

Quasi insalutato ospite:

Frederick III, Leonora of Portugal and their *Cassoni*

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This essay was to have been published in a collection based on the conference, *The Triumph of Marriage: Painted Cassoni of the Renaissance*, held at the Isabella Stewart Gardner Museum in Boston on 7 November 2008. Publication has now been abandoned. I am publishing the essay in this forum because it contains the research to which Cristelle Baskins refers in her catalogue essay “The Triumph of Marriage: Frederick III and Leonora of Portugal, 1452,” in Cristelle Baskins and Alan Chong, with Virginia Brilliant, *The Triumph of Marriage: Painted Cassoni of the Renaissance*. Exh. cat. Isabella Stewart Gardner Museum and The John and Mable Ringling Museum of Art 2008–2009, Boston 2008, pp. 47–65.

When the newly crowned Holy Roman Emperor Frederick III departed from Florence for the second time, on May 7, 1452, his reputation was somewhat tarnished. The Florentines had done everything in their power to honor him. The Signoria was assembling to accompany him to Porta San Gallo and beyond, but the Emperor chose instead to leap on his horse, and gallop up Via San Gallo, and slip away from Florence “like an unfaREWelled guest.”¹ In spite of bewildered contempt for his behavior, Florence transformed Frederick into a case study for meeting and greeting. They made and kept a detailed record of the *onoranza*, Florentine chroniclers copied the details into their own *ricordanze*, and the city’s herald inscribed it as the first example of such a welcome in his *Libro Cerimoniale*. One further record of the Emperor’s visit was made, in the form of a pair of *cassoni*, attributed to Giovanni di Ser Giovanni, called *Lo Scheggia*. The first chest, which was destroyed in the bombing of Bath in 1942 and survives only in a black and white photograph, shows Frederick in Florence (fig. 1), with end panels of a Florentine knighting ceremony in Santa Maria del Fiore (fig. 2), and the arrival of the future Empress Leonora at Porto Pisano (fig. 3). The second, which has been magnificently restored and is now back in the Worcester Art Museum, Worcester, MA, after recent exhibitions at the Isabella

¹ The description of Frederick departing like an unfaREWelled guest (“quasi insalutato hospite”) is found in Giovanni 1444–58, fol. 15r (transcription and translation, doc. 1); see also Filarete 1978, p. 74. The research for this paper was largely carried out at the Harvard Centre for Renaissance Studies, Villa I Tatti, in 2005 and 2006, and was funded from an Australian Research Council Grant and study leave from the University of Sydney. I thank in particular Joseph Connors, then director of Villa I Tatti, for the warmth of his welcome, and also Margaret Haines, Brenda Preyer, Julian Gardner and Christa Gardner von Teuffel, Dale Kent, Christine Reinle, Mark Byron, Luke Sysen and his colleagues Minna Moore Ede and Belinda Ross at the National Gallery in London, Karen Mansfield and Rita Albertson of the Worcester Art Museum in Worcester MA, and the I Tatti fellows of those years, who all assisted in various ways. I also thank Nicholas Terpstra, Nicholas Eckstein and Lynette Olson for their comments on a first discussion of this material, Frances Muecke for her assistance with Latin translations, and Cristelle Baskins and Alan Chong for their enthusiasm in its final stages.

Stewart Gardner Museum in Boston, MA, and the John and Mable Ringling Museum of Art in Sarasota, Florida, shows Frederick's coronation and procession into Rome (fig. 4), the Empress returning to the Vatican (fig. 5), and later Frederick in procession through Rome (fig. 6).² This paper attempts a reading of these two *cassoni* in the light of a variety of textual sources.³

The purpose of the pair of *cassoni* is not self evident. The standard explanation of Florentine painted *cassoni* is that they were painted as gifts to the bride, and carried in procession when she was taken by her husband to her new home. There is no record of a commission for other than a bride. According to Vasari, they depicted “fables from Ovid and other poets, or stories from Greek and Roman history, and hunts, jousts, and love stories and other such things, according to each person's wishes.” In the house of Lorenzo de' Medici, the repertoire extended to include “*feste* and other spectacles” of his day.⁴ They frequently depicted triumphs, allegorical and literary, but rarely depicted “current events,” although the exceptions – the festive *cassoni* of San Giovanni, the *palio*, and jousts in Santa Croce, and the battles of Anghiari and Pisa, of San Romano (which are probably *spalliere* or wainscot panels) and of Trebizond and the Neapolitan Triumph of Alfonso V of Aragon discussed in this volume – are justly celebrated.⁵ Who would commission a pair of *cassoni* honoring Frederick? Baskins proposes Giovanni de' Medici, but given their subject, and the Florentine lack of esteem for Frederick and his behaviour, I do not believe that they would have been an

² Pearce 1957, pp. 245–246; Martin Davies, in Worcester 1974, pp. 351–54; Bellosi and Haines 1999, pp. 8–9, 75 and 98; Baskins 2008, pp. 47–65, and catalogue entry 16, “The Coronation of Frederick III in Rome,” pp. 154–157, and complete bibliography. The attribution to Giovanni di Ser Giovanni, called *lo Scheggia*, is not challenged; the catalogue date of “around 1460” could be revised to 1452, to make the panels contemporary with the event. It is probably significant that there is no attempt in the front panel of the Rome *cassone* to show the bronze angel placed on the Castel Sant'Angelo by Nicholas V in the winter of 1452–53 (Burroughs 1990, 72–78).

³ The *cassoni* were not the original focus of the research that underlies this essay. I became interested in the way in which Florentines documented ephemeral festivities in minute detail, and set out to trace the evolution of festive narratives, and to find out how Florentines circulated information about individual and collective magnificence. Frederick proved to offer particular rich resources. My research on Frederick's visit to Florence was substantially complete when news of the *Triumph of Marriage* exhibition reached me, and it was my pleasure to share both documents and an unpublished essay with Cristelle Baskins and her colleagues for the sake of a complete and accurate (as well as handsome) catalogue. I take this opportunity to revisit some of the documents, looking beyond the Florentine sections of Frederick's journey to include discussion of the no less triumphant journey of the bride, from her home in Lisbon to Wiener Neustadt.

⁴ “E le storie, che nel corpo dinanzi si facevano, erano per lo più di favole tolte da Ovidio e da altri poeti, ovvero storie raccontate dagli istorici greci o latini, e similmente cacce, giostre, novelle d'amore et altre cose somiglianti, secondo che meglio amava ciascuno. [...] E che ciò sia vero, si è veduto insino a' giorni nostri, oltre molti altri, alcuni cassoni, spalliere e cornici nelle camere del Magnifico Lorenzo Vecchio de' Medici, nei quali era dipinto di mano di pittori non mica plebei, ma eccellenti maestri, tutte le giostre, torneamenti, cacce, feste et altri spettacoli fatti ne' tempi suoi, con giudizio, con invenzione e con arte maravigliosa,” Vasari 1966, vol. 3, pp. 37–8, from the *Vita di Dello Delli pittor fiorentino*.

⁵ Twenty-one *cassone* and *spalliera* panels are listed in Musacchio 2008, pp. 44–5, n. 15.

appropriate gift for any Florentine bride.⁶ My hypothesis is that the patron was Frederick himself. He was an inveterate tourist and shopper, and we know that he busied himself in Florence acquiring gifts for himself and his bride. I believe that the *cassoni* were intended to be among those gifts.

The German Emperor Frederick was thirty-six years old when he married the Infanta of Portugal, Leonora. He had rejected alliances with France, Savoy and Luxembourg, but in 1450–51, his secretary, Enea Silvio Piccolomini, later Pope Pius II, traveled to the court of Naples, where he negotiated a marriage agreement with the sixteen-year-old princess's uncle, Afonso the Magnanimous.⁷ There were two important clauses: that Leonora would land in Talamone, seaport of Piccolomini's native city of Siena; and that Frederick or his ambassadors would go there in person to meet his bride.⁸ In March 1451, Frederick sent two ambassadors, Nikolaus Lankmann of Falkenstein, the Imperial Chaplain, and Jacob Mötzt, a master of Canon Law, to finalize the marriage in Lisbon and bring the bride to meet her husband at Talamone.⁹

Frederick had been planning and postponing his coronation in Rome since 1449 at least, intending at first that it should be part of a Holy Year pilgrimage to Rome in 1450. Eventually, in May 1451, with the prospect of combining pilgrimage, coronation and marriage, Frederick sent word to Florence that he intended to pass through Florentine territory. For the first time in over a century, the Republic agreed to admit an Emperor, and ordered that he be honored appropriately. Word of Frederick's departure from Wiener Neustadt finally arrived at the beginning of November 1451 and Florence began its preparations in earnest. The city sent ambassadors to Ferrara to report in detail on how the Emperor was being honored

⁶ Baskins 2008, p. 62.

⁷ The dowry and marriage contracts are in Cordeiro 1894, pp. 201–21. The Emperor was thirty-five when the negotiations began. The date of the princess's birth is uncertain, but probably September 18, 1436 (Holtz 1993, pp. 255–6); the princess was just fifteen when she set out for Italy.

⁸ For the landing in Talamone, see Cordeiro 1894, pp. 220–21. For the requirement that the Emperor be present, see Cordiero 1894, p. 209: “[...] no qual logar ou porto ou praia a dita Illustrissima Infanta ha de ser recebida ou pelo dito Serenissimo Senhor Rei dos Romanos ou por aquelle ou aquelles que elle quizer, e depois conduzida onde queira celebrar solemnemente suas nupcias” (in this place or port or landing, the Most Illustrious Infanta is to be received either by the Most Serene Lord King of the Romans, or by a person or persons appointed by him, and then accompanied to where the solemn nuptials are to be celebrated.” Other rumors circulated: the Siense ambassador in Venice heard from the Doge himself that there would be a dowry penalty of 75,000 ducats if the Emperor should fail to go in person; see Siena, Archivio di Stato (hereafter ASS), *Concistoro, Carteggio*, 1970 (November 2, 1450–March 24, 1452); Lumi and Lisini 1878, pp. 11–12; Parducci 1906, p. 300.

⁹ Lankmann 1725; Lankmann 1992. The bride had been meant to arrive in Talamone on November 1, but Lankmann's arrival in Lisbon had been delayed when he was beset by bandits; see also Piccolomini 1970, col. 245A–B.

along the way, to argue their affection for the Emperor, and to ensure that the Emperor did not change his mind and travel to Rome via the Romagna.¹⁰ The Emperor was, however, a willing visitor, and keen to see the famous city and to shop for clothes:

He had heard it said that the city was splendid, magnificently built, full of honorable people; that clothes of silk and gold were made there, and excellent painters were to be found, and exceptional goldsmiths and sculptors; and that all the mechanical arts flourished the so wondrously that she was called Florentia.¹¹

Despite their keenness to receive the Emperor, the Florentines had little experience in the protocols of imperial entries. Charles IV of Bohemia had been refused admittance in 1355, as had Rupert of Bavaria in 1401, and Frederick's predecessor Sigismund in 1412, 1413 and 1432.¹² The Florentines were therefore attentive to every last detail of the Emperor's reception in Venice and Ferrara, and set about appointing their own committee for the *onoranza*.¹³ From this point on, our sources for the visit are rich and varied, and I will draw on a range of privileged witnesses: Francesco Filarete, author of the first Florentine *Libro cerimoniale* (c. 1475); Francesco Giovanni, whose son was involved in the billeting process; Pagolo Petriboni, author of an extensive *Priorista*; Piero Brandi, the *provveditore* in charge of the logistical arrangements for the visit; Mauro Ceffini, deputized to look after the guests in the Casa del Patriarca; the humanist historian Matteo Palmieri, who was briefly one of the *deputati*; the Florentine archbishop Antoninus Pierozzi; and the Emperor's Sieneese secretary, Enea Silvio Piccolomini, who described the events both in his autobiography and in his life of Frederick III.¹⁴ Behind these sources is another

¹⁰ Giovanni 1444–58, fol. 14r; see also ASF, *Dieci di Balìa, Deliberazioni, condotte e stanziamenti*, 19, fols. 16v–17v (January 31, 1451–July 29, 1452; Lazzarino 1936, p. 294. The Florentine ambassadors (including Cosimo de' Medici) teamed up with the Milanese ambassadors, whose reports from Rome for March 7, 11, 16 and 17, 1452, are in Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale (hereafter BNP), *Fonds Italiens*, 1586, fols. 45r–65r.

¹¹ Piccolomini 1970, col. 241A.

¹² Trexler 1980b, p. 300; and *Cirimonie* n. d., fol. 73r. Charles IV's coronation in Rome is described by Matteo Villani 1834, p. 151–2 (III.XCII–IV.II). Charles had entered Rome first as an anonymous pilgrim on Maundy Thursday, and had visited pilgrim churches on Good Friday and Easter Saturday. On Easter Sunday he made his official entrance and was crowned that day in St Peter's.

¹³ Three lists of nominations for the *deputati* survive, all leading citizens, including Cosimo de' Medici, and the statutory artisan: ASF, *Dieci di Balìa, Ricordanze*, 7 (1451–1452), fol. 88v; Brandi 1451/2, inside front cover; Petriboni 2001, pp. 349–50.

¹⁴ Filarete 1978, pp. 161–164; Giovanni 1444–58, fols. 14r–15r (see transcription and translation, docs. 1–2); Petriboni 2001, pp. 349–67, which is followed substantially by Cambi 1785–6, vol. 1, pp. 280–81; Brandi 1451/2; Ceffini 1451/2; Palmieri 1906, pp. 162–4; Antoninus 1586, vol. 3, p. 554 (III, XXII, XII, §IV; see translation, doc. 4);

that I have not located: the official account prepared by Ser Alesso Pelli, Cosimo de' Medici's "personal assistant" who was appointed as secretary to the organizing committee,¹⁵ which was known directly or indirectly, to Filarete and to one of his successors who prepared a Ceremonial in the early sixteenth century, as well as to Francesco Giovanni and to Petriboni.¹⁶

The image of Frederick that emerges from these sources is a mixed one: the Florentines, with their finely developed taste for good horses, fine clothes and dazzling jewelry find much to praise in the physical appearance of the Emperor. The long blond hair of the visitors, the gold and pearls, the rich furs and fabrics, the armor and caparisons seduced their eyes but not their republican hearts. But the Florentines found ways to contrast their egalitarian dress and their liberty to the opulent fearfulness of the visitors. Francesco Giovanni reports that Frederick could not accept that there were no guards on patrol in the city, and that the Germans marveled at their simple robes that made them all look like *medici*, that is, all like doctors, and all indistinguishable from members of the leading banking family.¹⁷ An unnamed German knight traveling with Frederick notes the richness and generosity of the Florentines, but insists that they greeted the Emperor on bended knee.¹⁸

The Florentines took considerable pride too in their ability to organize the logistics of a major visit. Feeding, lighting, heating, and accommodating the visitors in the depths of winter required superhuman efforts: the Committee requisitioned timber, hay, straw, meat and game throughout the *contado*, as well as spaces and services throughout the city.¹⁹ In return, Frederick made a magnificent entry and departure,

Piccolomini 1984, vol.1, pp. 110–35 (t.22–4); and Piccolomini 1970, vol. 2, cols. 1–475 (see translation of cols. 302C–305A, doc. 5).

¹⁵ Brandi 1451/2, fol. 101v, March 3, 1451/2. On Ser Alesso, see Giovanni 1444–58, fol. 15r (doc. 1), and Kent 2008.

¹⁶ *Cirimonie* n. d., in particular, *Honoranza e cerimonie di una venuta di uno Imperatore in Firenze*, fols. 73r–76r (see transcription and translation, doc. 6). For recent German research on Frederick and his retinue, see Reinle 1993 and Hack 2007.

¹⁷ Giovanni 1444–58, fol. 14r (doc. 1).

¹⁸ “[...] und haben da nidergekneyt; [...] und haben den Kunig mit nider Knyen empfangen, und darnach das gemain volck” (and [they] knelt down there; [...] and received the king on their knees, and thereupon all the people [did so too]), *Hodoeporicon* 1778, p. 10; see also the account attributed to Kaspar Enenkel, Frederick’s advisor, see Hoheneck 1727–47, vol. 3, p. 134, newly edited in Hack 2007.

¹⁹ The provisions for the Casa del Patriarca are indicative: carpenters had constructed a sideboard (*credenziera*), possibly to lock away the tableware that had been lent, an altar with *predella* and kneeler, and high table and seating for the dining hall; thirty-five beds with *cassapanche* around them had been built for the *signori*, while a platform above the stalls, and the necessary straw (eight donkey-loads and 12,100 bundles of straw, eleven cart-loads of hay) was provided for the men and animals. Seven cart-loads and 139 donkey-loads of firewood (as well as a ladder and some benches, which had to be replaced) provided heating. The kitchen produced prodigious amounts of food: in the space of six days, it served 5007 four-penny loaves of bread, 1023 pounds of fish, 1489 pounds of meat, 1766 birds (game birds and poultry), 11,300 eggs, nine wild goats, one wild boar, and three hares.

and attended mass in the cathedral for the Feast of the Purification of the Virgin, February 2. Apart from that, he was largely left to his own devices.

