the life of Niccolò Capponi forms the sequel and epilogue.

(2) Masi. *Op. cit.* describes the elevation. Cardinal Giovanni has been appointed Legate at Bologna, but he remains in Florence through the winner, leaving hurriedly in February 1513, " to elect the Pope.... "

now once more aspire to the position of arbiter in the intricate maze of conflicting interests she held in Lorenzo de' Medici's life-time. The cry "Cibo e Palle" in their literal meaning are the pass-words. Peasant, artizan, and merchant are now convinced that crops will be garnered, toil, traffic, secured their wage, and revels — *palle* — be the order of the day under Medici rule. (1) Giuliano is to lead the mission, but he gives not a little umbrage to the magnates his colleagues by forestalling them, thus marking the difference between a Medici, the Pontiff's brother and the modest candidate for citizen's rights, of a brief six months ago.

The episode, pictorially perfect, is worth recalling. "On April 27th, I mind me," records the coppersmith-diarist Bartolommeo Masi, "how I saw at the 14th hour or thereabouts, the Pope's brother Giuliano de' Medici ride forth with a magnificent train. There were 100 horses, 36 waggons, and 20 grooms beside the usual attendants. And with him also there went Alfonso di Filippo Strozzi, Giovanni di Guid'Antonio Vespucci, Giovanni di Lorenzo Tornabuoni and several other Florentine youths, all sumptuously mounted and equipped. They rode off towards Rome, and at Siena where they halted, great honour was paid them; and the Roman lords and that gentry, and many Florentines in Rome rode forth as far as Bracciano which was the traveller's last stage, to meet and greet them; and there they all slept the night before entering the town, and the said Giuliano and his company of Florentines rode in to the mighty city on May 4th, t'was a

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(1) Masi. Cfr. loc. cit. The public rejoicings in Florence were held on a scale unparalleled hitherto: "there were bonfires lighted on the Palace of the Signori and along the city walls, towers and gates, on the roofs of the Medici houses, and upon this house and on that, everywhere throughout the town. The cost of the sticks and brushwood alone, he avers, "exceeds 1000 ducats." Fireworks are let off, artillery booms, and the sight of the barrels filled with rockets sent up from the upper story of the Signoria tower was recalls "a finer spectacle than I can well describe." Pageants parade the streets, "cars filled with masquers and musicians drawn by finely caparisoned oxen mnrch past the Medici houses, from their gardens in Piazza S. Marco to the palace corner, and the show over, bonfires are lighted with the cars aforesaid." The family crowd the windows: "Giuliano and Messer Giulio, the Medici sisters-in-law and the children with bags full of coin, which they empty in handfuls on to the heads of the crowd; and not only money but plate, silver things and furs are thrown to the populace and are scrambled for greedily." The Diarist calculates this largesse at not less than "10,000 ducats in gold florins and doubloons, and silver florins and small coins of sorts."

Wednesday, in great state as though he were the premier lord of Italy, dismounting at S. Peters — which it be the Pope's abode; and the rest betook themselves to the palace which had been the Pontiff's when he was Cardinal, and there all stayed, entertained at his charge until their return to Florence. " (1)

Time brings its revenges to Giuliano's kinsmen and companions: Alfonso di Filippo Strozzi is like himself a returned exile, and Giovanni Tornabuoni is the son of the "handsome young Lorenzo," a general favourite who championing a lost cause, was executed for his loyalty to the family fortunes. More haste less speed proves a true saying in regard to the Florentine mission. Giuliano has started on his way but the Archbishop of Florence Cosimo de' Pazzi who was to have delivered the oration has died. Their vacancies will be filled by Jacopo Gianfigliuzzi and Lanfredino Lanfredini. The mission was to consist of twelve Envoys but another of their number falls out. Bernardo Rucellai, Leo's brother-in-law is ill or feigns illness and he resigns. No further delay is however admissible, "and that the number be twelve," his place will be taken by another brother-in-law, Jacopo di Giovanni Salviati, who is already on the spot, having taken up his post of Ambassador in ordinary together with Matteo di Lorenzo Strozzi three months before. The party consisting of Giuliano di Filippo Tornabuoni, a Canon of the Duomo to represent the Chapter, Filippo di Lorenzo Buondelmonti, Piero di Jacopo Guicciardini, Giovan Battista di Luigi Ridolfi, Luca di Maso degli Albizzi, Luigi di Messer Agnolo della Stufa, Lanfredino di Jacopo Lanfredini, Lorenzo di Matteo Morelli, Benedetto di Tanai de' Nerli and Jacopo di Messer Bongianni Gianfigliuzzi, take their departure on May 27th, "the second holiday of Pentecost." (2)

(1) Cfr. Masi, loc. cit. The palace where "the others" dismount is the Medici family residence and their counting house as papal bankers. Palazzo Madama as the house was afterwards styled, was Catherine de Medici's abode when living in Rome under the Pontiff's care, and Madama Margherita of Austria, the widow of Duke Alessandro, after her marriage to Odoardo Farnese, lived there also. Palazzo Madama is now the Italian Senate House.

(2) Scipione Ammirato confirms Masi's record of the substitution of the Ambassadors due to Giuliano's separate journey, Cosimo de' Pazzi's death and Bernardo Rucellai's alleged indisposition. It may well be that Rucellai felt slighted in view of his relationship at being only the third string.



The enumeration introduces us to the young generation. Masi notes that each ambassador brings a young secretary, " a son or a nephew, or grandson as might be, all on horseback riding mighty fine chargers and most bravely attired. " Bartolommeo, Lanfredini's elder son born in 1495 is eighteen and eligible, his fellow attachés are the future historian Filippo di Benedetto Nerli, and Bernardo Segni. The latter, a nephew of the ambassador Neri di Gino Capponi, will recall affectionately the familiar friendship with Bartolommeo Lanfredini dating back to these green salad days. A procession of " forty covered waggons with gold and silk embroidered hoods " carry their excellencies, for the most part very elderly persons, two hundred horses and pack-mules mount and carry the attendants, two hundred and forty valets, grooms, master-cooks and scullions, and their baggage follow... No Florentine mission of recent years had afforded the citizens so splendid a spectacle.

The reception in Rome is marked with no less state. Guicciardini is the Orator, and the Pontiff promises an early visit to Florence, of which Vasari in after years will prove the effective picture-chronicler. Lanfredini appears of course as a Prior among the supporters of the Papal canopy in the progress across Piazza della Signoria, a scene where the artist availing himself of biographer's licence introduces many a grown man, then a baby in arms. (1)

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The reception, and the pageant of the knighted Ambassadors' return to their respective homes, gains additional interest from the circumstance that the *Palazzo della Parte Guelfa* in Piazza S. Biagio hard by the " old " Market (Piazza Vittorio Emanuele) has been recently restored; the Palazzo Buondelmonte in Piazza Santa Trinità has not suffered essential alterations, whilst the Palazzo della Stufa with the fine pillared, yet open, Loggia extending along one side of Piazza S. Lorenzo, is still occupied by the descendants of Messer Luigi di Messer Agnolo della Stufa.

(1) Eye-witnesses, Masi, in his " Ricordanze, " Landucci with his " Diario, " Vasari, " Life of Andrea di Cosimo " etc., all describe the pontifical pageant in glowing terms. Vasari has painted it on the walls of the so called-Room of Leo X, in the Palazzo della Signoria he notes the part taken by all the leading artists of the day: Jacopo Sansovino, Andrea del Sarto, Granacci, etc. in the street decorations, described in those artists and in other Lives. Andrea di Cosimo Feltrino is but one of many artificers, who " for the visit of that Pontiff contrived diverse ornaments for the frontage of Santa Maria del Fiore.... " He decorated continues Vasari, the canopy beneath which the Pope was carried, with a tester painted with the most beautiful grotesques, and the banners carried before him with that Pontiff's arms and the other insignia of the Church, which

The Lanfredini genealogist. Count G. L. Passerini, is alone among historians in his statement that Lanfredino Lanfredini, was knighted on this occasion. The grocer-diarist Luca Landucci indeed tells us that rumour speaks " of four Knights, an unprecedented number, who would be made, " whilst the chronicler Giovanni Cambi avers that " the Pope had created others gladly, but that in their avarice the citizens declined, howbeit then parsimony in living was at its height, more than had been known hitherto. " Cambi's sympathies are " Pia-gnone " his strictures on his fellow-citizens *thrift*, — he is not suspect of Medicean leanings, — are intended to strike over the head of Florence at the Papal Treasury whose scale of dues for any favour is exorbitant, and it may well be that Lanfredini who we know has spoken his mind on the subject of plain living is one of the *miserly* folk. Contemporary record however gives us the names of only two new knights, Filippo Buondelmonte and Luigi della Stufa; we have thus no picture of a triumphal return for our Ambassador, such as falls to his colleague's share. Preceding them he plays his part of host as one of the Signoria with fellow magnates, to welcome the newly knighted envoys.

Set up against still evtant landmarke in Florence the coppersmith's narrative vitalizes: " the unheard of honour paid to those knights who

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was afterwards given to the church of S. Lorenzo in Florence, where it is to be seen to this day.... And in like manner, continues Vasari, he (Andrea) painted many banners and standards for that state entry and for the ceremony of the many knightships conferred by that Pontiff.... " As is known the Pope entered Florence from the Arezzo Gate. According to the Venetian diarist Marino Sanudo, quarters were prepared for him at Santa Maria Novella; and he pays a visit to Giuliano at the Medici palace, spending one night there — waiving Pontifical etiquette in his brother's favour a fact, which Florentine chroniclers however do not mention. — Sanudo also reports that Giuliano being ill, only his wife, the Pope's nephew " il Magnifico Lorenzino " have accompanied Leo X. to Bologna where Francis I awaits him. It may not be without interest for present day visitors to Florence at Easter-time to recall that the ceremony of carrying the fire, blessed on Easter Eve in the Cathedral by means of a dove travelling along a wire, to a car filled with fireworks, drawn by two yokes of handsomely caparisoned white oxen, garlanded with flowers and their horns gilt for the occasion, which being let off marks the coming of the Resurrection, was instituted by Leo X. on this occasion to complete, — indeed it may be said, overshadow, — the time-honoured striking of the fire from the stones traditionally brought from the Holy Land by a Pazzi crusader.

make their state entry singly, at a week's distance from one another, at the end of June. " " The numbers of our citizens bravely attired in their cloth suits, who ride out to meet ' Messeri ' Filippo Buondelmonte and Luigi della Stufa beyond the city gate are preceded, he says by the Signoria's musicians; and the trumpeters and pipers mounted upon great chargers plaining severally and loudly upon their instruments. " " They came in " he continues, " by the gate of S. Pier Gattolino, riding to the Piazza, which they skirt in a great circle, and dismounting at the gate of the Palace make obeisance to the Signoria. " Despite their ages, 73 and 70 respectively, Buondelmonte and Della Stufa appear in close fitting doublets of green cloth, their knightly mantles are fastened with chased and jewelled clasps, whilst swords with golden hilts dangle at their horse's flanks; the " most richly wrought chains, " the Pontiff's gift hang about their necks, and garlands of olive leaves are twisted about grizzled elf-locks, the knight's helmet and the ambassador's cap being carried upon poles before them.

Lanfredini with his brother Priors and the magistrates of the " Arts " stands before the Gonfalonier's dais on the terrace, as the " new knights receive a banner with the Lily, the City's arms emblazoned thereon. " The procession then crossing the market square passes Or San Michele, " to the palace of the Guelph Captain where those worshipful Signori likewise presented them with a banner bearing their device of the eagle and the dragon; after which each one rode home with his own retinue to his house, from the windows the said banners were unfurled to the gay sound of trumpet call; whereafter, the company that had gone with them were severally thanked for their courtesy, and all went home. " Masi's comment: " it was in truth a truth a brave sight " corroborates impressions which the aspect of old-time Florence frames to this day. His descriptions voice Vasari and Poccetti's inspiration in days soon at hand, recalling events that mark the passing of a golden age, which immortalizes its twilight in the picture-chronicles upon the walls of the Signoria palace.

Masi's reminiscence helps to illustrate another interesting " footnote " on the Lanfredini house-walls. As has been observed in another

chapter, the heraldic emblems which decorate the Lanfredini palace forecourt comprise four shields surrounded with closely woven garlands of laurel foliage, two being upheld by genii. One shield emblazons the scarlet lily of Florence, the second bears the dragon and eagle of the *Parte Guelfa*, the third shews the Lanfredini arms: argent three annulets gules, and the fourth is empty. This decoration which on Vasari's record should be ascribed to Pontormo, deserves notice at this stage not because it represents Bartolommeo di Lanfredino Lanfredini's act of filial piety, continuing the family tradition of art-patronage, but for its symbolism of the knighthood awarded to several generations of Lanfredini, commencing in the XIVth century with Messer Giovanni di Gherardo.

Giuliano de' Medici does not return to Florence either with or after his colleagues. Leo X. appoints his brother Standard-bearer of the Church, an office which requires virtually continuous residence at the Pontifical court; for the Pope has his family's advancement at heart, and Giuliano shall be provided with a principality and a bride of royal blood.... He will therefore only cross the political stage of Florence, at intervals in the several characters of Master of popular Revels, of an expectant bridegroom on the threshold of his home to await the daughter of the Count of Savoy, and of master of ceremonies to the Pontiff when Leo X, pays the long promised visit to his birthplace. Rome, Naples and Paris, — and — the Dukedom of Normours is the sign of moral French suzerainty, have superior attractions over Florence, where the independent spirit of old is not quenched. Although of old willing to take Il "Magnifico Lorenzo's" coinage at his face-value, the citizens are ill disposed to accept its present small change; the young generation, *la monnaie de Monsieur le Prince*, is not good exchange value for those long-headed political bankers, who yet helped to cast the die.

Historians have emphasized the executive strength of the Florence Signoria in home politics, — though perforce acquiescing in the vicarious direction now of their foreign affairs from Rome, and consequent weakness abroad. Their independent spirit is manifest at every

turn during the three and a half years, September-March 1512-16, of Giuliano de' Medici's King Log reign. Lanfredini is the chosen spokesman for Florentine liberties, his monition is early in the first hour of triumph, but his advocacy of suasion rather than force, and choice as a member of the complimentary mission to the newly elected Pontiff place him together with a preponderantly numerous *family* group of Salviati and Ridolfi and other Medici *consorti*, in the inner council. His known character, taken together with the admitted easy-going disposition of the Medici brothers over whom the *bold spirit* exercises an obvious fascination, gives us the clue to his "foot-note," on the Lanfredini house walls. The device, — tells its own story: it is the family crest, the leopard wears a collar, he is tamed, he will be wreathed in bay and olive foliage, to signify peace with honour and an apposite motto completes a tale of deep suggestive import.

When Vasari, describes the festive transformation of Florence for the Pontiff's visit in the autumn of 1515, he recalls "that many knights were made by that Pope and by other princes." He dates, praising it warmly, Andrea di Cosimo's *decoration*. In view of Lanfredini's known attitude towards "Duke" Lorenzo it seems hazardous, to assign a date later than 1516 to this vignette. At this hour, despite his more than three score years, Lanfredini would feel young in spirit: a little child shall lead the Lion, and his own leopard wears his Medici courtiers badge lightly. <sup>(1)</sup>

Giuliano de' Medici's death on March 16th 1516 strikes the key-note of the oligarchy's swan song. What might have proved useful spade-work for the salvation of a semblance of autonomy, thanks to Giuliano's sense of balance between past and future Medici values, is arrested by the Pope who regards the Florentine state as a Medici preserve; property to be nursed for Piero the Unfortunate's

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(1) Isaiah, Xi. v. 6. "The wolf also shall dwell with the lamb and the leopard shall lie down with the kid; and the calf and young lion and the fatling together; and a little child shall lead them."

only son, his nephew Lorenzo, the last legitimate male scion of his house. Leo is no longer restrained by a dead brother's gratitude for Urbino hospitality extended in the hour of distress. If Giuliano refused a dukedom wrested from the rightful sovereign, Francesco della Rovere, Lorenzo shall be Duke of Urbino, come what may. The Pontiff would wish Florence to accept the new title for the state as well, but the Signoria can find no precedent, and refuse to recognize rank other than that given by the command of their forces; Lorenzo can have this for what it is worth to him

The Gonfaloniership restored under the new statute with the late Giuliano de Medici upon the century old brief term of office has fallen to Lanfredino. Lanfredini for the two months March-April term of 1517/8. It is a period of strife for Florence, Duke Lorenzo striving to assert his new-found dignity against Lanfredini and his supporters independence, whilst Cardinal Giulio de' Medici, one of the family albeit of bastard stock, looks upon himself as the sole vicar in Florence of Medici omnipotence in Rome and antagonizes his young kinsman. The hour is critical for Lanfredini the clan suspicious always of anything that might seem to hem in their prerogative; though they are willing enough to fall in with the Papal foreign policy which has not yet borne its full crop of tares and thistles. Nor does it in Lanfredino's lifetune.

That the Signoria resent their own impotence, thrust in their teeth for them by a young man's arrogance, is clearly shewn in the scene of singular dramatic power which reveals Lanfredini now to us, as the champion fighting for the lost cause of republican equality. As usual, it is the imperceptible flaw in the steel that breaks the bar, the tiny last drop that makes the cup overflow. Lorenzo is bringing home Madeleine de la Tour d'Auvergne, the bride of royal lineage whom his uncle the Pope and his patron the French King have chosen for him, the better to harness the Medici to the war-chariot of France. He has inherited his mother, Alfonsina Orsini's pride, and his father's gift for making enemies of his staunchest followers. The Ambassadors and Gonfaloniers all, Piero Alamanni, Lorenzo Morelli, Pandolfo Cor-

binelli, Piero Ridolfi, Jacopo Salviati and Lanfredino Lanfredini are of the *inner council*, who have hitherto so historians recall "influenced the Duke mightily, and he takes their advice willingly." But Lorenzo now notifies "the citizens that were wont to gather at his house for the despatch of public business that it behoves them, — in view of his *royal* marriage, — to send an embassy to meet him at the latter stage of his progress to Florence." The unprecedented demand, unexpected too, strikes at these men's most cherished ideals, and if accepted would, they think, bring the republic of their dreams to naught. (1)

If Filippo Nerli is a personal friend of Lanfredini's his sympathies with the rising sun are not doubtful, but the dramatic episode only gains in force by his telling. It had been the wont of the *inner council*, he recalls to assemble almost daily at the Medici palace. The Duke's behest is communicated, and there is no time to lose, for the cortège is at their gates. The suggestion to despatch an Embassy of welcome meets with general disapproval, "though most said nothing or, if speaking their minds, the discourse was not relevant to the business in hand; and as for the others their speech, albeit seemingly assenting, yet in nowise uttered their inward thoughts. And he continues, when it came to Lanfredini's turn to say his say, — he being reputed of ripe judgment and sound experience; and several had waited for his cue, — he argued forthright that he could perceive no good cause for the despatch of ambassadors to His Excellency, since like the rest of them he was but a plain citizen." The impression in their fellow-

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(1) Masi, loc. cit. The bride's parentage with the royal house clearly flatters the Florentine popular amour-propre. He recalls how "on September 7th 1518, on a Tuesday, the bride of the Duke of Urbino, Lorenzo de' Medici by name and a citizen of Florence, entered the city with mighty honour and state. He is the son of Pope Leo's own brother and the bride's name is Madama Maddalena. The maid is French and was the daughter of the Duke of La Tour d'Auvergne and Boulogne.... which he has long been dead; he was named Giovanni and her mother was Madama Giovanna of Bourbon and she was of noble lineage as well." The grocer Landucci's conclusion, "and she was French," to his brief notice of the bride's state entry: "on the 7th day of September the Duchess came to Florence to be married to Duke Lorenzo de' Medici, and a mighty fine show (it was), and many festivities were held," is as much an admission of the popular sense the honour brought to their birth-place by the Medici alliance with the house of Francis I.

oligarchs mind that the Medici are *not* ordinary citizens, had long been voiced by Machiavelli, who foressaw the danger to the republican order behind a Medici restoration; *he* nevertheless sets his political compass by the rising star and so does Nerli who, if he admires Lanfredini's spirit naming both him and Jacopo Salviati as opposition pillars, admits apologetically " that many had gauged the Duke's secret mind long ago, and his true wish and intent by all means in his power to reduce the state to a principality : and, several had left the Duke's party in consequence, withdrawing from the conduct of affairs. " (1)

Lanfredini indeed seeks to qualify his blunt assertion, with the remark that " the Duke had he aught to require of them might know that with a shew of good will and a gentle address he might dispose of their persons and all that pertaineth to the state as though t'were his own. " But he stands his ground nevertheless. No ambassadors ride out from the Porta San Gallo with the city's welcome to Montughi where bride and bridegroom have alighted on September 5th. Lanfredini's words rankle on repetition, the more so that Lorenzo's unclé Jacopo Salviati has already withdrawn himself to Rome in deep resentment. The pope's brother-in-law will only return to Florence when Leo X. has died, and his own son-in-law Giovanni, he " of the Black Bands, " seems on the point to bring about one of Time's revenges.

Lorenzo will now seize the first opportunity to humble the Signoria in the person of their foremost character. All this nevertheless is hidden from the public gaze, and the copper smith diarist paints a brilliantly coloured picture : the ducal progress. " The City Wards form companies of masquers among the artizans who act their shows, " much we may think as Peter Quince and his cast of weaver, tinker, joiner, tailor and bellows-mender, performed " our interlude before the Duke and Duchess on his wedding day at night. " (2) The artizan class are kept in good

(1) Filippo Nerli, " *Commentarii... Storia di Firenze 1215-1537.* " Lib. VI, Ann. 1513-1518.

