## Appendix

1. Letter from Filippo Maria Sforza and Sforza Maria Sforza to Francesco Sforza, duke of Milan, Naples, 14 September 1465
2. Letter from Teofilo Calcagnini to Ercole d’Este, Naples, incomplete and undated, but from contents written within days of 16 May 1473
3. Instructions for Eleonora prepared by Diomede Carafa, Count of Maddaloni, 1473
4. Ferrante I’s Instructions for Eleonora, Casale Arnone, 29 May 1473
5. Letter from Teofilo Calcagnini to Ercole d’Este, Rome, 7 June 1473
6. Autograph letter from Federico d’Aragona to Eleonora d’Aragona, Naples, 29 May 1473
7. Autograph letter from Ercole d’Este to Eleonora d’Aragona, Ferrara, 17 May 1477
8. Autograph letter from Eleonora d’Aragona to Ercole d’Este, Naples, 4 June [1477]
9. Autograph letter from Eleonora d’Aragona to Ercole d’Este, Naples, 16 October [1477]
10. Memorandum of Eleonora’s duties as Duchess of Ferrara
11. Autograph letter from Ercole d’Este to Eleonora d’Aragona, Poggio Imperiale, 26 August, 1479
12. Instructions to Brandelise Trotti from Eleonora, duchess of Ferrara for a visit to the duke of Calabria, 17 November 1479
Copia litterarum Filippi Marie et Sfortie Marie Viccomitum ducalium filiorum ad Illustriorum dominum ducem Mediolani eec.

Signore,

Hieri scripsimo a Vostra Signoria la deliberatione era fatta per la Mayestà del Signore Ré che madonna Elionora venisse a visitare madonna nostra sorella ad Aversa a tal hora che hogi podessemus fare lintrata in Napoli a XVI hore.1 Essendo nuy a questa expectatione questa matina al fare del dì, per Lanzalotto da Napoli la Mayestà sua ne mandò a dire che dovessemus essere a cavallo per XV hore che madonna veneria a disnare ala Nuntiata fuora de Aversa, cioè nel borgo et poy veneria a visitare madonna et levarla tutto a un tratto.

Vedendo quisti zentilhomini chel passava lhora et ché ad quello haveriano a fare questa sera ciò è la dotte de donna nostra sorella, et el matrimonio de Madonna Elionora con mi Sforza a hore XXIII, el tempo era breve maxime che la Mayestà del Re, et li signori del Reame ne dovevano venire alincontra, ne fecero montare ad cavallo et metere al camino nostro. Anzi che fossemo fora de la terra suso una contrada larga scontrassemo Madonna Elionora et la mogliera del ducha de Malfi sua sorella con qualche lx donne, tute vestite de bruna o berettino o morello al habito nepolitano e con il mantello ale spalle. Madonna Elionora era la prima vestita de una camora de drappo doro morello, et una turcha de velluto morello de sopra et una cathena

Minute book of the letters of Filippo Maria and Sforza Maria, sons of the duke to the most illustrious lord duke of Milan etc.

Sir,

Yesterday we wrote to Your Lordship about the decision made by His Majesty the King that the Lady Eleonora would come to visit Her Ladyship our sister at Aversa at such an hour that we could enter Naples in the middle of the morning. This is what we expected, but this morning at daybreak, by the hand of Lanzalotto, His Majesty sent a message to us from Naples to say that we should be mounted an hour earlier because Her Ladyship [Eleonora] was to come and lunch at the Annunziata outside Aversa, that is in the village, and then she would come and pay her compliments to Her Ladyship [Ippolita Maria Sforza] and collect her at the same time.

These gentlemen, seeing that it was time and because of what they would have to conduct that evening, that is the dowry of our lady sister, and the marriage of the Lady Eleonora with our Sforza at sunset, and that the time was short, especially since His Majesty the King and the lords of the realm were to come to meet us, they ordered us to mount our horses and set out on our way. Before we left the town, on a wide stretch of the road, we met the Lady Eleonora and her sister, the wife of the duke of Amalfi, with some sixty ladies, all dressed in brown or grey or black in the Neapolitan manner and with cloaks around their shoulders. The lady Eleonora was the first, dressed in a black and gold gown, with a coat of black velvet over it, and wearing around her neck a

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1 The night and the day were each divided into twelve equal hours, and counted from sunset to sunset, thus hore XVI is four hours after sunrise, 2 hours before noon, and around about 10 am, and hore XXIII is right on sunset, with torchlight procession.
d’oro a parecchie file al collo, come è quella che porta domino Antonio Cincinello. Incontrate tutte due insieme, Madonna Eleonora tochò et basi la mano ad donna nostra sorella, et ley basi donna Eleonora per mezo la bocha, et madonna Eleonora un altra fiata tochò la mano ad domina Duchessa, et cossi cavalcasseeuno pezo, tenendo le signorie loro continuamente le mano loro iuncte insieme, perchè domina Eleonora non haviva cavallo che andasse bene a suo modo, domina duchessa la fece montare suso uno di soy.

Cavalcato che hebberemo presso Napoli tre miglia, incommenzarono a venire de molti zentilhomini et signori al incontro, quali dismontavano, et tocchata et basiata la mano ad domina duchessa, tutti remontavano, et se mettevano inante. Ad uno locho presso a Napoli due miglia fuorono electi XV di nostri principali zentilhomini et datoli duy signori incompagnia luno da uno canto et laltro dalaltro, et cossi andassem uno bon pezo presso la città un miglio.

Incontrasseeuno Maestà del Re con molti trombetti inanze et era accompagnato da man drita el Signore Alexandre, da laltro sinestro el Cardinale de ravenna. Quando fussimo vicino a mezo tracto de mano, domina duchessa et nuy tutti saltasseeuno da cavallo. El Signore Alexandre puose la bocha alocrecchia dal re et presto dismontò et viene atochare la mano et abraziarne. Drizandose Madonna et nuy coi apedì verso la Mayestà del re, sua Signoria dismontò da cavallo et se fece alincontro. Madonna inginochiandose tochò et basi la mano de la Mayestà del Rè. Similmente al Cardinale quale sempre stette a cavallo.

Having ridden to within three miles of Naples, there began to come towards us many gentlemen and nobles, who dismounted and, having touched and kissed the hand of the Lady Duchess, remounted and rode in front of us. At a place two miles from Naples, fifteen of our most prominent gentlemen were selected, and each was given to nobles to accompany him, one on the one side and the other on the other side, so we went a good bit closer, to about a mile from the city.