From the moment he arrived, Frederick was busy shopping. Francesco Sforza's ambassador reports his difficulty in gaining audience with the Emperor because of his shopping expeditions:

we do not think he does it out of any ill will but partly because he is very occupied, especially with the queen who has arrived in Livorno with all her entourage, and partly because he spends his time looking at pearls and jewels, gold brocades and velvets, silks and wools, and pine-cone patterned *pignolati* damasks, just as if he were some little shop-keeper, and he buys little or nothing, and he keeps the Signoria of this city standing around from dawn to dusk, and Misser Carlo d'Arezzo and the citizens of Florence come, and the Sienese ambassadors, and the Marquis of Ferrara's, and to tell the truth all Florence has something to say about it and now, with all respect, they are making fun of him, which I do regret.²⁰

Piccolomini reports, in his *vita* of his former patron, that later, in Venice, Frederick would disguise himself as an ordinary citizen, in order to buy things to send home, but in Florence he seems to have been able to acquire objects of great worth simply by asking and sometimes not even that. Palmieri, too, complains of his haggling:

He revealed himself to be a mean and miserly prince, taking every wretched gift, and even asking, in person, for things of little worth; he haggled even over ordinary cotton cloth that cost just *soldi* a yard. And there was never any report that he gave any gift to anyone, and he went off with some of the little things that

This was washed down with 79 ½ barrels and 160 flasks of wine. As soon as the Germans arrived, Ceffini had to comb the city for cabbages and vinegar which he bought wherever he could find them; Ceffini 1451/2.

²⁰ "In vero a tuti nuy è parso non lo faza per alcuno mal animo ma parte per vere occupationi, maxime de la regina la qual cum grande gente è gionta a Livorno, parte perché consumma lo tempo in vedere perle e gioye, e pani d'oro e panni de veluto e de seta e panni de lana, e pig<n>olati como se ello fosse uno mercadantoto, e pocho o niente compara, e fa etiandio stare da la matina a la sera la Signoria di questa excelsa citade e misser Carlo d'Arezo e quanti cittadini ce vengono et li ambasatori de Siena e del marchese de Ferara, che in vero tuta Firenze se ne dà da dire, y mo' cum reverentia se ne fanno beffe dil che me ricrese," Sceva de Curte to Francesco Sforza, letter of February 4 (morning), 1452, BNP, *Fonds Italiens*, 1586, fol. 35r; see also Pastor, vol. 2, p. 145 (II.1.IV). Carlo Marsuppini of Arezzo was the Florentine Chancellor and the city's mouthpiece.

had been laid out to welcome him, so that he revealed himself to be mean and grasping.²¹

When relics in Santa Maria del Fiore took his fancy, they were given to him, and the Commune subsequently paid for a silver reliquary to be made to contain them.²² The Commune also compensated the friars of Santa Maria Novella for an altar *pallium* that left with him, and borrowed silver that was used in the *casa del Patriarca* (a palazzo that had belonged to Piero di Neri Ardinghelli and which was now used for distinguished guests of the city) left with the Emperor's entourage.²³

Despite several attempts, Frederick was unable to speak to Cosimo de' Medici, who was too ill to receive him. Even so, the Emperor inspected some of the cloth for which the Medici were famed, and Cosimo's sons Piero and Giovanni made a gift of it to him.²⁴ Other gifts were given voluntarily, according to the normal protocols. The morning after his arrival, he was visited by the Signoria, and fourteen porters, brought him copious gifts of food, while smaller boxes with wine, candles, almonds and pine nuts, spices sweet and savory, and sweetmeats were given to the foreign ambassadors who traveled with the Emperor.²⁵

The Emperor does not appear to have been entertained by the Signoria, and there is no suggestion that they banqueted together at any point, or that he was invited into any Florentine home, or that he took part in any carnival activity. Instead, the Florentines delivered vast quantities of food to Santa Maria Novella and to the residences and inns where his retinue was staying. Frederick and his entourage moved freely about the city and visited whatever they wanted to see: the Commune's lions (but there is no mention of a gift of a cub, such as might have been expected); the Servite convent of Santissima Annunziata, already a pilgrimage destination for newly-

²¹ "Monstrò essere misero e avaro principe togliendo ogni vile dono, ed eziando, chieggendo cose di poca stima colla sua propria persona; mercatava infino a guarnelli a soldi el braccio. E mai si senti donasse alcuna cosa a persona, e portossene alcune cosette apparecchiate per sua onoranza, in modo monstrò essere misero e vantaggioso," Palmieri 1906, p. 164. On his shopping in Venice: "Imperator saepe, sub specie cujuspiam mediocris hominis, stationes negotiatorum invisit, emitque res plurimas domum mittendas," Piccolomini 1970, col. 337C; see also Ady 1913, pp. 118–19, who attributes this to his desire for a bargain. On his shopping in Ferrara, see Lazzeroni 1937, p. 287.

²² Giovanni 1444–58, f. 14v (doc. 1, n. 98).

²³ Giovanni 1444–58, fol. 14v, 14r (doc. 1, n. 99).

²⁴ Giovanni 1444–58, fol. 14r; and letter from Lopo de Almeida in Siena to Afonso V of Portugal, February 28 1452, in Cordeiro 1894, p. 161; Baskins 2008, p. 54. A new and more extensive collection of Lopo de Almeida's letters has been identified in London, British Library, *Additional Manuscripts*, 20,952, fols. 64r–101r, by Askins, Shaffer and Sharrer 2003, and Harvey L. Sharrer's edition is in preparation.

²⁵ Brandi 1451/2, fols. 32v and 89r; Petriboni 2001, p. 354.

wed couples; Cosimo's new palace, where he could ride in and have a look.²⁶ While Piccolomini mentions explicitly Roman objections to Frederick's sightseeing, only Matteo Palmieri expresses Florentine disapproval of his lack of decorum in moving about the city:

In the time that he stayed in Florence, on his way there and on his way back, he did himself no credit, riding about in a bunch with his men, all over the place and in no order.²⁷

The workshops of the *cassoni* painters were close to the Santa Maria Novella apartments, and Frederick would have had ample opportunity to see and desire a pair of *cassoni*, to be ready for him on his return from Rome and Naples. While it is well-documented that Frederick was curious and acquisitive and attracted to luxury objects, we have no record of the next step: the commissioning of the two *cassoni* in his honor. We cannot know whether he ordered them directly or whether someone else commissioned them in the hope of winning imperial favor. Nevertheless, I am persuaded by the narrative content of the *cassoni* that he was the intended recipient.

* * *

So what did these two *cassoni* represent? The Florentines did not bend their knee easily to imperial power. They painted the Emperor's pomp with all the tooled and glittering gold they could apply, but in their painting, as in their prose descriptions, they carefully measured themselves against the imperial retinue. In the front panel of the Frederick in Florence *cassone* (fig. 1), the moment is the Emperor's departure from Santa Maria del Fiore, after the Candlemas service. Part of the moment has been excised from the narrative: a *rappresentazione* in front of the church of the Resurrection of Christ, performed on the *edificio* of the Confraternity of the Resurrection. It had been organized by Ser Alesso, Cosimo's man on the organizing committee, and must have been noted in his account of the *onoranza*, but rated no mention in the contemporary descriptions.²⁸ Instead the artist represents Florentine

²⁶ On lions: Villani 1834, pp. 107–8 (III.XC), and p. 174 (V.LXIII); and Randolph 2002; on Frederick's sightseeing in Florence: Giovanni 1444–58, fol. 14v (doc. 1).

²⁷ “Nel tempo stette in Firenze all'andare e al tornare stette con poca riputazione cavalcando in frotta co sua assai alla mescolata e sanz'ordine,” Palmieri 1906, p. 164. On Roman indignation: Piccolomini 1970, cols. 281C–282A; Ady 1913, p. 116; Pastor 1891–1953, vol. 2, p. 150 (II.I.v).

²⁸ *Cirimonie* n. d., fol. 75r–v (doc. 6 and n. 112). Universally praised plays of the Passion and Resurrection were performed for Frederick and Leonora in Naples, in the Clarissan convent of Santa Chiara; see Facio 2004, p. 461

citizens, men and women in their unadorned clothes, standing on the steps of the cathedral. The Signori are grouped around the Emperor as he prepares to mount a big white horse; their trumpeters, with the Florentine lily on their pennants, are grouped together, just to their rear. Carrying the candles they have just received, the Emperor's retinue, magnificently dressed but in jostling disorder, is heading off towards Santa Maria Novella while the cityscape and the citizens stand in geometric harmony, untouched by the *mêlée*. The jostle to the right is counterbalanced by the perspective view of Via de' Farsettai leading towards the Piazza della Signoria, lit by the morning sun.

The end panels are similarly firm in their juxtaposition of Florentine and imperial values. In their ample but plain woolen robes, the three Florentine knights-to-be (the Neapolitan is conveniently omitted) come before the Emperor, his brother Albert, Duke of Austria, and the twelve-year-old Ladislaus Posthumus, King of Hungary, who was effectively a hostage in Frederick's court (fig. 2). The choir of the cathedral with its candle-topped screen and the brocade altar cloth are painted in careful detail and act as a backdrop for the imperial sword, but imperfections in perspective and scale (these panels are painted designed and executed by a less competent hand than the front) mean that the Florentines are bigger, more robust and, with their three-quarter profiles, more human than their visitors.²⁹

The other end panel (fig. 3), showing a sprightly Leonora, stepping ashore at Porto Pisano, similarly affirms Florentine superiority: just as Porto Pisano had been captured as a spoil of war, so the bride's arrival at Porto Pisano is a small, though expensive, triumph over the Sienese who had expected her further south, in Sienese territory, at Talamone.³⁰

Our principal sources for Leonora's journey to Rome – the German ambassador, Nikolaus Lankmann, and the Portuguese ambassador, Lopo de Almeida – both attest to the horrors of the sea voyage from Lisbon.³¹ On October 25, after magnificent

(x.158); Lankmann 1725, col. 599C; Lankmann 1992, §48, pp. 78–81; Piccolomini 1970, col. 299C; Askins, Shaffer and Sharrer 2003, p. 82.

²⁹ Louis Waldman informs me that this may be the earliest visual representation of the choir that preceded Baccio Bandinelli's choir for the Duomo. Payments for cathedral decorations (illuminations as well as laurel and myrtle), and for a banquet for the Emperor's singers are listed in Paganelli 1451/2, fol. 19v. The same *filza* contains the Opera's expenses for refurbishing and furnishing the papal apartments in Santa Maria Novella. The knights are identified by Giovanni 1444–58, f. 14v (doc. 1), and Petriboni 2001, p. 356.

³⁰ On the *vergogna* and *scandalo* this provoked for the Sienese Signoria, see their letter to their ambassadors in Florence, cited in Fumi and Lisini 1878, pp. 56–60.

³¹ Lankmann 1725, 1992; Cordeiro 1894; Hume 1896; see also Piccolomini 1970, cols. 245A–248B.

celebrations, the bride and her entourage of “three thousand,” including ladies-in-waiting both young and old, men-at-arms, ambassadors, chaplains, doctors, astronomer-astrologers as navigators, cooks, horses, mules, arms and supplies, had embarked in Lisbon on a large Genoese carrack or merchant ship, “the most sublime of all, draped with golden cloths, with banners waving everywhere, great sails hoisted, wonderfully well armed against Barbarian attack.”³² Finally, on November 12, the flotilla of two great carracks, three large ships, two smaller ships and two caravels accompanied by another two other ships with armaments and provisions had set sail for Italy, stopping ten days later at Ceuta, Portuguese territory on the Barbary Coast, where the Empress rested for three days to recover from seasickness.³³ Here, for the only time on her journey, she went ashore, where she stayed in a magnificent royal palace, visited the city, picnicked in the palace garden, and – in a royal tradition which is clearly as old as time – planted a tree with her own hands.³⁴ On November 29, the flotilla set out again, stalked by pirates, across the high seas of the Gulf of Lyon where unfavorable winds took them towards Marseilles. This time, their seasickness was compounded by a pirate attack, but they managed to regroup, capture one pirate ship (and its cargo of wine), sink another, and put the rest to flight. In their second port, some of her entourage visited the holy sites, the cave and tomb of Mary Magdalene, Martha, Lazarus and St Maximinus, but the Empress remained on board.³⁵ On December 8, in the grip of another storm, the Empress’s carrack broke its mooring, ominously losing its only anchor, called *Salvator*, and cable of pure silk. The young Dona Maria was “almost dying” and the crew and passengers had

³² “Navis Leonorae sublimior omnibus, vestita pannis aureis, vexillis undique cincta, magnis velis acta, adversus impetum Barbarorum egregie communita,” Piccolomini 1970, col. 246A. See also Lankmann 1725, col. 585C–D; Lankmann 1992, §26, pp. 50–51. The Genoese carrack, characterized by deep draught, relatively broad beam, and very high fore and aft castles, was the model for the great fighting ships of the Tudor navy. Petriboni 2001, pp. 367–8, gives detailed dimensions of one that arrived in Porto Pisano in May 1452: briefly, it was 93.3 *braccia* (54 m) long, excluding fore- and aft castles, and had a carrying capacity of 2300 *botte* (1725 tonnes), with seventy cabins, stalls for horses, water tanks, and a crew of 600. For the cost of the fleet, Afonso was permitted to deduct 10,000 florins from Leonora’s dowry; Cordeiro 1894, p. 209.

³³ “In eadem civitate Domina Imperatrix Sponsa ad tres dies moram fecit, quia multum debilitata fuit, sic ultra mare veniendo,” Lankmann 1725, col. 588C; Lankmann 1992, §30, pp. 56–57, makes no reference to illness.

³⁴ “Ibi in Cepta ... est grande palatium.... In eodem palatio Domina Imperatrix Sponsa habitabat. In eodem castro regio sunt tria balnea pulcherrima, miro modo disposita & delectabilia, & prope est hortus regius, & pulcherrimus, ac diversis & nobis Christianis alienis arboribus & plantis ignotis. In quo horto Domina Imperatrix cum suis merendam fecit, & per manus proprias quendam hortulum in memoriam plantavit, quem hortulano summe commendavit, & eidem pro arrha unum ducatum dedit” (There is a great palace in Ceuta.... Her Ladyship the Imperial Bride stayed there. In the royal compound there are three very beautiful baths, wondrously and delightfully laid out, and nearby there is the royal garden, which is very beautiful, with different plants and trees that are unknown and foreign to us Christians. In this garden, Her Ladyship the Empress picnicked with her court, and with her own hands she planted a shrub in memory, and she earnestly entrusted it to the care of the gardener, and gave him a ducat for his efforts), Lankmann 1725, col. 589B–C; Lankmann 1992, §31, pp. 58–59.

³⁵ Lankmann 1725, col. 591A–B; Lankmann 1992, §33, pp. 62–63.

confessed and commended themselves to God, but on the advice of Leonora they made a collective vow to St James of Compostella, and the storm died down.³⁶ On December 12, the flotilla was reunited, and finally on Christmas Eve they sheltered at Port Grimaud, which they found deserted. In fulfillment of their vow, two of their party were equipped and dispatched to Compostella; and letters were sent by land to the Emperor.³⁷ On December 26, they set sail again, and notwithstanding their letters of safe conduct, were attacked again by pirates operating out of Nice, where they were nevertheless forced to land and able to take on fresh water for the Empress who did not drink wine.³⁸

The final leg of the journey was apparently less eventful, and Leonora may even have been able to attend to her German lessons.³⁹ After skirting Corsica, and being unable to put ashore at Genoa, the Empress's ship arrived at Porto Pisano, two miles south of Pisa, on the Feast of the Purification of the Virgin, February 2. Because their intention was to continue to Talamone, they did not disembark, but the next day, the Empress asked for an ambassador to go to the Emperor to inform him that she could go no further.⁴⁰ Jacob Mötz was too ill to move; Lankmann, though ill, accepted the

³⁶ “Ista tenella Comitissa Domina Maria juvenis de sanguine regio, quasi agonisando attraxit spiritum, & de consilio Dominae Sponsae ac seniorum & majorum, vovimus unanimi consensu de propriis nostris expensis dirigere duos peregrinos ad Sanctum Jacobum in Galicia, & vere statim tempestas & ventus mitior erant” (The delicate young countess of the royal family, Dona Maria, was almost panting her last breath, and on the advice of Her Ladyship the Bride and her senior advisers we made a unanimous vow to send at our own expense two pilgrims to St James in Galicia, and just immediately the storm and the wind died down), Lankmann 1725, col. 591C; Lankmann 1992, §34, pp. 62–63.

³⁷ Lankmann 1725, col. 592A; Lankmann 1992, §36, pp. 64–65. “Varius interim rumor per Italiam de Caesarea sponsa ferebatur. Quidam nondum eam intrasse pelagus, affirmare; alii, submersam pelago, dicere; nonnulli captam in Affrica Barbarisque servam, referre; plerique, in Cataloniam delatam, apud Avunculi conjugem festis indulgentem diebus, astruere. Sed nihil horum veritas habuit” (Meanwhile various rumors were circulating in Italy about the Imperial Bride. Some said that she had never set sail; others that she had drowned at sea; others still that she had been captured and enslaved by Barbarians in Africa; and yet others that she had gone to Catalonia, as bride to her maternal uncle, and was enjoying herself there. But none of these was true), Piccolomini 1970, col. 247B. He reports later the suggestion that she was delayed by Florentine ingenuity (“ingenio Florentinorum”) off the Ligurian coast so that Florence might receive both husband and wife, col. 255C.

³⁸ Lankmann 1725, col. 593A; Lankmann 1992, §38, pp. 66–67.

³⁹ “Domina sponsa incepit studere linguam Almanicam, sed paucum capere potuit, quia aliis praepedita fuit tamen, quod per mare navigando, Deo prosperante, diligentiam adhibere vellet” (Her Ladyship the Bride began to study the German language, but she could not get far, because she was caught up with other things, nevertheless, she intended, God willing, to apply diligence on the sea voyage), Lankmann 1725, col. 577D; Lankmann 1992, §12, pp. 32–33.