(2) Cfr. Masi, *loc. cit.* " Her entry was a brave show, yielding naught in state to that of Duke Giuliano de' Medici's bride. On the day after the marriage the festivities commenced and the banqueting lasted full three days. And thereto were bidden, and they came, all the wor-



humour easily as of yore with *Cibo e Palle*. The stage is in the street under the Medici palace windows, and here, they parade afterwards, " each company receiving a banner richly gilded and painted with their device for their pains, — and for the winners at the games there was a fatted calf and two sheep apiece, and the others also had two sheep each for a consolation; rejoicing at the Duke's clemency was general, in sooth for his largesse was deemed generous. "

The palace doors are thrown open to the gentry also, but there the atmosphere breathes constraint. When the Inner Council with Lanfredini at their head come to pay their respects, Lorenzo receives them coldly, and turning upon the statesman whose years at least should have been spared public rebuke, bids him " henceforward attend to his own traffics and leave the Duke's business alone. " Indeed Lanfredini

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shipful gentry of Florence, and the Signori and their wives were sumptuously robed in gowns of cloth of gold. Never before had so fine a bridal been seen among us. The Medici palace was hung throughout with arras upon the walls, outside even, along the entire length of the Via Larga frontage, a thing that had never been done heretofore. A broad dais was likewise erected there, so that you walked as it were upon a stage, and overhead a canopy was stretched across the street. The canopy there was made of the tapestry used for the festivities of Piazza S. Giovanni on his day. The banquet was served in the garden which for the purpose was all undone and paved all over and 't is believed 't will so remain. " Masi's forecast proved true. The Medici garden or second court with the loggia opening on to it, did so remain " paved all over, " until a very few years ago, when the repairs to gas and water mains underground recalled the existence of the formal garden design. This has now been restored with the clipped box hedges and statuary reproducing the aspect of those Medicean days.

" The banquet, Masi continues, was laid there at noon and at suppertime also, because there was no saloon in the place large enough to contain the company that had been bidden and came. And the walls were hung within and without in Via Larga with arras wrought in silk of fanciful design, and pictures of animals that, had it all been painted, could not have been surpassed for beauty. And all these arras hangings were new and, it seems, had not ever been used before. " Their number, he tells us, " at the least exceeded three hundred pieces 't is told. " They are, 't is said, he continues a present given him (Lorenzo) by the Pope and the meanest among them was said to have cost more than fifty gold ducats, " It is of course impossible to identify any of these panels in the very extensive collection of tapestry preserved in Florence of which only a very little is displayed in the Museo degli Arazzi; and none of these exhibits date back to Leo X's day. It would be however an interesting subject for research to ascertain whether any can be traced in the tapestry executed after Raphael's cartoons which, passing into the Gonzaga family's possession with the dowry of Eleonora de' Medici, daughter of Francesco I, — married to Marquis Vincenzo I Gonzaga, (1587-1612); and after the historic vicissitudes of the Gonzaga and Este families entering the Hapsburg collection at Schönbrunn, was recovered by Italy at the victorious conclusion of the European war 1914-1918.

cannot be deprived of the dignity, nor can his name be removed from the Two Hundred whom the statute of 1512 has made life members. But summary dismissal from the inner council, and the nomination in his place of Francesco Vettori " who had come in the Duke's train from Paris, " is clearly more than he can bear. Scipione Ammirato writing his history a century's distance of time tells us that " the affair caused Lanfredini so much vexation that he retired into his home and sickened grievously. " (1) Filippo Nerli for whom now a Medici can not do wrong, feigns ignorance of the motive of Lanfredini's withdrawal from public life, though reporting the ducal reproof. He limits himself to the statement " thereafter he stayed at home, no one knew why. "

A dynastic friendship may gild as it may cloud a life ; and if it dies hard, it more often kills. Such is Lanfredino Lanfredini's destiny. Wounded pride begets reserve, loyalty to family memories, to the friendship that protested that Medici will ever bear Lanfredini love and service enjoin silence : " no one knew why ".... But the blow has struck without recall. According to the family biographer, who merely records Lanfredini's death at the close of the year 1518 without giving the month, we may conclude since by the Florentine time-reckoning the year begins March 25th *ab Incarnatione*, that he does not survive the affront many weeks. Destiny gives him that levelled it as short a shrift.

Well-nigh the last survivor of the makers of the great Laurentian era, Lanfredini outlives all its achievement. In assisting the Medici restoration he has had to compromise with the principles which had made the Florentine state the pivotal force it was in strong hands. He will be spared the sight of the elder line's extinction, foreshadowed by the premature disappearance of Giuliano de' Medici, whose whole life spells the melancholy of the things that might have been. Does he retire within the house-walls whence he had proclaimed that " the little child shall lead Leo, " or do his eyes close upon Pollaiuolo's Vision of Spring in the Loggia of the villa ? We do not know ; nor

(1) Cfr. Scipione Ammirato. " Istorie Fiorentine. " Lib. XXIX, Ann. 1517-1518.

yet where Lanfredino Lanfredini sleeps. " They that have lived faithfully a hidden life rest in unvisited tombs, " says the family biographer.

The next few months witness the passing of Lorenzo of Urbino and his bride within a few weeks of each other in the spring months of 1519. Their baby-girl is Catherine, one day the wife and mother of French Kings. Two years more, December 1521, and the Pontiff dies, who having won, would enjoy the Papacy and reign over Florence as well, the last of Cosimo's issue. The new era opens, juniors and bastards contend for the Medici cap of maintenance and Lanfredini sons and nephews will write their names upon fire-charred pages. But the call of the House is peremptory, if the portals open to other incomers, they also, Lanfredini enter there.

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## CHAPTER XII.

### The Lanfredini twilight, and nightfall in the old home

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A long line of forebears has written, and three generations of the Lanfredini so far have illustrated the family annals with those very few vignettes upon their house walls to which, laying a heavy hand upon their name, Time has nevertheless shewn some small mercies. The story of several hundred years activities framed by these stones has been pieced together round but a few names only, to fill in the outlines of such few events in the general history of Florence as those in which a Lanfredini part and parcel can be traced. It is but scanty on the whole, and the key-note of the Lanfredini character appears to be struck in the terms of that hard saying: "make to yourselves friends of the mammon of unrighteousness that.... they may receive you into lasting habitations;" with the result that, with the single exception of Messer Giovanni di Gherardo Lanfredini, a representative character of the XIVth century's independent spirit, the successive house builders name, albeit honourably enough, shines with the borrowed light of the Medici renown, which has rescued more than one craftsman from history's undeserved shades.

Partly true with the three generations who have just left the stage: Orsino, with Jacopo and Giovanni his sons, and the grandson Lanfredino Lanfredini who, apart from their service in the cause of art, draw

most of their vitality for us today from association with the Medici name, the saying holds true altogether for their descendants. Whilst the family annalist has been able to corroborate earlier Lanfredini achievement with the marks of outside recognition of their worth, he now devotes many more pages to mere courtiers distinctions. The Senators and churchmen, the courtiers and gentlemen at large who people the Medici Granducal palace stage have left but little writing upon their own house walls, and their borrowed effulgence merges them in a general type of decent folk, with social individualities scarce more than silhouetted on the political screen.

Such as it is nevertheless, that single footnote set here, before the twilight hour of Florentine civic liberties gives place to the night of absolutism, is not without symbolical significance. The author, Bartolommeo Lanfredini, (1495-1544), represents the age of transition type, born in the hour of stress for his family beliefs, when all that the Medici name had stood for through three quarters of a century's successful statecraft against the heaviest odds, had crumbled in a day. They subjected the city's independence to alien aims. Childhood's years witness even the further mischance, in the failure to preserve that shadow of statehood which an oligarchy, voided of predominant partnership in its midst, had sought to restore. Bartolommeo's adolescence then, - those most impressionable years, brings the proof that the times are not ripe for change, which only the total extinction of a name that carries its magic, would warrant. The actors in the Medici drama at whose door original guilt might lie: a king dreaming of lands to conquer, an unfriendly Pontiff, his ambitious Borgia Prince, Piero de Medici the Unfortunate, are dead.

There are once more two brothers, Giuliano the ruler of Florence and Giovanni the Medici Pontiff, towards whom all eyes turn. Lanfredino Lanfredini is a firm believer in the principle of authority, for him vested in the Pontiff's person. He will carry his son to Rome on the memorable Embassy of obedience, he blazons the fact upon his house walls. The magnetism of the brothers, that of Leo X. especially is uncontested; working upon the young man's eighteen years

it makes Bartolommeo the staunch Medici henchman whom Duke Lorenzo's affront to his father will not detach. The secret is well kept, and revealed only by Giovambattista Busoni to Benedetto Varchi when Bartolommeo is dead, and the historian gathers material for his narrative of those days. It was guessed by the young man. Lanfredino had thwarted the Duke Lorenzo less upon grounds of republican equality than to gratify the Pontiff's reluctance to relinquish even an iota of the prestige, which desire to assume the Dukedom of Florence might have imperilled.

The magic of the name therefore with which his father's home decoration is bound up, representing Florentine greatness in the past and her present ideals, leads Bartolommeo to express his family pride through the symbols of gentility: the family arms, the device of the Parte Guelfa, and the scarlet lily of Florence wreathed with laurel which are borne before the Knights of the Golden Spur, emblazoned upon their banners. He indeed lives in other days, honours come to him from the Prince, not from the City, but it seems fitting that since his own activities bridge so to say past and present Florence, he should close this chapter of writing upon the wall with an essentially time-honoured significant tailpiece. (1).

Time out of mind in Florentine history party politics have divided families. Allegiance to one or the other faction proves more a personal than a collective rule of conduct. We find namely fathers and sons,

(1) Vasari, "Life of Pontormo." Speaking of a painting of S. James then in the church of S. Michele Visdomini Vasari adds: "I believed that it was after that commission and not before, that the same (Pontormo) had painted for Bartolommeo Lanfredini (in his house) between Ponte Santa Trinità and Ponte alla Carraia, in a passage (*andito*) above a door, two beautiful and most graceful "*putti*" in fresco who support an escutcheon of arms. But since Bronzino, who it may be believed knows the truth in these matters, affirms that they were among the first paintings Jacopo executed, it may be deemed that such *is* the case, and praise be due to Pontormo all the more, since they are incomparable, and are among his first works."

Vasari is in error only in a point of detail. The Lanfredini arms wreathed with laurel and supported by genii are not painted *over* a doorway, but upon the forecourt east wall; whilst the other two shields depict the arms of Florence and those of the *Parte Guelfa*, one fourth shield is empty. Restored without mercy, these armorial bearings only stand for family footnotes, proof that patronage of artists was the Lanfredini family tradition, which successive generations carry onwards, each according to its lights.

brothers and cousins fighting in opposite camps : Ghibellines against Black or White Guelphs and conversely; and when those surnames no longer distinguish politics, a name becomes the battle cry : Albizzi against Pitti, Soderini versus Acciaiuoli, etc.; and Strozzi, Pazzi and Alberti, number as many of their clansmen with as against the Medici, who remain a house undivided against itself well-nigh until the end, whence their endurance. Although hitherto, so far as appears from record, free from this germ of decay, such a rift now appears in the Lanfredini ranks, when the form which the Medici ascendancy takes once again jeopardizes the existence of the Florentine state; not alone in the sense of a separate existence which under conditions of the infinitesimal parcelling of Italian states then prevalent was not thinkable, but in the loss of faith in principles, then in the meltingpot of medieval and modern ideas of statehood.

That Bartolommeo and Giovanni, Lanfredino di Jacopo's two sons, are virtual adversaries is no matter for surprise, any more than that their first cousin Bernardo di Giovanni, the late Medici family ambassador's son, should prove an out and out partizan of the Palleschi. Like him Bartolommeo is their henchman, whilst his younger brother Giovanni, born in 1503 and called after his uncle, has cast in his lot with the Ottimati. Giovanni is moved perhaps by a lad's outraged filial piety, he is but fifteen at the time of his father's disgrace, it may be, or more likely by the revival of the Florentine magnates sense of their individual worth expressed in the name " Ottimati, " which the opposition to Rome rule adopt. (1)

The years of vicarious Medici and Pontifical sway over Florence opening with Giuliano's death in 1516, had been marked by a tightening of the curb after that of Lorenzo in 1519, and still more after

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(1) Lettere di G. B. Busini a Benedetto Varchi.... per cura di G. Milanese. F. Le Monnier. Firenze, 1861. " Which were the good citizens, which the middling ones for of the bad it behoves me not to speak.... the best those who loved liberty openly for her sake alone, and for naught else... were so many that I do not recall them all, they were the pride and flower of the free city, loving her for the common weal; among these was Michelangelo.... a few loved liberty out of revenge for insult, and some hated the tyrant because he deserved loathing, and loved liberty yet with an eye to gain, and through common report of their character.... "

that of the Pontiff in 1521. As Archbishop of Florence, Cardinal Giulio now centres authority in his own hands, reducing that of the Signoria to a mere cypher at home; whilst elected to the Pontificate himself two years later, he forces his own characteristics: facing both ways alternately between France and Spain according as the fortunes of war favour Francis I, or Charles V, upon a reluctant but helpless community. The Ottimati offer a gallant front of resistance when, governing Florence literally as a family fief, Clement VII. appoints a Papal Legate, Cardinal Silvio Passerini, to watch over the eventual Medici prospects. The Pontiffs candidates are both baseborn. Ippolito is indeed the son of the popular Giuliano and might be acceptable, he is aged fifteen and takes the title of Magnifico, but Alessandro's supposed descent is a thorn in the flesh of the junior Medici line, legitimately descended from their first founder Giovanni di Bicci; whilst Lorenzo de Medici's issue is represented now only by the sons in laws descendants, and a great grand-daughter for whom indeed the Pope dreams; but which obviously are not the possession of the Florentine state. They, if favouring family claims, insist upon legitimacy; calling themselves the best: Ottimati.

This opposition is still represented by Medici men, one indeed something of a broken reed Pier-Francesco di Lorenzo; but the other is the gallant young soldier Giovanni delle Bande Nere, and both have sons. Besides them there are their wives: the Soderini and Salviati families who, with the Strozzi and Ridolfi of another Medici generation's alliances, gather to themselves all the animosities of past years, the rancour of past slights; whilst the errors of Leo X, and his methods of government: despoiling Francesco della Rovere, have on his reinstatement, only brought another able soldier into the field against the Pontifical policy. Clement VII, uses the Republic as a pawn with Francis I., to carry the entire weight of his power over to the Emperor's side after the crushing defeat of the French King at Pavia, 1525.

The Legate and the Gonfalonier of Florence are at daggers drawn now, and the rope is drawn tighter, as both Pier Francesco di Medici



and Giovanni delle Bande Nere die within the twelvemonth; leaving widows to fight their young sons battles, and also to resist encroachments upon their heritage, threatened despite the Pontiffs protestations of affection for his kinswomen by the policy which favours the "beloved mules": Ippolito and Alessandro who are now growing up to manhood's ambitions. (1)

Bartolomeo Lanfredini makes his first independent appearance upon the political stage now. He sides we know with the out and out Mediceans the Palleschi, taking an active part in his party's aims and elected in 1525 to the Priorate; he seeks to thwart the Gonfalonier, Niccolò Capponi, in whose independence the Ottimati had placed their hopes. The French defeat at Pavia, despite the Pope's effort to steer clear of its reaction, had resulted in the surrender of Rome and a humiliating settlement with Imperial demands, and the Signoria of Florence felt heartened by the new hope to shake off the Legate's rule, trusting to time and good fortune to free them from the prospect of one or the other Medici bastards rulership. The opportunity seemed at hand when Cardinal Passerini's appearance with his charges at the Duke of Urbino's headquarters, the latter nominally the defender of Florence against the Imperial forces, led the Florentines to believe that these Medici had taken the prudent course, withdrawing their unwelcome presence. Passerini's return however nips revolt in the bud though the Ottimati only bide their time, their representative man Fi-

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(1) P. Gauthiez, "Lorenzaccio (Lorenzino de' Medici) 1514 e 1548." Albert Fontemoing. Ed. Paris, 1904. There are five Medici heirs to the badly encumbered property which since the resettlement of 1512 had suffered the inroads of the "left-hand" claims. Alessandro, whose paternity lies between Lorenzo Duke of Urbino, and Clement VII., is fifteen, born in 1511, Ippolito, the natural son of Giuliano, is fourteen years old. The three legitimate Medici boys, Lorenzino and Giuliano sons of Pier-Francesco de' Medici and Maria Soderini, are twelve and six respectively, and Cosimo, the only child of Giovanni delle Bande Nere and Maria Salviati, is aged only seven years. The papal preference goes out to the elder lads of course, though he affects a paternal interest in the other orphans as well. The author quotes (pp. 40-41) the letter of Clement VII. to Lorenzino dated August 26, 1526, assuring him and his brother and cousin of his benevolence, subject to strict submission to the Legate Passerini's injunctions. The widowed sisters-in-law feel so little secure in their home either at Fiesole or Cafaggiuolo, that they hurry their children to Venice. The historian of "Lorenzaccio" gives a graphic account of the voluntary exiles sojourn there.

lippo Strozzi, a true Medici through his wife, unable to brook the insult of Alessandro's candidature, bringing the whole weight of his name, wealth, and character to bear in Niccolò Capponi's support.

Clarice Medici Strozzi's dramatic gesture however can not stay events, and the flight of the Legate with his charges in 1527 marks the opening stage of the tragedy of Florentine liberties. Court historian after many years, and looking back upon scenes of which he was an eye-witness, Benedetto Varchi, reviewing those times from the safe seclusion of the country home lent him for life by Duke Cosimo I., traces a picture of the conflict of minds where the Lanfredini brothers take a divergent attitude; Palleschi and Ottimati both however antagonizing the rabid republican idealists, the "Arrabiati" whom they as oligarchs look upon merely as the common herd. Varchi's sympathies are with his own order. He records the part played by Bartolommeo Lanfredini, holding the office of treasurer for Clement VII, and his share in bringing about the selection of Alessandro de' Medici for the Dukedom, without in the least conveying any adverse character impression. To judge him only by the sternness he shews in the repression of anti-Medicean feeling at Pistoia when Bartolommeo Lanfredini is Commissioner there quite in after years for Duke Cosimo, would be unfair; and yet we should know nothing more *human* about him than this severity, were it not for a sideflash, in Busini's bit of gossip, which conveys a personal note not to be overlooked. Monna Alessandra de' Mozzi Sacchetti a lady of many attractions and numerous admirers, accused of having attempted to poison Duke Alessandro, is arrested "and taken gagged to the Stalle one evening, where many stripes were dealt out to her that she should confess to that and to the abettor, yet replied she never aught else but that it was a philter to enamour him, and she had thus used Bartolommeo Lanfredini, who in consequence had loved her strangely." The staid Senator and Commissioner was a gay Lothario once.

The younger brother on the other hand, bracketed with the four "superior young men" who risk their liberty and haply also life, appending their names to the petition addressed in 1527 to the Pontiff, is

thereby lifted from the nameless company. To appeal to the Pontiff's family's pride in the dignity of their birthplace to relieve the city of the Legate's presence, that office being a curtailment of their time-honoured liberties, to take occasion also to protest against his arbitrary dismissal of the Gonfalonier Niccolò Capponi, is indeed the act of more than ordinary courage. Having named these four *superior youths*, Varchi adds two others to their company: Francesco di Pier-Antonio Bandini, and Giovanni di Lanfredino Lanfredini; "the first being very learned but not good for much, and the other on the contrary very good but not very clever." Varchi's silhouette of Giovanni for it is indeed no more than a shadow picture, is yet suggestive. Giovanni is warm-hearted, swayed by generous impulse, singleminded if in some measure simple-minded among the Ottimati; but he is nearer the Palleschi as his later action will shew. It is little enough we know of him, still sufficient to class Giovanni with the personalities, not the mere names in the family pedigree.

The threads of the Lanfredini's lives are closely interwoven, if scarcely very distinctive, with the destinies of Florence. The Pontiff's reply had come. It was menacing and coercive, by force of alien arms if need be, and Giovanni has taken up his place with the city's defenders among whom Michelangelo Buonarroti towers. Historians and picture-chroniclers have made the two-year-long siege of Florence a reality. Imperial and Papal forces advance from the south and west, deploying along a wide semi-circle from San Miniato spur and Arcetri, past Marignolle and Bellosguardo to the river, crossing to the northwest nearly to Fiesole. The Lanfredini have seen their country home become the Imperial headquarters; Pier Maria de Rossi occupying the heights of Volsanminiato. The countryside is laid waste, Vasari and after him Benedetto Varchi enumerate sadly the buildings deliberately destroyed, to create a no mans land outside the city walls. Nothing essential has been moved from the lines laid by the invaders. Indeed the battle's relics, medals or coins which are still turned up by the plough after close upon four hundred years, attest the extension of that struggle which yet stirs Florentines as a living episode.

The city we are told put up a gallant defence. After two years of strife which has bled the beleaguered garrison white. Giovanni Lanfredini is to be found with the "four hundred of the first families, the young men and some of mature years, and others old men, who deem it meet and better far not to cast away life and property all together with independence and freedom, and spiritual communion as well, but rather judge it fitting to yield." Varchi here seems inclined to scorn, recording that the determination caused no little disappointment among the stalwarts. Yet if among the so-called weaker vessels, Giovanni Lanfredini is in good company with most of the Oltr'Arno gentry and several among the others also, the Pazzi, Niccolini, etc. "In those days he tells us, men's minds were in a turmoil, the trained bands had been dismissed, men and women of high and low degree were disheartened and filled with fear, none, citizen or soldier knew what to do or say, many ran they knew not whither. Some cursed the Pontiff's cruelty, others Malatesta's double-dealing, who sought to flee, who to hide, some barricaded themselves in the palace, others in the churches; there were those who cried "let us fight," and those that said "let us agree," and most in their utter confusion gave themselves up to hope only in God, awaiting not one but a thousand deaths hourly, for themselves their wives and children." Under such moral perplexities and physical stress, to which the world's history today lends such an appalling direct vision, the decisive step, could not remain long in abeyance.