We met His Majesty the King, preceded by many trumpeters, and he was accompanied on the right side by the Lord Alessandro and on the left by the Cardinal of Ravenna, the one with the cross, the other with the sword. When we were half a hand’s width away, the Lady Duchess and all of us jumped from our horses. The Lord Alexander put his mouth to the king’s ear and quickly dismounted and came forward to touch her hand and embrace her. As Her Ladyship and the rest of us went forward on foot towards His Majesty the King, His Lordship dismounted and came to meet us. Her Ladyship, kneeling, touched and kissed the hand of His Majesty the King. Likewise, [that of] the Cardinal who remained on horseback.

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2 Described by Dover as a “roving special envoy, deputized by Ferrante to carry out a range of short- and long-term missions,” Antonio Cicinello served in Milan 1464; see Paul M. Dover, “Royal Diplomacy in Renaissance Italy: Ferrante d’Aragona (1458–94) and his Ambassadors,” Mediterranean Studies 14 (2005): 83 and 89.

3 Alessandro Sforza, lord of Pesaro since 1445, was Francesco Sforza’s younger brother; see Cecil Clough, “Federico da Montefeltro and the Kings of Naples: A Study in Fifteenth-century Survival” Renaissance Studies 6 (1992): 115. He was in Naples as Francesco Sforza’s representative in the Piccinino affair; Canetta, 781, n. 1.

4 Bartolomeo Roverella (1406–75), cardinal of Ravenna, was Pope Pius II’s legate in the kingdom of Naples in 1460, governor of Benevento, 1460–66, provost commendatory of San Bartolomeo di Rovigo, 1465–74; abbot commendatory of Vangadizza and Santa Maria di Corazzo, from 1465; www.fiu.edu/~mirandas/bios, viewed 25 August 2011.
Cossì feceremo ancora nuy et fossemo abraciati et baxiati amorevolmente da la Mayestà sua. Nuy gli ricommandassimo la Signoria Vostra et così la Illustissima Madonna Nostra Matre secondo l’instructione havemo. E montati fossemo a cavallo se seguirono li ordini presi, prima li trombetti et pifferi, dappoy XV copie delli nostri gentilhomini cum li baroni del Reame, demum XII vescovi acobiati, poi li araldi et mazeri, poi alcuni principali Signori et Signore Aixandro con li Embassatori Venetiani, fiorentini et altrii, deinde nuy, postremo madonna nostra sorella dal canto drito, el cardinale dal sinestro, la Mayestà del Re poxo madonna Elionora, et tutte le altre donne.

Passassemo sotto castello Capoano et intrassemo in la porta unde è la Piazza del Mercato. Là era uno baldechin de drappo doro grande, sotto el quale andorono el Cardinale, el Re et Madonna in mezo. Cercassemo el bel de la città, el Segio de la Porta Nova, el Segio de Porto, el Segio de Nido, et el Segio de la Montagna, el Segio de Capuana. Tande m venissemo al castello Capuano, ove Madonna aloza questa nocte, lè una bella stantia et ha de bonissimi lochi. El Cardinale et li Embassatori acompagnano madonna fino in castello, la Mayestà del Re lacompangnò fino alla camera. Quando intrassemo in la città era XXI hora. La Mayestà del re stette continuamente in quardacamera ad rasonamento, et li vene lo Illustrissimo ducha de Calabria, quale ancora non era comparso et poy se redusse in camera di madonna, et il duca suo figliolo, et in conspecto de tutte le donne, et de molti signori.

Alle hore XXIII, fu facto linstrumento de la dotte et la protextra de le cose donate de verbo ad verbum como se contene in le minute portate da Milano. Vero che la Mayestà del re in nostra presentia dixe alli nostri deputati che dicto instrumento in alcune cose era fo del ordine che se observava qui, pure per compiacere alla Signoria Vostra era contento de fare ogni cosa, et così ha facto de bona voglia.

We did the same too and we were embraced and kissed affectionately by His Majesty. We recommened to him Your Lordship and likewise Her Most Illustrious Ladyship, our mother, according to our instructions. And having remounted our horses, things followed in set order, first the trumpeters and pipers, then fifteen pairs of our gentlemen with the barons of the Kingdom, with twelve bishops in pairs, then the heralds and mace bearers, then several higher lords and the Lord Alexander with the ambassadors of Venice, Florence and other states, while we placed our lady sister on the right, the Cardinal on the left, His Majesty the King after the Lady Eleonora, and then all the other ladies.

We passed below the Castello Capuano and entered the gate into the Piazza del Mercato. Therein there was a vast gold baldachin, under which walked the Cardinal, the King and Her Ladyship in the middle. We looked out for the beauty of the city, the district of the Porta Nova, the district of the harbour, the district of the Nido, and the district of the mountain, the district of Capuano. Finally, we came to the Castello Capuano, where Her Ladyship would spend that night, a fine example which has the grandest and most beautiful places. The Cardinal and the ambassadors accompanied Her Ladyship up to the castle, [while] His Majesty the King accompanied her up to her apartment. When we entered the city it was early evening. His Majesty the King remained the whole time in the anteroom for discussions, and to him came the most illustrious duke of Calabria, who had not yet appeared, and he [the king] went back into Her Ladyship’s room, and his son, the duke, and in the presence of all the ladies, and of many nobles.

An hour before sundown the dowry documents were completed and the witnessing of the gifts word for word as contained in the drafts brought from Milan. It is true that His Majesty the King, in our presence, said to our representatives that several things in the aforesaid instrument were not as they would be here, [but] simply to please Your Lordship, he was happy to do it all, and so he did it with goodwill.
Pocho poso, ciò è ad hore XXIII fo contracto el matrimonio de mi Sforza con Madonna Elionora. Facte queste cose la Mayestà del re monti a cavallo per andare a Castellonovo. Madonna laconpagnò fino alla scalla. Nuy gli fecemo compagnia un pezo. Quando fussemo su la via de andare al nostro logiamento, cioè alla casa del conte de Fondi, la Mayestà del re non volse che gli andassemo più inante, et non giovarono preghere ne supplicatione, et may volse che nuy andassemo et ne bisognò andare al nostro logiamento acomagnato da lo Illustissimo duca de calabria, Don Federico, Don Henrico, et dalli nostri, et molti altri di soy signori et gentilhomini.