⁴⁰ “Nullus hominum exivit naves: quia juxta compactata debebamus ad portum Thalamonis sub dominio Dominorum Senensium portum cepisse, & ibidem alios Oratores Serenissimi Domini Imperatoris invenire. Sed ventus fuit contrarius nobis, & omnis homo debilitatus fuit, maxime Virgines, & vere multi utriusque sexus infirmi erant” (Nobody disembarked, because according to the agreement we had to land at the port of Talamone, in Sienese territory, and there we were to meet the other ambassadors of our Serene Lord Emperor. But the wind was against us, and everybody was weakened by illness, especially the young ladies, and indeed many people of both sexes were ill), Lankmann, col. 593D; Lankmann 1992, §39, pp. 66–69. “Mox ad eum misit, sciscitans, ibine an Thalamone, ubi expectabantur, descenderet: narrans, se non modice longo navigationis taedio atque opportunitate quassatam” (At once she sent word, asking whether she should disembark there or at Talamone where they were expected; and reporting that she was much weekend by long rigors of the journey and events), Piccolomini 1970, col. 255A.

commission. He was carried ashore, found horses and a guide, and arrived in Florence the next morning. According to Palmieri, Leonora sought the Emperor's leave to meet him in Florence, but to spare the Commune further expense, the Emperor refused.⁴¹ Piccolomini reports that the Florentines were keen to accept, and even to celebrate the marriage in Florence, but this too was rejected by the Emperor.⁴² Instead, he dispatched the Count of Signa and his brothers, with a retinue of 200, who set out for Pisa two days later, on Saturday February 5, accompanied by four Florentine ambassadors, including two of the newly-created knights.⁴³ Since Pisa was Florentine territory, both the *deputati* and the Dieci di Balìa allocated further monies for the *onoranza* of the future Empress. They commissioned Franco Sacchetti, one of the Consoli del Mare, to receive her, and while she waited on her carrack for the Emperor's ambassadors to arrive, a gangway or jetty was constructed for her to come ashore, on February 7.⁴⁴

This end of the Fredrick in Florence *cassone* shows the Empress's great carrack, anchored with other ships in Porto Pisano, readily identified by its lighthouse tower and fortress. In the foreground, the young Empress, who had been on board the ship for more than a hundred days, and suffered sea-sickness, storms, and battles with pirates, comes ashore with her ladies-in-waiting, of whom only two are clearly visible. These may be the two whom Lankmann mentions by name in his description of Leonora's companions:

In the ship there was Her Ladyship the Imperial Bride with her court, and three countesses. One was one of royal blood, related to the Empress, namely Dona Maria, very beautiful but young; and twenty-four hand-picked maidens, and three

⁴¹ Palmieri 1906, p. 163. The Milanese ambassadors mention concern about delays in the Emperor's departure, and also the unconfirmed rumor that she had to come to fulfil a vow: "pur crediàno che la farà venire qua, però che dice essa havere votato de venire alla Nuntiata, ma non lo habiamo di certo" (we think that he will have her come here, because he says she has made a vow to the Virgin Annunciate, but we do not know for sure), BNP, *Fonds Italiens*, 1586, fol. 36v, letter of Niccolò Arcimboldi, Sceva de Curte and Jacopo Trivulzi to the Duke of Milan, February 4 (evening), 1452.

⁴² Piccolomini 1970, cols. 255C–256A.

⁴³ For the appointment of Bernardo Giugni, Carlo d'Agnolo Pandolfini, Giannozzo di Bernardo Manetti, see ASF, *Dieci di Balìa, Deliberazioni, condotte e stanziamenti*, 19, fol. 17r.

⁴⁴ Sacchetti's accounts are itemised in ASF, *Dieci di Balìa, Ricordanze*, 7 (1451–1452), fols. 16r–17r. Sacchetti was allocated £2000 for the his expenses (Brandi 1451/2, fol. 58r), while Salvestro di Bernardo d'Alamanno de' Medici, also in Pisa, was given £8000 to spend on honoring the Empress (fol. 63r).

widows, with a number of maidservants, and a feisty young woman, vigorous, hard-working, and solicitous, called Maria Pasana.⁴⁵

The accounts provided by Leonora's retinue provide an interesting antidote to the Florentine chronicles. There is nothing in the Florentine accounts to indicate the presence of women in Frederick's entourage, yet it is clear from Lankmann's diary and from the anonymous *Hodoeporicon* that the German nobility traveled with their noble wives and their friends. If the absence of women is one of the defining characteristics of the republic, so too they are all but invisible to the republican chroniclers. They can be glimpsed, in their plain clothes, on the steps of the cathedral after Candlemas, but they are back-row viewers, not protagonists. Here, the Portuguese ladies are following three men, whose backs are turned to royalty. The younger man in the foreground, whose sleeves are decorated with Florentine lilies, is possibly Salvestro di Bernardo d'Alamanno de' Medici. He has offered his arm to an older, heavier man (possibly the Duke of Braganza, the highest ranked noble of Leonora's court), and is now leading the way. The third man's identity is lost as he strides out of the frame. Germans are nowhere to be seen.

Frederick's meeting with Leonora and their entry into Siena has been studied extensively, on the basis of ambassadorial letters, city records and popular encomium.⁴⁶ Traveling via Poggibonsi, the Emperor arrived on Monday February 7 in Siena where he waited for the seventeen-year-old Leonora to arrive. She had set out from Porto Pisano on February 21, Shrove Tuesday, with her own entourage of five hundred, and with Duke Albert and King Ladislaus and their entourage, who had been sent by the Emperor to escort her.⁴⁷ She arrived three days later, and was greeted by her husband outside Porta Camollia. The couple remained in Siena until February 26, when Frederick set out for Rome; Leonora, who had expected her marriage to

⁴⁵ "In qua nave erat Domina Imperatrix Sponsa cum palatio suo, & tres Comitissae. Una erat de regio Sanguine, Dominae Imperatrici conjuncta, scilicet Domina Maria multum speciosa, sed juvenis; & viginti quatuor Virgines electae, & tres viduae cum certis famulabus, & una Virgo quasi Virago fortis & laboriosa ac sollicita, nomine Maria Pasana," Lankmann 1725, col. 578A; Lankmann 1992, §28, pp. 52–53. Cordeiro 1894, p. 80, identifies Domina Maria as Dona Maria de Noronha, the only daughter of Dom Sancho de Noronha, first count of Odemira, and his wife Dona Mecia de Sousa; and Maria Pasana as Maria Peçanha, one of the many members of the Peçanha Almirante family.

⁴⁶ Fumi and Lisini 1878; Parducci 1906; Dati 1906–7; Lazzeroni 1937, pp. 308–315; Nevola 2003.

⁴⁷ Lankmann says that she left Pisa on February 19, Lankmann 1725, col. 595C; Lankmann 1992, §42, pp. 70–71; *Cirimonie*, fol. 76r, says she travelled by sea from Porto Pisano to Livorno (a very short distance) on 19 February, and left Livorno on 22 February; Almeida, according to Askins, Schaffer and Sharrer 2003, p. 80, says that she left Pisa on February 21; and Lazzeroni 1937, pp. 310–311, shows that she left Pisa on Monday February 21, and travelled in appalling rain to arrive in Siena on Thursday 24.

Frederick to take place in Siena, followed with her own entourage four days later on March 1.⁴⁸ According to the newly discovered version of Lopo de Almeida's "first letter" from Siena to the Empress's brother, Afonso V of Portugal, there were various matters relating to the marriage contract, and especially Leonora's household and ladies in waiting, that were still contested, and these would continue to cause difficulties. The rituals of gift-giving were also proving problematic. Afonso had provided Leonora with gifts to distribute to her hosts and to her retinue, and Almeida had to make sure "that everyone knew that Afonso, not the Emperor was the source of gifts."⁴⁹ At the same time, the notoriously stingy Emperor had offended Leonora by making an inappropriate gift of money and a silver chalice to one of Leonora's ladies-in-waiting, Beatriz de Meneses, Countess of Vila Reale.⁵⁰

After a twelve-day journey along the Via Francigena, the Emperor reached the outskirts of Rome on 8 March and the following morning he rode in with great magnificence. He went straight to St Peter's where he dismounted and was greeted by the Pope. When Leonora arrived shortly afterwards, the Germans tried to stop her moving forward, but the Portuguese ambassador that Luis Gonçaves Malafaia reported to Afonso that he personally stepped in and led the Empress to the steps of the basilica to be greeted by Pope Nicholas.⁵¹ Although custom dictated that the Emperor should remain outside Rome until his coronation, Frederick spent the next ten days sightseeing.⁵² He received the crown of Lombardy from the Pope on March 15 (the Ides of March), he and his bride were married on March 16 and then crowned

⁴⁸ Lazzeroni 1937, p. 313.

⁴⁹ For other gifts, see Baskins 2008, p. 60. Diana Bryant, a doctoral student at the University of Sydney, informs me that she has recently identified a set of instructions to Eleonora, daughter of King Ferrante of Naples, who travelled to Ferrara in 1473 to marry Ercole d'Este. Eleonora was required to make gifts to her hosts along the way, to the gentlemen sent to accompany her, and to members of her own retinue, and to ensure that anything she was given was kept at least until she had shown them to her husband "so that he may know they have paid you honour."

⁵⁰ Askins, Shaffer, & Sharrer 2003, p. 80.

⁵¹ Askins, Shaffer, & Sharrer 2003, p. 81.

⁵² "Grave tamen ei videbatur, quoniam X dies ad Coronationem superabant, domi se continere. Ajebant autem vulgo fere omnes: Caesarem, nisi coronatus esset, in eam urbis partem, quae major est & ubi aedificia veterum nobiliora visuntur, ingredi, piaculum esse. Quae res nobis stultissima visa est, qui nonnullos Caesares ad Lateranum primum venisse, deinde coronatos fuisse legimus" (He found it tedious, however, to stay at home for the ten days until the coronation. Everybody was saying publicly that Caesar should not enter that part of the city which is more important and where the most noble of ancient buildings are to be seen, before he is crowned. But this looks like nonsense to us, because we read of many Emperors who came to the Lateran and were then crowned later), Piccolomini 1970, cols. 281C–282A; see also Ady 1913, p. 116; Pastor 1891–1953, vol. 1, II, p. 150 (II.1.IV).

on *Laetare* Sunday, St Joseph's Day, March 19, the fifth anniversary of Nicholas's own coronation.⁵³

The second *cassone* (figs. 4–6) shows no trace of any such tension between imperial behaviour and Roman expectations, but there is also little to suggest that the painter was an eyewitness to the events of the coronation.⁵⁴ The Florentine painter was clearly more familiar with his own city than with Rome, and his Rome is a stylized artist's representation of the city, with key monuments represented in a way that has little in common with the draughtsman's precision of the Florence panel. Emblems of ancient Rome (the Meta Romuli), paleochristian Rome (St Peter's), Christian Rome (the Monte Mario Cross), medieval Rome (Santa Maria in Transpontina), and of Nicholas's rinascent Rome (Castel Sant'Angelo) are arranged across the scene. The coat of arms of the Holy See are visible above the entrance of the Vatican Palace; x-ray photography also reveals them above the centre arch on the Castel Sant'Angelo (fig. 7), but they have been painted over.

The Florentines continued to be informed of events in Rome: their ambassadors had continued with the Emperor, and must have reported to the Signoria, and it would appear that Francesco Giovanni maintained his close interest in the Emperor's progress, and made his own copy of a detailed description of the entry and investiture in his minute hand.⁵⁵ The front panel (fig. 4) represents events rather than place, and the unfolding of the events echoes the Frederick in Florence panel, taking the viewer from church steps on the left to cavalcade on the right, over a sea of richly decorated men and horses. What the scene lacks in visual accuracy it makes up in witty, allusive detail.⁵⁶

The left side of the *cassone* frontal shows the Emperor and the Empress kneeling at the steps outside the basilica, recognizable by the particular configuration of its three doors, while Nicholas, with red-hatted cardinals to his right and mitred bishops to his left, places a "crown," very similar to his own papal tiara, on the Holy Roman

⁵³ On the Lombard crown: Piccolomini 1970, col. 287A–C; *Hodoeporicon* 1778, pp. 28–9. The crown was not the Iron Crown, but rather one that had been commissioned especially by Frederick for the occasion; Lazzaroni, p. 353. For the marriage and coronation, and relevant bibliography, see Weisbach, 1912–13. The Milanese ambassadors reported to the Duke of Milan that the Emperor was eager to complete the coronation and marriage to remove the expense; BNP, *Fonds Italiens*, 1486, fol. 48r, letter of Niccolò Arcimboldi, Sceva de Curte, Iacopo Trivulzi and Nicodemo da Pontremoli, March 11, 1452.

⁵⁴ For description and bibliography, see Baskins 2008.

⁵⁵ Giovanni 1451/2a.

⁵⁶ On this aspect, see also Weisbach 1912–13, p. 260.

Emperor.⁵⁷ In the lower left, Leonora's Portuguese ladies look on, while two black dogs snarl in the foreground. We know that the Frederick traveled with a large menagerie,⁵⁸ but here the great shaggy dogs, possibly Portuguese briards, are placed either side of the Empress's imperiously horned lady-in-waiting.

Behind the Emperor and to his right, Duke Albert, King Ladislaus and a larger group of Germans with long golden hair, look on. In the middle of the panel, the Pope, on a white horse and framed significantly by the columns of Santa Maria in Transpontina behind him, raises his hand in a parting blessing to the Emperor, on a black horse to his left. Once again, cardinals and bishops follow, to his right and left respectively.

The positioning and framing of the figures indicate that this is a key moment in the day's events, but once again we are forced to conjecture. The coronation took place on *Laetare* Sunday, the Fourth Sunday in Lent, and both the occasion of an imperial coronation and the date required the Pope to bestow the Golden Rose. Piccolomini informs us that:

the Pope and the Emperor came to the steps of the basilica together. There the Pope mounted his horse and Caesar attended him at the bridle for a short distance, and then he dismounted and they went together to the church of Santa Maria in Cosmedin. Since it is the custom for the Golden Rose to be blessed on that day, the Pope was carrying it in his hand and there he gave it to the Emperor. Then the Pope returned to his palace. Caesar went on to the Ponte Sant' Angelo, where he raised his brother Albert and several dukes and knights to the order of knight, striking each three times with his sword.⁵⁹

⁵⁷ In fact, on March 19 he was crowned with the *Reichskrone*, the imperial crown of the Holy Roman Empire, which had been brought from Nuremberg for the coronation; Piccolomini 1970, col. 287C–290B and 292A.

⁵⁸ Petriboni 2001, p. 366.

⁵⁹ Piccolomini 1970, col. 293B: "Papa & Imperator ad gradus Basilicae simul venerunt. Ibi Pontifex equum ascendit, eique Caesar ministri ad fraena officium per aliquot passus pedes exhibuit, equoque deinde conscenso usque ad Ecclesiam Sanctae Mariae in Cosmedia una profecti sunt. Cum ea die aurea rosa de more benedicta esset, eam manu Pontifex gestaret, illic Imperatori ipsum tradidit. Papa quidem in Palatium rediit: Caesar in pontem Adriani profectus est, ubi Albertum fratrem pluresque Duces & Comites ad militiae provexit honorem, ter quemque plano gladio verberans." See also Lazzeroni 1937, pp. 353–4; Burroughs 1990, p. 234. The *Hodoeporicon* reports that after the knighting ceremony on the bridge, "ritt der Kayser mit allem Seinem volck durch die Statt zu Rome, bis zu sant Johannis Latran, in aller Seiner Kaiserlichen wirdikait, mit der Costlichen Cron uff dem haubt, und furt di guldin Rosen, die Im der Babst het geschenckt, in der gerechten handd" (the Emperor rode with all his men through the city of Rome to San Giovanni in Laterano, in all his imperial regalia, with the beautiful crown on his head, and he carried the Golden Rose that the Pope had presented to him in his right hand), *Hodoeporicon* 1778, p. 36.

Clearly, Santa Maria in Cosmedin is not between St Peter's and Ponte Sant'Angelo. I believe that this is a mistranscription, and the "aliquot passus" took Nicholas and Frederick only as far as Santa Maria in Traspontina, and for this reason the scene in the *cassone* pauses in front of the church. The Golden Rose, which may once have been in Frederick's hand, is not visible.

Directly above the Emperor, on one of the hills that form the horizon, we see the monumental cross on Monte Mario, commemorating Constantine's vision that appeared with the words *In Hoc Signo Vinces*. The monument, which Frederick had passed as he entered Rome along the Via Triumphalis, introduces obliquely questions of the relationship between Church and Empire, the recently discredited Donation of Constantine, and ongoing political issues associated with the coronation.⁶⁰ The right side of the front panel shows Frederick on the Ponte Sant'Angelo, still with the fortified towers, later removed by Alexander VI, and already rebuilt after its collapse in 1450: Frederick's first act as Holy Roman Emperor is to knight his brother with the great sword of "Charlemagne."⁶¹

In fact, the coronation took place inside the basilica. Two daises were erected outside the gates of the basilica, one for Leonora and her ladies-in-waiting, the other for the Emperor. The Emperor made his obeisance to the Pope on the steps of St Peter's, then, at the altar of the chapel to Santa Maria in Turribus located by the entrance to the forecourt of the Basilica, swore his oath of allegiance to the Pope. Next he was robed in white and made a canon of St Peter's, and led into the basilica through the Porta Argentea to the high altar, where he prostrated himself before the *Confessio* and received the papal benediction. At the St George chapel, he received the sandals, tunic and imperial *pallium*. He received a third blessing before he was led to the altar of St Mauritius, where he was anointed. At this point the Empress entered the basilica, accompanied by two cardinals, made her obeisance to the Pope and, before the altar of St Mauritius she too was anointed with the same oil,

⁶⁰ Weisbach 1912–13, p. 260. The sign that appeared to Constantine was traditionally the *chi-rho* symbol of ΧΡΙΣΤΟΣ, but the initial letters of the words, in Latin, spell IHSV. In 1440, Lorenzo Valla had demonstrated that the *Donation of Constantine* was a forgery. From the late sixteenth century, "In hoc signo vinces" became the motto of the Portuguese royal house and appeared on their coin. According to legend, King Afonso Enrique saw the sign of the *quins*, the five small shields that are Portugal's heraldic symbol (see fig. 9), and uttered the same words before his victory against the Moors in the battle of Boutique in 1139. The germs of the legend first circulated in the fifteenth century; Lima 2007. On the ritual significance of the monumental cross in the fifteenth century, Luciani 1893, p. 95. On the political questions, see Fubini 1996.