"On the day thereafter continues Varchi, on August 9th 1530, in the Piazza of Santo Spirito there gathered perhaps four hundred young men of the first families in the city. And they met here in preference to other places, it being near Malatesta and his followers abode, from the need peradventure to lend him their aid speedily, and likewise to be supported by him, since men's minds were not firmly rooted yet, and one and all swayed this way and that, in mighty doubt of all things." The Lanfredini home is hard by, and since Giovanni Lanfredinis mentioned with Capponi, Pazzi, Nerli, Ginori, Vettori among the leaders, all house neighbours, the suggestion that his brother's

indirect suasion influences older men like Giuliano and Lodovico Capponi, Lionardo Ridolfi, Lorenzo Segni and Mainardo Cavalcanti, is not without probability. Submission is imperative, " for in truth concludes Varchi, the city more by the fault of others than her own had been reduced to such dire straits and privations, and lay under such peril that it behoved her perforce to act thus, or be sacked and laid waste utterly. "

The capitulation which Giovanni Lanfredini and his comrades determine on, prevailing with their captain Malatesta-Baglioni, " to save their bodies as well as their souls, " as Varchi somewhat contemptuously recalls, is accepted also by the Balia or Twelve of Government ; whilst the 136 notables, include also Bartolommeo Lanfredini, who with the Capponi, Nerli etc. etc., represents the Santo Spirito ward, in the unconditional submission of Florence to the Pontiff. <sup>(1)</sup>

Giovanni Lanfredini is here lost to view, it may well be that like Michelangelo he welcomes a last sleep.... " welcome sleep of stone whilst crime and shame continue in the land. " <sup>(2)</sup> Those that the gods love die young.

Opponents to a name rather than to a principle in politics, the two brothers fortunately do not meet as enemies on the field of battle. Clement VII. has appointed Bartolommeo Lanfredini his Treasurer. The office takes him out of Florence, he follows the Papal train, and

(1) Cfr. Benedetto Varchi, *Storia Fiorentina*. Lib. III. Ann. 1527, and *Ibid.* Lib. XI, Ann. 1530.

(2) The popular feeling of Florence was forcibly expressed by Michelangelo in the well-known lines he puts in the mouth of his recumbent figure of Night, at the foot of Giuliano de' Medici's monument in San Lorenzo, in reply to Giovan Battista Strozzi's quatrain :

La Notte che tu vedi in sì dolci atti  
Dormire, fu da un angelo scolpita  
In questo sasso; e perchè dorme ha vita.  
Destala, se nol credi, e parleratti.

To which Michelangelo replies :

Grato m'è 'l sonno, e pur l'esser di sasso  
Mentre che il danno e la vergogna dura  
Non veder, non sentir m'è gran ventura  
Però non mi destar, deh! parla basso.

he goes in 1529-30 to Pistoia as Papal Commissioner, to weld the chain round the city. Those former daughter-states Pistoia and Prato have not forgotten the cruel fate of the latter, sacked by Spanish soldiery in Medici service seventeen years before. It is not easy to induce these citizens to detach their fortunes from the rebellious Florentines, that Bartolommeo Lanfredini has been chosen bespeaks statesman's gifts.

A favourite we know with Clement VII. Bartolommeo will be appointed Comptroller of the Household to Alessandro de' Medici, the Duke whom the Pope and the Emperor between them foist in 1532 upon the defenceless state. The pill will be gilded for Florence with alliance to the Imperial house, and Lanfredini accompanies Alessandro to Naples later, there for the solemnization of his marriage to the Emperor's natural daughter Margaret of Austria. The Duke's murder in 1537 by Lorenzino de' Medici (Lorenzaccio) brings about a change of masters for Florence, but no change of allegiance for Bartolommeo Lanfredini. He will not join the opposition to Duke Cosimo, and his first appointment, Commissioner once more to Pistoia in 1538 to quell the dissensions between the Panciatichi and Cancellieri families, — a century-long feud which partizanship of the former with the "outlaws" has revived; and a like mission to Pisa reluctant as ever to submit to a change of rulers, are the milestones of a successful public life. Appointed a member of the first Senate convened by Cosimo I. Bartolommeo Lanfredini ends his days cumulating the duties of Ducal Major-domo with the Senator's dignity in 1544.

The family chronicler records Lanfredini's marriage to madonna Bartolommea Corbinelli, which is celebrated with some state. The Corbinelli figure among history's lesser lights, but she is no more than a name for us. And of the several sons, born to them, one only Lanfredino, appointed Senator by Cosimo I. in 1570, leaves even a fingerprint; the nomination being made to celebrate his own accession to the Grand ducal dignity, an event which, solemnized in Rome where the Duke is crowned by Pius V., was marked so the diarist Agostino Lapini recalls, by many honours to the gentry in Florence. Indeed

the Senatorship, which at first was an office of some responsibility, is now become a mere ornament. The Grand-dukes make Louis XIV's assertion "L'Etat c'est moi" good, long before that Monarch. That rank stands today as a matter of course for a solatium to such as might yet remember the oligarchy's palmy days of independence; and successive Lanfredini now wear the Senators robe, in the manner told by Scipione Ammirato of Jacopo Lanfredinis Gonfaloniership: "without any notable happenings therewith".

A gap in the sequence of family art-record opens too with Vasari's disappearance. Much personal anecdote has faded, when close upon a century later Baldinucci takes up the thread of house-builders prowess. The granducal art-historian dismisses a great deal of Poccetti's output with the sweeping remark, "he painted many houses, that to tell them all were tedious." We may regret this laconism, yet conjecture will not be strained if, since the traditional love for the house beautiful was in good hands with Bartolommeo Lanfredini, we looked for the same taste among his immediate descendants. A suggestion that way, little else, remains in the decorated barrel-vaulted entrance passage from the street. Though so much over-painted as to be voided of art, Poccetti's manner may be traced in this. The distribution of allegorical figures, of landscapes in miniature, and arabesques in oval and oblong frames connected with fanciful grotesque decoration resembles so much of his work, as to leave little real doubt of the Poccettian inspiration, if not of the master's designing. It would be hazardous in their present state to assign the commission of these paintings to any one generation of Lanfredini, but since Poccetti was active during forty odd years, and his followers during close upon a century, a family art-patron in those twilight days should not be hard to seek.

But social life thrusts political distinction away for the Lanfredini, who are always Senators in name, sometimes churchmen, once only soldiers; and they shine in the Medici court as chamberlains and pages of honour. Under Ferdinand I., a knight of Malta is named Orsino Lanfredini, and he serves with credit in the naval campaigns which bring the Tuscan galleys renown, and their captures revenue to the

ducal coffers. Another Bartolommeo is the Bishop of Fiesole in 1605; his single appearance in history occurs at the state entry of the Archduchess Maria Maddalena of Austria in to Florence for her marriage in October 1607 to Prince Cosimo, when the prelates and clergy head a deputation in Piazza S. Marco, and he attends the marriage celebrated by the Papal Legate, as Bishop Suffragan. Girolamo Lanfredini brother to the Bishop carries on the line by his marriage in 1600 to Isabella Bartoli, and we know no more about either than that their two sons are called Girolamo and Lorenzo. They will play their respective little parts by and by, and meanwhile another Lanfredini, a kinsman Signor Jacopo, occupies the old home. His name flits past us in the pages of the court diarist in the reigns of Cosimo II. and Ferdinand II. Cesare Tinghi notes on more than one occasion that the Archduchess, her ladies and guests witness the water-sports on the Arno on July 25th, the traditional Weavers and Dyers Day, the palio races and masquerades on S. Trinita bridge from Sig. Jacopo Lanfredini's windows. The scene on a memorable occasion, 1619, has been pictured for us by Jacques Callot, thus raising the courtly host from the Limbo of anonymity.

Moved thereto no doubt by family interest, his uncle being Bishop of Fiesole, Girolamo Lanfredini takes Orders. He becomes a Canon of the Duomo of Florence, and moving out of the family town house he takes up his residence at the Arcetri villa.

The steep causeway leading past the gate to Arcetri, Costa San Giorgio associated with the name of Galileo, whose house is marked by a contemporary inscription, is also familiar ground for Girolamo Lanfredini. Like himself a Canon, and having the credit of his cloth at heart, his biographer recalls apologetically the years of Girolamo's ill-spent youth. "In those days of licence," he tells us "the young Canon had led a life hardly consonant with the precepts of decency (*onestà*), and the dictates of ecclesiastical discipline.... and he had endangered his health thereby considerably". But Lanfredini will soon number with those whom the pious discourse of an inmate of the same convent of Arcetri where Galileo's daughter Polissena is a nun, the sainted reli-



gious Maria Angela Gini, draws to the contemplation of otherworldliness.... Moreni records that Girolamo's visits to the convent were frequent, his example being followed by others, notably by his friend Valerio Chimentelli who professes Latin and Greek at the Pisa University, and spends his long vacation at the Lanfredini villa. Girolamo Lanfredini is also the only writer of books in the family; record existing of a life of the Arcetri religious from his pen. (1)

The villa has become the churchman brother's residence. This suggests to me the reason for the purchase of another country home, for the layman, Lorenzo. It is the ducal villa near Castello which, had been lent by Cosimo II. to that characteristic Elizabethan Gentleman-Errant, Robert Dudley, and reverting at his death to the Ducal estate office, is sold by Ferdinand II.'s order in 1650. The Jesuit community to whom Bernardo di Piero Cervini—the late owner had devised the property by will in 1666, dispose of it to Girolamo's sister-in-law, Ottavia della Stufa Lanfredini. Her son called Lorenzo, after his father, sells the place again in 1697, doubtless because his ecclesiastic uncle having died, the family country home on Volsanminiato with its century-long associations has a prior claim upon his affections. (2)

This generation leaves no mark either in history, or upon their house walls. Married to Costanza Zati, daughter of a fellow courtier of the now declining Granducal house, Lorenzo has two sons and a daughter. The family is extinct with them now. The layman, Lanfredino, dies unmarried in 1703, the churchman, Cardinal Jacopo passes away in 1741. Nominated to the bishopric of Osimo in the Papal States, Jacopo Lanfredini severs his connection with Florence;

(1) D. Moreni, "Notizie Istoriche," loc. cit., describes Girolamo Lanfredini as a gentleman of substance "assai ragguardevole," and he attributes his conversion from "his disordered affections" to spiritual fervour due to the sainted nun Suor Maria Angela Gini's exhortations. The author records her death in 1664, and in a note, Canonico Girolamo Lanfredini's "Life of the Saint," preserved, he states, in MSS in the Magliabecchian Collection Cl. 38, Cod. 118. (National Library)

(2) Carocci, "I Dintorni di Firenze," 1906. Cfr. Vol. I, p. 280. Description of Villa de' Rinieri, o il Lepre de' Rinieri. To-day the property of Prince Corsini. The Villa was sold by Lorenzo Lanfredini in 1697 to Marchesa Lucrezia di Pier-Francesco Rinuccini, the wife of Marchese Filippo Corsini, in the possession of whose descendants it remains.

created a cardinal by the Florentine Pontiff Clement XII, he takes up his residence in Rome. There he dies and he will be buried, in the Church of the Trinità dei Monti, for the adornment of which he spends his substance, leaving the Congregation of Missionary Priests of Montecitorio his heirs. The community inherit the Cardinal's personalty and the Volsanminiato villa.

All the other branches of the family tree have withered. The Cardinal's sister Donna Ottavia Lanfredini Corboli inherits the town house, which after her childless death, and her husband's as well, knows the Lanfredini name no more.

The writer has looked in vain for Lanfredini vestiges among the memorial slabs and inscriptions collected after the fire of 1771 among the ruined family chapels, and set up in the Carmine cloister. Compiling his memoir in 1761 at the request of the Cardinal's legatees, G. B. Dei copies the epitaph of the monument erected to Bartolommeo di Lanfredino Lanfredini by his sons which, sets forth the honours accruing to this ancestor under the Ducal régime, adding that the change then already is lamentable. For the Lanfredini are no more, in life or in death, at the Carmine. The Cardinal has directed his ashes to remain in Rome, Donna Ottavia Lanfredini Corboli sleeps with her husband's family in the SS. Annunziata church. The family chapel in the Carmine has new patrons, who not only sweep away the wall-paintings *di maniera antica* recorded by Dei, but the monument itself has been robbed of most of its decorative sculpture, the memorial slab only being laid upon the pavement.... Fire however which a bare ten years later consumes all but the Brancacci chapel, devours even these vestiges, lending additional poignancy to the biographer's lament: *sic infoelix mortalium fert, ut nec sede sepulcri si stabilis, sed diversis occasionibus pereat, vel mutatur et misereatur.* (1)

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(1) Cfr. Richa, "Notizie Istoriche delle Chiese Fiorentine," 10 vols. Firenze, 1772. Reference is made to the Lanfredini chapel on page 43, Vol. 10. "I would proceed to treat of the other chapels which are yet to be examined in the arm of the Cross. They possess a notable depth and a construction differing from that of the sixteen chapels in the nave, namely: the chapels of the Manetti, Nerli, Torni, Lanfredini, Pugliesi, Ferrucci, Marmi, Colletti and Ricci. That of

Writing for his contemporaries, Vasari presumes in them knowledge of the art-patrons, like the Lanfredini and others, whose names are scattered up and down his pages, and they need for him no other portrayal. His reticence is our loss. Certain Lanfredini types and characters stand forth upon history's background, others are shadowy apparitions. One only, Giovanni di Orsino Lanfredini, possesses an authentic material semblance for us in Sperandeo's medallion portrait of the Medici "family" Ambassador.

It seems not the least of life's small ironies after this, that amid the light froth on the surface ripples of Lethe's stream, some *vers de société* of the XVIIIth century should alone materialize a feminine Lanfredini personality: Ottavia Lanfredini-Corboli. Her ancestresses are but the necessary elements of a pedigree; they are named shadows. One of them, Cassandra Lanfredini Carnesecchi, symbolizes their company in art; her marriage casket, and her portrait in the home are her claims to remembrance. That is all. It will be the privilege of the Princess Violante's lady in waiting to personify XVIIIth century Florence: a faint perfume of Versailles hangs about the Lady Disdain in the bevy of the Princess of Tuscany's court, (1)

Who lets so fair a house fall to decay.

Nevertheless if the fate that has overtaken the Pollaiuolo portraits recorded by Vasari, — and we have but conjecture to support all the other attributions, — would seem to close the door upon us, Orsino di Jacopo, the youth whose pensive profile looks down upon us in the Lanfredini forecourt, and his counterpart in the Uffizi Gallery, can now

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the Lanfredini formerly belonged to the Del Pace. A memorial in marble stands there to Bartolommeo Lanfredini. He was in great credit with Clement VII. Duke Alessandro, and also Cosimo I. "being among the Senators at elected the first institution of that office." G. B. Dei has copied the epitaph, which dates Lanfredini's death wrongly in 1549; he died in 1544 according to Count Passerini's genealogy. The rebuilding and redecoration of the Carmine after the fire, entailed the destruction of much that Richa has recorded, including the Lanfredini vestiges,

(1) Sonetti di Marc Antonio de' Mozzi, Accademico della Crusca.... sopra i nomi di alcune Dame Fiorentine della Serenissima Principessa di Toscana. Firenze, 1705. We find Signora Maria Ottavia Corboli-Lanfredini among the group of ladies of her court to whom the Princess of Tuscany, Violante, daughter of the Elector Palatine of Bavaria, married in 1688 to Ferdinand heir to the

no longer be classed among " Ignoti. " On the other hand, the Lanfredini personality, that force which does not stand or fall pictorially, is mirrored in this history of four centuries of Florentine life. The generations of a family of decent folk have surely won their reprieve from anonymity, that second death sentence.

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throne, has given friendly surnames. The author's preface to his collection of *vers de société* informs us that each sonnet bears the sobriquet by which the recipient was known to her friends. " Il disdegnoso brio " — fair Lady Disdain, — it appears defines the character of Signora Ottavia Corboli-Lanfredini to whom the following Sonnet is dedicated:

#### IL DISDEGNOSO BRIO.

Quando l'aurate sue dolci quadrella  
 Vibra Amore in gentil leggiadro petto,  
 Un novello v'accende amico affetto  
 Che rende ogni alma alla sua ancella.

Ma quando scocca ciecamente quella  
 Saetta ch'è di piombo aspro imperfetto,  
 Tosto d'ira si veste e di dispetto  
 Qualunque il colpo sente anima bella.

Così vibrando in Voi l'alato Dio  
 L'una e l'altra nimica aspra saetta  
 Contrari affetti in un sol core anno

Tal che il volto or di pace, or di vendetta  
 Si veste, e il vago disdegnoso brio  
 Fa che vostra beltade arretra e alletta.

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# APPENDIX



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## APPENDIX I.

### Document I.

Arbitral decision of the Consuls of the Stonecutters and Carpenters Guilds in the suit of Orsino di Lanfredino Lanfredini against certain artificers in his employment.

In Xpi nomine Amen. Noi Antonio di Nofri di Romolo, Giovanni di Michele del Buono, e Micho di Matteo, Legnaiolo, Consoli dell'Arte de Maestri di pietra e di legname della città di Firenze, insieme con Jacopo di Francesco del Cresta nostro compagno absente. Veduto un compromesso a dì 29 del mese di Settembre prossimo passato, fatto per Orsino di Lanfredini, cittadino e cambiatore Fiorentino, da una parte, e per Piero di Datuccio di Ione maestro di Firenze dall'altra parte, in Ghuarente di Giovanni Ghuarenti, Gherardo di Michele Belacqua, et Andrea di Giovanni Granata, maestri et cittadini fiorentini, et in tutti e in due di loro in concordia a raportare a noi detti consoli fral presente mese di Ottobre, sententiassono et la decisione facessono delle liti et quistioni, sono tralle dette parti d'un lavorio al detto Orsino pel detto Piero fatto nel fondaccio di Firenze nella casa della propria habitatione del detto Orsino, e di ciò che in esso si contiene e che di quindi e seguito, o ciò che ad esso l'apartiene, o dipende da quello con balia pienissima, et con quelle promesse, obblighi et cautele che nel detto compromesso negli atti della nostra Corte scripto si contengono. Et veduto un raporto insino a dì 28 del presente mese d'ottobre per detti arbitri nella nostra Corte fatto dell'infra scripto tenore cioè :

Al nome di Dio adì XXVIII d'Ottobre MCCCCXXXI.

Raporto fatto dinanzi da noi Signori Consoli dell'Arte, d'una differenza che era tra Orsino di Lanfredino Lanfredini e Piero di Datuccio, d'un lavorio fatto pel detto Piero in chasa et sopra detto Orsino, ciò sono tutte mura grosse, volte, mattoni, sopramattoni, ischale, lastrichi di chorte, intonachati e

ammatonati, e disfacimenti, e sgomberamenti chome si dirà qui di sotto a partita a partita.

El sopradetto raporto è fatto per Ghuarente di Giovanni Ghuarenti, Arbitro di detto Orsino e per Gherardo di Niccholdò Maestro arbitro del detto Piero, e per Andrea di Giovanni Maestro arbitro e terzo alla detta differenza.

In prima per braccia 509 di tetto impiannellato per soldi 2, danari 6 il braccio, lire 63, soldi 12, denari 6 piccioli.

E per disfare il tetto vecchio dove è fatto il nuovo tetto, lire 8.

E più per br. 1144 di muro di mattone, sopra mattone per l. 2 il br. monta l. 114 bis.

E più per br. 710 di muro grosso per s. 4 il br. l. 142.

E più per br. 1162 di muro di mezzo braccio per l. 3 il br. l. 164 s. 6.

E più per br. 748 d'a chantonato per s. 2 d. 6 il br. l. 93 s. 10.

E più per br. 35 di palchetti salvaticchi per. s. 2 il br. l. 3 s. 10.

E più per br. 128 di palco impiannellato e ammatonato per s. 3 d. 6 il br. monta l. 22 s. 8.

E più per br. 13 di palcho imposto e ammatonato per s. 3 il br. l. 1 s. 19.

E più per br. 45 di scala choll'archone per s. 12 il br. l. 27.

E più per br. 108 di lastricho della corte per s. 4 il br. l. 21 s. 12.

E più per br. 1620 dammatonato per s. 1 il br. l. 81.

E più per br. 554 di volte per s. 6 d. 6 il br. l. 180 s. 1.

E più per br. 33 di selicie per s. 4 il br. l. 6 s. 12.

E più per br. 2700 d'intonachato sulle mura nuove per d. 6 il br. monta l. 68.

E più per br. 2183 d'intonachato e arricciato in sulle mura vecchi per d. 2 il br. l. 90 s. 14 d. 2.

E più per br. 554 d'arriciato per d. 4 il br. l. 9 s. 11 d. 4.

E più per br. 140 di muro grosso tra per rotture e rimediate in casa l'Erede di Matteo Antinori, e una fogna in l'androne per s. 4 il br. l. 28.

E più per br. 11 di schale don l'archone per s. 8 il br. l. 4 s. 8.

E più 3 ghole di chamini sopra tetto fatte nelle chase dinanzi per tutto l. 3.

E più per più uxia e chamini, e acquai, finestre di . . . . e per rizare le colonne, e per murare pietre, e più altre cose come appare per una Scripta la quale tiene Giovanni di Maestro Luca del Abacho, e per uno fondamento di scale in tutto l. 295. •

E più per disfare e per isgomberare più cose come troviamo nella detta casa per tutto l. 61 s. 3.

Somma tutto il detto lavorio l. 1500, isbattute tutte l'opere che Orsino chon suo famiglio aveva lavorate con Piero, tanto pane e vino che Orsino avesse dato a Piero Maestro, o a suoi manovali in atto di cena quando vi



vegliarono. Isbattuto ogni legname, agreti e bullette che avesse dato il detto Orsino a Piero et ogni altra cosa appartenente al detto lavoro.

Veduto le sopradette ragioni per dare e per avere, chiariamo e sententiamo tutti e tre d'accordo che'l detto Piero sia tenuto et debba dare al detto Orsino lire 100, i quali denari avea soprapresi di detta ragione per infino a questo dì XXVIII di Ottobre MCCCCXXXI. E per chiarezza di ciò i detti si soscriveranno qui da piè di loro propria mano.

Io Ghuarente di Giovanni Ghuarenti sono contento al sopra detto rapporto, e però mi sono sottoscritto di mia mano oggi questo dì XXVIII d'Ottobre MCCCCXXXI. Io Gherardo di Nicholò sono contento al sopradetto rapporto e quanto in loro si contiene, anno e mese e di detto di sopra. Giovanni del Maestro Luca mi sono sottoscritto qui di mia propria mano con volontà e preghiera del detto Andrea di Giovanni. (Granata) perchè il detto Andrea non sa iscrivere. Son contento di detto rapporto. E più siamo contenti e vogliamo che le spese del sopra detto rapporto paghi Orsino la metà, e Piero la metà; ciò sono pel misceratore e pe' Maestri, ciò sono lire 16, siccome in detto rapporto e lodo si contiene.