A little later, that is just before sunset, the marriage of our Sforza with the Lady Eleonora was contracted. Having done these things, His Majesty the King mounted his horse to go to the Castel Nuovo. Her Ladyship accompanied him as far as the staircase. We made to accompany him for a little. When we were on the way to our lodging, that is at the house of Count de Fondi, His Majesty the King did not want us to go any further with him, and, prayers and pleading doing no good, he did not want us to go on, and we had to go to our lodging accompanied by the illustrious duke of Calabria, the Lord Federico, the Lord Henrico, and by our people, and many others of his nobles and gentlemen.

La Maestà soa vestita de velluto negro con una banda biancha, et una collana d’oro. Madonna duchessa haveva in dosso el vestito de dalmaschino brochato con le maniche strette, con il lavaro allistato. Haveva in testa la ghirlanda de perle, el ballasso grande in fronte, li duy da canto, unaltro in pecto, et unaltro suso la spalla. Faceva un bel vedere. Se ricomandiamo a la Signoria Vostra. Neapolis XIII Septembris 1465.

His Majesty was dressed in black velvet with a white band, and a gold necklace. Her Ladyship the duchess was dressed in damask brocade with narrow sleeves, with embroidery, she had her head a garland of pearls, the large balas ruby in the front, two on the sides, another on her chest, and another on her shoulder. She was a beautiful sight. We commend ourselves to Your Lordship, Naples, 14 September 1465.
Illustrissimo et Excellentissimo unico
Signore mio,

Quantunque Vostra Illustrissima Signoria sia copiosamente advisata da questi vostri Illustriissimi fratelli de la intrata nostra in Napuli et de li honori et magnificentie facti in questo excellentissimo luoco, tutavia per mio debito succintamente et per uni particella vi adverserò per questa, Vostra Excellentia, che del tuto non potrei seriosamente et abastanza satisfare et scrivere.

Most Illustrious and Most Excellent, my only Lord,

Although Your Most Illustrious Lordship may be fully informed by your Most Illustrious brothers of our entry into Naples and of the honours and displays of magnificence done in this most excellent place, nevertheless, as is my duty, I will succinctly and in every detail inform Your Excellency in this letter, even though I would not indeed be able sufficiently to satisfy and write it all.

Herri de nocte ale sei ore si partissemo da Capua et si se aviassemo verso questa gloriosissima cittade et gionti presso la terra a due miglia si presentete al incontro al Illustrissimo Signor messer Sigismundo el Reverendissimo Prothonotario cum el suo fratello minore, figiolj dela Maestà del Signore Re, cum una degnissima compagnia de vescovi, prelati, baroni et signori et gentilhomini et qui cum molto amorevelle visitatione se ne venivano ala citade. Puoi presso ala citade uno miglio ce vene incontra Don Federico vestito tuto de biancho cum grandissima multitudine de principi, baroni, signori et gentilhomini et de cavallj cum gran brigata de trombecti pifari et tamburinj. Et qui racolseno lo Illustrissimo vostro fratello cum tanto amore basci et solaci et piaceri quanto per lo piu pensare si potesse. Et cussì cum questa fiorita et gloriosa compagnia se ne intrassimo drentro la cittade cum bello ordine avanti disnare dove vedessemo una innumerabile multitudine de persone et

Last night at midnight we left Capua and set out towards this most glorious city, and having reached the district two miles out, the Most Illustrious Messer Sigismondo was met by the Most Reverend Protonotary, with his younger brother, the younger sons of His Majesty the King, together with a most distinguished company of bishops, prelates, barons, lords and gentlemen, and so with much friendly greeting we came to the city. Then, a mile from the city, Don Federigo came to meet us, dressed completely in white, with the largest crowd of princes, barons, lords and gentlemen and horses, with a great company of trumpeters,pipers and drummers. And here they greeted your Most Illustrious brother with as much love, kissing, pleasure and delight as you could possibly imagine. And so with the bloom of this glorious company we entered within the city walls in fine order before lunch, and there we saw a vast multitude of people and ladies and matrons, along the street and on the

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5 Giovanni d’Aragona (1456–85), created Apostolic Protonotary in 1465 and cardinal in 1477, and Francesco d’Aragona (1461–86), Duke of Montesantangelo and Marchese of Bisceglie, were the youngest sons of Ferrante.
6 Federigo d’Aragona (1452–1504), Ferrante’s second son, was the future, and last, king of Naples.
Dopo disnare circa le xviij hore tuta la comitiva nostra se ridusse a palazo del Illustrissimo misser Sigismondo et stando qui poco spazio vene lo Illustrissimo ducha de Calabria col principe de Salerno et multi signori et baroni a visitare il prefato vostro fratello et conduclo al conspecto dela Maiestà del Re. Et visitatosi insieme, cum grande gaudio et amoreveleze stando in delectevolj ragionamenti, fu mandato per la Maestà del Re al prefato vostro fratello tre dignissimi cavalj, uno a Sua Signoria l’altro al Illustrissimo Signor Alberto, il terzo al vostro minimo servitore Teophilo per andare a Sua Maestà. Cussì i prefato ducha de Calabria et vostro fratello et tutta la comitiva montorno a cavallo et andorno al Castellonovo dove era el re.

After lunch, at about noon, our whole party repaired to the palace of the Most Illustrious Messer Sigismondo and, having been there but a little time, the most Illustrious Duke of Calabria with the Prince of Salerno and many lords and barons came to visit your aforesaid brother, and to conduct him into the presence of His Majesty the King. And having exchanged greetings, and spent time together occupied in delightful conversations in a spirit of joy and goodwill, a gift arrived from His Majesty the King to your aforesaid brother of three most worthy horses, one for His Lordship, the other for the Most Illustrious Signor Alberto, the third for your most unworthy servant Teofilo, to go to His Majesty. And so the aforesaid Duke of Calabria and your brother and the whole party mounted and went to the Castel Nuovo where the king was waiting.

Smontati da cavallo intransimo in castello forteza mirabile et impregnable et gioni suzo la sala adornata de tapezarie d’oro, argento et setta a guisa de quelle de Vostra Celsitudine dove era la Maestà del Re. Quivj il Signore vostro fratello fece riverentia a Sua Maestà e Sua Sublimità el basciò cum una ciera de uno dio et cum mille suave dolce et amorevele parole cussì fece al Illustrissimo Messer Alberto et a multi altri de vostri castellanj et zentilhomini ne tocchete la mano cum demonstratione de grandissima consolatione et piacere. Fatto

Having dismounted, we entered the castle, a wonderful and impregnable fortress, and went up to the hall decorated with gold, silver and silk tapestries, just like those of Your Excellency, where His Majesty the King was waiting. Here His Lordship, your brother, made obeisance to His Majesty, and His Sublime Majesty kissed him with an appearance of a god and with a thousand gentle, sweet and loving words, and he did the same to Messer Alberto and to many other of your courtiers and gentlemen, touching their hand in a demonstration of the greatest delight.