⁶¹ Piccolomini observes that he inspected the sword, and it bore the name of Charles IV rather than of Charles I Charlemagne; Piccolomini 1970, col. 292B.

and like the Emperor cloaked in an imperial cloak and led to her seat. Then the Emperor was given the scepter, orb and sword “of Charlemagne,” and the Pope placed his own papal tiara first on the Emperor’s head then on the Empress’s.⁶² The Emperor and Empress were then crowned with the imperial crowns, brought from Germany, before the altar of St Peter. They received communion from the Pope, and at the end of mass they followed the Pope from the basilica. With the coronation over, King Ladislaus escorted the newly-married, newly crowned Empress back to her apartments, while the Emperor went off with his entire court to celebrate.⁶³

The *cassone* painter is only marginally interested in the accuracy of his panel: he presented the raw facts as well as he could, on the basis of his information, but he used the opportunity to introduce two figures who require further comment. In the foreground, center right, and again in the end panel (fig. 6) is a large figure in an ermine-trimmed red robe and cap on a large white horse. Here he looks away from us, but he has been identified as the Niccolò Porcinari, Senator of Rome, who, with the Prefect of Rome, had the right to lead the Emperor’s horse.⁶⁴ The Emperor may be *Rex Romanorum*, but Rome still has its own government.

Ahead of him in this procession is a fascinating figure who captured the attention of the Florentines – a knight of the Golden Spur with no legs. Pagolo Petriboni concluded his account of the Emperor’s visits with a description of him:

And with this retinue he [the Emperor] had many falcons and goshawks and a great magnificence of hunting dogs and other animals in quantity for his delight. And among these he had a knight of the Golden Spur, which he could not wear on his feet because from the arse down there was nothing there, and he moved around on his arse, and it is impossible to relate how entertaining it was to hear him and see him. And he could leap onto a horse from the ground, and from his horse to the ground, and when he rode he had a saddle like a bucket, arranged so that he was

⁶² Giovanni 1451/2b, fols. 96v–97v; Piccolomini 1970, cols. 290C–293A; Lazzeroni 1937, pp. 362–3. Piccolomini reports that the Pope’s tiara then almost toppled from Frederick’s head, which appeared a sinister omen, fulfilled later that year with the uprising of Stefano Porcaro; Piccolomini 1970, col. 293A.

⁶³ The anonymous German account tells us that Leonora and Ladislaus when straight to their apartments, while the Emperor rode on to receive the Golden Rose: “Darnach furt der Loblich Kunig Lasslaw die Edlin Kayserin haym, und gingen vil Herren und fursten mit Ir, und unser hailger vatter, und all Cardinäl und Bischoff gingin mit dem Keyser biss fur Sant Peters munster, und auch alle stapfen ab, da gab unser hailger vatter den Keyser di schonen Rosen von *Jericho*, di man gewonlich alle Jargeit dem mechtigsten der zu Rom ist, uff denselben suntag Laetare,” *Hodoeporicon* 1778, p. 32.

⁶⁴ Weisbach 1913, p. 257; Burroughs 1990, p. 108.

tied on with his belt, and when he was strapped in, with a whip in his hand he could make the horse run and jump as well as any horseman. And this knight had several servants under him, and people went to see this knight more that they went to see the Emperor or other adornments.⁶⁵

The *cassone* captures the spur-less knight, in his blue coat and with his whip in his hand, on a rearing black horse, just as the Florentines remembered him.

The two end panels of the *cassone* comment silently on the newlyweds, still wearing their crowns (which bear a remarkable resemblance to the papal tiara rather than the imperial crowns in which they will be painted later; see figs. 8 and 9), and going in their separate directions. At one end, Leonora's feisty lady-in-waiting, the "virgo quasi virago" Dona Maria Pasana, precedes Leonora and Ladislaus into her house "next to St Peter's" (fig. 5). The young bride, whose chin had tilted rather engagingly in the front panel, now seems to reach out for reassurance as she enters the house. At the other end (fig. 6), Frederick and Albert and their retinue, still accompanied by the Senator of Rome, have stopped outside a generic and unidentified church and rather Florentine loggia. It would be appropriate for this to represent the events at the Lateran on the evening of the coronation, but there are no identifying features. Perhaps it is more domestic: the Emperor returning to his apartments in the Vatican Palace, at the end of the day.⁶⁶ The modesty of the houses suggests that for all the Florentines' interactions with the imperial court, this Florentine painter was more comfortable with kings and queens who lived in modest houses facing each other across the street. And even if he, and the chroniclers, were attentive to every last detail of the Emperor's processional route in Florence, the painter was not in a position to represent such minutiae in Rome.

On March 24, the Emperor and his retinue left for Naples and the court of the bride's maternal uncle, Alfonso. Albert followed the next day, and Leonora and her entourage left on March 26. In Naples, they were all once again treated magnificently, through Holy Week and the Octave of Easter. One of our chief informants, Enea Silvio Piccolomini remained in Rome with the young Ladislaus, but the letters of

⁶⁵ Petriboni 2001, p. 366.

⁶⁶ Weisbach 1912–13, p. 261. Francesco Giovanni, 1451/2a, fol. 96r (doc. 2) locates their apartments "in the Vatican Palace." The Sienese ambassadors are probably more precise: Frederick stayed in "the Palace of the Camera Apostolica," near St Peter's, and Leonora stayed in the palace next door; see Lazzeroni 1937, p. 339.

Almeida and the diary of Lankmann provide ample detail of the magnificence of the festivities: jousts, balls, displays, music, and plays and banquets.

The magnificence of their entertainment, however, could not conceal the fact that the bride and groom had not yet consummated their marriage, and for the details of this we rely on the report of Piccolomini – who was not present but who seems to be remarkably well informed.⁶⁷ Frederick was in a hurry to depart, and Leonora was increasingly dismayed and fearful that he did not find her pleasing and that, quite literally, she was being given the run-around (*quae se circumduci ... extimabat*). The Emperor's delay was attributed to fears about the nationality of a child conceived in Italy and to religious reasons (they had arrived at the beginning of Holy Week), but now, on the Octave of Easter, there was no excuse.⁶⁸ Her uncle, concerned that the sixteen-year-old might be taken to Germany and then repudiated, confronted the Emperor and demanded that he have intercourse with the girl, but the Emperor refused. Finally, at the King's insistence, a "Teutonic" consummation was arranged. Frederick:

ordered that the bed be prepared in the Teutonic manner, and that Leonora be placed in his arms and embrace as he lay there, and in the presence of King [Alfonso] and with all the nobles gathered around, surrounded by the nobles, and that the covers be drawn over him. Nothing else was done, apart from a kiss. Moreover, they were both dressed, and soon after they got up. And this is the custom among Teutonics, when their princes first marry.

The Spanish ladies of the Neapolitan court, together with Leonora's ladies were indignant and "upbraided the King loudly for allowing such things. He, however, not without laughter and jollity, respected these foreign customs." That night, however, he was to "lie naked" with his bride, and the Portuguese ladies-in-waiting set to work.

⁶⁷ See doc. 5. The delay is not discussed by Lanckmann, who mentions only the public consummation on April 16, and banqueting for the next three nights, Lankmann 1725, col. 500B; Lankmann 1992, §50, pp. 80–81. It is hinted at in Facio 2004, p. 463 (x.168).

⁶⁸ On the Emperor's piety, the Milanese ambassador had observed: "Ni cum reverentia mai me parse vedere la più povera vita d'un tanto Sire. Ogni cosa è avaratia e tirania mixta cum una apparentia de religione" (Nor, with respect did I ever thing I would see such a lord with a more impoverished life. Everything is avarice and tyranny, mixed with an appearance of religion); Lazzeroni 1940, p. 252.

That night, which was approaching, they were to lie together naked. So while the whole court was intent on dancing, the Portuguese women, who had been charged with the care of the more private chamber, burnt incense over the bed in which they were to lie: they recited poems and when a priest had been summoned they blessed the bed and sprinkled it with holy water, according to superstition of women who consider that by this means the marriage will be happy and that their mutual love will last for ever.

Their efforts were not immediately rewarded, because the Emperor

was afraid lest some act of sorcery should take place and ordered another bed to be prepared for himself and that his bride be called to him. For he feared the Empress's nurse (*nutricem*), who they say was expert in these things by which men's minds are often bewitched.

Another bed was prepared for the Emperor. Three times Frederick called his bride to it, but she did not come. Finally, he went to her bedchamber, and took her with him to the other bed where they lay together.⁶⁹ The Emperor set sail for Rome the next day (about April 20), where he had left Ladislaus in the care of Piccolomini, and then traveled by road to Florence, where he arrived on Friday, May 5. The city again galvanized itself to host the Emperor and his entourage, but the visit was tense from the beginning. Hungarian ambassadors had arrived before the Emperor and had prevailed on the Signoria to ask the Emperor to release his young hostage into their custody, and both Piccolomini and Frederick feared an attempted abduction. The Emperor again raised the case of Ludovico da Marradi, the mercenary captain who had been imprisoned by the Florentines for twenty-eight years, but was rebuffed by the Signoria. On Saturday, May 6, in a case that provoked great scandal, a German boy, traveling with his uncle, was abducted by a Florentine gentleman, Giannozzo Pandolfini; the boy was subsequently returned and consigned to the Emperor after his departure.⁷⁰ On Saturday evening, the Emperor indicated that he would be leaving the

⁶⁹ Concern about the consummation continued. Askins, Shaffer and Sharrer 2003, p. 85, report that in the sixth of the newly discovered letters, from Lopo de Almeida in Manfredonia to Afonso V, dated 14 May, Almeida writes of "ongoing concern with the Emperor's failure to confirm consummation of the marriage, a subject Almeida takes up in veiled language."

⁷⁰ Giovanni 1444–58, fol. 15r (doc. 1).

next morning before dawn, but at the insistence of the Florentines agreed to delay his departure until two hours after sunrise. On Sunday morning, the two hours had passed and the Signoria and the city's officials had only just finished their breakfast when "he got on his horse and left like an unfaREWELLED guest," galloping up Via San Gallo "very fast, as if he was being chased."⁷¹ If Frederick had intended to collect two newly-painted wedding chests from the workshop of Giovanni di ser Giovanni, called *Lo Scheggia*, circumstances may well have prevented him from doing so; and his by now notorious unwillingness to pay for such thing may have ensured that they were not sent on after him. We have no way of knowing.

A week later, the Marquis of Valencia, Afonso of Portugal-Braganza, who had accompanied his cousin from Lisbon, was returning through Florence with his retinue just as Giovanni di Cosimo de' Medici was celebrating the last stage of his marriage to Maria Ginevra degli Alessandri. The Florentines had reclaimed the streets, and to the clear delight of the citizens, the Marquis and his retinue joined the musicians and dancers and jousters as participants rather than spectators in the ceremonial of dynastic marriage.⁷²

The Empress, meanwhile, had set out with her own much reduced entourage for Venice, where she would meet up with the Emperor. She traveled overland from Naples to Manfredonia on the Adriatic coast, and then set sail on Ascension Day for Venice, even as tension mounted between Italy and the Turks. Lopo de Almeida wrote to her brother of the problems they were having: untrustworthy courtiers, the dismissal of some of the ladies-in-waiting (who, according to the marriage contract, were the financial responsibility of the Emperor), and lingering doubts about the consummation, as well as offering advice to the King about the measures he should take against the Sultan. Lankmann, however, offers us a last and triumphant perspective on the Empress as she arrived in the magical city.

Frederick had arrived in Venice on the Sunday after Ascension, but had been greeted with all the magnificence of the *fiesta della Sensa*.⁷³ Leonora arrived in Venice a week later on May 25, rested for three nights in the convent of San Niccolò al Lido, at the entrance to the lagoon, before making her own entry. She was greeted by the Doge, the Emperor, a flotilla of five thousand craft, church bells and trumpets, and,

⁷¹ Giovanni 1444–58, fol. 15r (doc. 1); Petriboni 2001, p. 363; Filarete 1978, p. 74; Baskins 2008, pp. 56–57.

⁷² Petriboni 2001, p. 366.

⁷³ Piccolomini 1970, cols. 335C–336C; Lazzeroni 1937, pp. 394–5.

Lankmann tells us, “If our Lord Jesus Christ and St Mark came to Venice, I think they would be hard put to do them such great reverence and honor.”⁷⁴ After ten days’ sightseeing together in Venice, they continued on their way to Wiener Neustadt, arriving at last on June 19.

The Italy they left behind, and the litigious ambassadors of its various states, would soon fall once more into war. But what became of Leonora? The pendant portraits of Frederick and Leonora (figs. 8 and 9) now in Vienna are copies of the pair painted by Hans Burgkmair the Elder in 1468, the year after the Empress’s death on September 3, 1467, two weeks short of her thirty-third birthday. Between 1455 and 1466, Leonora had borne Frederick five children, of whom the second and the fourth, Maximilian and Kunegonde, would survive past their first year. Her husband outlived not only his wife but most of his rivals, surviving until 1493, a triumph of longevity, if not of reputation.

⁷⁴ “Et vere magna solemnitas fuit facta, & puto, si Dominus JESUS CHRISTUS cum Sancto Marco veniret ad terras Dominorum Venetorum, forte vix tantam reverentiam & honorem impenderent eis,” Lankmann 1725, col. 603A; Lankmann 1992, §55, pp. 86–87.

Documents

Document 1: Francesco Giovanni, *Ricordanze*

*Libro di ricordanze segnato AB di Francesco di Tommaso Giovanni (1444–1458), ASF, Carte Stroziane, Serie Seconda, 16 bis, fols. 14r–15r.*⁷⁵

[fol. 14r] *La venuta dello 'mperadore Federicho in Firenze.* Ricordo che domenica a di xxx di gennaio 1451, tra XXII e 23 hore, entrò in Firenze per la porta a San Gallo lo imperadore Federigo d'Osterih e in sua compagnia Lasdilago, re d'Ungheria e di Buemia e suo nipote, d'eta d'anni XIII o circa. Ancora el ducha Alberto d'Osterih fratello d'esso imperadore, e il conte di Signa e moltissimi signori e baroni tedeschi, buemi e ungheri e pollacc<h>i, furono in somma CAVAGLI 2230, cioè quelli che s'alloggiorno in Firenze e ne' borghi, de' quali parte vennono venerdì e sabato, cioè lo scalco con 200, e il duca Alberto d'Osterih e altri con 1000, e poi el resto con lo 'mperadore.

Alloggiorno lui e il re e <'l> duca d'Osterih in Santa Maria Novella, e parte de' cavalli loro a Santo Antonio e in luoghi circustanti a Santa Maria Novella, e 'l conte di Signa nella casa che fu di Piero di Neri Ardinghelli, e 'l tosoriere del re in casa Giovanni Corbinelli, e certi grandi signori a' principali aberghi, cioè 1° alla Corona, 1° al Leone, 1° alla Campana, 1° a l'Agnolo e così tutti gl'aberghi dentro e di fuori e varie case di cittadini s'empierò di dette gente, e a tutti pagò il Comune le spese mentre ci stettono.

E gl'uficiali diputati a tale honoranza commissono a Giovambatista mio figl<i>uolo, a chui

Emperor Frederick's Entry into Florence. I record that on Sunday January 30, 1451[/2], between 3 and 4 in the afternoon, the Emperor Frederick of Austria entered Florence through Porta San Gallo, accompanied by his nephew Ladislaus, King of Hungary and Bohemia, aged thirteen or so, and by Duke Albert of Austria, the Emperor's brother, and by the Count of Signa and a great number of lords and barons from Germany, Bohemia, Hungary and Poland.⁷⁶ In all there were 2230 cavalry, who lodged in Florence and its environs. Some of them arrived on Friday and Saturday, including the Marshall with 200, and Duke Albert of Austria and others with 1000, and then the rest with the Emperor.

He and the Duke of Austria stayed in Santa Maria Novella, and some of their cavalry stayed at Sant'Antonio and in places around Santa Maria Novella, and the Count of Signa in the house that used to belong to Piero di Neri Ardinghelli, and the Chancellor of the King's Exchequer in the house of Giovanni Corbinelli, and various noble lords in the main inns, that is one at the Crown, one at the Lion, one at the Bell, one at the Angel, so that all the inns inside and outside the city, and various houses belonging to citizens were full of these people, and the Commune paid all their expenses during their stay.⁷⁷

And the officials deputized to prepare the *onoranza* commissioned Giovambatista my son and gave him

⁷⁵ The first three documents are copied in a minute and very faded hand. In transcribing this manuscript I referred also Carlo Strozzi's transcription of it in BNCF, *Fondo Nazionale*, II.IV.380).