E veduta l'amunitione delle dette parti fatta che venghino ad vedere ed udire la confermazione del detto rapporto et a sententia peremptoria.

E veduti gli ordini della Illma. Arte, e ciò che fu da vedere, osservare le sole prività requisite per vigore del nostro arbitrio, autorità e balia a noi in questa parte attribuita per ogni miglior modo e via che meglio possiamo, il soprascritto rapporto e lodo dato e fatto pe' detti Ghuarente, Gherardo et Andrea arbitri et arbitratori predetti unitamente e d'accordo; confermiamo et approviamo in ciaschuna sua parte, et promutiamo, sententiamo et dichiariamo il detto rapporto et lodo esser suto et esser valido et giuridico. E il detto Piero Datuccio essere stato et essere vero et legittimo debitore del detto Orsino della detta quantità di lire 100 per vera sorte, per le ragioni et cagioni che nel detto lodo et rapporto si contengono. Et delle spese intorno a ciò, legittimamente fatte, le quali essere staxiano lire 14 s. 17 d. o. E il detto Piero a dare et pagare al detto Orsino le dette quantità o alcuna d'sse finalmente fra dieci dì proximi, futuri condepniamo.

Tale data e finalmente promulgata fu la confermazione e sententia e condepnatione e tutte le predette cose fatte furono per detti consoli pro tribuna li sedenti al loro usato banco della ragione posto nel popolo di S. Piero Scheraggio di Firenze fra suoi vocaboli e confini, absente nientedimeno il detto Jacopo di Francesco lor compagno sotto gli anni di N. S. MCCCCXXXI Indictione X a dì XXIX d'Ottobre, presente Checco di Sandro messo della detta arte, e Piero d'Antonio, popolo di S. Agata di Mucciano di Mugello, testimoni alle predette cose chiamati et avuti.

Ego Bartolomeus Bambi.... civis Flor. Imp. quae auctoritate, Judex ordinarius et notarius publicus, et nunç dictae Artes Scriba pro latinii dictae sculentiae interfui, et eam rogatus scribere scripsi et publicavi ideoque meum consuetum signum apposui et me subscripsi

## Document II.

Letters Patent of Borso Duke of Ferrara, addressed to the Lanfredini brothers: Grant of privileges, exemption from daes, rights of free transit for their persons, retinue, and property in the Duchy; privileges of the ducal household extended to Jacopo and Giovanni Lanfredini and their descendants, dated February 20th 1469.

" Borsius Dux Mutinae et Regii, Marchio Estensis ac Rodigii Comes. Quanta benevolentia et amore illustres Predecessores nostri nobilem et honestam Lanfredinorum familiam inclytæ civitate Florentiæ oriundam prosecuti semper sint multi patentas Litterae testes sunt. Quas ut vidimus et legimus ipsi Illustres Predecessores nostri in horum hominum commodum. et honorum suis sic exigentibus meritis ac virtutibus evidere. Equibus Nos quoque amavimus et carissimis semper habuimus, et habemus circumspectos mercatores et praestantes viros Jacobum et Johannem fratres ex Ursino Lanfredini viro nobili et prudentissimo. Jampridem enim eas abunde cognovimus non solum summa modestia, probitate, et egregiis virtutibus ornatos, sed nostri precipue observantissimos. Quod eum ita sit decrevimus ipsos Jacobum et Johannem ac Ursinum etiam Jacobi filius in presentiarum Venetiis commorantes in Nobilis Familiæ nostros dilectissimos habere. Tenore igitur praesentium nostrarum patentium Litterarum eos et quemlibet eorum facimus, constituimus et creamus familiares nostros. Decernentes ut de caetero fungantur et gaudeant omnibus praerogativis honoribus, dignitatibus, preeminentiis, et immunitatibus, quibus funguntur et gaudent, ac fungi et gaudere possunt et debent, caeteri nobiles Familiæ nostri amantissimi, tam de consuetudine quam de jure atque ita ubique locorum habeantur et tractantur. Praetera eum ipsis Jacobo Johanni ac Ursino saepe numero contingat ad varia orbis loca se transferre cupientes, ut humanae ac benigne ubique excipiantur et tractentur. Vehementer rogamus Dominos, Patres, ac Fratres, Amicos, et Benivolosque Nostros, hos inspecturos quatenus, ipsos et quemlibet eorum tam simul quam divisim cum suo comitatu usque ad numerum. quatuor personarum tam equitum quam peditum, pro quolibet suisque armis, capsis, forceriis, valisiis, bulgis, et fardellis, cum vestibus et pannis eiusvis generis, argentariis, tapezariis et aliis suis quibuscumque rebus per terram et per aquas die noctuque per omnis ipsorum Portus, Pontis, Passus, Urbes, Castella, Villas, et loca quemlibet, libere et expedite absque ulla so-

lutione aliquivis datis, transitus vel gabellae omni arrestatione et impedimento excessu nostri contemplatione, et amore transire permittant eosque ; et unum quemque eorum in cunctis commendatissimos habeant. Sibi de libere transitu et idoneo comitatu providentes, quando opus sit, aut ipsi et quilibet eorum requirendum duxerint quod erit nobis gratissimum. Mandamus autem omnibus et singulis officialibus et subditis nostris ac Passuum et Locumque nostrorum quorumcumque Custodibus ut praemissa omnia et singula in quibuscumque. Locis nostris observent et observari inviolabiliter faciant, sub nostrae indignationis, poena, et alia qualibet nostro arbitrio imponenda. Et etiam valeant hae, pro quocumque ipsorum Jacobi, Johanni, et Ursini, et cuiuslibet eorum nuntio ipsis deferente. Datae in Palatio Hostolati, Anno Nativitatis Dom. Millesimo Quadringentesimo Sexagesimo-nono, Inductione secunda, Die vigesimo, mensis Februarii. Sub Nostri Ducalis Sigilli consueti appensione. "

### Document III.

Letters Patent, confirming the privileges etc., granted to the Lanfredini brothers by Borso d'Este ; issued to them by Hercole d'Este, dated Feb. 18th 1475. The Duke recalls their services to his person and House and admits them to membership of his *Family with the right* to bear the Este arms.

" **H**ERCULES, Dux Ferraris, Mutinae et Regii, Marchio Estensis Comesque Rodigii. Etsi locupletissimis Testimoniis ac documentis compluribus constaret nobilem et praeclaram Lanfredinorum progeniem inclytæ urbe Florentina oriundam, Illustrissimis Praedecessoribus nostris et inclytæ Domus nostrae Estensi singulari cordis affectu a mira devotione assidue deditissimam fuisse. Id tamen quae luce clarius in nos ipsos experti sumus, ex his qui hodierno tempore ex ipsa stirpe in lucem extant dignum arbitrati sumus, ut ex posteris hoc idem nostro testimonio comprobemus. Cum primum enim huius nostri Principatus vera suscipimus, Excelsa Communitas Florentina in nostram congratulationem ad nos destinavit virum praeclarum Jacobum Lanfredinum Ursino quondam, viro spectatissimo progenitum, qui praeterea quae nomine illius inclytæ Reipublicae Nobis laeta fronte obtulit ex se ; etiam non solum Lanfredinae Domus facultatis omnes sed proprias personas intimo cordio affectu in omne tempus sollicitus est. Et ita sollicitus ut temporis successu arbitris nostro cunctis ipsis uti ac frui facile potuimus. Accessit subinde viri clarissimi Joannis Lanfredini eius germani praecipua et incredibilis humanitas ; qui cum in inclyta Venetiarum Urbe resideret, non contentus his quae Frater eius carissimus nobis declaraverat, ut veruis etiam cordis cuius affectum propriis

manibus ut dici solet attingeremus. Iterum Lanfredinas fortunas omnes Lanfredinasque personas, et suam in primis ad omne commodum nostrum Statusque nostri mira quandam hilaritate in manibus nostris. Sic enim asserte dici potest exhibuit. Nulloque unquam tempore quievit quivi devotionis suae fervorem erga nos Statumque nostrum omni studio, omnique conatu et assiduis meritis ac beneficiis non vulgaribus prae se ferret. In ea enim Venetiarum urbe adeo se commodis et beneficiis nostris omni tempore accommodavit, nullis unquam laboribus defatigatus, nullis unquam incommodis perterritus; sed in dies magis magisque fronte serenus. Ut non Lanfredinus homo nec facultates eius, Lanfredinorum, sed potius ipse. Vir Estensis Estensiumque fortunae suae merito censi potuerint. Haec igitur cum mente revolvimus at tantae fidei ac devotionis ardorem, consideramus facile, ac prono animo inducimur; ut huiusmodi Viros eorumque Familiam non solum praecipua et singulari devotione prosequamur, sed beneficiis etiam non vulgaribus decoremus. Id circo harum nostrarum patentium Litterarum et decreti saevie ex certa scientia laetique animo et motu proprio, ipsos Jacobum et Joannem, eorumque Filios et descendentes in perpetuum ex et de inclytæ et ill. Domo nostrae Estensi facimus et declaramus. Et veluti viros de ipso Domo nostro Estensi amplectimus, assumimus, et acceptamus. Ita et taliter quod amodo pro Viris Estensibus et ex ipsa domo Estensi oriundas habeuntur, tractuntur, et teneantur. Necnon illis omnibus et singulis privilegiis, immunitatibus exemptionibus, prerogativis, et honorantiis, ubique Locorum frui et gaudere possint, quivis caeteri nostri ex ipsa Domo et Familia Nostra Estensi Oriundi frui et gaudere possunt, atque consueverunt. Et pro uteriori Nostrae erga ipsos benivolæ mentis declaratione, Damus, Concedimus, atque Donamus præfati Fratibus eorumque Filiis et descendentibus ut supra, **INSIGNIA** ac **DIVISIAS** Nostras et ipsius Dorus nostrae Estensis, quae et quos pro eorum libito pingi facere atque deferre possent in Vexillis, Scutis, Armis, Sigillis ac Vestimentis suis, atque suorum, prout eis magis et melius placuerit atque videbitur. In quorum omnium robur ac fidem has nostras patentes Litteras atque Decretum fueri iussimus et registrari. Nostrique Maioris sigilli consueti appensione muniri. Datas Ferrariae in Palatio Curiae nostrae Anno Dominis Nativitatis, Millesimo Quadragesimo Septuagesimo Quinto. Indictione octava, Die decimo-octavo mensis Februarii. "

The copy of these documents appears to be in G. B. Dei's handwriting, from the original now lost. He states that the Ducal Great Seal was affixed to both these and the further Letters patent issued to Giovanni Lanfredini especially, on February 27th; and he records the fact with a rough pen and ink sketch of the impression.

## Document IV.

Letters Patent confirming and extending the above privileges to Giovanni Lanfredini, with the right to raise the number of his armed guard from four to ten men., February 27th 1475.

" **H**ERCULES Dux Ferrariae Mutinae et Regii Marchio Estensis. Cognita jampridem a Nobis atque perfecta est singularis erga nos observantia Nobilis et spectati viri Johanni Ursini de Lanfredinis Inclytæ civitatis Florentiæ civis quam quidem sua in Nos liberalitate ; et in acceptis beneficiis quæ sibi mandavimus diligentia et fide seipsius declaravit ; Nullis enim sumptibus peperuit, nullosque labores horruit, modo si constaret id nobis gratu fore. Quæ cum ita sint decrevimus ipsum Joannem in præsentiarum Venetiis commorantem in nobilem familiarem Nostrum dilectissimum habere. Tenore igitur præsentium nostrarum patentium Litterarum enim facimus, constituimus et creamus familiarum nostrum. Decernentes ut da caetero fungatur et gaudeat omnibus prerogativis, honoribus, dignitatibus, et preeminentiis et immunitatibus quibus funguntur et gaudent ac fungi et gaudere possunt et debent caeteri Nobilis familiares nostri amantissimi tam de consuetudine quam de jure, atque ita ubique locorum habeatur et tractetur. Praeterea cum ipsi Joanni seipse contingat ad varia orbis Loca se transferre cupientes ut humane ubique accipiatur et tractetur, vehementi rogamus Dominos, Patres, fratres, amicos benivolosque nostris his inspecturos quaternis ipsum Joannem cum eius comitiva usque ad numerum personarum decem, tam equitam, quam peditum, suisque armis, valisiis, capsis, bulgis, et fardellis cum pannis et vestibus, argenti, cuiusvis quievis jocalibus et gemmi, tapezariis, ac rebus quibuscumque libere et expedite absque solutione aliquivis. Datii transitus vel gabellæ et absque aliqua apertura cassarum aut fardellorum suorum omni denique impedimento peritus excusso. Omnis eorum Portus, Pontes, Passus, Urbes, Castella, Villas et loca quaelibet, die noctuque ; tam per aquas quam per terram nostri contemplatione et amore transire permittant : provideantque ei de libero transitu et idoneo comiti seu Duce si opus fuerit, aut ipse duxerit requirendum, et in cunctis commendatissimum habere velint. Quod erit Nobis Gratissimum. Mandamus vero sub Nostræ indignationis. poena, omnibus et singulis officialibus et subditis nostris qui has viderint ut præmissa omnia at singula in quibuscumque locis nostris servent, semaliqui inviolabiter faciant. Et valeant hæc pro quocumque eius nuntii ipsas deferente. Datum Ferrarias in Palatio Curiae Nostræ

Anno Nativitatis Dominis. Millesimo Quadrigentesimo Septuagesimo Quinto. Indictione Octava Die Vigesimo Septimo Mensis Februarij, sub Nostri soliti Maioris Sigilli impressione.

### Document V.

Papal Bull issued to Jacopo Lanfredini by Pope Innocent VIII. granting him the benefice, revenues etc. of the Grand Priorate of Capua in the Order of S. John of Jerusalem, and benefices in the diocese of Volterra to be held for his nephew Orsino di Giovanni Lanfredini, at present aged seven years, until the latter shall have reached canonical age.

INNOCENTIUS Episcopus, Servus Servorum DEI.

Dilecto filio Jacobo de Lanfredinis Priori Prioratus Capuanam Hospitalis S. Johanni Jerosolimitanis, salutem et Apostolicam benedictionem. Apostolicæ Sedis circumspècta benignitas cupientibus vitam ducere regularem, ut eorum pium propositum possint ad laudem Divini Nominis adimplere apostolico ut decet curat ad esse præsidio et erga illos dexteram suæ liberalitatis extendit, quos ad id laudabilia etiam futuræ probitatis et virtutibus inditia favorabiliter recommendant. Cum itaque sicut accepimus Prioratus Capuanum Hospitalis S. Johannis Hierosolymitani quem quondam Marcus di Cignano dicti Prioratus Prior dum viveret obtinebat, per obitum dicti Marci, qui illius dudum tunc per obitum quondam Venturae de Fantonibus olim dicti Prioratus Prioris extra romanæ Curiae defuncti vacantes, per dilectos filios Magistrum et Conventum Rhodi dicti Hospitalis auctoritate ordinaria sibi collati possessione, per eum non habita extra Romanæ Curiae diem clausit extremum vacaverit, et vacet ad præsens; Tuque cupias in dicto hospitali cum Magistro et conventu præfatis, sub eiusdem hospitalis regularibus habitu et institutionis virtutum Domino Famulari; Nos Te in huiusmodi tuo laudabili proposito confovere ac Tibi, qui ut etiam accipimus in septime suæ ætatis anno constitutus et dilecti Filij Johannis de Lanfredinis civis Florentinis pro parte dilectorum Filios, Communis et Populi Florentinorum Oratoris ad Nos et Sedem Apostolicam destinati, natus existis ab laudabilia suæ infantilis ætatis inditia ex quibus sicut se habet fidedignorum assertio verosimiliter deprehenditur quod in virum ne producere debeas virtuosum. Huiusmodi meritum suorum intuitu gratiam facere specialem motu proprio non ad suam vel alteruis pro te nobis super hoc oblatae petitionis instantiam, sed de Nostra mera liberalitate Prioratu prædictu qui conventualis non est, et cuius fructus, redditus, et proventus Septuagintorum Florenorum auri de Camera secundum

communem extimationem valorem annum, ut similiter accepimus non excedunt sive ut praemittitur sive alias quovismodo aut ex alterius cuiuscumque persona etiam si per liberam Marci, aut Venturae praedicatorum, resignationem vel alicuius alterius de illo in Romana Curia vel extra eam coram Notario publico, et testibus sponte factam, aut constitutione felicitis recordationis Johannis P. P. XXIJ. praedecessoris Nostri quae incipio. Execrabilis aut assecutionem alterens Benefizii ecclesiastici quavis auctoritate collati vacet, etiam si toto tempore vacaverit, quod eius collatio juxta Lateranensis Statuta Concilij ad Sedem praedictam devoluta ipse Prioratus dispositioni Apostolicae, spetialiter vel ex eo quod ut nonnullis asseritur Venturas bonae memoriae Nicolai ut S. Ciceriae Presbyteri Cardinalis, et Marcus praefati illum obtinentis Venerabilis Fratris Nostri Juliani Episcopus Ostiensis familiares continui commensales fuere, vel alias generaliter reservat, existat, et illius Ecclesiae curam immineat animarum. Super et quoque inter aliquos sis cuius statum haberi volumus pro expresso pendeat indeciso dummodo tempore datae praesentium non sit in eo spetialiter. Aliqui jus quesitum cum omnibus juribus et pertinentiis suis apostolicae Tibi auctoritate conferimus et de illo etiam providemus. Et nihilominus Vener. Fratribus Nostri Aleriensi et Volaterranensi Episcopis, ac dilecto Filio Vicario Ven. Fratris Nostri Archiepiscopi Capuani in spiritualibus generali per Apostolica Scripta mandamus, quatenus ipsi vel duo aut unus ipsorum per se vel aliud, seu alios Te vel procurantorem tuum tuo nomine in corporalem possessionem Prioratus juriumque et pertinentiarum praedictorum inducant auctoritate Nostrae, et defendant inductum a motu exinde: quolibet illicito detentore, ac faciant Te, vel pro Te procuratorem praedictum ad Prioratu ipsum ut est moris admitti, tibi que de illius fructibus, redditibus et proventibus, juribus et obventionibus universis integro respondere; et si alias sis ydoneus et aliud canonicum non obsistat postquam ad legitimam aetatem emittendo professionem per Fratris dicti Hospitalis emitti solitam, vel etiam ante si tibi placuerit, Te in dicto hospitali in fratrem dicta auctoritate recipiant tibi que habitum regularem juxta dicti hospitalis consuetudinem exhibeant; nec non aetatu tibi suffragante legitima regularem professionem huiusmodi per dictos fratres emitti solitam si illam expresse emittere volueris eadem auctoritate admittant, faciantque Te in eadem hospitali recipi, et sincera in Domino caritate tractari. Contradictores auctoritate Nostra appellatione postposita compescendo. Non obstantibus piissimae memoriae Bonifacij P. P. VIIJ etiam praedecessoris Nostri, et aliis Apostolicis constitutionibus ac dicti hospitalis juramento, confirmatione Apostolica, vel quavis alia firmitate roboratis Statutis et consuetudinibus, stabilimentes, usibus et naturis, nec non illis quibus caveri dicitur expresse, quod de Prioratibus Prodecessoris et membris dicti