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7 Roberto de Sanseverino, prince of Salerno (c. 1430–74); see Notar Giacomo, 128. The return of the fleet he commanded at the battle of Ischia in 1465 is depicted in the “Strozzi Panel” now in Naples, Certosa di San Martino; the palace he built in Naples in 1470 predates the Palazzo de’ Diamanti in Ferrara, which closely resembles it.

8 Teofilo Calcagnini, the writer of the letter, hardly “vostro minimo servitore” given the horse sent for him by Ferrante.
questo il prefatio Re, pigliato che l’ebbe per mano lo Illustrissimo vostro fratello, cum questa committiva se avviro alla camera de la nostra Illustrissima et Inclyta Madona Duchessa meritamente coronata a la quale humilmente tuti facessimo debita et humile riverentia, la quale subito che l’ebbej vista in verità, Signore mio, tuto rimasi stupefacto et fuori de mi de dolceza, de suavità et de letitia, considering questa dea tanto adorna, zentile, gratiosa, humana, piaezvole, riverente, ridente, peregrina, tuta apta, bene proportionata, cum due ochij radianti in vixo che vengono dall’umbilico del paradiso et le sue parole tanto suave et dolce quanto possa essere in corpo humano, et cussi pexate et cum tanto scientia et gravità che ogni sua parola si potria cum ragione scrivere per legie. Cussì stando dixisse a mi stesso, O Illustrissimo Ducha Hercule signore mio, quanto si puole et debbe iure debito ralegrare et consolare jubilare et festegiare Vostra Celsitudine de cussì facta dea et de tanto excellentissimo acquisto. Iddio presti gratia a vostra Illustrissima Signoria et questa Sua Illustrissima Napulitanella sua consorte che mille anni insieme godere vi potiate che certo questo non serà arboro da stare senza fructo et da non incalmare presto "pro posse et viribus, de his satis."

After this visit to our Most Illustrious Lady, we went down out of the castle and His Majesty the King took his daughter by the hand, keeping her next to him all the way down the stairs, then they mounted their horses with the Most Illustrious Duchess of Calabria and more than fifty sweet and lovely ladies, well arrayed, and went to the stage which the Lord King has had constructed in the middle of a large piazza a short distance from the castle, with stands on the sides of the piazza where more than 20,000 people may see the celebration. And they mounted this stage or stand, the top of it beautifully decorated with a [representation of] Hercules holding in his hand the coat of arms of the king. The Lord King sat himself down on a throne in the centre and next to him, on the right, sat our glorious lady, next to her the Duchess of Calabria, then Madama’s other sister and so on in order, these ladies in so
copia che era uno stupore. Dal canto sinistro presso il re era a sedere lo Illustrissimo vostro fratello, puoi Messer Alberto et cussì succedono multi altri principi signori et baroni che tuti sono convocati a questo triumpho. Dove erano etiam li imbasciatori della Signoria di Venëgia, del Re de Cipri, del Re de Tunixi et de altre potenti.

Assetati tuti in tribunalj se incominciò a sonare lo pifaro et ilhora il Ducha de Calabra et el Principe de Salerno et certi altri baroni facto fare largo le persone per li soprastanti della festa che erano el Conte de Fondy et el Conte de Mattaloni incominzorno a ballare et ballato che hebbe il Ducha de Calabria cum Madama vostra consorte vestita de una veste de panno d’oro caudata fuorsi octo bracia a lhor guixa et li altri baronj, depuoi fornito el ballo et mutato Madama de veste, se vene ad sponsalicium.

Et col nome de lo Altissimo Dio per uno vescovo solennemente et cum belle cerimonia fu benedetta la Illustrissima nostra Madama et doppo la benedictione publicato lo instrumento de la dote per il Secretario del Signore Re cum le parole convenienti a questo solennissimo acto fu desponsata per lo Illustrissimo Signore Messer Sigismundo in nome vostro. Et doppo la desponsatione il prefato Messer Sigismondo fece venire suxo al tribunale una brigata deli soi famigli per ordine et cadauno de ipsi cum un peza de brochado d’oro in mano et chi cum zoie et fece el presente de Vostra Celsitudine mirando et excellente ala prefata Madama alla presentia del re et de tutti li principi et baroni et madame, il quale lascio pensare a Vostra Celsitudine quanto el fu commendato et laudato per digno conveniente et meraviglioxo.

Facto questo, la Maestà del Re fece fare la monstra de li Tavoleggerj dela giostra che se many pairs that it was a marvel. On the left, next to the king, your Most Illustrious brother was to sit, then Messer Alberto and then many other princes, lords and barons, who have all gathered for this triumph. Also present were the ambassadors of the Signoria of Venice, of the King of Cyprus, of the King of Tunis and of other rulers.

When all were seated in the stands, the piper began to play and then the Duke of Calabria and the Prince of Salerno and certain other barons, who cleared a path through the crowd for the people overseeing the celebration, namely the Count of Fondi and the Count of Matalone,\(^9\) began to dance and the Duke of Calabria danced with Madama, your wife, dressed in gown of cloth of gold with a train eight \textit{braccia} long as they do here, and so did the other barons, then when the dancing was over and Madama had changed her gown, she proceeded to the wedding ceremony.

And in the name of the Most High God our Most Illustrious Madama was solemnly and with beautiful ceremony blessed by a bishop and, after the blessing, the dowry document having been made public by the Lord King’s Secretary,\(^10\) in words appropriate to this most solemn act, she was married by the Most Illustrious Lord Messer Sigismondo in your name. And after the marriage, the aforesaid Messer Sigismondo had brought up to the stage a party of his servants in order, each of them with a piece of gold brocade and some with jewels, and he offered Your admirable Excellency’s present to the aforesaid Madama, in the presence of the King and all the princes and barons and ladies, and I let Your Excellency imagine how much it was commended and praised as worthy, appropriate and wonderful.

Facto questo, la Maestà del Re fece fare la monstra de li Tavoleggerj dela giostra che se

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\(^9\) Onorato Gaetani and Diomede Carafa.