⁷⁶ For a full list of Frederick's retinue, see Hack 2007.

⁷⁷ Brandi and Ceffini indicate unequivocally that Albert stayed not at Santa Maria Novella but at the Casa del Patriarca. Petriboni 2001, p. 353, concurs, if a semicolon is introduced to read: "In detta Sancta Maria Novella alloggiò la maestà dello Imperadore e la maestà di Lançilao re d'Ongheria; et il lustrissimo ducha Alberto di Sterlicchi et molti altri signori, et i loro cavagli furono alloggiati all'alberghi." Filarete 1978, p. 73, notes that Ceffini and Jacopo Guicciardini acted as hosts at the Casa del Patriarca, and that it was there that he heard directly from the Germans of their amazement that citizens could move about unarmed. Preyer 1998, p. 373, observes that "many palaces became guest houses for visiting dignitaries," and I thank her for tentatively identifying it as the part of the present Corsini palace in Via del Parione which still bears the Ardinghelli coat of arms. The *deputati* also requisitioned and did basic refurbishment in the Ospedale di San Gallo and on the two Ospedali di Sant'Antonio, one inside and one outside Porta Faenza. The *Lione*, *Corona* and *Campana* were the city's biggest inns. When the ambassador of the King of Aragon (Antonio Panormita) came to Florence, the Ten of the Balìa paid his expenses at the *Lione* (ASF, *Dieci di Balìa, Deliberazioni, condotte e stanziamenti*, 19, f. 13r (October 11, 1451, for expenses £77 incurred 28 August). According to Brandi 1451/2, fol. 25r, Andrea Bonsi, innkeeper of the *Lione*, was paid 30 *soldi* per man and horse, and 12 *soldi* per man per day; he accommodated 1107 horses and 1272 men (that is, about 184 horses and 212 men for six days), and was paid a total of £1759.16.0. In comparison, Carlo Soldani, a private citizen, accommodated 26 horses and 40 men in his house, and was reimbursed 45 *soldi* per man and horse per day, and 12 *soldi* per man per day, a total of £420.10.0 including incidentals.

dettono 2 famigli de' Signori che avevano la linghua tedesca e unghera e il latino, e cavagli, e sera e mattina andava alle stanze a rasegnargli, e tennene diligente conto come gl'insegnai, e in modo facile dimostrò poi separati gli scotti delle persone e così de' cavalli, sì che fece risparmiar assai al Comune etc.

Mandossi a Ferrara incontro messer Bernardo Giugni e Carlo d'Agnolo Pandolfini, e dipoi in ultimo messer Otto Nicholini e dipoi Giannozzo Manetti e questi 2 furono aroti perché pareva essere debole ambasciata ne' 2 primi, rispetto a quelli de' vinitiani, che di principio furono 4.

Dipoi alla venuta si mandorno molti cittadini ornati e con quantità di giovani de' principali e assai famigli e scontronolo in Mugello. E alla porta a San Gallo, sotto el portico dello spedale a riscontro alla porta, furono parate 3 sedie, cioè per lo 'mperadore, pel re e pel duca, e alla porta si levorno tutti gl'usci e saracinesche e l'arcivescovo con le processioni senza paramenti, perché fu tempo piovoso, e così e Signori con Collegi e tutti gl'Ufici andorno alla porta incòntrogli, e come l'arcivescovo giunse a llui, lui ismontò da cavallo e feceli reverenza e baciogli la mano [*inserted above line*: overo la croce], poi rimontò a cavallo, e in sulla porta e Signori gli dissono certe parole di racoglienza, e vennono alla briglia e adstrandolo sotto lo stendardo fatto con l'aquile nere e con l'arme sua.

E a Santa Maria del Fiore iscavalcò e andò a oferire, poi ne venne dal canto de' Pazzi e da San Pulinari e per Piazza, e per Porta Santa Maria, e da Santo Apostolo, poi da Tornaquinci e a Santa Maria Novella, e era già sì buio che i Signori tornorno a Palagio co' lumi.

Era vestito lui d'una ciopetta di panno turchino alla tedescha e in capo 1° capello piloso nero e col papafico, e 1° capucio alle spalle con moltissime gioiave e perle ricamate

two of the Signoria's servants who knew German and Hungarian and Latin, and horses, and evening and morning he went to all the places they were lodged to keep them informed, and he kept account of it all diligently, as I taught him, and he was easily able to present separate accounts for people and for horses, so that he saved the Commune a great deal.⁷⁸

Messer Bernardo Giugni and Carlo d'Agnolo Pandolfini were sent to meet him in Ferrara, and then Messer Otto Niccolini and later Giannozzo Manetti, and these two were added because the delegation seemed weak with the first two, compared with that of the Venetians which had four from the beginning.

Then, when [the Emperor] arrived, a large number of richly dressed citizens, and numerous young men from the leading families and many servants were sent to meet him in the Mugello. At Porta San Gallo, under the portico of the hospital facing the gate, there were three seats prepared, for the Emperor, the King, and the Duke, and they removed all the doors and shutters from the gate, and the Archbishop with the procession [of clergy], but without vestments because the weather was rainy.⁷⁹ Likewise the Signoria and Colleges and all the Magistracies went to Porta San Gallo to meet him, and as the Archbishop came to him, he dismounted from his horse and bowed before him and kissed his hand, or rather the Cross.⁸⁰ Then he got back on his horse and at the gate the Signori spoke some words of welcome to him and took their places at his bridle, leading him under the baldachin decorated with the black eagles and with his arms.⁸¹

At Santa Maria del Fiore he dismounted and went to make an offering, then he came away by Canto de' Pazzi and Sant'Apollinare, through Piazza [de' Signori], by Por Santa Maria, Santissimo Apostolo and Tornaquinci to Santa Maria Novella, and it was already so dark that the Signori returned to the Palazzo by torchlight.⁸²

He was wearing a long cloak of turquoise cloth in the German style and a black fur hat on his head with a cowl, and a cape over his shoulders embroidered in patterns with a vast number of jewels and pearls. The

⁷⁸ See n. 14 above.

⁷⁹ On the founding hospital outside Porta San Gallo, see Henderson 2006, pp. 11–14. No trace remains of the hospital or its loggia, which is clearly visible in Rosselli's *catena* view of Florence.

⁸⁰ In January 1451/2 (and until May 1454), the Florentines elected a further nine officials to serve with the Gonfalonier of Justice as the Ten of the Balia, Petriboni 2001, p. 349. They participated in all these event with the Signori, and in some cases spoke for them.

⁸¹ The first baldachin, in black taffeta trimmed with dark red taffeta and painted with eagles, was made expressly for the Emperor's visit, and cost £102.12.0 (Brandt 1451/2, fols. 1v–3r); its replacement, which the Emperor then took with him, cost £127.18.6 (Brandt 1451/2, fol. 43r; see further details below).

⁸² From the intersection of Via del Proconsolo and Borgo degli Albizi to Piazza San Firenze, and into Piazza della Signoria, then along Via Por Santa Maria, past the Buondelmonte Loggia, along Borgo Santissimi Apostoli to Piazza Santa Trinita, Via Tornabuoni to Canto dei Tornaquinci (the corner of Via Strozzi), and then along Via della Scala (now Via del Sole) to the apartments in Santa Maria Novella.

gl'intagli. Inanzi a llui andava el re quasi isconosciuto, e il duca Alberto con 1° bastone a fare iscostare le genti e da cavallo e da piè, e dinanzi allo stendardo ovvero padiglione andava 1° con 1ª vesta tutta d'oro con aquile nere, 1ª dinanzi et 1ª di drieto, e 1° grande signore portava la spada ritta apogiatasi al petto e nella ghuaina. Le sue genti el forte erano armati di corazine brunite sotto ciopettini o gonnellini alla tedesca, o con panziere ghuazerine e in capo capelletti o bacinetti tedeschi bruniti, e parte avevano le lance e parte stambechini e simili arme. Alcuni avevano arnesi e bracciali e spallaci. E in tutto erano più da parenza che da fatti rispetto a' soldati taliani.

Per la prima sera s'alogiorno alla ravilupata, in modo che assai de' cavalli dello imperadore stettono la notte sotto e chiostri di Santa Maria Novella, poi s'allogiorno con grande ordine e furono trattati magnificamente e contentati di ciò che chiesono, e così «fu» fatto a tutti ottima acoglenza, e senza dimostrazione di sospetto alchuno, per modo che lo 'mperadore e tutti se ne maraviglorno, e maxime perché volle investigare di dì e di notte, se per la terra si faceva ghuardia, e mai trovorno ghuardie alchune, in modo che usavano dire ch'eravamo tutti Medici, vegiendoci con mantelli e panni lunghi etc.

El lunedì, quando la Signoria andò a vigitarlo, dopo gl'altri colloqui lui adomandò che Lodovico da Marradi fussi excarcerato. Figli risposto che v'era per diliberatione de' Consigli e in modo che e Signori soli non possono di fatto liberarlo, ma che si provedrebbe etc. E con buone parole si tranquillò, e così poi si quietò tal materia.

Ricercò più volte di voler parlare a Cosimo de' Medici, e essendo lui malato, non possendo andarvi, mandò Piero e Giovanni suoi figliuoli a fare sua schusa, e avendo prima veduti molti brochati, et infra gl'altri una peza di Piero di Cosimo, fece ritenerla dicendo che Piero facessi il mercato lui, allora Piero disse voleva

King preceded him, almost unrecognized, and Duke Albert, holding a staff to part the crowd on horseback and on foot, and in front of the baldachin or canopy there went a man with a tunic all of gold, with black eagles, one on his front and one on his back, and a great lord carried the sword upright, resting on his chest in its scabbard. His troops were for the most part armored with burnished cuirasses, and beneath them short cloaks or skirts in the German style, or else shiny breastplates, and on their heads little hats or burnished German helmets, and some had lances and some had crossbows and similar arms. Some had implements and armguards and shoulder-pieces. And all in all they were more for show than for real, in comparison with Italian soldiers.

The first evening they lodged wherever they could, so that many of the Emperor's cavalry spent the night under the cloisters of Santa Maria Novella, then they were lodged with great order and they were treated magnificently and everything they asked for was provided, and in this way all were given a most excellent welcome, and without any show of suspicion at all, so that the Emperor and all his people were amazed, and particularly because he wanted to investigate, day and night, to find out if there was a guard in the city, and he never found any guards, so that they went around saying that we were all *medici*, when they saw us with our cloaks and long robes.⁸³

On Monday, when the Signoria went to visit him, after other discussions he asked for Ludovico da Marradi to be released from prison. The answer was given that he was in prison by decision of the Councils and for that reason the Signori, on their own, cannot in fact free him, but that they would look into it. And with polite words he was pacified and thus the matter was put to rest.⁸⁴

He expressed several times his wish to speak to Cosimo de' Medici, and since [Cosimo] was ill and could not go to him, he sent Piero and Giovanni his sons to present his apologies, and because [the Emperor] had already seen many brocades, and among them a piece of cloth belonging to Piero di Cosimo, he had it held back, saying that Piero should sell it to him,

⁸³ The visitors pun on the family name (Medici) and the traditional apparel of doctors (long robes), to observe that Florentine citizens dressed alike, irrespective of wealth and standing.

⁸⁴ Ludovico Manfredi, count of Marradi had been a *condottiere* in the service of Giovanni Galeazzo Visconti (1410) and the Antipope Giovanni XXIII (1411) before coming into the Florentine sphere in 1413. In 1425, after a series of incidents, his friend Francesco Soderini insisted he should come to Florence. He left Marradi with a safe conduct but on returning to Florence he was imprisoned in the Stinche and his castle was confiscated. His capture provoked protests from Martin V and, in December 1426, from Niccolò Albergati on behalf of Eugenius IV. Ludovico's appeal to Lorenzo di Giovanni de' Medici in 1434 was judged immoderate and his conditions worsened; in July 1440 and again in December 1448 he contacted Cosimo de' Medici. The Emperor's appeal now, and another appeal addressed to Giovanni de' Medici in September 1455 were unsuccessful. In 1458 and 1460, pressure on his behalf from the Duke of Milan, Francesco Sforza, finally yielded results; see Flamini 1891. He was liberated in 1461; Giusto Giusti 2002, pp. 125–6 (1460.17).

donarglela e così fe'. [fol. 14v]

A dì 2 di febraio, il dì di Santa Maria Candelora, lo 'mperadore con tutti e signori e baroni vennono con grandi magnificentie di vestimenti, di grande valore rispetto alle ricche gioie e perle che avevano, e fornimento di cavallo di maglia d'argento guerniti con oro sodo, cioè staffe e morsi, e gioie assai e perle, e molto honoratamente vennono a Santa Maria del Fiore dove era parato tutta la chiesa, e massime el coro e l'altare maggiore, e con brocati e ricchi drappi in scambio di capoletti, e con 3 sedie, e quivi stettono alla messa che cantò l'arcivescovo, e con devotione e belle cerimonie stettono a tutto l'ufficio; e finito l'ufficio e Signori richiesono molti cittadini, perché v'erano adunati, cioè a tutti gl'Ufici in coro, e prima volevano che Mariotto Benvenuti ch'era Gonfaloniere di Giustizia si facessi cavaliere, e mai volle asentire, e così di molti che richiesono. Acettò solo Orlando de' Medici e Alexandro degl'Alessandri e Carlo d'Agnolo Pandolfini, e questi 3 si feciono quivi cavalieri per mano dello 'mperadore, a' quali non volle donare allora segno di fermaglio, né dare alchuno privilegio, dicendo voler prima essere incoronato etc. E così dinegò a' signori che apativano di farsi conti di palazzo, e simili cose a molt'altri etc.

Andò alchune volte per la terra vegiando e maxime apativa vedere e tempi e le chiese e così andò più volte a' Servi a udire messa, e così andò a vedere e lioni. Ancora passando per la via Larga così a cavallo entrò per vedere il palazzo di Cosimo. Ancora avendo vedute certe reliquie che sono in Santa Maria del Fiore, ne domandò alcuna e donornosegli. Alla partenza sua, essendosi rifatto 1° nuovo stendardo overo padiglione perché il primo fu straciato quando

then Piero said that he wanted to give it to him, and that is what he did.⁸⁵

On February 2, the Feast of St Mary Candlemas, the Emperor and all his lords and barons came with a great magnificence of precious vestments decorated with rich jewels and pearls, and with horses caparisoned in silver chain-mail, finished in solid gold, that is, stirrups and bits, and with many jewels and pearls, and with all honor they came to Santa Maria del Fiore, where the church had been decorated, and especially the choir and the high altar, with brocades and rich drapes in the place of canopies,⁸⁶ and with three seats, and there they remained during the mass which was sung by the archbishop, and with devotion and with fine ceremony they remained right through the office. And when the mass was over the Signori issued an invitation to a large number of citizens, because they were gathered there together, that is, to all the Magistracies sitting in the choir, and first they wanted Mariotto Benvenuti who was the Gonfalonier of Justice to be made a knight, and he refused, as did many others who were invited. Only Orlando de' Medici accepted and Alessandro degli Alessandri and Carlo d'Agnolo Pandolfini, and these three were made knights there by the hand of the Emperor, and he refused to give them the brooch or any privileges, saying that he wanted to be crowned first. And thus he denied those lords who wanted to become Counts Palatine, and similar things to many others.

Several times he went sightseeing around the city and he especially desired to see temples and churches, and thus he went several times to the Servi to hear mass, and he went to see the lions.⁸⁷ And as he was going along Via Larga he rode in on his horse to see Cosimo's palace.⁸⁸ And having seen certain relics in Santa Maria del Fiore, he asked for some of them, and they were given to him.⁸⁹ For his departure, for which a new baldachin or canopy had been made because the first one was ripped when he came to Santa Maria del

⁸⁵ See n. 24 above.

⁸⁶ The expenses for preparing the Duomo for the Emperor's visit are recorded in Paganelli 1451/2: they include cleaning, oil for the lamps, myrtle, a new *pallium* of white damask for the high altar, sewn by Cristofano di Calvano, the flagmaker (fol. 9v), the preparation of torches around the choir, and wine, bread, sausage and cheese for the *maestri* (carpenters and stonemasons) who had worked through night (fol. 19v).

⁸⁷ On Florence's lions, see Randolph 2002, pp. 11–18. There is no direct indication of what was “inappropriate” in this visit to the lions. Matteo Villani records that one was given to the Duke of Austria who asked the Commune for it (Villani 1934, p. 174, v.68). When the King of France came in 1494, he went sightseeing after mass and rode to see the lions in their quarters in the palace of the Capitano del Popolo, now part of the Palazzo della Signoria, in Via dei Leoni, running from Piazza San Firenze to the Loggie del Grano, and asked for the release of prisoners who were also in the Palazzo; Landucci 1969, p. 81.

⁸⁸ Preyer 1998, 358–62.

⁸⁹ On February 28, in addition to reimbursing the Opera of Santa Maria del Fiore for the refurbishment of Santa Maria Novella, the Commune voted £56.5.0 to subsidize the Opera's gifts of candles to the civic authorities, and also £80 for the reliquary; ASF, *Provvisioni, Registri*, 142, fol. 483v.

venne a Santa Maria del Fiore, lui lo domandò in dono e così se gli donò e portònelo.