Hospitalis pro tempore vacantibus, Fratribus dicti hospitalis magis antianis juxta stabilimenta praedicta per illius pro tempore Magistrum et dictos Conventum duntaxat possit, et debeat provideri, et de aliis de illis facte provisiones etiam per Sedem Apostolicam nullius sint roboris vel momenti dicto Hospitali concessis privilegiis, et Litteris Apostolicis quibus etiam si de eis eorumque toto tenore, seu quemvis alia expressio praesentibus habenda esset, et in illis caveretur expresse quod eis per quascumque clausulas nunquam censeretur sufficienter derogatum, nisi dum et quotiens sub certis ibi expressis modo et forma, ac conceptione verborum contingerit, derogari praesentibus pro expressis habentis illis alias in suo robore permansuris, quoad praemissa specialiter et expresse derogamus contrariis quibuscumque. Aut si pro aliis in dicto Hospitali Scripta Apostolica sint forsitan directa, seu si aliqui super provisionibus sibi faciendis de Prioratibus huiusmodi speciales vel aliis beneficiis ecclesiasticis in illis partibus generales dictae. Sedis, vel Legatorum eius Litteras impetrarint, etiam si per eos ad inhibitionem, reservationem, et decretum, vel alias quomodolibet sit processum; suis omnibus Te in assecutione dicti Prioratus volumus anteferri, sed nullum per hoc eis ad assecutionem Prioratum seu Beneficiorum aliorum praejudicium generari. Seu si Vener. Fratri Nostro Archiepiscopi Capuano, ac Magistro et Conventui praefatis vel quibusvis aliis communiter vel divisim a Sede praedicta indultum existat, quod ad receptionem vel provisionem alicuius minime teneantur, et ad id compelli, aut quod interdicti, suspendi vel ecommunicari non possint per Litteras Apostolicas non faceantes plenam et expressam ac de verbo ad verbum de indulto huiusmodi mentionem, et quolibet alia dictae Sedis indulgentia generali vel speciali cuiuscumque tenoris existat, per quam praesentibus non expressa, vel totaliter non insertam effectus huiusmodi gratiae impediri valeat quomodolibet, vel differi, et de qua cuiusque toto tenore habenda sit in Nostris Litteris mentio speciales. Aut quod Tu dicti hospitalis Frater, et in aetate habili ad Prioratum ipsum obtinendum constitutus non existis, Nos cuim qui dudum inter alia volumus, statuimus, et ordinavimus quod quicumque beneficium ecclesiasticum per annum immediate praecedentem pacifice possessum, quod certo modo vacare pretenderet deinceps impetraret teneretur exprimere nomen, gradum, et nobilitatem possessoris eiusdem, ac quotannis possessor ipse illud possedisset, nec non specificam et determinatam e qua clarè constaret nullum eidem possessori in dicto beneficio jus competere, causam in huiusmodi impetratione exprimere, et infra SEX menses possessorem ipsum ad iudicium evocari facere, causamque ipsam ex tunc infra ANNUM usque ad sententia definitivam inclusive prosequi debeat, alioquin impetratio praedicta et quaecumque nide secuta nullius essent roboris vel momento. Statuimus quoque et ordinavimus



quod si qui quaecumque Ecclesiastica Beneficia qualiacumque essent absquem simoniaco ingressu ex Apostolica vel ordinaria collatione, aut electione, et electionis huiusmodi confirmatione, seu praesentatione, et institutione illorum, ad quos beneficij huiusmodi collatio, provisio, electio, praesentatio, seu quevis alia dispositio pertinet per triennium pacifice possederint, dummodo in Beneficiis huiusmodi si dispositione Apostolicae ex aliqua reservatione generali in corpore juris clausa reservata forent, se non intrusset, super eisdem beneficiis taliter possessis nequeant molestari, necnon impetrationes quaslibet de Beneficiis sic possessis factas irritas et inanes censi debere decrevimus, antiquas lites super illis motas poenitus extinguendo. Te cum ut Prioratum praedictum vigore praesentium recipere, et etiam non susceptu habitu, et non emissa professione praedictis usque quo illum pacifice assegnaris et ultra retinere. Et si forte quis piam et legitimam aetatem profitendi proveniens, et per Annum ex Apostolica collatione per Triennium et ultra pluribus Annis usque hodie possedisset pacifice et quiete, et adhuc possideret, Prioratus tamen ipse non ad eum sed ad dictum Marcum dum vixit de jure pertinuisset, ipseque Marcus contra eumdem possessorem temporalis domini illarum partium favore suffultum de jure suo experiri obmisisset, quia non confidebat cuuscumque sententiae quae pro esferretur executionem habere posset, vel alias et hodie vigore praesentium ad Te etiam de jure pertineat talem possessorem cuius nomen, gradum et nobilitatem, ac cum numero annorum quibus Prioratum ipsum possedit, necnon specifica et determinata causa quare eidem possessori in ipso Prioratu, vel ad illum jus non competit pro expressis habemus, et praesentium vigore etiam post semestre a data praesentium ad iudicium evocari facere, et contra eum de jure. Tuo coram competente Iudice experiri ipsumque super dictu Prioratu molestare libere, et licite valeas, aetatis praedictae defectu, ac Lateranensis Concilij necnon praedictis voluntate posteriori Statutis quoque et ordinationibus; Nostris et aliis Apostolicis Constitutionibus, necnon statutis et consuetudinibus, stabilimentis, usibus, et naturis ut praefertur roboratis caeterisque contrariis nequamquam obstantibus motu et auctoritate praedictis dispensamus. Tibique indulgemus. Proviso quod dictus Prioratus debitis propterea non fraudetur obsequijs sed illius congruae sopportentur onera consueta. Volumus autem quod Tu postquam dicti Prioratus possessionem fueris vigore praesentium pacifice assecutus et ad legitimam aetatem profitendi perveneris antedictum habitum regularem suscipere, si illum usque tunc non suscepisses, et professionem regularem huiusmodi intra annum tunc proxime sequentem expresso emittere tenearis, alioquin Prioratus ipso vacare censeatur eo ipso. Et insuper ex nunc irritum decerniamus et inane si secus super hiis a quocumque quavis auctoritate scienter vel ignoranter contegerit attemptari. Nulli ergo

hominum liceat hanc paginem Nostrae collationis, provvisionis, mondale derogationis, dispensationis, concessionis, constitutionis, et voluntatis infringere. Vel ei ausu temeraris contrahere. Si quis autem hoc attemptaro praesumpset indignationem omnipotentis Dei ac beatorum Petri et Paoli Apost. eius se hoverit incursum. Datum Romae apud S. Petrum. Anno Incarnationis Dominicé. Millesimo Quadrigentesimo Octuagesimo septimo, Quarto Nom. Augusti, Pontificatus Nostri, Anno Tertio.

The official counter signatures are illegible. Dei affixes a pen and ink sketch of the " Piombo " or Pontifical seal.

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## APPENDIX II.

" Della venuta in Firenze di Galeazzo Maria Sforza con la moglie Bona da Savoia nel Marzo 1471. Lettere di due Senesi alla Signoria di Siena, " is the title of this interesting correspondence, collated upon unpublished MSS. in the Siena archives by Sri. Cesare Paoli, Luigi Rubini, and Pietro Stromboli; and by them printed for private circulation, (Nozze Banchi Brini) Florence, Tip. Barbera, 1878.

The compilers point out, and I take this opportunity to acknowledge my indebtedness, that the Ducal progress through the Italian states has been abundantly recorded and described by the Milanese historian Bernadino Corio, (*Storia di Milano*, Parte VI, Cap. 2) and the Florentine Scipione Ammirato, (*Istorie Fiorentine*, Lib. XXIII). Moreover various Florentine chroniclers and diarists Alamanno Rinuccini, Leonardo Morelli, Giovanni Cambi, Luca Landucci, devote a greater or lesser space to comments upon the event; and Machiavelli, (*Storie Fiorentine*, lib. VII) judges the occasion with reticence as to detail and a marked severity in his moral appreciation.

The letters of these two Sieneſe envoys are preſerved in the State Archives (*Annale Regiſtrum Cancellariae Senenſis 1470-1*). They contain freſh and curious particulars with regard to the route taken by the Ducal party, the ſuite of courtiers and ladies and their train, the houſehold ſervants, animals, etc. Data are thus extant for the official viſits exchanged by the Signoria of Florence and the Duke, and the reſolutions agreed upon, of which little if any trace remains in the Florentine State papers. The unofficial character of the correſpondence lends it an added graphic intereſt. Ser Baldino da Lucignano a notary, Lorenzo d'Antonio Venturini a private citizen, poſſeſs no official character. They are not *de jure* Ambaſſadors of the Signoria of Siena, but have received the miſſion to viſit Florence, *ad explorandum adventum Ill. Ducis Mediolani*, and their buſineſs is to watch events and report all they can learn concerning Galeazzo Maria's coming and his future intentions. Written ſimply day by day, impreſſions by two ſeparate obſer-

vers, a few repetitions and unimportant divergences are inevitable ; but these detract nothing from the vivid narrative. Ser Baldino has added a very complete list of the personages high and low forming the Ducal cortège. A few doubts as to identity, due to the difficulty of decyphering the MSS. are noted by the compilers, and we have suggested an occasional emendation, whilst it has been possible from other publications, documents etc, to add some information concerning individuals. We give the letters in the order followed by the compilers and without any orthographic or other changes, barring the subdivision of the text into paragraphs to facilitate perusal.

### FIRENZE.

1. Magnifici et excelsi domini, domini mei singularissimi, humili commendatione premissa. Arrivai in Firenze Martedì et mattina (cioè a di 5) ad hore 14 ; et oggi che è meze dima (sic for medesima, the same hour ?) spero partire ad hora che gionghi ad Prato, et continuare el mio camino. Qui si fa grande apparato per ricevere lo ILL. S. D. di Milano et Madama ja Duchessa. Per la Ill. Signoria Ducale ; per Madama, in casa di Pier-Francesco de Medici. In S. Maria Novella si fa ancora grande apparato, dicesi per quelli Signori Lombardi che verranno in compagnia del S. Duca ; ne però ho inteso de certo che con sua Ill. Signoria venghi lo Marchese di Mantua, ne Misser Ant. Bentivoglio, ne anco lo Conte di Urbino, come costa sentii ragionare.

Questi Magnifici Signori Fiorentini mandano per ambasciatori loro al prefato Ill. Sig. Duca, misser Buongiahanni Gianfigliazzi et misser Tomaso Soderini, et per commessari ad riceverlo et honorarlo in su et loro terreni, misser Agnolo della Stufa et misser Jacopo de Pazzi, con ornata et degnissima compagnia de giovani da bene. Della venuta del prefato Signore in vulgo non si parla molto ; (cf. L. Landucci's diary does not mention details) ; et comunter la brigata ne resta più admirata che no, et non se ne fanno molto allegri, y si per respecto della spesa, come ancora per dubbio di qualche innovatione ; et ognuno va interpretando secondo la oppinione sua.

Pure andando ieri ad visitare lo Mo. Bartolomeo de Recanati, regio ambaxiatore qui, (con lo quale per altri tempi ho assai familiarità), et venendo in questi ragionamenti, tiene che la venuta di questo Signore sia pura senza machinatione come de principe giovane et potentissimo, et per dare piacere ad Madama la Duchessa, la quale molto si dice che ama. Nientedimeno, intendendo questa Sig. el prefato S. Duca volere essere in Pisa, con honesto et cauto modo hanno pur facta qualche provisione a la securità

di quello luogo. La venuta sua è per Pontremoli, Serzana, Lucca et Pisa, et poi quà; et de più innanzi non si parla. Della compagnia sua, si ragiona di cavalli 1000 alla cortigiana, et provisionati 500 a piedi. Se altro più chiaro ad camino intendaro', di tucto dare avviso alla Ma. Sig. Vos.... Racomandandovi ora et sempre alla prefata V. M. S. quam Altissimus exaltet ad vota. Ex. Florentia, die VI. martii 1470.

servitor Baldinus Dominici, Notarius.

### LUCCA.

2. Magnifici etc.... Da Firenze, per Alberto cavallaro, scripxi quanto per in fino allora me occoriva: dipoi immediate partii, et oggi Venardi 8 del presente ad hore 16, so' arrivato in Lucca, et per camino, et anco qui non ho trovato ne inteso altro della venuta di questo principe, che mi scrivesse per l'ultima mia a la V. M. S.

Qui senza riguardo alcuno, si prepara riceverlo et honorarlo molto degnamente senza dimostrazione d'alcuna sospitione o gelosia, ma puramente et liberamente, attendesi quà verso Giovedì o Venerdì.

Ambasciatori et commissari fiorentini corrono per queste strade; et in questa hora 24, e scavalcato qui, nell'albergo dove sono io, Agnolo della Stufa che va via innanzi. Mando a la V. M. S. la lista de tucto le genti che menano con seco lo Ill.mo S. Duca et Madama la Duchessa, la quale ha avuta con honesto modo et per buon mezo. Seguirò innanzi il mio camino, et vedarò darvi adviso di per di come occorrerà. Raccomandomi, etc.... Ex Lucca, raptim die 8 Martii 1470, hora prim motis. E. V. M. D.

Servitor Baldinus.

### Note of Ducal train enclosed in above.

Quelli che vanno innanzi ad Fiorenza, della compagnia dello Ill.mo Signor Duca Aluisi Monsignor di Saluzzo,	cavalli	20
Monsignor di Ncvara,	»	14
Messer Tomaso da Rieti,	»	12
Messer Pietro da Pusterla,	»	12
Messer Tommaso da Bologna,	»	10
Messer Pietro da Trivulzio,	»	8
Messer Alessandro Spinola,	»	8
Pietro da Galera,	»	8
Misser Pietro Francesco Visconti,	»	8

Misser Ieromino Maletta,	cavalli	6
Gentilhomini. Misser Palavicino Palavicini,	»	6
Giohanfrancesco Palavicino,	»	6
Alberto Visconti,	»	6
Cortigiani. Misser Giohanpietro Visconti,	»	6
Misser Giohanluigi Visconti,	»	5
Misser Alessandro Visconti,	»	5
Misser Manfredo da Beccaria,	»	4
Misser Pietro Maria Maletta,	»	4
Giohanne da Castiglioni,	»	4
Misser Giohan d'Agustino Isimbardo (Uimbardi?)	»	4
Marchese di Varese,	»	4
Camerieri. Misser Baptista di Campofregoso,	»	5
Antonio Pallavicino,	»	2
Damiano de Varzi,	»	2
Francesco Pagano,	»	2
Aloisi di Marliano,	»	2
Manfredo da Campofregoso,	»	2
Corbettino,	»	2
El Bresciano,	»	2
Aluigi Giorgio,	»	2
Giovanni Bassiano,	»	2
Piagentino di Johan Jacopo,	»	2
Chimento da Correggio,	»	2
Lodovico,	»	2
Officiali di Gardaroba, Officiali di Casa, Credenzieri et sotto credenzieri,	»	6
Coqui et sotto coqui	»	6
Bono et Donato, barbieri,	»	4
Manuello et Bassiano, sartori,	»	4
Boniforti et Malpaga, stambuchini, (archers),	»	3
El cavallero della Sala, Appalinaro Cristofano,	»	3
Spenditori, Dispensieri, Contrascriptori,	»	6
Maestro Giohan d'Orologio,	»	1
Cantori quattro,	»	6
Trombetti,	»	30
Cristofano,	con muli	100
Fornari,	cavalli	2
Canovaro,	»	1
Francesco di Casale co' cavallari,	»	14

Secretari et Cancellieri. Magnifico Messer Cicco, (Simonetta),	cavalli	14
Po. (Pietro ?) Pagnan et Jacopo Alpheo,	»	10
Cristofano da Cambia et Fabritio,	»	5
Marco Trotto et Alessandro Coletta,	»	6
Filippo et Giovanni Antonio Taruffino,	»	6
Francesco Tuncadin, (Tranghedini ?) et Lorenzo d'Ancona,	»	4
Sgr. Giovanni da Bellinzona et Luchino,	»	4
Tomaso da Jesi, et Niccolò Tostan,	»	4
Quelli che restano ad andare con lo Ill.mo Signore.		
Lo Ill.mo Signore con la sua stalla,	»	80
Alessio Piccinino da Durazzo,	»	3
Lo Ill.mo Signor Filippo Maria, (2nd brother to G. M.),	»	20
Lo Ill.mo Duca di Bari, (Sforza 3rd brother to G. M.),	»	20
Lo Ill.mo Signor Duca Lodovico Maria (Il Moro 4th brother),	»	20
Gentilhomini. Misser Cola Gaetano, (Cola Montano?),	»	6
Misser Giohan Jacopo da Trivulzio,	»	5
Orphea da Ricano,	»	6
Medici et Preti. Maestro Johan da Marliano, Maestro Johan		
Ghiringhello, Mo. Lazaro,	»	10
Lo spetiale,	»	1
Confessore et Cappellani,	»	7
Seneschalchi. Giovanni da Castelnuovo, Giovanni Giappano, (e		
l'uno vada innanzi all'altro),	»	20
Conte Galeotto Bevilacqua,	»	6
Pizzetto,	»	4
Cortigiani. Riccio da Cortona,	»	4
Pietro da Birago, Bonazino et falconieri,	»	7
Carlo da Cremona con carrettieri,	»	12
Guasparro da Parma,	»	4
Gabriello Pagliaro,	»	3
Johampietro da Bergamino, con li balestrieri,	»	100
Camerieri. Donato da Milano,	»	5
Jeronimo da Beccaria,	»	4
Guidazzo Aramboldo,	»	4
Giorgio dal Carretto,	»	4
Niccolò da Cortona,	»	3
Giovanni da Verona,	»	3
Bartolommeo da Locarno,	»	2
Antonio Carazolo,	»	3
Carlino Varesino,	»	2

Antonetto di Piagencia,	eavalli	2
Gasparro Caino,	»	2
Baptista di Monsignano,	»	4
Francesco da Varese,	»	3
Giovanni Luchino Crivello,	»	2
Jason Malseotto,	»	2
Cosme Ponzone,	»	2
Cristofano Vigelio,	»	2
Sottocamerieri, sei,	»	6
Pompeo et Carazima, maestri da ballo,	»	2
Vercellino Visconte,	»	4
Branda da Castiglione,	»	2
Bernardino da Ugubio,	»	2
Jacomino da Castellazzo,	»	2
Niccolò Maletta,	»	2
Enea Malvezo da Bologna,	»	3
Misser Johan Anton, (Montecatini) Ambaxiador de Ferrara,	»	11
Apparecchiatori d'alloggiamenti. Aluizo da Parma, c. 2. Francesco da Milano, c. 2. Aluizo da Cermisio, c. 2. Il Danese, c. 1.		

Infrascripti sono quelli che hanno andare ad Firenze innanzi della illma Madonna.

Misser Giohan Maria Visconti con la moglie,	cavalli	10
Fieramonte, con la moglie,	»	8
Bernardo da Lona (d'Olona ?) con la moglie,	»	8
Otto Visconti,	»	4
Antonio Secho (Secco-Suardo ? see next name)	»	4
Mastino Suardo,	»	4
Misser Antonio Porro,	»	4
Misser Jacopo Bechetto,	»	4
Stefano Scampa (Stampa ?),	»	4
Aluigi da Dugnano,	»	4
Johanno da Gallera.	»	4
Venturino Rabbia,	»	4
Irrì da Venegono,	»	3
Boldrino Crivello,	»	2
Maestro Alberto, cappellano,	»	2
Maestro Matromagno, sartoro	»	3
Albertino, guardaroba,	»	2
Mulattieri,	con muli	40



L' infrascripti anno andare ad Firenze con la illma Madonna.		
La illma duchessa,	cavalli	11
Magnifica Madonna Beatrice d'Este (wife of Tristano Sforza natural son of Francesco Sforza, married first, Niccolò da Correggio),	»	15
Magnifica Madonna Fiordalixa Sforza, (natural daughter of Francesco Sforza, married to Guido Manfredi).	»	15
Madonna Antonia da Perugia,	»	1
Madonna Francesco da Castiglion,	»	1
Madonna Lisabetta d'Anglon, (one of Bona's ladies in waiting. Her name occurs in Caterina Sforza's correspondence with her sister Chiara, May 3d 1477. Cf. Pasolini, Caterina Sforza, Vol. III, Doc. 90).	»	1
Madonna Nutrice, (Lucrezia Landriani, also mentioned in above)	»	1
Violante,	»	1
Margarita Crivelli, (cf. ibid.... " et per mia consolatione raco- mando alla illustrissima Madonna mia madre, da poi a Ma- donna Nutrice preteera, a Madonna Ixabeta et Margarita Crivelli, et generaliter a tute le altre donne ").	»	1
Daria,	»	5
Helena del Maino,	»	1
Helisabe(tta) da Terdona (Cardona ?),	»	1
Madalena Verona,	»	1
Madalena Nava, Cervagia,	»	1
Lo illmo Signor Ottaviano, (6th brother of Galeazzo Maria),	»	3
Muzio Sforza, (alleged natural son of Francesco Sforza),	»	1
Maestro Lorenzo,	»	1
Iacomo da Landriano,	»	1
Paggi due	»	2
Zerbino ragazzo,	»	1
Staffieri due,	»	1
Giovanni credenziere,	»	1
Maestro Ambrogio Griffo,	»	4
Giov. Gabriello Crivelli,	»	4
Don Ziglio, cappellano,	»	2
Domenico Mattono,	»	3
Pietro da Landriano, siniscalco, (husband of Lucrezia, mistress of G. M., and mother of Caterina Sforza).	»	4
Vergilio Crivelli,	»	1
Giovan Francesco da Castiglioni,	»	3

Hectorre di Misser Antonello,	cavalli	3
Carlo,	»	3
Iaccarino (Zaccarino ?),	»	2
Paggi dieci,	»	10
Giovan Giorgio del Maino,	»	3
Donato da Vinegia, (Venetian)	»	1
Misser Cristofano,	»	1
Bartolommeo, credenziere,	»	1
Francesco Barbante,	»	1
Pasquino Bagnacavallo,	»	1
Francesco Fario,	»	1
Giovan Marco Orlando,	»	1
Tartaglino,	»	1
Biagio Nano (a dwarf),	»	1
Arrigolo del Baira,	»	1
Batista da Icungerrò (Ungheria ?),	»	1
Giovanni da Marliano,	»	1
Domenico Sachino,	»	1
Donato Usgiuxto (?),	»	1
Brunello Usciario (doorkeeper),	»	1
Agustino, guardarobba,	»	1
Andrea, sotto guardaroba,	»	1
Cristofano da Gallere, Raynallo staffiere, Donato Pestono, (? name of undercook in charge of mortar and pestle), Scalabrino (nickname),	»	3
Aluisi, spenditore,	»	2
Jacopo Montanaro, scriptore,	»	1
Raffael de Ciroza,	»	1
Giovanni da Lecco,	»	1
Giorgio Parigia, cav. 1. Martinolo fornaio cav. 1. Giovanni da Bessese 1 c.,	»	3
Antonio Galuppo,	»	1
Maestro Cristofano, spetiale,	»	1
Maestro Donato, barbiere,	»	1
Un famiglio di Madonna, Antonio da Perugia,	»	1
Agustino di Parma	»	1
Guglielmo, cocquo,	»	1
Beltramo, celero (cellarer),	»	1
Maestro Antonio, celero,	»	1
Guido, guattaro, (scullion)	»	1

Scottino, guattaro, (scullion)	cavalli	1
Giovanni, guattaro, "	»	1
Scottini (?)	»	2
Facchini, quattro,	»	4
Zichino maestro di stalla,	»	3
Gabriello da Corsio,	»	2
Daniello da Zopparello,	»	2
Maffiolo Reina,	»	1
Maestro Guglielmo, sellaro,	»	1
Stefano, maniscalco,	»	2
Famigli di stalla,	.	24
Mulattieri,	»	36
Somma : cavalli mille sessanta quattro,	»	1064

## LUCCA.

3. Magnifici, etc., Hiersera scripsi ad V. M. S., et mandai partitamente per liste tucte le genti che conduce seco lo illmo signor Duca e Madama la duchessa et di che conditione, dapoi hiersera, ad hore 2 di nocte, furono qua delle lectore dello prefato signor Duca, per le quali advisa come per buon respecto la Signoria sua farà la volta (a Firenze) da Pisa, senza toccare hora Lucca, de la qual cosa costoro (la Signoria di Lucca) ne restano molto admirati, et danno carico a qualche loro amico (nemico?) che ne sia cagion. Pure hanno mandato innanzi ad fare ultimo potere che tenga ritto qua, perchè invero hanno facta grandissima provisione di riceverlo, et molto honorevolmente hanno preparat o nel palazzo Vechio fu del Signore (Guinigi Palace), nel borgo della cipta, che è una degna et disposta stanza. Item, con cauto et honesto modo per costoro si fa buone provisioni a la salvezza loro; et non restano però ancora da provvedere allornato perchè, non obstante decte lectere, si confidano che anco terrà questa via.

Io ho preso partito non andare più innanzi, però che di qui intendo meglio ogni progresso, et occi, tal mezo, che da ogni occorentia, tanto nè haro notitia io quanto questa Signoria; et siate certissimi che loro non dormono.