\(^10\) Antonello Petrucci had been Ferrante’s secretary from the beginning of his reign, but would be executed in 1487 for his part in the second Baron’s Revolt. Antonello Petrucci had been Ferrante’s secretary from the beginning of his reign, but would be executed in 1487 for his part in the second Baron’s Revolt. He was replaced as royal secretary by Giovanni Pontano; see Jerry Bentley, \textit{Politics and Culture in Renaissance Naples} (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1878), 31–33, 97, 130; and \textit{Cronaca napoletana figurata}, 49–50.
ferà domane. La quale per quanto sento sarà
dele belle et meravigliose cose ch’io vedessi
mai. Et stando cussì su el cattafalcho veneno
cum una brigata de cavallj et cum li elmi
inanti li tavolegierj che sono tri, el Conte de
Davenza, el fiolo del Conte de Fundj et
Misser Colla da Coralto et contra questoro
giostraranò settanta giostratorj tutti signori et
baronj valorosi et pensi Vostra Celsitudine
che et come facta giostra sarà questa. Doppo
questa monstra il vene del castello del re
circha doxento persone del re cum le trombe
inanti tuti l’uno dietro l’altro cum uno
piatello de marzapan et confessi de più
sorte in mane et sopra cadauna confectione
erano diverse fantasie depinte più de confetti
cum bandirole ala insigna del re che erano
cosse et belleze troppo meravigliose da
vedere et venuti suxo …

will take place tomorrow. From what I hear, it
will be as fine and marvellous a thing as I
have ever seen. And As they stood on the
stage, there came a company of horses, and
with helmets before the tavolegieri, three in
number, the Count of Davenza, the son of the
Count of Fondi, and Misser Colla Coralto,
and against them jousted sixty knights, all
brave lords and barons and think, Your
Excellency, how this joust will be. After this
display, from the king’s castle came about
two hundred of his men with trumpeters
before them, all one behind the other, [each]
holding a plate of marzipan and sweetmeats
of many kinds, and over every confection
there were different painted fantasies, made of
sugar, with banners bearing the insignia of the
king, and they were beautiful things which
were too marvellous to see, and having come
up … [end of original]
Lo che averà da fare la madama Elienora per lo cammino

Primo che ante che cavalca da Napoli donochia davanti a la Maiestà Signor Re prima, domandandoli perdono se mai avesse fatta cosa non li piacesse, poi pregarlo ve done la sua benedicione e pregare Sa Maiestà se voglia racordare de essa e scriverli e fare dimostracione che one uno conosca e massime vostro marito che Sua Maiesta ve ami.

Apresso parlate ad Madama Beatrice pregandola voglia avere per raccomandate le done e homene restanno in casa e massime Donna Maria e che essa se sforza fare como éy solita, in fare che la Maiestà del Re stia de essa contenta e aia cosiglio con chi pare la ame e che sempre che parlerà colla Maiestà del Re ve ce racommande e che ve scriva spisso e attento nella vita cressuta l’amate come figlya e cossi la benedecite como se figlia ve fosse.

Parlarite ad Madama Locenta, ad misser Pasquale e le racommandate la Maiestà del Re e Madama Beatrice e sempre che porranno ve racomandano alla Sua Maiestà.

Et cossi anco alla Duchessa [di Calabria] de termene de continuo ve racommanda alla Maiestà dello Signor Re.

Alle femmene restano in casa le racommandate Madama Beatrice e cossi ad Joanella de Piero Bernardo.

What the Lady Eleonora is to do along the way

In the first place, before you ride out of Naples, firstly kneel before His Majesty the King, asking him to pardon you for anything you have ever done would has displeased him, then ask him to give you his blessing. Next ask His Majesty if he wishes you to remember him and write to you and make it clear to everyone, and especially to your husband, that His Majesty loves you.

Next, speak to Lady Beatrice, asking her to take care of the ladies and men who are staying here, and especially Donna Maria, and that she should make efforts to act, as she is accustomed to do, so that His Majesty remains happy with her, and she should take counsel with whomever appears to love her and that every time that she speaks with His Majesty the King, she should commend you to him, and that she should write often, and since, having grown up together, you love her like a daughter, so you bless her as if she were your daughter.

Speak with Lady Locenta, to Misser Pasquale, and commend His Majesty the King to them, and Lady Beatrice, and [ask] that whenever they can they should commend you to His Majesty.

To the women who remain here, and also to Ioanella de Piero Bernardo, 11 commend Lady Beatrice.

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11 This may be Ferrante’s mistress, Johanella, the daughter of the count of Brugenza, whom he installed in the Castel Nuovo in 1472; see Welch, “Between Milan and Naples,” 134, n. 34. In the list of Ferrante’s expenses in Cicco Simonetta’s diaries, a “Madamma Iohannella” is listed as receiving,
Item la Signoria Vostra alociera ad Aversa, prima farsi ciammare li electi della terra, rengiaciandoli di lo honor ve aveno facto essendove ad essere e cossi farite ad Capua, ad Sessa, ad Sessa [sic], ad Gaeta e ad Fundi e ad tutte le terre che alociarite e onor ve faranno.

Likewise [when] Your Ladyship stops in Aversa, first have the elect of the land called, and thank them for the honour they have accorded you by being there for you, and you will do the same in Capua, Sessa, Gaeta and Fundi, and in all the places where you are welcomed and where they do you honour.

Parme che la Signoria Vostra ad tutti li barune prenderanno licentia dalla Signoria Vostra li pregate ve racommandano spisso alla Maiestà del Re.

It seems to me that you should ask all the barons who take leave of Your Excellency to commend you often to His Majesty the King.

Et quello medesimo la Signoria Vostra farà allo Illustissimo Signor Duca di Calabria quando si sparterà de vuy e ad Don Federico, ad Don Io[anni], che ve racommandano alla Maiestà del Re sempre che aiano la comodità.

And you will do the same to the Most Illustrious Duke of Calabria, when he takes leave of you, and to Don Federico, to Don Gio[vanni], that they always commend you to His Majesty the King when they have the opportunity.

Et cossi al conte di Fundi che lo saprà bene predicare di quanto li derite.

And the same to the Count of Fundi, who will go forth and preach whatever you tell him.

La Illustissima Signoria Vostra sarà in Roma e, ad tutti cardinale ve visitaranno, la Signoria Vostra le confortarà da parte de la Maiestà del Re monstrandoli Sua Maiestà vello acommissio e per conossere la Signoria Vostra la Maiestà sua le ama velle offerite dove che sarite e chi, et massime ad San Sisto dicendoli quanto lo Signor Re lo ama.