A dì 4 di febraio vennono a lui 2 cardinali, cioè il fratello del papa et 1° spagnuolo, e quali entrarono in Firenze a hore 1^a di notte con grandi solennità e di processioni e di cittadini e gl'uffici e con infiniti lumi, e 'l fratello dello 'mperadore si fe' loro incontro infino alla piazza de' Signori. Poi a dì 5 da mattina lo 'mperadore andò a' Servi a udire messa e quivi s'acozò con detti cardinali e stettono assai insieme. Di poi verso la sera e cardinali andorno a piede a corte e stettono con lui grande spatio di tempo. Poi domenica a dì 6 di febraio lo 'mperadore e tutti si partirono a hore 18 o circa, e i Signori e tutti gl'uffici fino alla porta, e moltissimi cittadini a cavallo l'acompanorno di là da Certosa, e con lui andorno per ambasciatori messer Bernardo Giugni, messer Carlo Pandolfini e Giannozzo Manetti, e continuo stettono a Siena e a Roma con lui infino che lui andò a Napoli. Allora tornorno e cavalieri e Giannozzo rimase a Roma, e in quello tempo ch'egli stette a Napoli, el papa fe' cavaliere messer Giannozzo Manetti, e quivi aspettò lo 'mperadore e racompagnollo alla tornata infino qui etc.

Ricordo che a dì 8 di marzo 1451 lo 'mperadore giunse a Roma e alloggiò 1^a sera di fuori, poi a dì 9 con grandissime magnificenze e cerimonie entrò in Roma con cavalli 2000 o più de' suoi ben a ordine e cavalli 1600 della Chiesa, armati et in isquadra, e dopo loro entrò lo 'mperadore con tutt'i signori e ' baroni e l'ambascerie in modo che si stimorno cavalli 8^M furonvi, ancora baroni e ufficiali e cittadini romani e la processione e moltissimi vescovi con mitrie bianche e ben parati. Alla brigl(ia) andò il senatore et il curatore di Roma, e a San Piero il papa in sedia l'aspetava in su le scalee, e quivi iscavalcò lo 'mperadore e baciòli prima il piè, poi la boca, e il papa gli diede certo sacramento, e pocho stante dopo lui giunse la 'mperadrice, e baciò la mano al papa, e partissi e così andorno tutti alle stanze parate per loro

Fiore, he asked for it as a gift and so it was given to him and he took it with him.⁹⁰

On February 4 two cardinals came to him, that is, the Pope's brother and a Spaniard,⁹¹ and they entered Florence an hour after sundown with great pomp, with processions both of clergy and of citizens and the Magistracies and an infinity of torches, and the Emperor's brother went to Piazza de' Signori to meet them. Then on February 5 in the morning the Emperor went to the Servi to hear mass and there he bumped into the cardinals and they spent a long time together. Then towards evening the cardinals went on foot to the court and remained with him for a long space of time. Then on Sunday February 6 the Emperor and all his men left at midday or thereabouts and the Signori and all the Magistracies accompanied him to the gate, and many citizens on horseback went with him past the Certosa, and Messer Bernardo Giugni, Messer Carlo Pandolfini and Giannozzo Manetti went with him as ambassadors, and they stayed with him all the way to Siena and Rome, until he went to Naples. Then the knights returned, and Giannozzo remained in Rome. And while the Emperor was in Naples, the Pope made Messer Giannozzo Manetti a knight, and he waited there for the Emperor and accompanied him on his return back here.

I record that on March 8, 1451[2], the Emperor reached Rome and stayed one night outside the walls and then on March 9, with the greatest magnificence and pomp he entered Rome with 2000 or more of his own cavalry, all in order, and 1600 cavalry of the Church, armed and in formation. The Emperor followed them in, with all his lords and barons and ambassadors, so that there were estimated to be 8000 cavalry, as well as Roman barons and officials and citizens, and the [religious] procession and a great number of bishops with white miters, in beautiful vestments. The Senator and the Curator of Rome walked at his bridle, and at St Peter's, the Pope was waiting for him seated on his throne on the steps, and there the Emperor dismounted and kissed him first on his foot, then on his mouth, and the Pope gave him a certain sacrament, and moments later the Empress arrived, and kissed the Pope's hand, and then she left,

⁹⁰ On "ritual unhorsing" and the destruction of baldachins, see Bertelli 2001, p. 81. On his return from Rome, Frederick also demanded the replacement Sienese baldachin as a gift. The officials refused, but later took advice and determined that the baldachin was legally the property of the Emperor. They then sent a notary to catch up with the Emperor at Poggibonsi, to give him the baldachin and to apologize for not giving it immediately; see Fumi and Lisini 1878, p. 35, citing ASS, *Concistoro, Deliberazioni*, May 4, 1452. Brandi 1451/2 also notes that the *deputati* settled a claim from the friars at Santa Maria Novella, paying them £15 for a *pallium* that the Emperor had taken with him: "E a dì 24 di febraio £15 paghamo a' frati di Santa Maria Novella per 1° palio d'altare se ne portò lo 'nperadore," fol. 96v. The Company of St Peter Martyr, the Scala hospital and the friars of Ognissanti all received compensation for damage caused by the visitors; Brandi, fols. 83r and 96v. Other compensation for "lost" items is recorded in Ceffini, fols. 3r and 12v.

⁹¹ See Petriboni 2001, p. 357. Cardinal Filippo Calandrini, brother of Pope Nicholas V, stayed at Santa Maria de' Servi, while Piccolomini's friend, Juan Carvajal, Cardinal of Sant'Angelo in Foro Piscium, stayed in Santa Croce.

secondo l'ordine del papa.

A dì XVIII^o di marzo 1451 papa Nicola — con dignissime cerimonie incoronò prima lo 'mperadore e poi la 'mperadrice. Perché sarebbe tedioso, però premetto dette cerimonie, delle quali per ordine ò fatto memoria in 1^o altro libro in papiro dove sono varie opere e di varie lettere etc.

Dipoi a dì — lo 'mperadore andò a Napoli dove con inestimabili magnificenzie. Fu ricevuto dal re de Ragona e il re d'Ungheria rimase in Roma. E là consumò il matrimonio con la 'mperadrice, dipoi a dì — tornò a Roma.

Poi a dì 5 di magio a hore 19 o circa ritornò in Firenze lo 'mperadore e il re d'Ungheria e il duca Alberto con cavalli 1150 o circa; e la 'mperadrice si partì da Napoli e per acqua n'andò a Vinegia. Andogli incontro messer Orlando, messer Alexandro, messer Carlo, e messer Bernardo Giugni e messer Giovanozzo Pitti fino a Pogibonzi, e la Signoria e gl'Ufici e prima la processione infino alla porta a San Piero Gattolini e quivi lui iscavalcò alla giunta dell'arcivescovo e baciò la croce, poi montò a cavallo e quivi tochò la mano a tutti e Signori e entrato sotto il padiglione ne venne in Piazza, e da' Balestrieri, e in Santa Liperata andò a offerere, e poi andò a llogiarsi a Santa Maria Novella come avea fatto⁹³ prima.

A dì 4 di magio erano venuti in Firenze — ambasciatori ungheri e buemi e volevano protestare a lo 'mperadore che voglono el loro re, altrimenti si ribelleranno etc.

E detti ambasciatori a dì 6 cercorno più volte di parlarli e mai poterno, ma parlorno al fratello cioè al duca, e fu dato loro parole in pagamento e per questo si disse che lo 'mperadore ebbe sospetto dell'essere trafugato el re etc. In fine si partirono detti ambasciatori senza fare cosa alcuna etc. [...] [fòl. 15r]

La partenza dello 'mperadore. Ricordo che domenica a dì 7 di maggio 1452 a hore XIII o circa lo 'mperadore Federigo e Ladislao re d'Ungheria et il duca d'Osterich si partirono di Firenze con circa 50 cavalli e senza compagnia o honoranza alcuna perché si stimava che soprastessi tanto che la Signoria e gl'Ufici v'andassino com'era ordinato. Ma avendo lui avisato di volere partire tra XI e 12 hore, e a nostra stanza avendo consentito stare fino a 14

and so they all went to the apartments prepared for them as the Pope had ordered.

On March 19, 1451[2], Pope Nicholas [V], with most solemn pomp, crowned first the Emperor and then the Empress. Because it would be tedious, I am leaving out these ceremonies, of which I have made a full account in another paper book where there are various works and various letters.⁹²

Then on [March 24] the Emperor went to Naples with indescribable magnificence. He was received by the King of Aragon, and the King of Hungary stayed in Rome. And there he consummated his marriage with the Empress, then on [about April 20] he returned to Rome.

Then on May 5, just after midday or thereabouts, the Emperor, the King of Hungary and Duke Albert returned to Florence with 1150 cavalry or thereabouts; and the Empress left Naples and went to Venice by sea. Messer Orlando [de' Medici], Messer Alessandro [degli Alessandri], Messer Carlo [Pandolfini], Messer Bernardo Giugni and Messer Giovanozzo Pitti went down to Poggibonzi to meet him, and the [religious] procession went as far as Porta San Piero Gattolini, and there he dismounted when the Archbishop arrived, and he kissed the crosier, then he mounted his horse and shook hands with all the Signori, and under the canopy he came into Piazza de' Signori, and from there to Via de' Balestrieri and to Santa Liperata to make an offering, and then he went to his apartment in Santa Maria Novella as he had done previously.

On May 4, — Hungarian and Bohemian ambassadors had come to Florence and they wanted to protest to the Emperor that they want their king, otherwise they will rebel.

And these ambassadors, on May 6, tried several times to speak to him and never could, but they talked to his brother, that is, to the Duke, and received only words in return, and for this reason it was said that the Emperor suspected that the King would be abducted. In the end the Ambassadors left without doing anything. [...]

The Emperor's departure. I record that on Sunday, May 7, 1452, two hours after sunrise or thereabouts, the Emperor Frederick and Ladislaus King of Hungary and the Duke of Austria left Florence with about fifty cavalry, unaccompanied and without any official ceremony, because it was thought that he would wait until the Signoria and the Magistracies arrived, as had been arranged. But since he had advised that he wanted to leave in the hour before dawn, and at our insistence he had agreed to wait until two hours after dawn, and

⁹² See docs. 2 and 3 below.

⁹³ MS come era(no) frati prima.

e avendo aspettato dalle 12 alle 14, non venendovi persona perché erano a mangiare gl'Uffici, lui montò a cavallo et andò via quasi insalutato hospite. Dipoi si mandorno drietoli gli 'mbasciatori, cioè messer Orlando, messer Bernardo Giugni, messer Alexandro, e messer Carlo Pandolfini, e alloggiò la sera alla Scarperia, avenga che doveva andare a Firenzuola. Ma fermossi quivi, e mandò a dire che non si partirebbe se non riaveva l'° fanciullo figliuolo d' l'° signore che è con lui, el quale fu tolto sabato a dì 6 da messer Iannoza Pandolfini, e avendo la Signoria fatto bandire domenica mattina che fussi rasegnato infra 3 ore sotto gravi pene, indugiò a palesarlo fino a lunedì a dì 8. Quando senti che lo 'mperadore non si partirebbe, e ch'era ristato tutto il lunedì per questa cagione alla Scarperia, allora la palesò. Costorno le spese di quello dì, secondo ser Alesso, notaio di quelli dell'honoranza, fiorini 300 e più, oltre alla indegnatione e dispiacientia ch'ebbe l'imperadore etc.

having waited those two hours from dawn without anybody arriving, because the Magistracies were having breakfast, he got on his horse and left like an unfarewelled guest. Then the ambassadors were sent after him, that is, Messer Orlando [de' Medici], Messer Bernardo Giugni, Messer Alessandro [degli Alessandri] and Messer Carlo Pandolfini. And that evening he stayed in Scarperia, even though he was meant to go to Firenzuola. But he stopped there, and sent word that he would not leave unless he recovered a boy, son of a lord who was traveling with him. The boy had been taken on Saturday, May 6, by Messer Giannoza Pandolfini, and since the Signoria had issued an edict on Sunday morning that he should be returned within three hours on pain of serious punishment, it delayed exposing him until Monday March 8. When it heard that the Emperor would not leave and that he had spent all day Monday in Scarperia on this account, then it was made public. The expenses of that day, according to Ser Alesso, notary of the *onoranza*, were 300 florins and more, in addition to the Emperor's indignation and displeasure.⁹⁴

Document 2: Letter from Rome, copied by Francesco Giovanni

Francesco Giovanni, Cives Florentinus, *Lettera familiare dove si dimostre come a dì 8 di marzo 1451 lo [imperadore Federigo III] <prose>guì a Roma*. Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, II.IV.109 (formerly Strozzii XXXIX.72), fols. 95v–96r.⁹⁵

[Illegible rubric]

Carissimo quanto diletto fratello et caetera. Del non averti scritto dipoi me parti' di costi è suto ragione non la dimenticança di te, el quale si chome gl'altri amici sempre è nell'animo, ma il non avere avuto da dire chosa che bisogno mi paresse di scriverti. Ora per l'avenimento di questo nuovo Cesare qui t'ò voluto fare questa acciò che ctu per udita almeno participi delle degne et grandi chose le quali fino a qui abiamo vedute.

Et però t'aviso chome a dì 8 di questo la mactina si seppe chome lo 'mperadore doveva giugnere la sera a Roma, et però tucte l'ambascerie et signori, le quali si truova qui buon numero, gli chavalchorono in chontro et i nostri, insieme choi melanesi furono quegli che più avanti chavalcorono, et prima lo trovarono,

Dearest and no less beloved brother etc. The reason I have not written to you since I left is not that I have forgotten you, who are always in my mind as are my other friends always, but rather that I have not had anything to say that seemed necessary to write to you about. Now, with the arrival here of this new Caesar, I have decided to write this, so that you, by report at least, may participate in the worth and great things which we have seen so far.

And so, I report that on the morning of the 8th of this month [March], we learnt that the Emperor was to arrive in Rome that evening, so all the ambassadors and lords, and there are a good number of them here, rode to meet him, and ours, together with the Milanese, were those who rode furthest ahead, and they met him first, and when they had

⁹⁴ A further official description of the visit must have been prepared. One of the last expenses in Brandi 1451/2 is a payment of £3.10.0 to Ser Alesso, who has bought 2 lb of parchment '£ iii s. x sono per ii libbre di chartta pechorina auti da Pero di Dino, sono per ser Allesso, dicie vi vuole iscrivere l'onoranza s'è fatto allo 'nperadore' (because he says he wants to make a written record of the honor done to the Emperor), fol. 101v, March 3, 1451/2. Ser Alesso di Matteo Pelli was Cosimo's personal assistant; see Kent 2008.

⁹⁵ Docs. 2 and 3 are copied in the same minute hand as doc. 1, but the rubrics have faded to illegibility.

et basciatogli la mano benignamente furono da llui veduti et ricevuti, et chosì chavalchè verso la terra et di mano in mano trovava chi l'aspectava et vicitava in modo che assai di tempo si consumava, et tanti furono che in fino alla sera distenno la venuta sua, che si stimò fussino chavagli più che semila, fra quali furono molti Romani tutti vestiti dal papa di rosato. Credo fussino circha a 140 et chon questa compagnia ne venne verso Roma.

Et qualche mezzo miglo fuori della porta erano 12 chardinali con moltissimi veschovi et protonotai et altri prelati e quali, giunto che fu lo 'mperadore a lloro, lo salutarono et il vece cancelliere gli disse alchune parole et poi lo missono in mezzo il vece chancielliere et il chardinale di Sant' Agnolo et chosì lo menarono infino alla stanza per lui apparecchiata, che è una chasa di Tommaso Spinegli, dove lui allogio, et intorno a decta chasa erano tesi molti padiglioni dove alloggiarono alquanti di queglii suoi baroni, benché pochi, et parvemi che queglii padiglioni si tendessono più per cirimonia che per altro.

Non molto drieto a llui venne la Imperadrice [fol. 96r] acchompagnata da molti de' suoi baroni et signori portogallesi et da buon numero di tedeschi et da 'lchune ambascerie che glele mandò lo Imperadore fra ' quali fu la nostra. Et lei alloggiò inn una chaseta del lavoratore di Tomaso Spinelli dirimpecto a dov'era lo 'mperadore L'altra mactina che ffu a di viiiij^o andorono tucte l'ambascerie a chasa lo 'mperadore et in questo mezzo il duca Alberto fratello dello Imperadore fece armare tucte le loro genti che furono più di dumila chavalli bene in ordine al modo loro, et tucti gli fece rechare inn isquadra socto una insegna dello imperio che in verità era bella chosa a vedergli in su certi prati grandissimi dove si ragunarono.

Et da altra parte erano le genti della chiesa circa cav<a>gli 1600 tucti armati et ordinati Innisquadre. Et chosì stando venne lo 'mperadore acchompagnato da molti signori et baroni romani et dalle inbascerie. Et andò intorno vegendo quelle genti. Et pocho dopo venne la Imperadrice ben parata et con bella compagnia et lo mperadore le fece mocto et chosì si stette um pezzo in su' prati che era

kissed his hand they were greeted and received most kindly by him, and so they rode towards the city, and gradually he met those who were waiting for him, and he greeted them so that it took a lot of time, and there were so many that his arrival took until the evening, and it was estimated that there were more than 6000 cavalry, and among them many Romans, all dressed by the Pope in his pink livery. I think there were about 140, and with this company he came towards Rome.

And about half a mile outside the gate were twelve cardinals and many bishops and protonotaries and other prelates, and when the Emperor arrived they greeted him, and the Vice-Chancellor spoke a few words to him, and then they put him between the Vice-Chancellor and the Cardinal of Sant' Angelo, and in that way they took him as far as the apartment prepared for him, that is a house belonging to Tommaso Spinelli,⁹⁶ where he stayed. And around this house many pavilions had been erected, where some of his barons lodged, although not many, and it seemed to me that those pavilions were being erected more for show than for anything else.