Partomi in questa hora, et conferirrommi per infino ad Pisa, per meglio intendere; et se di là intendaro altro, di là advisaro. Se pare a la V. S. che uno vostro famiglio continuamente sia in camino, l'uno vadi e l'altro venghi, credo sarà meglio, perchè non si truova sempre per via de mercanti potere advisare, ne con quella celerità et fede. Ne altro. Raccomandomi etc. Ex Lucca die 9, martii, 1470.

E. V. M. D. Servitor Baldinus.

## PISA.

4. Magnifici, etc. Questa mattina da Lucca scripsi a la V. M. S. et lassai la lettera in mano di Guido Salvestri, et advisai essa M. S. V. de le lettere ad Lucca mandate per lo illmo. Signor Duca di Milano, di non toccare hora a la venuta Lucca ma tener per Pisa, et d'altre cose occorrenti.

Et per meglio intendere, questa sera mi so' conferito in Pisa, et ho trovato le cose molto fredde, et non essere nissuna certezza del camino d'esso Signore.

Se non chè, stasera ad hore 24, per buon mezo so' informato essere qui (giunte) lettere a' Signori del mare di questa ciptà, del prefato signor Duca, del transito suo essere per questa ciptà senza toccare Lucca.

Costoro (Signori di Pisa) ne rimangono molto stupefacti, et non veggono potere provvedere a tempo, che abbino honore, pure se danno da fare di et nocte.

Domattina mandarò Schiavetto per insino ad Lucca, dunde etiam saparo el tucto per ordine dato con alcuno homo da bene di là. Per altre mie, et di Fiorenza et di Lucca, harete havuto informatione di quanto sia occorso, et cosi seguirò. Raccommandandomi, etc. Ex Pisa, die 9, martii 1470, hora 2a. noctis.

E. V. M. D. Servitor Baldinus.

## PISA.

5. Hieri sotto coverta d'una diriziata ad Niccolò... (passage torn), scripsi ad plenum ad V. M. S., et mandai per le mani d'un giudeo che... de figliuoli di Giacob, che veniva addirittura: penso V. S. harà recepta... Non c'è altro, si non che questa sera di Domenica 10 del presente, lo illmo signor Duca alloggia ad Serezana, et per Lunedì et sera se adtente ad Pietrasancta, et martedì o mercoledì al più tardi, se adtende qui in Pisa, dove per la persona sua s'apparecchia in casa di Lorenzo di Piero de Medici, et lo resto de cortigiani si distribuiscono per le case de ciptadini.

Et già quà questa sera sonno arrivati più che 300 cavalli, et etiam donne di questa Signora, et cortigiani che sonno ad compagnia del Signore, quasi e principali, et molto in ordine de famigli, cavalli, vestiti, et carriaggi, tucto alla civile, et alla cortigiana. Et venendo ad compagnia del prefato illmo Signore li provisionati suoi, tucti, passato che fu Pontremoli, li ha licenziati et rimandati indietro.

A Lucca, per bene che avessero facto grande apparato, non se extima

che hora alla venuta vadi; se già, per contento di quella Comunità, non ci fusse svolto perchè se recano ad dispiacere, havendo la sua Signoria scripto de essere la et havendo facto la provisione, et hora diverte el camino; et maxime perchè sonno calumniati che non volevano che el Signore entrasse si non con certo numero di genti limitato, et anco lo alloggiavano ne' borghi, et d'alcune altre provisioni da far causa di sospitione.

Et invero, per quanto la comprendesse loro, senza re infinta, lo ricevevano senza gelosia alcuna.

Questi Magnifici Signori Fiorentini, et fuor della ciptà ad et dentro, fanno ogni grande sforzo in honorarlo et riceverlo: et perche qui non s'aspettava, hanno ad un tracto, et con commessari et con denari, proveduto; et di et nocte non restano di fare ogni possibile dimostrazione de benevolentia et honore. Altro al presente degno d'aviso non me occorre: se trovarro per cui scrivere continuamente V. S. sarà informata; si non, mandarò lo Schiavetto. Raccomandandomi, etc., ex Pisa, die X. martii, 1470.

E. V. D. M. Servitor Baldinus.

#### FLORENCE.

6. Magnifici, etc. Essendo io oggi di buona hora quà arrivato, et havendo da più persone a me note al parer miò fidedigne, et anco affetionate a V. M. S., inteso della venuta dello illmo signor Duca di Milano; giudicando essere contento delle M. S. V., et anco mio debito, ho preso sicurtà per le mie lettere a V. M. S. darne notitie.

Quà si fa apparato grandissimo per ricevere sua illma Signoria e la illma Madonna Duchessa, in diversi luoghi della ciptà, et maxime in casa del magnifico Lorenzo de Medici, dove si dice dovere scavalcare sua Signoria illma; similiter, per quanto intendo, (che anco non ho possuto vedere, per respecto che, essendo di Domenica era tanto el concorso del popolo, che non pare si contentino questi ciptadini preposti che per oggi si vegha; et io non ho voluto usare presumptione per non dar ammiratione ad alcuno), in casa che fù del Patriarca, quale. è abitatione bellissima; et similiter a Sancta Croce, et in più altri luoghi.

El tempo della sua venuta si attesta certamente per ogni homo, che sarà di questa septimana; et comuniter si dice di giovedi o venerdi; ma per anco non ho possuto intendare el certo. El camino suo è per Pontremoli, dove si tiene già sia arrivato, et per farli honore et compagnia questi ciptadini hanno electi molti ambasciadori, i quali lo dieno scontrare chi in uno

et chi in un altro luogo; et parte già ne sono cavalcati et parte si mettano a ordine cavalcare.

Già sono 4 dì, cavalcò Lorenzo de' Medici con alcuni altri cittadini: dicesi si sono conferiti a quelle loro prime terre a' confini. Questa mattina cavalcò Giuliano de' Medici, Guglielmo de' Pazzi, et più altri spectabilissimi ciptadini a la riscontra d'esso illmo signor Duca.

La compagnia sua per ognuno si attesta che sarà fra cavalli et muli circa la somma di 1500 o più, et 400 provisionati appè alla staffa di sua illma Signoria, tutti signori et persone digne; et — per quanto hebbi avuto (notizia?) da un religioso che viene da Milano, a me assai noto et persona da bene, che parti quando sua illma Signoria, — tutti alla cortigiana, con pompe e senza arme.

Bene è vero, che quà si dice che dietro a lui, per honore di sua Signoria, s'accattaranno alcuni Signori con grande magnificentia et pompa; pur di questo non ho certo autore. Quà per li homini da bene poco si parla, et però per anco non ho intesa cosa digna. Bene è vero che vegho stare ognuno di buona voglia et attendare con somma diligentia a fare honora a sua Signoria, et a queste loro devotioni alla chiesa; che è stato oggi una magnificentia vedere questo popolo a la frequentatione de loro tempi, tutti, al parer mio, di buona voglia.

Non si comprende (che) mettino ad ordine giostre, come sono usate in simili solennità, credo a buona fine. Ma sento che, per conformarsi con la stagione (di quaresima) mettano ad ordine alcune belle representationi in diverse chiese. Io per la brevità del tempo, et anco perchè non ho molta notitia, per anco non ho possuto più innanzi intendare; ma perchè mi occorre restare quà alquanti giorni, di quanto intendaro darò notitia, come è mio debito a V. S. M. alle quali sumuopere mi racomando. Ex Florentia, X, martii, 1470.

E. V. M. Dominationis. Servitor minimus  
Laurentius Antonii de Venturinis.

FLORENCE.

7. Magnifici, etc. Ieri per Sano, figliuolo di Ser Antonio di Michele, scripsi a Vostre Magnificentie di quanto havevo inteso per fino a quella hora della venuta dello illmo Duca qui. Dipoi, questa mattina, ho inteso da più persone fidedigne et etiam dalla Magnificentia del Gonfaloniere de giustitia (Gino di Neri Capponi), col quale questa mattina per una mia faccenda so'

stato a parlare per lungo spazio, come indubitatamente attendano sua venuta quà Giovedì pssosimo o venerdì al più.

Per la cui venuta grande numero di cittadini, principali cavalieri et altre digne persone sono cavalcate, et molte altre ne sono intenti a fare preparationi per diversi luoghi della città, si per le persone et si per li cavalli, le quali oggi ho studiato vedere: in casa di Lorenzo de Medici, di Giovanne Rucellario, del Patriarca, et d'altri cittadini; preteera a Santa Maria Novella et alla Sapientia, per gran numero di cavalli; dove ho viste preparationi regie et cose stupende a considerare, et tanto numero di maestri et altri giovani (artisti?) intenti a tali preparazioni che, dicendolo, saria giudicata menzogna.

Li altri cittadini tutti si vegghano attendare a' loro traffichi et exercitii manuali et poco o niente si parla, si non per quelli (che) sono preposti. Bene è vero, che per tutti si atesta che questa spesa sarà gravissima, et questa pare che assai pesi a molti. La stanza sua quà, benchè non si possa francamente intendare, pure si stima di VIII in X di. Della compagnia di nuovo ho inteso di cavalli et muli insino 1500 o più, come per mia altra dei avviso a V. M. S.

Magnifici Signori miei, tutte le cose del mondo et mutationi della fortuna di questa qualità, che sempre facendo uno lieto, ne fanno un altro dolente; ma chi più teme, più tace, et simula et dissimula quelli (che) stima si facci per lui. Questi cittadini sono savi, et mostrano buona cera, etiam altro sapore havessano in corpo. Io stimo sarebbe bene che de vostri cittadini spesse volte conversassero qui, perche assai impareriano conversando con li savi. Racomandomi a V. M. S. Ex Florentia, XI. martii, 1470.

Servitor minimus. Laurentius Venturinus.

Post scripta. Questa sera sono quà venuti homini d'arma dello illmo signor Duca, bene a ordine, et senza arme, da quali ho inteso come sua illma Signoria questa sera dia alloggiare a Pontremolo, et domane a Pisa, et che indubitante o sara quà Giovedì, o Venardi non mancherà. Io ho in buona parte expedite qui le faccende mie, et spero in brevi partirmi. Pur mentre restarò quà, non restarò (senza) rendere avvivate V. M. S. di quanto intendaro: alle quali iterum atque iterum mi racomando.

Quà capita molta forestaria, et quantunque sia la città capacissima, pur confidenter ricordo non saria inutile anticipare qualche preparatione per li vostri magnifici ambasciatori, conciosiacosachè questi cittadini preposti alla honoranza, non solamente le stanze della Comunità et de cittadini privati, ma etiam le ostarie studiano di ocupare.

## LUCCA.

8. Magnifici, etc. Di Pisa, per le mani di Alixandro di Giacopo Petrucci, sotto coverta d'un'altra ad Andrea di misser Cristofano, scripsi a la V. M. S. Lunedì 11 del presente, et per quella advisai quanto per infino allora se adtendeva ad fare apparati et provisioni grandissime per ricevere lo illmo Signor Duca. Dapoi immediate sopravvennero lettere che sua Signoria faceva la via di Lucca et così tucte le genti che là erano arrivate, si dirizaro a la volta di Lucca; et questo perchè, intendendo questa Comunità che la illma Signoria del Duca, (cambiava?) era stata molto sconfortata che non tenesse quella via, mostrando ad quella molte suspitioni, mandaro loro ambasciadori ad supplicarla che omnimodo ad consolatione di questo popolo, dovesse venire in questa ciptà; et a lor preghi concesse, et fu retractata per hora la via di Pisa.

Cavalcai de continenti, el la sera propria fui in Lucca; dove oggi, questo dì martedì 12 del presente ad hore 22, è entrato lo illmo signor Duca con la illma madama la Duchessa, con cavalli 1400 e carriaggi seguito de tucti e suoi principali signori et cortigiani, in ordine de cavalli, di vestire et di magnificentie, che certamento sol di carriaggi è cosa ammiranda.

Questo popolo ha facto ogni grande demonstratione in ricevere et honorare al prefato Signore, et quasi tucti et più degni et honorati cittadini della ciptà, insieme col Gonfaloniere et due altri de' signori loro da Palazzo, se lo fece incontro parecchie miglia. Entraro nella ciptà con grandissimo triumpho de bombarde, campane, trombe, et per tutto gridandosi, Duca, Duca. La via che haveva a fare, molto bene ornata; et per dimostrare maggior confidentia, per andar a la posata sua, de la ciptà in Borgo, hanno smurata una porta grande che più tempo è stata murata, et così smurata lansata stare.

Madama la Duchessa è adcompagnata di molte ornate et degnissime donne, et dietro ad se tre carrecte menate da cavalli, coverte et ornate tutte ad panni d'oro. La stanza sua è preparata, come già per mie altre scripsi, in quella casa (che) fe fare el Signore (P. Guinigi) in Borgo, così degna et acomodata stanza a ricevere un signore, quanto mai vedesse. Hannovi dirizate de le lecta 200; et la è separata la stanza del Duca da quella della Duchessa.

Non vi dico degli apparati de lecti et camare loro, vhe tucti sonno di broccati et seta, de altri razi et ornamenti, quanto habbi veduto in luogo alcuno; falò et fonti che gittano vino assai. Dicesi che questa Comunità presenta alla illma Duchessa una chinea covertata di broccati, di valuta di ducati 500; due baccini con due mescerobbe d'argento bellissimi, di valuta de



ducati 200; una perla et un saffiro de extima de ducati 200; uno gioiello ornato di degne pietre, de valuta de ducati 1000. Dicesi, costoro spendere in questa honoranza de ducati 4000. Credesi che domani partirà, et andará a Pescia, et da Pescia a Pistoia et a Prato, e dappoi, verso venardi a Firenze.

Nonostante la liberalità che costoro habbino dimostrata grandissima, niente di meno quà era grande gente di lor cerne (contraria?) et anco con honesto et cauto modo hanno facto sutilmente investigare, se in alcuna parte di Lómbardia, Romagna, et per tucta Toscana, sentivano innovare gente alcuna. Altro al presente non me occorre, se non che farò la via de Fiorenza, et tornarò a la V. M. S.; se interim altro sentirò, darò adviso. Schiavetto ne rimando. Ex Lucca, die 12 martii, 1470.

E. V, M. D. servitor Baldinus.

#### FLORENCE.

9. Magnifici, etc. Per fare mio debito, trovandomi quà più volte a di passati, ho scripto a Vostre Excelse Signorie di quanto ho inteso per la venuta di questo ill.mo Principe; et perchè stimo sia contento V. S. cotidianamente essere advasati, notifico a V. M. come per diverse vie questa sera so' certificato la illma Signoria del Signor Duca questa sera essere alloggiata a Pistoia, e domattina infallanter s'expecta sia a desinare a Prato: et a XX. in XXI. hora s'expecta qui, dove questi magnifici Signori Fiorentini fanno maravigliosi apparati per diversi luoghi della città, et in molte case di spectabilissimi cittadini, con tanta sumptuosità ch'è cosa ammiranda a vedere.

E quantunque grande numero di cittadini kavalieri et dignissime persone sieno cavalcate già più giorni a riscontra di sua Signoria con molta magnificentia: pur nientedimanco questi cittadini preposti a tale honoranza hanno ordinato che domani tutti quelli (che) posano, sieno a cavallo. Fannoli grande honore et le spese a sua Signoria et tucta sua compagnia, dal dì che arriva ne' loro terreni infino che partirà.

Et tucti si dogliano dello spendio, el quale dicono sarà gravissima; ma dicono farlo volentieri, quantunque duro lo' paia, per lo grande obrigo (che) hanno con sua Excellentia. La sua comitiva sarà grandissima, impero non solamente quelli (che) mena seco che sono fra cavalli et muli per quanto si attesta 1200, et 300 balestrieri a cavallo o più, ma etiam di tutti luoghi quà piove forestaria a farli honore et reverentia.

Et questa sera è quà venuto el magnifico Signore da Imola con cavalli circa 60, et donne, per quanto intendo si attende quà el figliuolo del Conte

d' Urbino con cavalli 80. Ma, per quanto vegho, infino qui, tucti sono senza armi e bene in punto.

Ierimattina m' imbatte' vedere andare buona brigata di provisionati di questa Signoria a Pisa, bene armati et bene a ordine. Hanno avuta admiratione, ma non ho possuto investigare la cagione. Per alcuni mercatanti genovesi che sono quì, ho inteso come la Comunità loro ha preparato 2 galee grosse et venti lenti (legni?) grossi, di portata di più che 100 homini l'uno, per venire a Pisa a levare lo illmo signor Duca per essere a Genova. Ho voluto intendare del tempo di sua stantia qui. Parlasene variamente: pùr per li più si stima che farà quà la festa dell' Annunziata; et io mello persuado assai, veduto el grande apparato (che) fanno, et l' apporatione dele representationi (che) si fanno à Sancto Spirito, al Karmine, et a Santo Felice, le quali si faranno in diversi dì.

Magnifici Signori, perchè quà ho expedito le faccende mie, per desiderio da vedare tanto triumpho, aspectarò quà la intrata di sua Excelentia, per meglio oculata fide intendare el tutto; et dipoi, Deo dante, spero partirmi, et di quanto intendo darò notitia a V. M. S., oro proprio. Alla quale sempre mi racomando. Ex Florentia XIII. martii, 1470.

E. D. V. Servitor manimus. Laurentius Venturinus.

#### FLORENCE.

10. Magnifici, etc. Stamattina, per Matteuccio scripsi l'ultima, (letter missing) da poi ad hore 22, fece lo ingresso in questa magnifica ciptà lo illmo signor Duca et madama la Duchessa. Entrò per la porta che viene da Prato et venne su in Piazza per infino al Palazzo de' Magnifici Signori, in mezzo tra lo ambasciatore della Maestà del Signor Re a dextris e lo ambarxiatore della illma Signoria di Venezia a sinistris.

Li Magnifici Signori fiorentini avevano facto preparare innanzi al loro Palagio, in sul quello androne, et la con degnissima urbanità de' ciptadini aspetaro la illma signoria del Duca.

El quale come fu apresso quelli Magnifici Signori, essi scesero le scale, et lo signor Duca si fece innanzi, et smontò da cavallo, et simile madama la Duchessa et fecersi le accoglienze gratissime, et immediate rimontaro ad cavallo et andaro ad fare la lor devotione a la Numptiata; et vennero a smontare a la posata ordinata di Lorenzo de Medici, là dove erano deputate da 30 giovene ornatissime ad ricevere la illma Signoria di Madama.

Non dico della quantità de ciptadini et homini da bene che cavalcaro innanzi alla riscontra del prefato Signore, ne della frequentia et moltitudine.

grande de homini et de donne et de degni apparati che erano per le strade, dove haveva a fare transito.

Lo Signor Duca era vestito d'uno broccato azzurro gigliato, a la divisa et arma francese, et simile Madama. Aveva innanzi ad se tucti suoi gentil-homini, signori suoi fratelli, et altri signori, et cortigiani et ambaxiatori. Eranci livree di quelli suoi Signori et intra l'altre ce n'era una de suoi camerieri maggiori, tucti vestiti di cremosi, et ognuno bene a cavallo, con uno levriere a la lassa. Eranvi ancora da 60 paggi, tucti vestiti di velluto verde, in su'n corsieri grossissimi, tucti con fornimento d'oro et d'argento, et selle copertate de broccati de più coloro et cremisi. Mena per simil modo da 65 a 70 muli con forzieri, et carriaggi, tucti con coverte di seta raccamate.

Dell'ordine et ornato delle damigelle di Madama, et dalle sue carrette, non dico altro; et simile dell'apparati grandi qui, che sonno cose quasi incomprendibili: e la V. S. meglio le può considerare che io descrivere.

Non c'è però fama alcuna ne dello stare ne partire suo, se altro intenderò, darò avviso. Da Lorenzo d'Antonio potrà V. M. S. ore tenus più ordinatamente intendere el tucto, che (egli) è stato quà qualche dì, et tucto oculato fide ha veduto, et meglio sapara riferire. Io immediate verso domenica, con gratia de V. M. S., me ne ritornaro ad quella; a la quale hora et sempre me racomando.

Ex Florentia, die 16 martii, 1470, hora secunda noctis. Et domattina all'aprire della porta partirà Schiavetto.

Da poi ho sentito che a Livorno sonno giunte due galee sottili, et aspectano altri legni per levare questo Signore, che vuole fare alla tornata la volta di Genova.

E. V. D. M. Servitor Baldinus.

## FLORENCE.

11. Magnifici, etc. Questa mattina per Schiavetto scripsi ad plenum. Da poi e seguito che la illma Signoria di qui mando ben 50 de' principali lor cittadini a lo illmo signor Duca; et quello con tutta sua corte et magnificentia, menarono ad Palagio: e la Signoria, con grande civiltà, esci dal Palagio, et passò per Piazza et fece riscontra ad mezo el camino, et la lo riceveriero et menaronlo al Palagio. El primo luogo a dextris — et in mezo — era i Gonfaloniere di Giustitia (Gino di Neri Capponi), nel secondo allato ad esso lo signor Duca; nel terzo a dextris, lo Turco ambaxiator della Maestà del signor Re (Naples); nel quarto, a sinistris, uno de Magnifici lor Signori, che credo sia el Proposto. Entraro in Palagio, et dimoraro alquanto; da poi

lo signor Duca con la comitiva sua se ne scese, et dove prima era venuto a piedi, montò a cavallo, et ritornossi ad casa di Lorenzo de' Medici, dove poi immediate dietro li vennero, da otto a dieci de' principali della città, tucti cavalieri; reduxersi nel giardino, et facto ognuno trahere da canto, sono rimasi in loro conloqui.

Consideri V. S. qual compagnia et con che apparato venisse lo illmo signor Duca, et qual ciptadinanza fusse alla riscontra con questi illmi Signori. Altro non sento. Lorenzo d'Antonio (his fellow correspondent, has preceded him on the way back to Siena), me ha scritto che soprasegga el mio ritorno un dì o due per respecto del provvedere a la stanza de li ambaxiatori de V. M. S. a la quale mi racomando. Florentia, 16 martii, 1470.

E. V. M. D.      Servitor Baldinus.

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## APPENDIX III.