Your Most Illustrious Ladyship will be in Rome and, to all the cardinals who visit you, Your Ladyship should assure them of His Majesty the King’s esteem, indicating to them that His Majesty has commissioned you to do so, and that knowing that His Majesty loves them, you would give them gifts wherever you are and with whomever, and especially to San Sisto, telling him how much the King loves him.

Quando sarite davanti la Santità del Nostro Signore le farite le debite leverencie e lo confortarite de parte de lo Signor Re quale si racommanda ad Sua Santità e anco la rengraciate de lo amore e affeczione ve porta quale avite intiso da multi e le offerte quanto possite, lo pregate aia per racommandato lo Illustissimo vostro marito e vuy e che la Santità sua poi ve apprezza per figlia che lo voglia continuare che avite dui patre, la Maiestà del Re e la Santità Sua e lo pregate ve done la Sua benedicione cossi come ad per patre como como [sic] papa e lo rengraciarite assai de quanto ve darà.

When you are before His Holiness, you will pay him due reverence and assure him of the esteem of the Lord King, who commends himself to His Holiness, and also thank him for the love and affection he bears you, which you have heard from many people, and make as large a gift to him as you can, asking him to remember the interests of your husband and yourself, and asking that His Holiness then regard you as a daughter, saying that you have two fathers, His Majesty the King, and His Holiness, and ask him to give you his blessing, both as father and as Pope, and you will thank him greatly for whatever he gives you.

apparently in 1473, 3000 ducats *per ordinario*, and another 3000 ducats *per extraordinario*; see Simonetta, *J dairii*, 86.

12 Onorato Gaetani, conte di Fondi, counsellor and jurist in Ferrante’s court, and married to Ferrante’s illegitimate daughter Lucrezia; see Pietro Giannone, *Storia civile del regno di Napoli*, Lib. 27, Cap. 3.
Allo Prefecto o Gran Conestabile farite multe carize quale lo troverite ad Taracina, e per lo camino le parlate domandandoli di Nostro Signore e la volontà avite vedere Sua Santità.

Voglia la Signoria Vostra come sapite farne tucti quelli ve visitaranno, farli carize e cossì quelli ve apresentaranno e quanto menore è l’apresento le gracie siano più e quelli vogliate vedere sempre quando velle portano che è uno scorno a chi presenta non veda sia essere voluto vederlo.

Et dicte presente fate che sempre le fate dare ad quelli signori ve accompagnarono e massime ad misser Gismundo che la menor parte sia quella che resta in casa nostra. Et se fossero dicte presente cose non da manzare, zo èy argento o altre mobele, quelle non dico spartate, ante le mostrate al vostro marito a’zo conosca ve aiano fatto honore.

Ad Sena e ad Firenza non dubito ve venerà ad visitare la Seigneyoria, farle honor grande e la confortarite de parte de la Maiestà del Re e le rengraciarite dello honore ve averanno facto che so certo sarà grande.

Ad Laurenzo di Medici confortarite de parte de la Maiestà del Re, dicendoli quanto la Maiestà Sua lo ama e vele offrire avere con lui bona amicicia pregandolo voglia lui far cossì colla Signoria Vostra e che deliberate averla che la Signoria Vostra usarè e cossì fazate.

Parme avere tocato de le cose possa travenire per lo cammino. Dirò che la Signoria Vostra mostre one vostra volentà avere reposta per dicto cammino al consiglio e volere delo Signor misser Gismundo e di quanto ve diranno de lo s’à de fare mostrate sempre remetterello al dicto misser Gismundo cossì delle iornate como dele ore di partire e como e dove, in modo che lui conosca la Signoria Vostra aia tale deliberacione che non solo serve ad isso ma ad vostro marito quand lo senterà.

To the Prefect or Great Constable you should make many shows of affection when you meet him at Terracina, and speak to him along the way, asking him about Our Lord [the Pope], and telling him you want to see His Holiness.

Your Ladyship should, as you know you do with all those who visit you, treat them with affection, also those who bring you gifts, and the less they give the greater should be the thanks, and you should always want to see the gifts when they bring them to you, because it a gesture of scorn to the giver unless he sees that you wanted to see it.

And regarding these gifts, always have them given to those gentlemen who are accompanying you, and especially to Sigismundo, so that the lesser part of them is what remains with us. And if those gifts were not things to eat, that is, if they are silver or other furnishings, I say don’t dispose of them before you show them to your husband so that he may know they have paid you honour.

I do not doubt that in Siena and Florence the Signoria will visit you and to do you great honour. Assure them of His Majesty the King’s esteem and thank them for the honours they have accorded to you which I am certain will be great.

Assure Lorenzo de’ Medici of His Majesty the King’s esteem, telling him how much His Majesty loves him, and offer to be his good friend, asking him that he should do the same with Your Ladyship, and [tell him] that you are resolved to be friends and that he is to use Your Ladyship, and that is what you will do.

It seems to me that I have touched on those things which may happen along the way. I will say that Your Ladyship should show that you have submitted all your desires on the aforesaid journey to the advice and will of the Lord Sigismundo and insofar as they tell you about what has to be done, appear to always refer to Misser Sigismundo, both for the days and for the hours of departure and for the how and where. In this way he may know that Your Ladyship has resolved in such a way that serves not only him, but also your husband when he hears of it.
D’altre cose ve consigliarite collo Illustrissimo duca di André allo quale onorate come patre ma più misser Gismundo.

About other things, consult with the Most Illustrious Duke of Andria, whom you honour as a father, although not as much as Misser Sigismundo.

Ad ogni altre seignyure ve accompagnynano qual che volta le chiamate e adomandate como so’ state allociate e como o dicto le apresesitate di quello averite, dico, cose de manzare.

For each of the other nobles accompanying you, call them to you at times and ask them how they have been accommodated and, as I have said, present them with some of what you have, that is, things to eat.

Ad cossì fate anco ad so’ve nutte con misser Gismundo che, o per cammino o poi, di parlare ora con uno ora con altre in modo che ante siate a Ferrara non sia niuno di esse a chi non aiate parlato e mostratele domesteccheza.

Also to those who have come with Misser Sigismundo, make sure that either on the way or afterwards, you speak now with one, now with another, so that, before you reach Ferrara, there is not one of them to whom you have not spoken and shown intimacy.