Not far behind him came the Empress, accompanied by many of her Portuguese barons and lords and by a good number of Germans and by some ambassadors who had been sent to her by the Emperor, and among these were our own. And she stayed in small house belonging to Tommaso Spinelli's worker, opposite where the Emperor was staying. The next morning, which was March 9, all the ambassadors went to the Emperor's house and in the meantime Duke Albert, the Emperor's brother, had all his men dressed in full armor, and there were two thousand cavalry all in full dress according to their fashion, and he drew them up in formation under an imperial ensign, which was in truth a beautiful sight to see, in some very big fields where they all gathered together.

And on the other side were the troops of the Church, about 1600 cavalry all armed and drawn up in formation. And as they stood like that, the Emperor came, accompanied by many Roman lords and barons and by the ambassadors.⁹⁷ And he went along inspecting these troops. And shortly afterwards the Empress arrived, well arrayed and with a beautiful retinue, and the Emperor spoke to her, and they remained in that meadow for a while, which

⁹⁶ The Vice-Chancellor is Cardinal Francesco Condulmer, Cardinal Nephew of Eugenius IV; the Cardinal of Sant' Angelo is Juan Carvajal. On Spinelli, see Jacks 2001, pp. 62–65.

⁹⁷ The Milanese ambassadors also describe the scene, and the way in which they jockeyed for position with the Venetian ambassadors; letter from Niccolò Arcimboldio, Sceva de Curte, Jacopo Trivulzio and Nicodemo da Pontremolo to the Duke of Milan, Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, *Fonds Italiens*, 1586, fol. 47r.

bella chosa a vedere che v'era forse 8000
chavalli.

Et intanto venne l'ora dello entrare et
ordinossi la chosa in questo modo: che prima
andarono le inbasciarie di tucte le chiese prenci-
pali della chiesa, dipoi molti chavalli tedeschi
formati sotto a insegna dell'aquila. Dipoi
vennono tucti li schudieri dei chardinali et d'i
imbasciadori et apresso li inbasciadori tucti nell
luogo loro. Qui apresso venne una insegna
rossa con S.P.Q.R. et drietole molti cictadini et
ufficiali et baroni romani, et i gonfaloni.

Apresso a questi venne la procissione di tucto
il cherichato bem parati et drietole molti signori
et baroni tedeschi et il re d'Ungheria et altri
signori et dipoi molti veschovi con mitere
bianche et parati tucti ricchamente. Apresso
costoro veniva lo imperadore socto il
baldacchino portato da preti parati in li abiti di
protonotari et alla briglia gli veniva il senatore
et un altro ch'è chiamato churatore di Roma. Et
chosi si andò fino a sSanto Pietro dove in su le
schalee il papa parato per pontificali in sedia et
l'aspectava acchompagnato da tucti i chardinali
et da molti prelati et giunto che fu a llui lo
imperadore gli baciò prima il piè poi la mano e
poi la bocca et levatosi impiè si àno ricto.
Disse per lui il veschovo di Siena alchune
parole et poi il papa gli diene certo sacramento
et dipoi lo fece menare in Santo Pietro all'altare
magiore et in questo mezzo giunse la
imperadrice la quale baciò la mano al papa et
partissi et andonne in una chasa allato a sSanto
Pietro ordinata per lei et il papa se n'andò im
palazzo et lo Imperadore poi che ebbe cercha
tucta la chiesa acchompagnato da il cardinale di
Santo Marcho et da quello di Santo Agnolo se
n'andò alla stanza per lui apparecchiata che è
pure nel palazzo del papa.

Questo è quanto è seguito fino a qui de' facti
dello Imperadore. Dovrasi choronare
domenicha a 8 di che saremo a di 19 et allora
anche si chede sposerà la imperadrice. Questo è
quanto t'ò avuto a dir acciò che tua umanità ne
partisci a chotesti nostri amici et massime
agl'acchademici e quali tucti saluterai per mia
parte

Data in Roma a di x di marzo 1451

was a beautiful sight, and there were about 8000
cavalry.

And meanwhile the time came for the entry, and it
was organized in this fashion: first came the
embassies sent by all the principal churches of
Christendom, then a great number of German
knights, in formation under the ensign of the eagle.
Then came all the pages of the cardinals and the
ambassadors, and next the ambassadors, each in
their assigned place. Next came a red ensign with
the letters SPQR, and behind it many citizens and
officials and barons, and the standards of the city.

Behind them came the religious procession with
all the clergy in fine vestments, and behind it many
German lords and barons and the King of Hungary
and other lords, and then lots of bishops with white
miters and all in rich vestments. After them came
the Emperor under a baldachin carried by priests in
the habits of protonotaries, and at his bridle came
the Senator and another who is called the Curator of
Rome. And on they went to St Peter's where, on the
steps, the Pope, arrayed on his throne in his
pontifical vestments, was waiting for him on the
steps, accompanied by all the cardinals and a large
number of prelates. And when the Emperor reached
him, he kissed him first on his foot, then on his
hand, and then on his mouth, then they stood and
embraced. The Bishop of Siena spoke a few words
on the Emperor's behalf, and the Pope gave him a
certain sacrament, and then he had him led into St
Peter's to the high altar, and in the meantime the
Empress arrived and she kissed the Pope's hand and
left and went to a house next to St Peter's which had
been prepared for her, and the Pope went back to his
palace, and the Emperor, when he had sought out
every part of the church, accompanied by the
Cardinal of San Marco⁹⁸ and by the Cardinal of
Sant'Angelo, went off to the apartment prepared for
him in the papal palace.

That's all that's happened so far with the Emperor.
He should be crowned a week from Sunday, which
will be March 19, and then people think he will
marry the Empress. This is as much as I have to tell
you, so that in you humanity you will share it with
our friends, and especially with the academicians,
whom I ask you to greet on my behalf.

Rome, March 10, 1451/2.

Document 3: Coronation ceremonial, copied by Francesco Giovanni Cives Florentinus (summary)
Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, II.IV.109 (formerly Strozzi XXXIX.72), fols. 96v–97v.

⁹⁸ Pietro Barbo, future Pope Paul II.

These three pages and their rubrics are even less legible than the previous two. They contain a description in Latin of the procedures to be followed for the coronation, with details of antiphons, prayers and participants. The Emperor will make obeisance to the Pope on the steps of St Peter's, swear his oath of allegiance at the altar of the chapel to Santa Maria in Turribus at the entrance to the forecourt of the Basilica, after which he is robed in the imperial pallium and enters the basilica through the Porta Argentea to the High altar. There he will prostrate himself before the *Confessio* and be anointed before he receives the sword and scabbard from the Pope. When this has been completed, the Empress will enter the basilica, accompanied by two cardinals, make her obeisance to the Pope and, before the altar of San Maurizio she will be anointed with the same oil and like him cloaked in an imperial cloak and led to her seat. Then the Emperor will be crowned before the altar of St Peter, first with the pontifical mitre and then with the imperial crown, and likewise the Empress. Then they will receive communion from the Pope, and at the end of mass they will follow the Pope from the church.

Document 4: Antonio Pierozzi, *Chronicon*

Divi Antonini Archiepiscopi Florentini et Doctoris S. Theologiae Praestantissimi Chronicorum Tertia Pars, quae ab Innocentio III pont. Max. usque ad Pium II, id est, ab anno Christi 1313 usque ad annum 1459. Lyon, 1586, p. 554, Liber III, Titulus XXII, Capitulus XII, Sectio IV.

Anno quoque domini 1450 [sc. 1451/2] Fridericus huius nominis tertius, electus imperator Romanorum, Italiam intravit pro corona imperii a papa recipienda, qui ubique cum magno honore, ut decebat tantum principem susceptus est. Ei per Florentiam transeunti, totus clerus cum archiepiscopo processionaliter ad portam civitatis obviam processit, ac etiam magistratus Florentini. Locatus autem in conventu sanctae Mariae novellae ad hospitandum permansit in urbe quatuor diebus, & praesens fuit in officio Purificationis Virginis gloriose in missarum solemnibus recipiens devote a celebrante cereum benedictum, ut de more fidelibus existentibus dari consuevit.

Oblataeque ei fuerunt poscenti quaedam reliquae sanctorum in vase argenteo, ornato a communitate, qui aliquos milites ibi fecit. Demum de Florentia Senas, de Senis Romam advenit, associatus a duobus cardinalibus, quos papa praemiserat usque Florentiam, & ibi coronatus est imperator a domino Nicolao papa cum debita solemnitate.

Sponsa autem eius missa est post eum de partibus suis, & post coronationem suam nuptiae celebratae sunt Neapoli coram rege Aragonum magnificentia regia de omnibus providente. Nil autem imperialis maiestatis visum est in eo, nec liberalitas, nec sapientia, cum quasi semper per alium loquebatur: sed multa cupiditas, cum munera honeste quaereret, & libenter acciperet. Demum reversus est in domum suam cum modica opinione virtutis suae.

In the year of Our Lord 1450 [sc. 1451 Florentine style, or 1452 modern style] Frederick, the third of that name, having been elected Emperor of Rome, came to Italy in order to receive the imperial crown from the Pope. He was received everywhere with great honor, as is appropriate to such a ruler. As he passed through Florence, all the clergy with the archbishop and the Florentine magistracies went in procession to the gate of the city to meet him. Lodged in the convent of Santa Maria Novella, he remained as a guest in the city for four days and was present at the Office of mass for the Purification of the Glorious Virgin, and received devoutly from the celebrant a consecrated candle, as is customarily given to the faithful there present.

And after he had been presented with some relics of saints he had asked for, in a silver vessel furnished by the Commune, he created some knights there. Then he went from Florence to Siena, and from Siena to Rome, accompanied by two cardinals who had been sent by the Pope to Florence. And there he was crowned Emperor by Pope Nicolas our lord, with due solemnity.

His bride was sent behind him from her country, and after his coronation his nuptials were celebrated in Naples in the presence of the king of Aragon, who provided for everything with royal magnificence. In him, however, no imperial majesty was seen, no liberality, no wisdom, since he almost always spoke through somebody else: but there was great covetousness, since he asked openly for gifts and accepted them willingly. Then he returned to his home leaving scant regard for his virtues.

Document 5: Aeneas Silvius Piccolomini, *Historia Federici III*

Aeneas Silvius Piccolomini. *Historia Rerum Friderici III*. In *Analecta Monumentorum Omnium Aevi Vindobonensis*. Edited by Adam František Kollár. 2: cols 1–475. Vienna, 1761–1762; reprint Farnborough, 1970.

[col. 302C] Exinde festinabat Imperator abire. Leonoram autem sponsam suam nondum cognoverat, quod id operis [col. 303A] in Alemaniam referre volebat, sive ne sanguis Italicus sibi nasceretur, sive aliud religionis in mente gerens.

Virgo moesta videbatur, quae se circumduci, velut parum placentem, extimabat. Quod cum Alfonsus animadvertisset, adiens Caesarem, in ea urbe atque in his aedibus, ubi tunc fuere, contractum fuisse matrimonium indicit, ibique merito consummandum: a Deo datum esse, in eundem locum ut ambo venissent. Orat ergo, ut virgini misceatur.

Quod cum Fridericus negaret, Ergo, inquit Alfonsus, neptem meam in Alemaniam duces [col. 303B] virginem, atque illinc cognitam, si minus placuerit, ad nos remittes, aut ea fortasse neglecta, cum alia contrahes? Quin potius eam hic cognosces, ut, si placeat, adducas rem gratam tecum; si minus, apud nos onus dimittas.

Quibus verbis, etsi erat Caesar paulo debilior, commotus est, atque operam matrimonio dare statuit. Jussit igitur theutonico more stratum apparari, jacentique sibi Leonoram in ulnas complexusque dare, ac praesente Rege cunctisque Proceribus astantibus superduci Lodicem. Neque aliud actum est, nisi datum osculum. [col. 303C] Erant autem ambo vestiti, moxque inde surrexerunt. Sicque consuetudo theutonicorum se habet, cum Principes primo junguntur.

Mulieres Hispanae, quae aderant, arbitratae rem serio geri, cum superduci Lodicem viderunt, exclamantes, indignum fieri facinus *outrage*, Regem, qui talia permetteret, increpant. Ille autem non sine risu & jucunditate peregrinos spectabat mores.

Nocte, quae instabat, futurus erat concubitus nudis. Dum ergo saltationibus universa curia intenta est, foemi- [col. 304A]nae Portugalenses, quibus cubiculi secretioris commissa cura erat, fumigationes super stratum faciunt, in quo jacendum est: carmina dicunt, &

Then the Emperor made haste to leave [Naples]. He had not yet, however, known his bride, because he wanted to delay the matter until he was in Germany, either lest his issue would be Italian, or for some other matter of religion that weighed in his mind.

The maiden seemed sad, and she feared she was being led down the garden path, as if she were not pleasing enough. When Alfonso became aware of this, he approached Caesar and announced that the marriage, once contracted, should therefore be consummated, in the same city and in the same house where they were: it had been given by God, that both might come together in the same place. He asked, therefore, that he should have carnal intercourse with the girl.

When Frederick refused, Alfonso said, Are you then going to take my niece to Germany as a virgin, and when you have known her there, if you find her less than pleasing, will you send her back, or perhaps will you neglect her and choose another? Why not get to know her better here, so that if you like her, you will take home something that pleases you, and if not, you can blame us.

Even though he was slightly weakened by these words, Caesar was moved, and he resolved to act upon his marriage. So he ordered that the bed be prepared in the Teutonic manner, and that Leonora be placed in his arms and embrace as he lay there, and in the presence of King [Alfonso] and with all the nobles gathered around, surrounded by the nobles, and that the covers be drawn over him. Nothing else was done, apart from a kiss. Moreover, they were both dressed, and soon after they got up. And this is the custom among the Germans, when their princes first marry.

The Spanish women who were present, having witnessed the matter being taken seriously, protested when they saw the cover drawn up, and cried out that an outrage was being committed, and upbraided the King loudly for allowing such things. He, however, not without laughter and jollity, respected these foreign customs.

That night, which was approaching, they were to lie together naked. So while the whole court was intent on dancing, the Portuguese women, who had been charged with the care of the more private chamber, burnt incense over the bed in which they were to lie: they recited poems and when a priest

accersito Sacerdote lectum benedicunt, irrorantque sanctis aquis, ut est superstitio mulierum, quae sic foelix connubium, & amorem utrinque perpetuum arbitrantur futurum.

Quod, ubi Caesar accepit, veritus, ne quid veneficii interveniret, alium sibi substerni lectum jussit, vocarique ad se conjugem. Timebat enim nutricem Imperatricis, quam rerum hujusmodi peritam ajunt, quibus fascinari mentes [col. 304B] hominum solent, similemque illi putant, de qua nobis *Poeta* scribit:

*haec se carminibus promittit solvere mentes,
quas velit, ast aliis duras immmittere curas,
sistere aquam fluvii & vertere sidera retro,
nocturnosque ciet manes & mugire videbis
sub pedibus terram & descendere montibus
ornos.*

Quibus rebus etsi pleri fidem negent, *Flaccus* tamen, cum diu putasset, magicis artibus nihil inesse ponderis, mutatus tandem, *jamjam*, inquit, *efficaci do manus scientiae supplex*. Et sunt qui Circe non fabulose vertisse in feras hominum vultus affirmant. [col. 304C] Nos illud inprimis trahit, quod de Pythonissa sacri libri commemorant, quam Samuelis animam de inferni abditis evocasse tradunt, ut vivorum conspectibus redderetur. Si tamen animam Prophetæ fuisse credimus, & non fantasticam potius illusionem Sathanae; utcunque sit, consultissimum censeo, cum facultas est, magicarum artium evitare fallacias, consiliumque Caesaris in ea re non vanum dico fuisse.

Verum Imperatrix bis terque vocata, in suo lecto manere, morem servandum, dicere: viros in [col. 305A] stratum uxoris ire solitos, non contra fieri solere. Caesar veluti victus ad eam pergit, rogatque secum in alium thalamum proficiscatur. Recusantem manu prendit, vincitque facile, nolentem vincere; atque eo pacto vitatis incantationibus in alio lecto matrimonium consummatum est.

Sequenti die Caesar naves ascendit, Romam perituros.

had been summoned they blessed the bed and sprinkled it with holy water, according to superstition of women who consider that by this means the marriage will be happy and that their mutual love will last for ever.

When Caesar heard this, he was afraid lest some act of sorcery should take place and ordered another bed to be prepared for himself and that his bride be called to him. For he feared the Empress's nurse, who they say was expert in these things by which men's minds are often bewitched, and whom they regard as like that woman of whom the Poet wrote:

*Haec se carminibus promittit solvere mentes
quas velit, ast aliis duras immmittere curas,
sistere aquam fluvii, et vertere sidera retro;
nocturnosque movet Manis: mugire videbis
sub pedibus terram, et descendere montibus ornos*
[Virgil, *Aeneid* IV.487-491].⁹⁹

Although many men refuse to lend credence to these things, *Flaccus*, had long thought there was no substance to magic arts, finally changed his mind and said *Iamiam efficaci do manus scientiae supplex* [Horace, *Epode* XVII.1-2]. And there are those who affirm that it was not a myth that Circe turned the faces of men into wild animals. We refer in particular to what the sacred books record of Pythonissa, saying that she summoned forth the soul of Samuel from the hidden parts of hell that he might return to the sight of the living. If however we believe it to have been the soul of the Prophet, and not rather a fantastic illusion of Satan; however that may be, I judge it to be very well considered, when it is possible, to avoid the wiles of the magic arts, and I do not say that Caesar's judgement in this matter was groundless.