### The Saint John's Day celebrations.

G. Guasti, "Le Feste di San Giovanni in Firenze" — reprinted 1908. The celebration of S. John the Baptist's day made midsummer week in Florence a centre of attraction of which chroniclers from the XIIIth century onwards have recorded the features. The "Offerta", or Tribute procession to their Patron Saint, comprised deputations of the clergy, the political and civic authorities, the Guilds and Corporations to symbolize Florentine suzerainty over her allied city-states and protected rulers, and the townships within her jurisdiction. The "Mostra" or show of shop-fronts, in which may be discerned the germ idea of the modern Arts and Crafts Exhibitions, testified to the fruits of Florentine energy and mercantile enterprise. The tournaments and games, the trials of strength between rival city wards, and the "Palio" races, all tended by their variety, and the splendour of the prize offered, — the "Palio" was a length of cloth of gold or silver, — to enhance the repute and status of Florence in the eyes of a vast concourse of visitors; the occasion being used also to exercise state hospitality on a scale befitting the city of merchant-princes wealth. The ceremonial order followed in the XIVth century underwent no material change until 1454, when a revised programme was sanctioned for that year by the Signoria, remaining in force excepting only the ten years interval of public mourning for Giuliano de' Medici, 1478-88, and the interruptions occasioned by public calamity after the Medici overthrow, 1494, until their restoration in 1512. The latter date was signalized by further elaborations of the *order of the play*. We are fortunate to possess a record of the 1454 Revised Order, written down by Matteo Palmieri. The too succinct outline of the festivities of 1488 at which Franceschetto Cybò is the guest of honour, in Benedetto Dei, Piero da Bibbiena and other eye-witnesses' letters, can thus be filled in with knowledge which, taken for granted by contemporaries, necessarily escapes posterity.

Palmieri opens his narrative with the brief statement of former usage. An amusing digression, the episode of a crazy "German" who attempts to

wreck the " Edifice " of the " Emperor Octavian and the Sibyl " adds the vivid picture of a mediaeval holiday crowd's humours, to the setting of which the stones of Piazza della Signoria bear witness.

" For S Giovanni of 1454 a changed order of the festivities was made which had formerly been carried out, in this wise, to wit on the 22nd the ' Mostra ', on the 23rd in the morning, the procession of the Companies, the Friars, and Priests, and the ' Edifices ' ; in the evening the ' Offerta ' (procession), and on the 24th the Palio. And it was ordered anew in this wise : that is to say on the 21th the ' Mostra ' do take place, on the 22nd morning the procession of all the ' Edifices ', which in that year was enacted and shewn as I shall hereafter set forth.

" On the 22nd the Procession was opened by the Cross of Santa Maria del Fiore (Pollaiuolo's Reliquary), the Chapter with all their boy-acolytes, and behind them walked six choristers. Second, the Companies of Jacopo the wool-dresser, and Nofri the shoe-maker, with some thirty children dressed in white and as angels. Third, the Edifice of S. Michael the Angel which was surmounted by God the Father on a cloud, and in the Piazza facing the Signoria they acted the Battle of the Angels, when Lucifer with his accursed host is driven from heaven. Fourth, the Company of Ser Antonio and of Pietro di Mariano with some thirty children garbed in white, and dressed as angels. Fifth, the Edifice of Adam, which in the Piazza shewed how God created first Adam and then Eve, how He laid His command upon them, and then their disobedience, ending in their ejection from Paradise, with the Temptation first of the Serpent, and other episodes. Sixth, a Moses riding with a mighty retinue of the leaders of the people of Israel, and other folk on horseback. Seventh, the Edifice of Moses, which in the Piazza set forth how God gave him the Tables of the Law. Eighth, several Prophets and Sibyls with Hermes Trismegistus, and other foretellers of Christ's Incarnation. Ninth, the Edifice of the Annunciation, which performed their dumb show. Tenth, the Emperor Octavian with a mighty cavalcade of knights and the Sibyl ; and they acted the manner of the Sibyl's foretelling of the birthplace of Christ, she shewing him the Blessed Virgin soaring aloft in the airs with the Child in her arms. Now it happened that this ' Edifice ' being set down before the Signori, and Octavian dismounting from his charger had climbed upon the stage, entering the temple thereof to begin his show, when a man forced his way thither, a German clad only in his dirty shirt, and standing at the foot he bawled out : " Where is the King of Raona ? (Aragon) " And one of the bystanders answered in jest : " Thou seest him here, " pointing to Octavian. And so he clambered

up on to the stage, none preventing him for they believed him to be one of the players. Whereupon he seized hold of the image that stood inside the temple and threw it down on to the Piazza; and turning to Octavian, who was dressed all in crimson and gold velvet brocade, he caught him up by the body and hurled him head-long upon the crowd. He then swarmed up one of the pillars trying to reach the children who were arrayed there to figure angels, but by this time the bystanders came after him with sticks and staves in their hands, and severely belabouring him, brought him to the ground. He picked himself up and strove once more to climb the "Edifice," but blows rained upon him from above and below, he was overpowered and taken into custody. "Palmieri now continues his enumeration of the 'Edifices.' " Eleven, 'Templum Pacis' with the Edifice of the Nativity, to perform their show. Twelve, a magnificent and triumphal temple for a stage, of which the eight sides were adorned with the seven figures of the Virtues and the Blessed Virgin on the eastward front, with Christ new-born in her arms; and Herod came up before this stage and gave his show. Thirteen, the three Magi, with a retinue of over two hundred horse most handsomely caparisoned and equipped, rode forward to do obeisance before the Child. The Passion and Descent from the Cross were omitted, these scenes being deemed unsuited for festive shows. Fourteen, a cavalcade of Pilate's horsemen drawn up in battle array before the Tomb. Fifteen, the Edifice of the Holy Sepulchre when Christ rose to life. Sixteen, the Edifice of Limbo whence He released the Holy Fathers. Seventeen, the Edifice of Paradise whither He brought the said Holy Fathers. Eighteen, the Apostles and the Marys who witnessed at the Ascension. Nineteen, the Edifice of the Ascension of Christ, that is to say, shewing how He went up to Heaven. Twenty, the cavalcade of three Kings, Queens, Damsels, and Nymphs, with hounds and other appurtenances. Twenty-one, the Edifice of the Quick and the Dead. Twenty-two, the Edifice of the Last Judgment, with open biers carried in procession, Paradise and Hell, and the representation thereof, as Faith teacheth us what shall come to pass at the end of time. All the stages (Edifizi) aforesaid were brought to the Piazza and the plays enacted thereon before the Signori, and it lasted until the 16th hour. "

" In the evening of the said 22nd, all the City Officers proceeded to the 'Offerta' in the Palace and they numbered 42, and the citizens were 288 all told, with them. And after them came the Six of the Merchant's Exchange with their aldermen.

" In the evening of the 23rd the Procession of all the children of the religious sodalities was marshalled, and there followed the religious communities and clergy with their banners, and relics carried on biers, with a

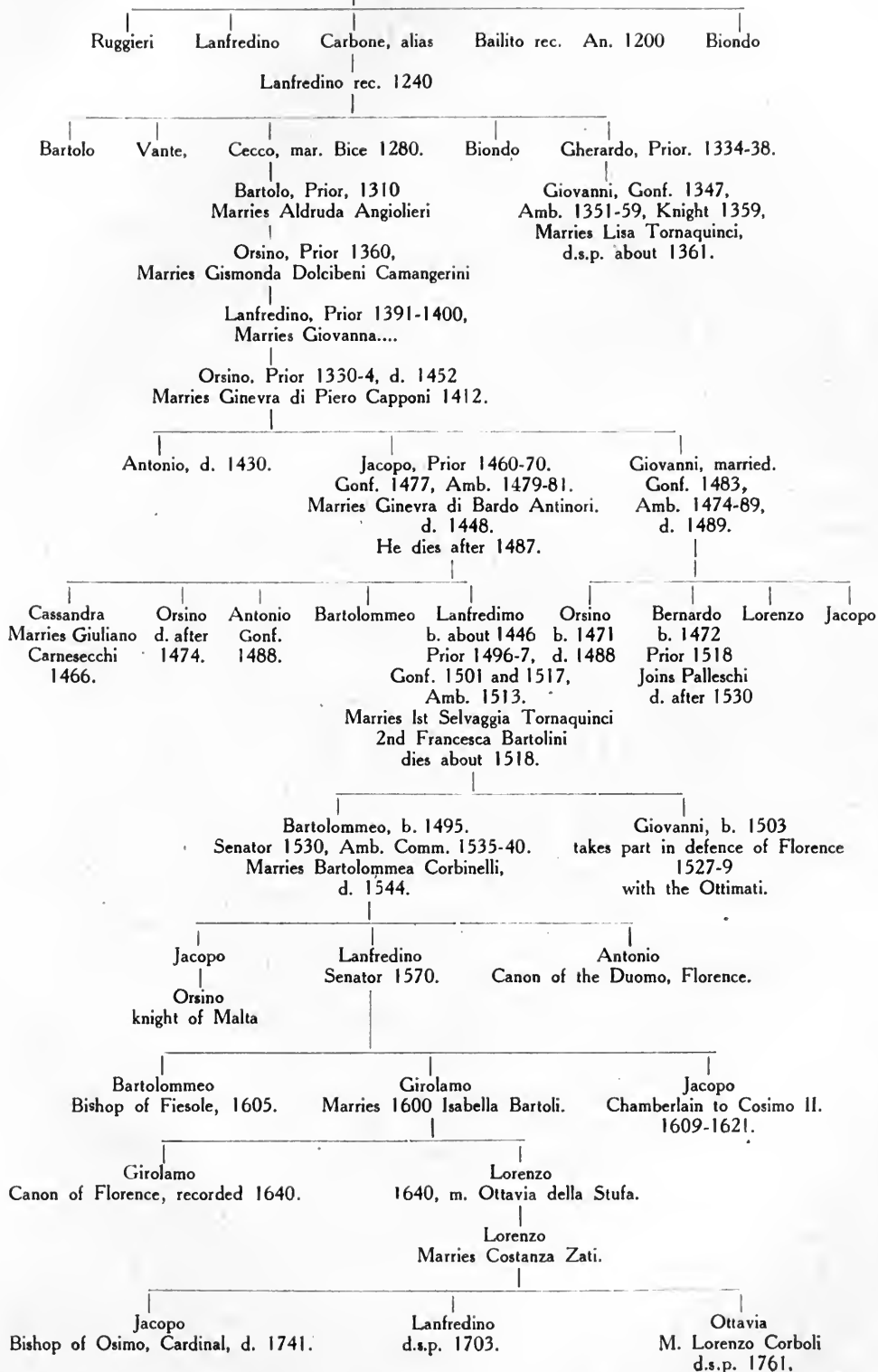
mighty array of vestments, such as had not been seen before on like occasions.

" In the evening the ' Offerta ' of the Signoria was solemnized, followed by the standards of the sixteen Wards (Gonfaloni) with their companies, all in the manner hitherto accustomed. In the morning of the 24th the ' Offerte ' laid down by usage were proffered : to wit First, the *Parte Guelfa*, and this year they were more numerous than before, over 700 citizens took part. Second, the other *Palii*. Third, the *Ceri* (great wooden candelabra). Fourth, great wax tapers all alight. Fifth, the *Mint*, a deputation of officials. Sixth, the prisoners to whom a free pardon was accorded. Seventh, the *Racers*, and afterwards the ' *Palio* ' of S. Giovanni, and last our *Signori*. In the evening the ' *Palio* ' of rich brocade was contested in the customary manner. . . "



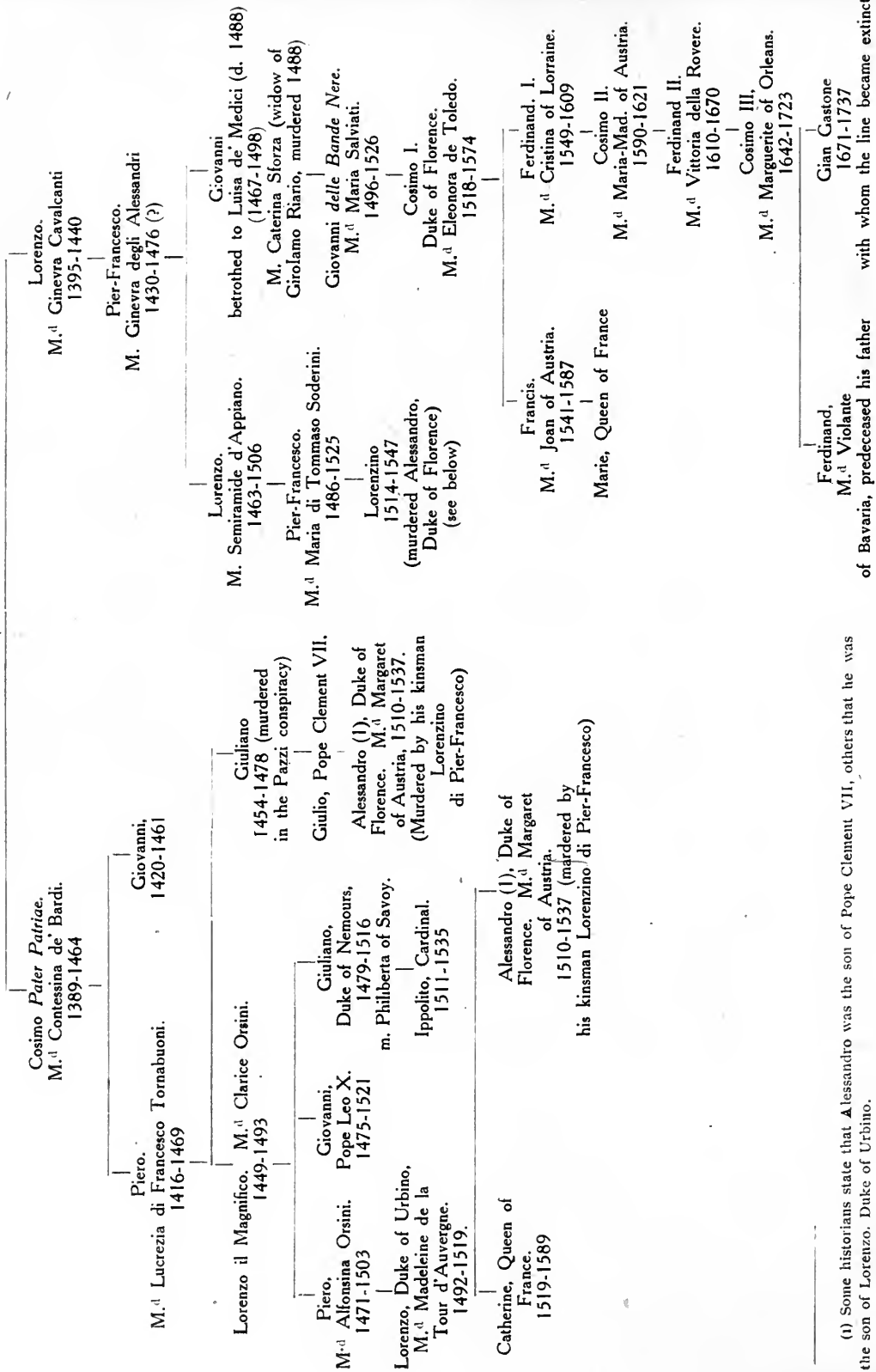
# LANFREDINI PEDIGREE.

LANFREDINO, recorded Ann. 1160



# ABRIDGED GENEALOGY OF THE MEDICI - TO WHOM REFERENCE IS MADE.

GIOVANNI DI BICCI 1360-1429



(1) Some historians state that Alessandro was the son of Pope Clement VII, others that he was the son of Lorenzo, Duke of Urbino.

## CORRIGENDA

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<i>For.</i>	<i>Read.</i>	<i>For.</i>	<i>Read.</i>
Masser - l. 31 - p. 9 . . . .	Messer	lyingween the bet - l. 38 - 150.	lying between
Bentacostal - l. 7 - p. 13. . . .	Pentecostal	some the - l. 27 - p. 155. . . .	some of the
Lanfredin - l. 14 - p. 13. . . .	Lanfredini	Genosse - l. 38 - p. 162. . . .	Genoese
elec - l. 23 - p. 23. . . . .	elect	archaway - l. 13 - p. 173 . . . .	archway
turnig - l. 35 - p. 32 . . . . .	turning	Lodovico - l. 27 - p. 180 . . . .	Federigo
bufferstates - l. 30 - p. 43 . . . .	buffer-states	Mario - l. 17 - p. 183 . . . . .	Marco
artpatronage - l. 7 - p. 52 . . . .	art-patronage	at ogether - l. 13 - p. 186 . . . .	altogether
Daviz - l. 26 - p. 55 . . . . .	Davizi	eyewitness - l. 42 - p. 196 . . . .	eyewitness
right - l. 20 - p. 59 . . . . .	light	writn - l. 42 - p. 196. . . . .	written
citisen - l. 14 - p. 67. . . . .	citizen	your - l. 16 - p. 208 . . . . .	year
frist - l. 28 - p. 69 . . . . .	first	ulttma - l. 18 - p. 208 . . . . .	ultima
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With - l. 6 - p. 74 . . . . .	with	Papars - l. 19 - p. 209 . . . . .	Papers
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NOTE. — *It should be observed that the corrigenda are due not to careless proof-reading or printing, but to the circumstance that this book is published in Italy, and the printers are but imperfectly acquainted with the English language.*