Ad quelle so’ deputate in vostro servizio, la Signoria Vostra li a carezi mostrando avere di piacere e che ormai isso sino li vostre criate e vostre fidate e quanto si pò conoscano la Signoria Vostra sia dove bisongnya animosa e dove bisongnya umana e benesèncya como era la Signoria prima.

To those appointed to serve you, Your Ladyship should be affectionate, showing that you are glad that they are now in your service and your trust, and as much as possible let them know Your Ladyship to be courageous where necessary and to be, where necessary, humane and kind as was His Lordship before.

La Signoria Vostra faza scrivere ad lo Illustrissimo vostro marito primo rengriaciandolo di la bella compananya ve avrà data e poi quanto ve a piazuta e piace la prattica delo signor messer Gismundo lo quale lo amate quanto caramele fratello e certo ultra essere suo frate li modi soi e le carize e honore lui fa alla Signoria Vostra sono tante e tale che ve ave obligata che et cussì dicite di misser Alberto e di tutti li altre signori e ginitilomine che con misser Sismundo so’ venuti.

Your Ladyship should write to your Most Illustrious husband, first of all thanking him for the fine retinue he will have provided for you, and next how much you liked and [still] like conduct of Misser Sigismundo, whom you love as much as a real brother, and certainly besides being his brother, his manners and the caresses and honour with which he treats Your Ladyship are so great and such that he has obligated you and you say the same about Misser Alberto and about all the other lords and gentlemen who have come with Misser Sigismundo.

Item, comendate alle vostre secretarye che quasi one di loro scrivano allo dicto Illustrissimo vostro marito dele piaceri facite e honor ve sarà facto che ṗy cosa

Likewise, urge your secretaries that almost all of them should write to the Your Most Illustrious husband of the pleasant things you are doing and the honour which is to be done to you, which is something that he will

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13 The duke of Andria, Francesco del Balzo, who accompanied Eleonora to Ferrara, “cum 59 boche et artanti [altrettanto] cavali” [with 59 people and as many horses], see Caleffini, p. 44. He was related to Eleonora through her mother, Isabella da Chiaromonte, who was the daughter of Caterina del Balzo Orsini, in turn the sister of Giovanni Antonio del Balzo Orsini, prince of Taranto. Francesco del Balzo was married to Sancia di Chiaromonte, countess of Copertino. His son, Pirro del Balzo, duke of Venosa and prince of Altamura, was Grand Constable until 1487 when he was imprisoned in the Castel Nuovo for his part in the barons’ rebellion of 1485–86, see Cronaca napoletana figurata, p.38, note 14.
[che] lui stimarà assai e con poco affanno se farrà.

appreciated greatly, and which can be done with little difficulty.

Et cossì fate [che] scrivano alla Maiestà dello Signor Re onne di fine sarite in Ferrara e anco da poi le sarite aviszate particolarmente de onne cosa cossì dele nature delle feste como de onne acoglienza ve sarà facta e delo piacer e modo di vivere che multo piacerà alla Maiestà del Re sentirlo e masseme per vostre lictere.

And also have a letter written to His Majesty the King every day until you are in Ferrara, and also, after you are advised of the details of everything, both of the nature of the celebrations, and of all the welcomes accorded to you, and of the pleasure, and way of living, which will give great pleasure to His Majesty the King to hear it and especially from your letters.

Resta lo modo averà la Signoria Vostra da tenere collo Illustrissimo vostro marito. È poria essere ve venisse scontro ma, o li venga o non, como la Signoria Vostra lo vederà, o sarà a cavallo como io credo o non, se a cavallo, la Signoria Vostra li passe dala banda manca e con inclinarve li tocate la mano e se lui ve basa como éy debito, la Signoria Vostra umanamente lo recepate domandandoli como sta Sua Seingnioria e che la Maiestà del Re lo saluta e conforta e cossì lo Illustrissimo Signor Duca e vostre fratelli e volendove lui venire, non consentate venga se non alla banda ricta e, se lui per lo cammino ve parla, le respondate. Quando non ve parlasso meno la Signoria Vostra parle ad lui, altro che averli fatte le salute como o dicto dela Maiestà del Re. Et anco ve laudate dela bona compagnia ve averà fatta misser Gismundo quale lo laudarite sempre ad vostro marito et cossì anco tutta la compagnia e li officiali vostre ve à date.

There remains the way Your Ladyship should behave with Your Most Illustrious husband. It may be that he comes to meet you, but, whether he comes or not, as soon as Your Ladyship sees him, whether he will be on a horse, as I believe, or not, Your Ladyship should pass to his left side, and bending over, touch his hand, and if he kisses you as he ought, Your Ladyship should receive him courteously, asking him how His Lordship is and [saying] that His Majesty the King greets him and assures him of his esteem and both the Most Illustrious Lord Duke and your brothers, and, if he wants to come to you, let him come only to your right side. And, if he speaks to you along the way, reply to him. And if he does not speak to you, then the less Your ladyship should say to him, other than having greeted him, as I have said, on behalf of the king. And also praise him for the good company created by Misser Sigismundo, whom you should always praise to your husband and also the whole party and the officials he has given to you.

Quando lui stesse a piedi, subito la Signoria smonte e andatele ad tocare la mano collo dicto modo e como dico colle meno parole sia possebele chë in onne loco se usa lo vocaøle che amo femmena pronta ma non di casa mia.14

If he were to be on foot, immediately Your Ladyship should dismount and go to him and touch his hand in the aforesaid manner and, as I say, with as few words as possible, because they have the same proverb everywhere: A woman with a ready tongue is fine, but not in my house!

Laudate lo paese, le stancie e onne cosa ve domandano, mostrando de tucto de starve contenta, acarizando quelli vostre suditi cossi donne como omene.

Praise the countryside, your accommodation, and everything they ask you [about], showing yourself to be happy with everything, embracing those subjects of yours, both women and men.

14 Cf. «Amo donna pronta, ma non de casa mia», “Salernitano, Il novellino, novella XXIII, p. 219. Carafa frequently uses proverbs to emphasise his points.
It is not necessary to tell Your Ladyship that you should always show that you honour your husband by remaining standing wherever he is, by replying to him with respect, by telling him either yes or no, and, when he asks something of you, always show that your pleasure is whatever he likes and pleases him, and that you have determined that your every wish will defer to his, asking him to always inform you of it so that it will only be necessary to hear it once.
Instructio Illustrissime Domine Elionore de Aragonia Ducisse Ferrarie etc. Rex Sicilie etc.