Indeed they said that the Empress, summoned a second and third time, remained in her bed, observing the custom to observe the custom that it is the man who usually goes to his wife's bed and not the other way round. Caesar, as if conquered, went to her and asked her to go to another bedchamber. When she refused, he took her by the hand and won her easily, for she herself did not wish to win; and in that way the marriage was consummated in another bed and witchcraft avoided.

The next day, the Emperor set sail for Rome.

⁹⁹ Piccolomini compares the Portuguese nurse to Dido's Massylian priestess who has all the charms and potions to bring Aeneas's love back to her.

Document 6: Cirimonia

*Ceremoniale della Repubblica Fiorentina estratto da un Libro delle Riformagioni nell'Armadio V, intitolato Libro di Cirimonie in ricevere Principi e prelati, ASF, Manoscritti, 167 (Strozzi miscellany, cited by Trexler, *Public Life*, p. 403), fols. 73r–76r.*

[fol. 73r] *Honoranza e cerimonie di una venuta di uno Imperatore in Firenze.*

Havendo con diligenza e lunghezza di tempo ricercato tutte le scritture vecchie di questo Palazzo, Registri e filze di lettere, Provisioni e Deliberazioni di Signori, non troviamo da un 200 anni in qua esser venuto in Firenze personalmente alcuno imperatore, salvo Federigo Terzo nel 1451, perché cominciando da Carlo Quarto Re di Boemia, quale passò «per» la Corona nel 1355, troviamo (per essere venuto armato) questa città non l'haver voluto ricevere, e benché in un certo appuntamento fatto seco vi fusse questa parte del passar per Firenze, non dimeno non ci passò, et li fu consentita a parole per suo honore et ancorché la scrivesse ne' capitoli, tuttavolta lui se ne andò per il Piano di San Miniato. E doppo lui troviamo Vincislao suo figliolo e Ruberto della Casa di Baviera non esser passati a Roma per la corona, e doppo loro Sigismondo nel 1432 in circa esser passato a Roma con il favore di Filippo Maria duca di Milano, et a sua istanza inimico di questa città, e nel passare essersi fermo a Lucca molti mesi per passare per forza, et in somma disperato di poter guadagnare nulla essersene ancora lui andato per il Piano di San Miniato a [fol. 73v] a Roma con una tacita promissione di questa città, in modo che gli è necessario fondare l'ordine di questa cerimonia in su la passata di Federigo Terzo sopradetto, quale non haveva seco più che un mille cinquecento cavalli al più e l'ordine che si tenne allora fu questo.

1451

Vennero a dì 14 di novembre 1451 tre oratori cesarei a fare intendere la venuta di quella Maestà.

A dì 18 furono eletti tre ambasciatori per andarli incontro che furono messer Donato de' Medici vescovo di Pistoia, Messer Bernardo Giugni, e Carlo Pandolfini, e doppo questa elezione furono fatti dodici cittadini sopra tale honoranza.

La stanza fu ordinata da Santa Maria Novella nella stanza del papa, dove si parono le stanze riccamente.

Mandoronsi assai giovani a Scarperia,

Ceremonies to honor the visit of an Emperor to Florence

Having searched diligently and at length in all the ancient writings of this Palazzo, in the Registers and files of letters, through Provisions and Deliberations of the Signori, we find that in the last two hundred years no Emperor has come in person to Florence except Frederick III in 1451, because beginning with Charles IV, King of Bohemia, who went to be crowned in 1355,¹⁰⁰ we find that because he came fully armed, this city did not want to receive him, and even though in a certain agreement made with him there was a part about passing through Florence, nevertheless he did not. And he was given permission on his word of honor, and even though it was written in the agreement, nevertheless he went off through the Pian di San Miniato. And after him we find that Wenceslas his son, and Robert of the House of Bavaria did not go to Rome to be crowned. And after them Sigismund, in 1432 or thereabouts, went to Rome with the support of Filippo Maria, Duke of Milan, and on his account an enemy of this city, and as he passed through he stopped at Lucca for many months in order to pass through by force, and finally, desperate because he had gained nothing, he too went on through the Pian di San Miniato to Rome with the tacit permission of this city, so that it is necessary to base the order of this ceremony on the passage of Frederick III, who had no more than 1500 cavalry with him at the most, and the order that was employed at that time was this.

1451

On November 14, 1451, three imperial ambassadors arrived to announce the visit of his Majesty.

On November 18 three ambassadors were elected to go and meet him, and these were Donato de' Medici, Bishop of Pistoia, Messer Bernardo Giugni, and Carlo Pandolfini, and after this election, a committee of twelve citizens was created for the ceremonies in his honor.

His accommodation was arranged in Santa Maria Novella in the papal apartments, where the rooms were richly decorated.

Lots of young men were sent to Scarperia,

¹⁰⁰ See note 12 above.

Firenze, Bologna e Ferrara, et ancora più là, per havere avviso di per di della sua venuta.

Furono ancora deputati venti cittadini de' migliori della città, e con loro ottanta giovani con meglio che dugento cavalli che l'andavano a rincontrare un pezzo fuori della città il dì medesimo, che egli entrò, che fu a dì 30 di gennaio e detto di la Signoria ad hore 20 si partì dal Palazzo con li Collegi et altri Uffizi e gran-[fol. 74r] dissimo numero di cittadini, et andarono a posarsi alla Porta San Gallo dove, dentro alla Porta la quale era tutta aperta come è di costume a' Papi, Imperadori e Re, era fatto un palco e sedere ornatissimo, e stando così, scese l'imperatore per la costa di Montughi, e venendo giù alla Porta, volse a mano sinistra et andò a posarsi sotto le logge di San Gallo, ma non venivano all'hora tanto in giù quanto fanno oggi le case, che sono nel mezzo tra la chiesa di San Gallo e la strada diritta.

Era sotto dette logge un apparato ricchissimo di panni di seta e di oro, il quale fu tenuto da quei principi cosa mirabile, e posatosi in quel luogo alquanto, la Signoria si partì dalla Porta et andò fino sotto le dette logge di San Gallo a fargli reverenza, e di quel luogo cominciarono ad accompagnare a piede sotto il baldacchino, essendo lui a cavallo. In questo mezzo la fila et il traino dell'honoranza era cominciato a passare e passò con quest'ordine, che prima vennero tutti i famigli e servitori de' cittadini fiorentini, che gli erano andati incontro, poi quelli de' rettori, che erano con la Signoria; dietro a loro numero grande di giovani e cittadini, e con loro gentilhuomini e [fol. 74v] principi tedeschi, honorati ciascuno secondo i gradi et età loro. Doppo questi seguiva la processione dove era l'arcivescovo, con paramenti e reliquie, come si costuma nelle processioni solenni. Doppo la processione seguivano i minori e maggiori magistrati fino alla Signoria e Collegi, i quali Collegi portavano il baldacchino e la Signoria intorno al cavallo suo a piede, da mano diritta il Gonfaloniere, e dalla sinistra il Proposto, et era Gonfaloniere Mariozzo Benvenuti e Proposto era il Rosso Ridolfi, quali mettevano in mezzo la testa del cavallo. Venne con questa pompa a Santa Maria del Fiore e quivi entrato in chiesa, e fatta la sua adorazione et offerta se ne venne da' Fondamenti e per Piazza, ma senza baldacchino, perché fu stracciato alla porta di Santa Maria del Fiore, e sempre accompagnato dalla Signoria

Firenze, Bologna, and Ferrara, and even further, to gather information day by day of his progress.

Twenty of the leading citizens of the city, and with them eighty young men with more than two hundred cavalry were deputized to go and meet him a short distance from the city on the day he entered, which was January 30. On that day, the Signoria, in the middle of the afternoon, left the Palazzo with the Colleges and the Magistracies and a very great number of citizens, and went to wait at Porta San Gallo where, inside the gate which was completely open, as is customary for popes, emperors and kings, a platform had been erected with a most ornate throne, and as they waited there the Emperor came down the road from Montughi, and as he came down to the gate he turned left and went to take up his position under the loggia of San Gallo, but in those days the houses between the church of San Gallo and the main road did not come down so far then as they do today.

In the loggia there was a very rich decoration of silk and gold cloth, which those princes found wonderful, and when he had rested a while in that place, the Signoria moved from the gate and to the loggia of San Gallo to do him homage, and from that place they began to accompany him on foot under the baldachin, with him riding on his horse. In the meantime the ceremonial procession had moved off, and it went in this order: first came all the households and servants of the Florentine citizens, who had gone to meet him, then those of the Rectors who were with the Signoria; behind them a great number of young men and citizens, and with them the German gentlemen and princes, each one honored according to his rank and age. After these followed the [religious] procession with the archbishop, with all their vestments and relics, as is customary in solemn processions. After the procession [of clergy] followed the lesser and greater Magistracies right up to the Signoria and Colleges, and the Colleges carried the baldachin, with the Signoria around his horse on foot, and the Gonfalonier on the right hand, and on the left the Provost, and the Gonfalonier was Mariozzo Benvenuti and the Provost was Rosso Ridolfi, and they led the horse on either side. With this pomp he came to Santa Maria del Fiore, and after he had gone into the church and made his devotion and offering he came away. He passed along the Fondamenti¹⁰¹ and through the Piazza, but without his baldachin, because it was torn to pieces at the door of Santa Maria del Fiore, and was accompanied all the way by the Signoria in the fashion described, but

¹⁰¹ Along the northern side of the Duomo.

nel modo detto, ma senza processione da Santa Maria del Fiore in là, e per Mercato Nuovo, e la via dove è il palazzo de' Davizi, voltando a mano sinistra dal palazzo degli Strozzi: dipoi per la via che va diritto alla via della Scala si condusse alle stanze ordinate per lui dove pervenuto licenziò e ringraziò i Signori; et essendo già notte la Signoria se ne tornò al lume di torchi. [fol. 75r]

Non voglio mancare di dire che per maggiore honore furono poste le tende di San Giovanni, ma perché erano dipinte a gigli, furono levate avanti che entrasse.

Il seguente di da mattina, che fu a di 31 detto, fu visitato da' nostri Signori, e doppo la visita presentato copiosamente, benché per l'ordinario li fussero fatte le spese.

Furono molti de' sua principi alloggiati in diversi luoghi, perché la sala del Papa non era capace di tanto numero; e massime il suo fratello che fu alloggiato in casa di Piero di Neri Ardinghelli.

Dipoi a di 2 di febbraio, che è il di della Purificazione di nostra Donna, venne l'imperatore a Santa Maria del Fiore con tutti i principi e baroni e corte sua, e vi andò ancora la Signoria con i Collegi et altri magistrati et aspettollo alquanto. Cantossi per l'arcivescovo di Firenze una solenne messa, e si dettero le candele secondo che ricercavano le qualità degl'huomini e del luogo. E doppo la messa fece l'Imperadore tre cavalieri fiorentini, cioè messer Alessandro degli Alessandri, messer Orlando de' Medici, e messer Carlo Pandolfini. E per più magnificenza era stata nel mezzo della Chiesa una ruota piena di raggi, scoppietti e lumi, la quale arse a mezza la messa e fu tenuta cosa [fol. 75v] bellissima. Detta la messa, la Signoria lo accompagnò fino fuor di chiesa. Et in su la piazza era la Rappresentazione della Resurrezione di Christo et altre cose simili.

Sedè l'Imperatore dalla banda della sagrestia nuova a canto all'altare, dal corno che si canta l'Evangelio.

without the procession [of clergy] after Santa Maria del Fiore. He went through the Mercato Nuovo, and the street where the palazzo of the Davizi is, turning left at the palazzo of the Strozzi, then by the road that leads straight into Via della Scala he was taken to the apartments organized for him, and when he got there he gave the Signori their leave and thanked them; and since it was already night, the Signoria went back by torchlight.

I must not omit to say that to do him greater honor the San Giovanni awnings were put up, but because they were painted with lilies, they were removed before he entered.

The following day, which was January 30, in the morning, he was visited by the Signori, and after the visit he was presented with copious gifts, even though all his ordinary expenses were paid.

Many of his nobles were lodged in different places, because the papal apartments were not capable of receiving such a number; and particularly his brother who was lodged in the house of Piero di Neri Ardinghelli.

Then on February 2, which is the Feast of the Purification of Our Lady, the Emperor came to Santa Maria del Fiore with all his princes and barons and court, and the Signoria and Colleges and other Magistracies went too and waited for him for a long time. The Archbishop of Florence sang a High Mass, and candles were distributed appropriate to the rank of the men and the place. And after the mass the Emperor created three Florentine knights, namely, Messer Alessandro degli Alessandri, Messer Orlando de' Medici and Messer Carlo Pandolfini. And for greater magnificence, a wheel had been placed in the middle of the church, with rockets and fireworks and lights, which was set off in the middle of the mass, and it was judged to be very beautiful. At the end of the mass, the Signoria accompanied him out of the church and in the piazza there was the *rappresentazione* of the Resurrection of Christ and other such things.¹⁰²

The Emperor sat on the side of the New Sacristy, next to the altar, on the side where the Gospel is sung.

¹⁰² Brandi 1451/2 records the expenses for the fireworks inside the church during the service: Domenico di Lorenzo, called *il Marchassino*, £100 for fireworks: "debe fare 1° fuocho archiminiato anazi allo 'nperadore [...] le quale gli si danno per 1° fuocho fé la matina di Santa Maria Chandellaia in Santa Maria del Fiore allo 'nperadore' (fols. 39v–40r; and for the *rappresentazione* in front of the church afterwards: "Ser Alesso di Mateo de' avere a di 6 di febraio £ ventisete s. iii, paghò per noi alla Chonpagnia degli Ormini perché feciono la festa del Sipolchro a Santa Liperata" (fol. 47v); on a later page the information is varied: "paghò ser Allesso alla chonpagnia del Sipolchro per fare la festa della Risurezione" (fol. 57r). The Company of the Resurrection met in the Armenian church of San Basilio, opposite San Lorenzo in the heart of Medici territory, and its *edificio* or pageant wagon of the Resurrection was a fixture in the San Giovanni procession. The presence of the Resurrection play was noted in Trexler 1980a, p. 463–4, but there and in Trexler 1980b, p. 403, Brandi's *Libro* is mis-cited. Domenico di Lorenzo was a tinsmith who already had a long record of innovation in the Ascension plays of Santa Maria del Carmine; see Newbiggin 1996, *passim*.

Et da di 30 di gennaio, che venne in Firenze, fino a di 6 di febbraio, che partì, cavalcò molte volte per la città sempre accompagnato da un numero infinito di cittadini.

Et a di 6 di febraio detto, partì di Firenze accompagnato da' Signori con quel medesimo honore, et in quel medesimo modo che era entrato, e sotto un altro baldacchino fatto di novo in mezzo di due cardinali legati del Papa, che erano venuti ad incontrarlo infino qui per ordine del Papa, et accompagnato a questo modo fino nell'antiporto della Porta di San Piero Gattolini, si fermò e qui licenziò la Signoria, e tutti gl'altri, mostrandosi ben contento e sodisfatto dell'honore riceuto.

Trovo che la città per la spesa di questa honoraanza, e della Imperatrice, della quale diremo appresso, havere stanziato quindici mila ducati, e quattro mila lire che solamente gl'apparati costorno mille e ottocento lire. [fol. 76r]

Seguì da poi che a di 19 febbraio detto l'Imperatrice figliola del Re di Portogallo, e nuova sposa dell'Imperadore venne a Livorno per acqua e di poi partì a di 22 e venne a San Miniato al Tedesco, e di quivi pure per la Valdelsa se ne andò a Siena, dove se gli mandò incontro ambasciadori e cittadini. Furonli fatte le spese che entrono nel conto detto di sopra.

Dipoi l'anno seguente a di 5 di maggio l'Imperadore tornando da Roma entrò in Firenze. Fu riceuto et honorato come nella sua venuta e furongli fatte le spese di continuo su per i terreni nostri, e trovo che la spesa fu circa quattro mila ducati.

And from January 30 when he arrived in Florence until February 6 when he left, he rode around the city many times, always accompanied by an infinite number of citizens.

And on February 6 he left Florence, accompanied by the Signori, with the same honor and in the same way as he had entered, and under another newly made baldachin, between two cardinal legates of the Pope who had come her to meet him by order of the Pope, and he was accompanied in this way as far as the foregate of Porta San Piero Gattolini,¹⁰³ where he stopped and took leave of the Signoria and all the others, appearing quite happy and satisfied with the honor he had been accorded.

I find that the city, in honoring the Emperor and the Empress, of whom we shall speak presently, spent fifteen thousand ducats and four thousand lire, and the decorations alone cost one thousand eight hundred lire.

Subsequently then, on February 19, [1451/2], the Empress, daughter of the King of Portugal and the new bride of the Emperor, arrived in Livorno by sea, and then she left on February 22¹⁰⁴ and came to San Miniato al Tedesco, and from there she traveled up the Val d'Elsa to Siena, where ambassadors and citizens were sent to meet her. Her expenses were paid and are included in the account above.

The following year [1452], on May 5, as the Emperor returned from Rome, he entered Florence. He was received and honored as in his first visit, and his expenses were paid from beginning to end in our territory, and I find that the expense was about 4000 ducats.

¹⁰³ Now Porta Romana.

¹⁰⁴ In fact, Leonora arrived in Porto Pisano on February 2, and set out on February 21 for Siena, where the Emperor had been waiting since February 7, and arrived there on February 24. She would have left Florentine territory on February 22.

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