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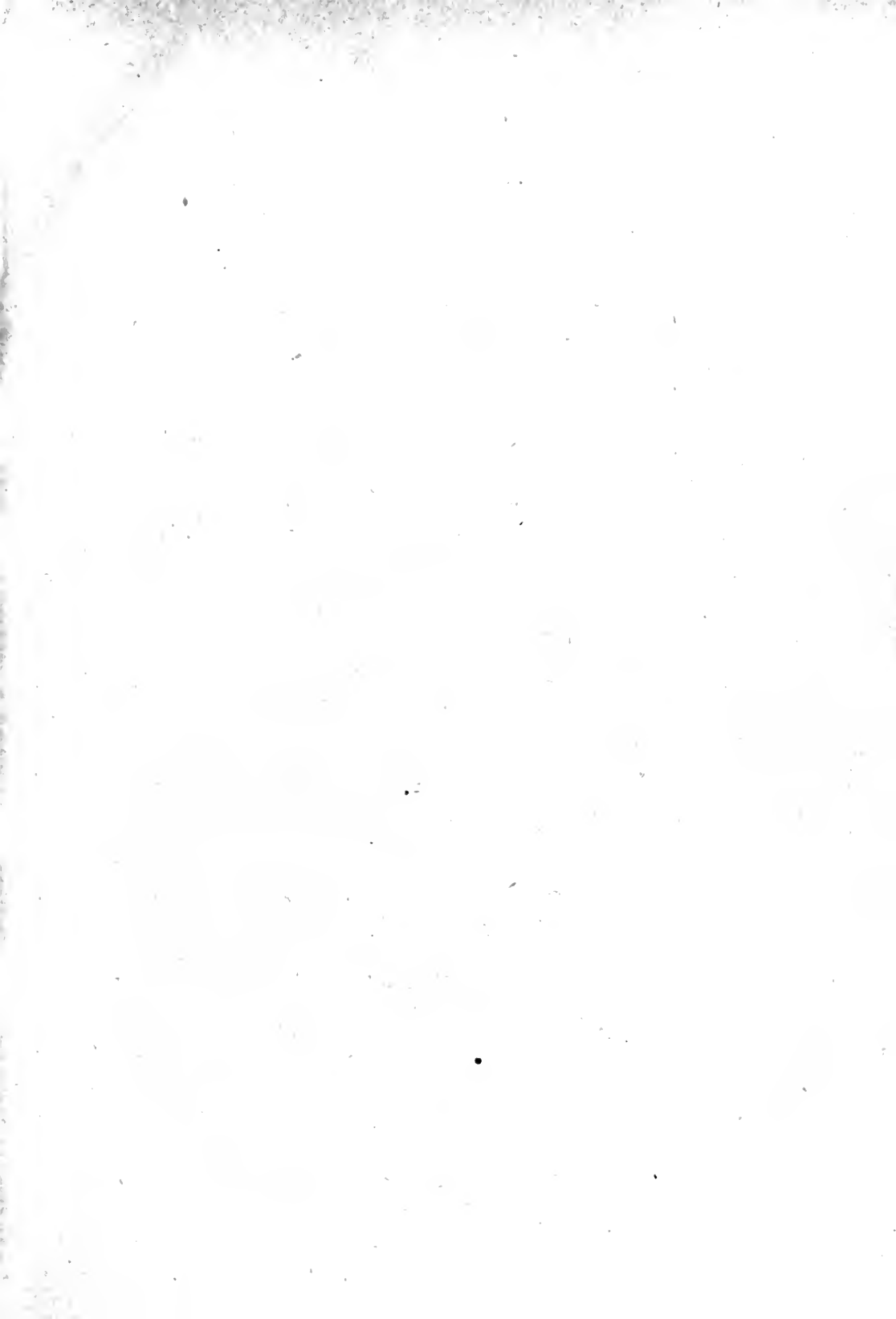
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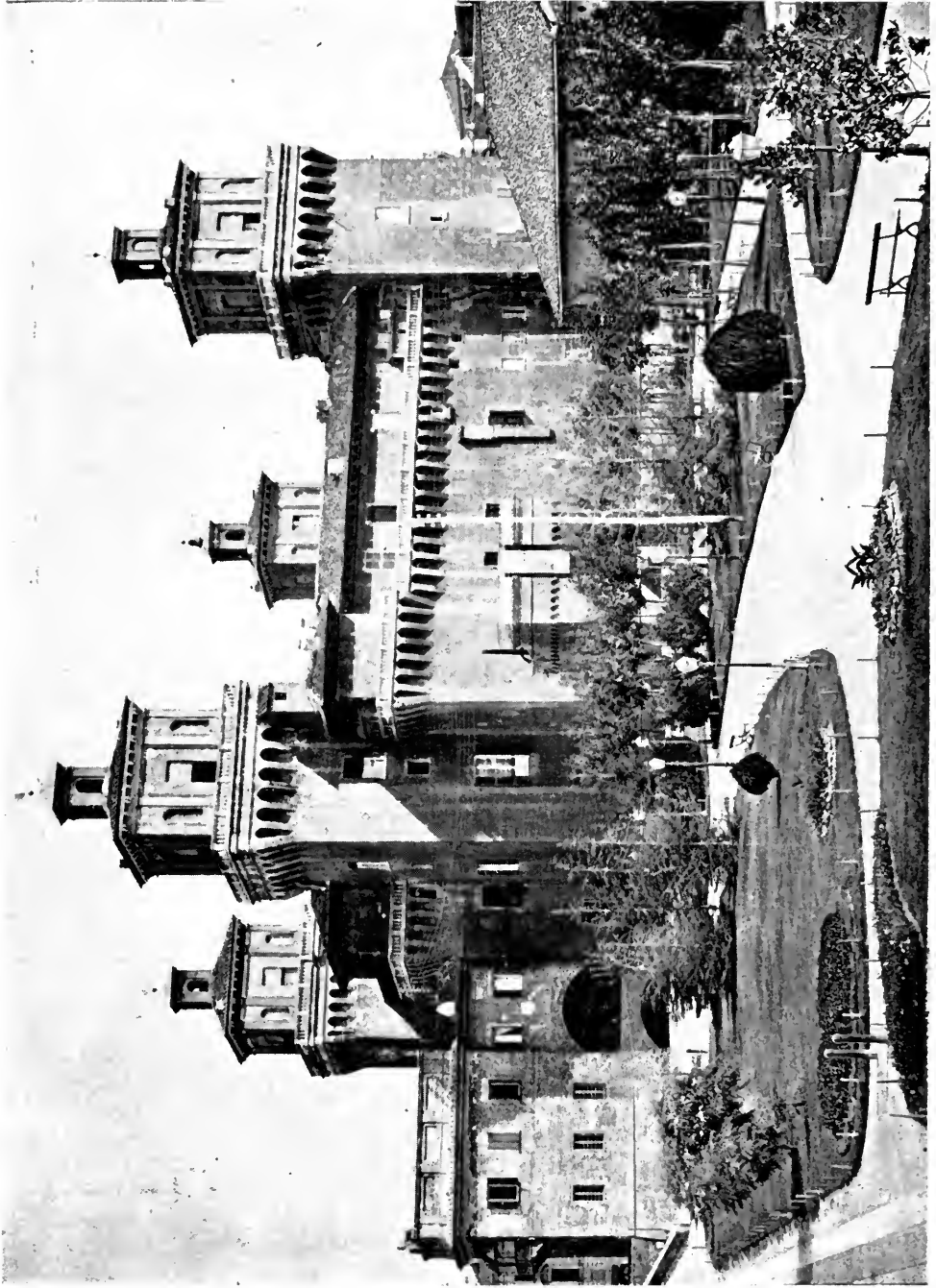
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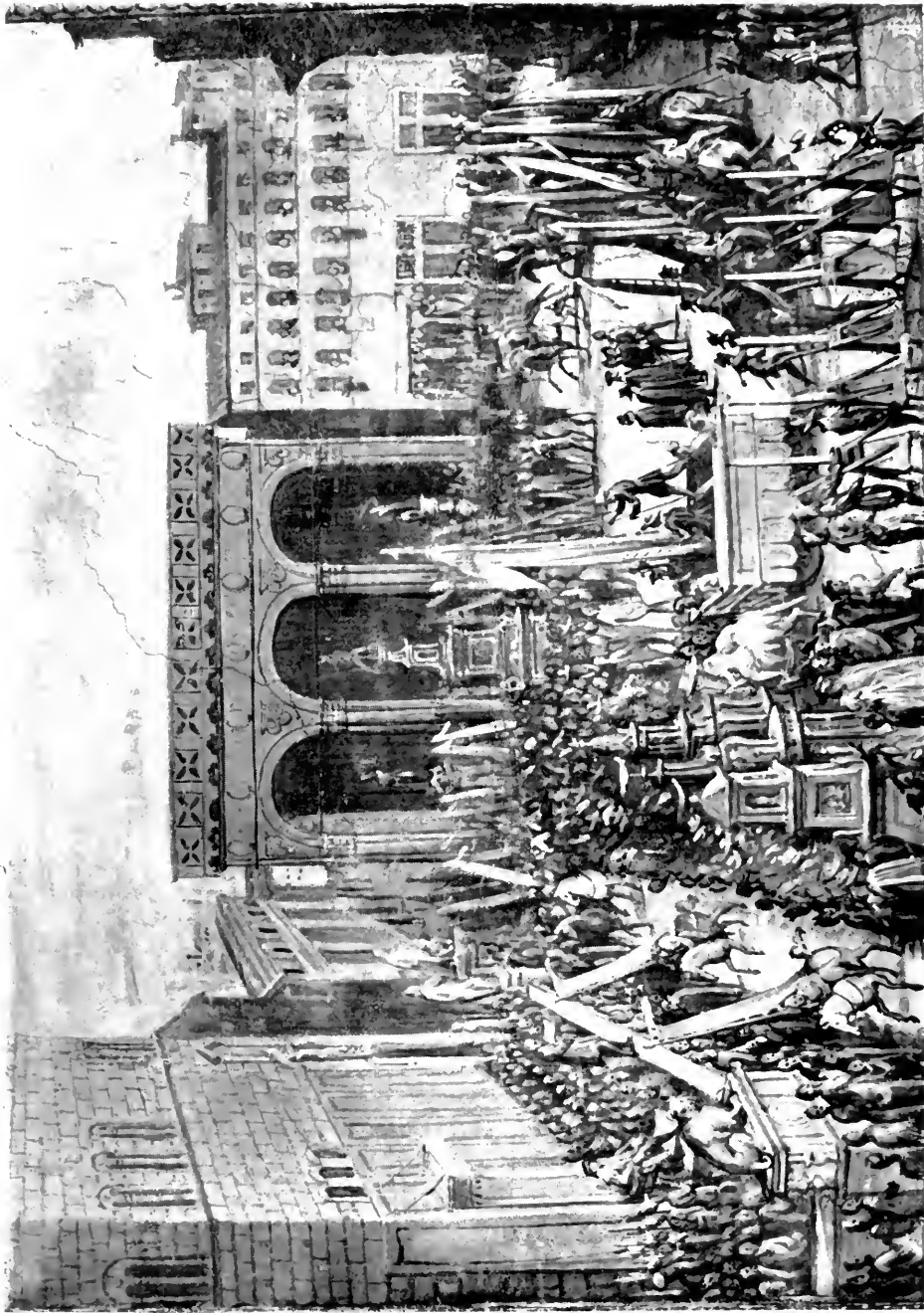




DUCAL PALACE AT FERRARA.

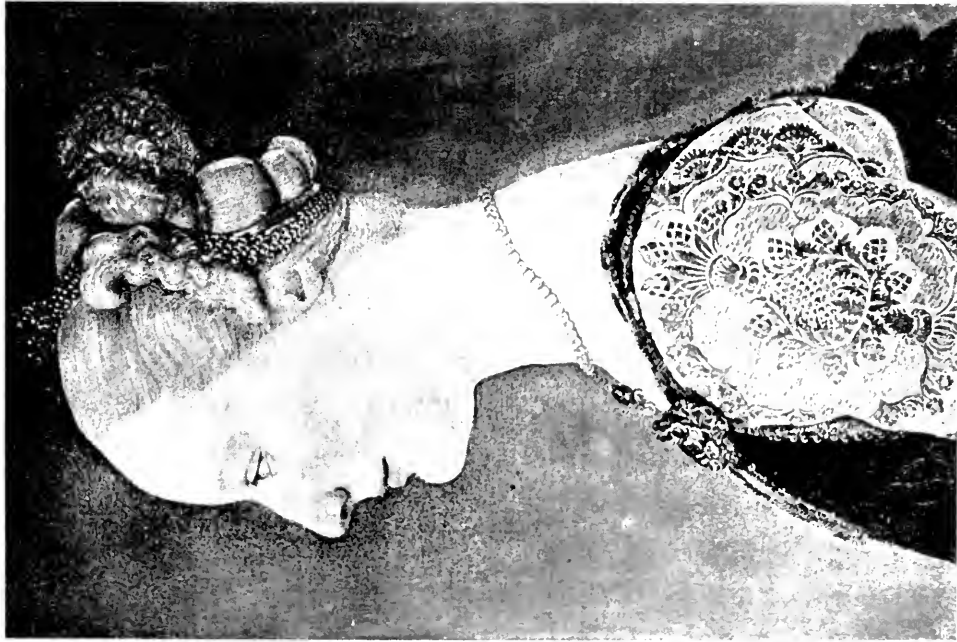




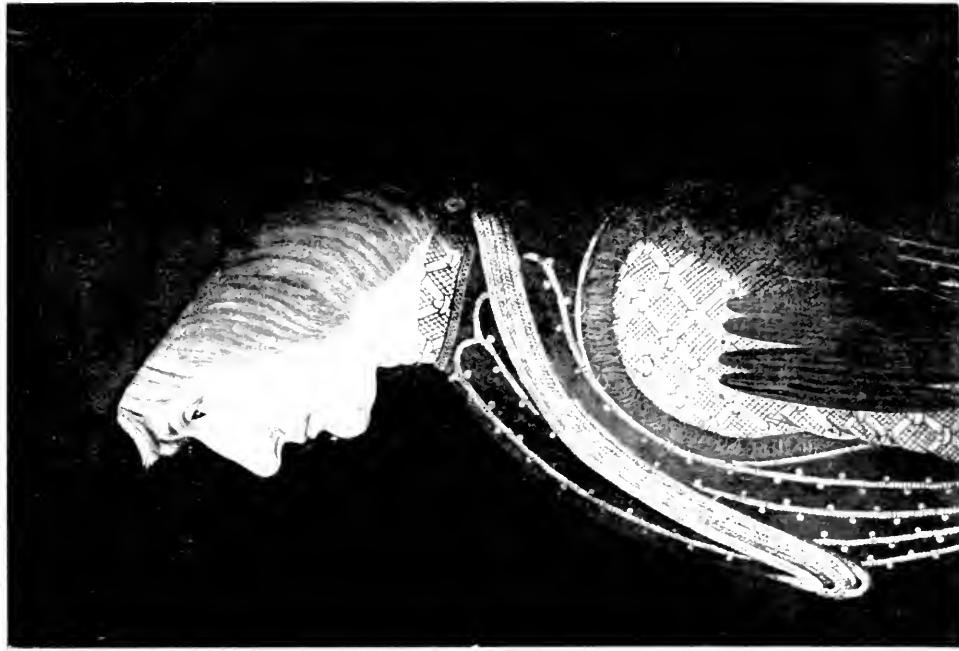


Festa degli Omaggi. - June 24. — Florence - Piazza della Signoria.





Presumed Portrait of Bona of Savoy Duchess of Milan.  
(Uffizi Gallery).



Presumed Portrait of Orsino di Jacopo Lanfredini.  
(Uffizi Gallery).  
Replica in the Lanfredini Palace - Fresco.





PIERO DEL POLLAIUOLO. Presumed Portrait of Orsino di Jacopo Lanfredini - (Lanfredini Palace).



PIERO DEL POLLAIUOLO. Presumed Portrait of Cassandra di Jacopo Lanfredini-Carnesecchi - (Lanfredini Palace).





VENICE.

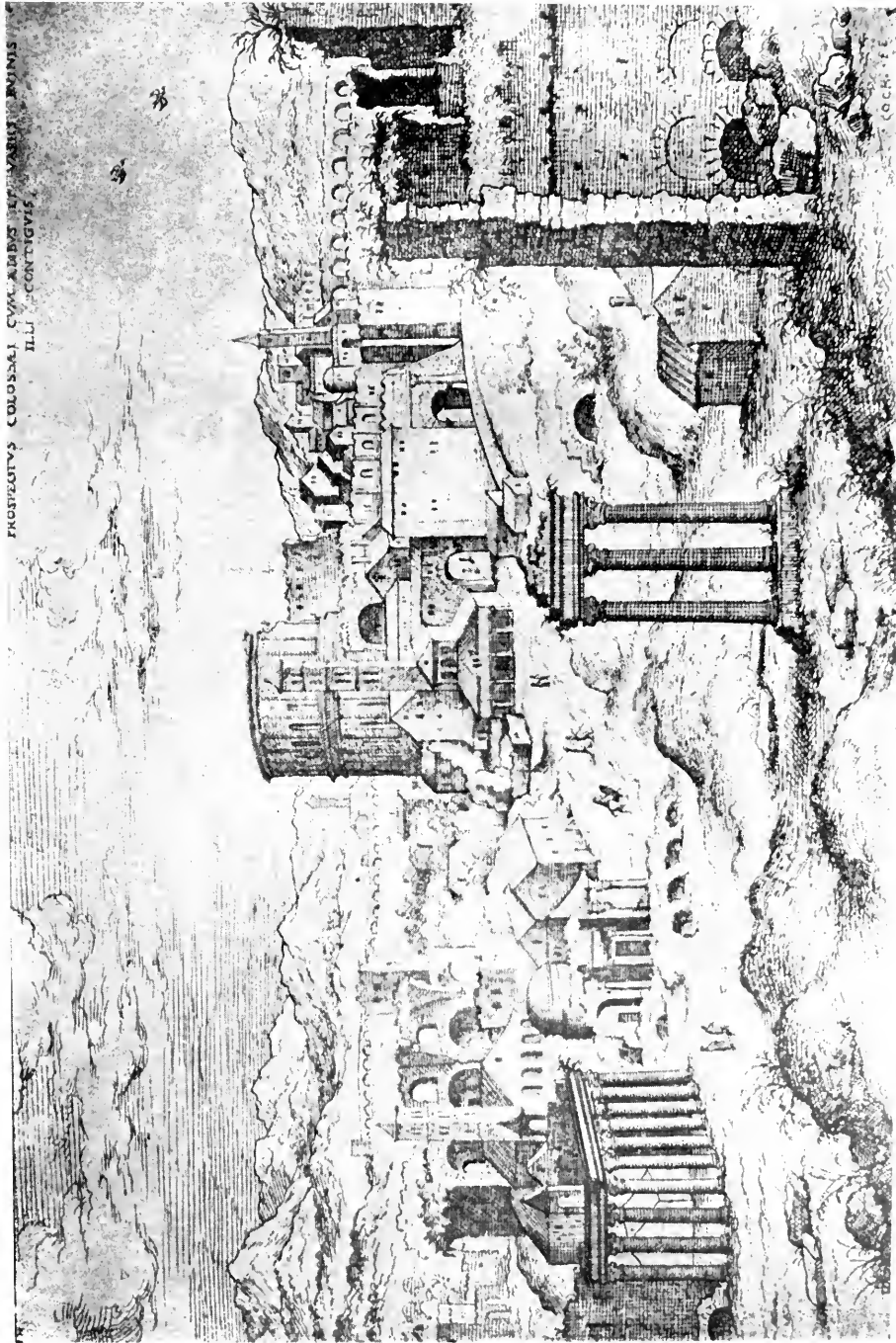




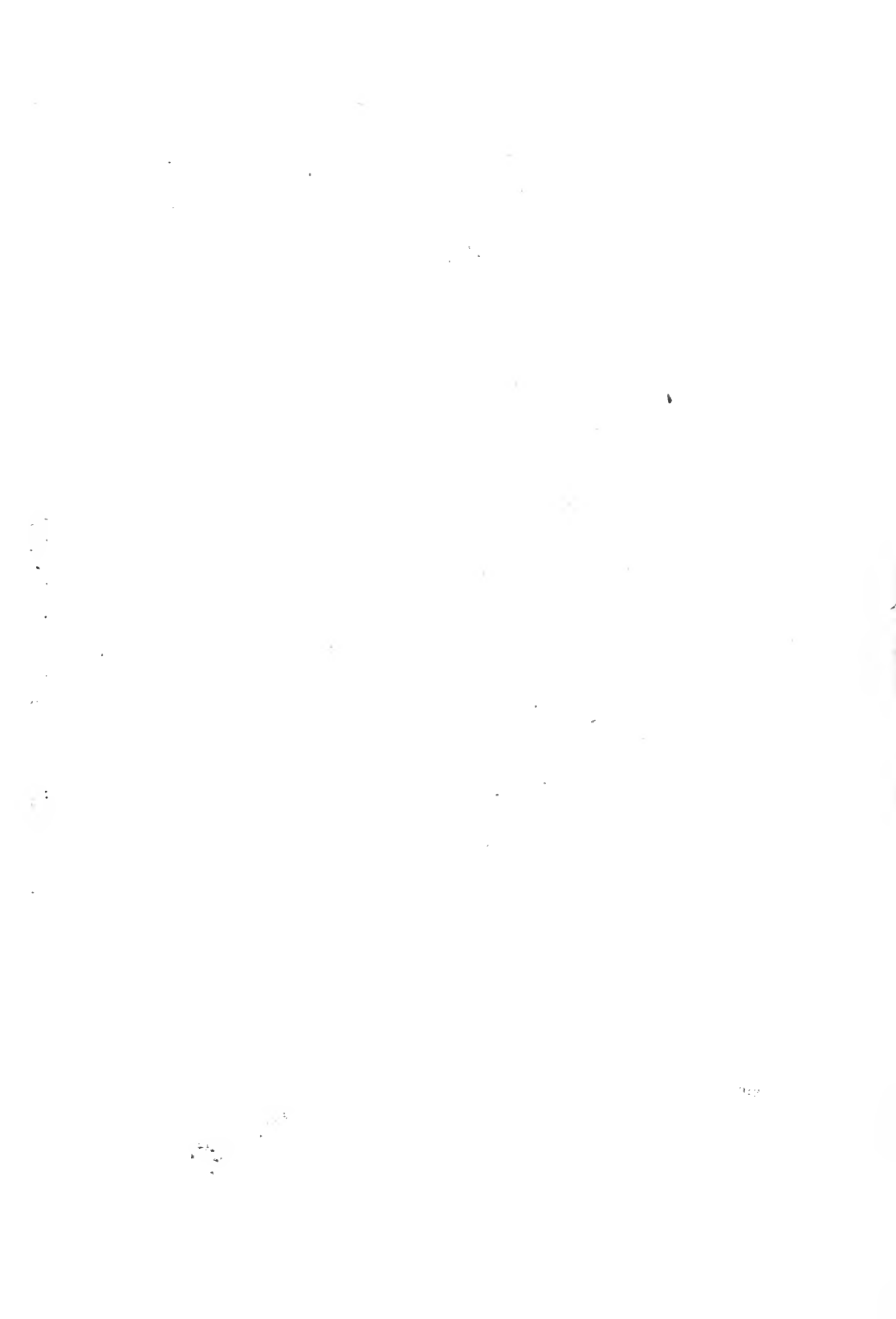


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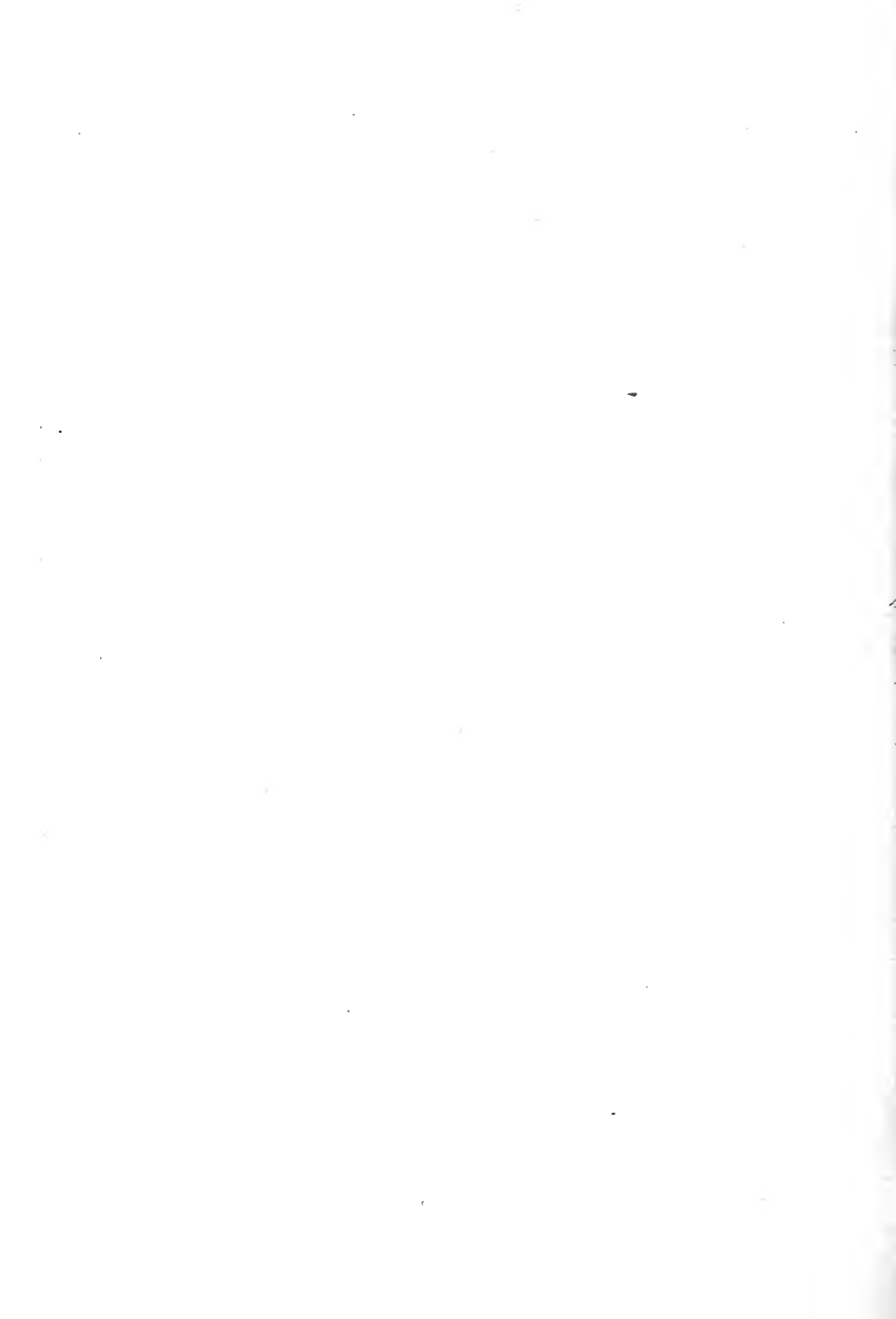


Rome - Vista of the Forum in the XV<sup>th</sup> Century.





State Progress of Pope Leo X. — Florence 1515.





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