Illustrissima figlia nostra dilectissima, quando piacerà a Nostro Signore Dio che serite al conspectu dela Santità de Nostro Signore volimo ne recomendate humilmente ala Beattitudine Sua significando a Quella che non poriamo al mondo desiderare tanto alcuna cosa quanto la salute de Quella. Et perciò volimo la supplicate se debgni havere cura dela soa persona, in laquelle consiste la salute nostra et de tucta la christia-nit et che accustumando essere non bono airo in Roma la estate, offerimo ala Beattitudine Soa tucto lo regno et qualunca parte de quillo dove et la estate et quanto a Quella piacesse se potesse stare a piacere che ne seria singularissima gracia quando ne volesse pigliare securità et fede como pote.

Dapoi supplicarite a dicta Santitá che se dignie, per nostra contenteza et honore et per non farce perdere alcuno de li nostri amici, creare cardinali lo Arcepescopo de Salerno et lo Episcopo de Castello, che facendo altramente lo honore nostro non restari salvo et

Instructions to the Most Illustrious Lady Eleonora d’Aragona, duchess of Ferrara etc. from the King of Sicily etc.

Our most Illustrious and Beloved Daughter, When it pleases Our Lord for you to be in the presence of His Holiness, we wish to be humbly commended to His Beatitude, indicating to him that there is nothing more we could desire in the whole world than his health. We therefor want you to beg him that he take care of himself, on whom our health and that of the whole of Christendom depends, and that, the air in Rome generally not being good in summer, we offer to His Beatitude the whole kingdom and whatever part of that he wishes, both for the summer and for as long as it suits him to stay there, and that it will be the greatest pleasure if he were willing to accept this safety and faith as he may. 15

Then beg the aforesaid Holiness that he may deign, for our pleasure and honour and in order not to lose any of our friends, to create cardinals of the Archbishop of Salerno and the Bishop of Castello, 16 lest doing otherwise, our honour not remain intact and, if His Beatitude is happy to

15 Apparently Sixtus IV did not accept Ferrante’s offer. Pastor writes that, due to illness Sixtus spent the summer and autumn of 1473, from 19 July until 13 November, at Tivoli, then part of the Papal States, see Pastor, 4:249.

16 Guglielmo Rocha, Archbishop of Salerno, and Giovanni Gianderoni, Bishop of Città di Castello, 1460–75. Dover writes that Ferrante sent his ambassador, Anello Arcamone, to Rome in June 1473 to advocate their candidacy for the cardinalate; see Dover, “Royal Diplomacy.” 70; Pastor writes “Without any great trouble Ferrante obtained the satisfaction of seeing the rich Abbey of Monte Cassino conferred on his youthful son, while the Protonotary Rocha was made Archbishop of Salerno,” 4:214. Between 1471 and 1484, Sixtus IV created 34 cardinals, including six of his own relatives. Egmont Lee writes: “The letters, by which he notified the Italian powers of his election and asked for their support, indicate clearly his desire to be accepted into their circle. The ‘downpour of benefices’, which during the next few weeks descended on the favourites of the ruling houses, demonstrated that he was willing to pay a considerable fee”; see Lee, 32. Giovanni d’Aragona, fourth child of Ferrante, did receive a cardinal’s hat in December 1477.
contentandone de questo la Beatitudine Soa lo 
estimarimmo a tanto singolare gracia quanto 
alcuna altra che potessimo havere de presente 
dala Beatitudine Soa.

Volimo ancora che con instantia quanto 
farrissivo in cose di nostro figliolo, lo duca di 
Calabria. Recommandate a Quella lo Illustre suo 
nepote, lo prefecto Gran Conestabile del nostro 
Reame, lo quale havendociolo Soa Santità dato 
per figliolo lo amamo non altramente, che uno 
deli nostri per propri figlioli, et volimo 
supricate la Beatitudine Soa ne promecta che lo 
haverà per recomendato et farà verso lui delle 
cose che siano in benefitio et honore suo et che 
ne dispiace non habiamo possuto mandare la 
duchessa d’Arci nostra figlia a visitare la 
Beatitudine Soa et per essere lo tempo cussi 
indisposto et caldo periculo ad una figliola di 
cussi tenera etate, ma al bon tempo se pora farce 
piacendo a dio et ala Beatitudine Soa.

Et perché non dubitamo la Signoria de Fiorenza 
ve visitàr et honoràr grandemente, volimo con 
conveniente parole la rengratiate de quello et la 
certificate che nuj estimamo tanto la amicitia et 
intelligentia havimo con essa quanto cosa in 
quisto mundo per salute del nostro stato et che 
de nuj nostri figlioli et statu se porramno sempre 
valere como delle loro proprie cose.

Et in specialità al Magnifico Laurenzo de 
Medici certificarete del nostro bono animo 
verso isso et ala conservazione di suo statu 
loquale reputamo proprio per la virtù soa et 
amore ne porta.

We wish also that you urge him as strongly as 
you can on the interests of our son, the duke of 
Calabria. Commend to [Sixtus] his illustrious 
nephew, the Prefect Great Constable of our 
kingdom, who, having been given to us by His 
Holiness as a son, we love just as if he were one 
of our own. We also want you to beg His 
Beatitude to promise to protect him and make 
happen for him those things which are to his 
benefit and honour. Also that we are sorry not to 
have sent the duchess of Arci, our daughter, to 
visit His Beatitude, because the weather is so 
unfavourable and the heat dangerous for a girl of 
such tender years, but in good time she will be 
able go there, God and His Beatitude willing.

Since we do not doubt that the Signoria of 
Florence will visit you and do great honour to 
you, we want you to thank them for that with 
appropriate words and to assure them that we 
value the friendship and intelligence we have 
with them as much as anything in this world for 
the health of our state and that they will always 
value our descendents and state as if they were 
their own.

Especially to the Magnificent Lorenzo de’ 
Medici attest our goodwill towards him and the 
preservation of his state which we respect really 
for his virtue and the love he bears it.

17 Like Carafa, whose instructions to Eleonora include “Allo Prefecto o Gran Conestabile farite multe carize” [To the Prefect or Great Constable you should make many shows of affection], Ferrante appears to be 
confusing the Neapolitan rank of Grand Constable with that of Prefect of Rome. The Grand Constable 
occupied the most important of the seven great offices of the Kingdom. He carried the bare sword before 
the king in cavalcade and sat at the king’s right side at official functions. In Alfonso’s time, the office was held 
by Giovanni Antonio Ursino, prince of Taranto. In Ferrante’s reign, the office was held by Pirro del Balzo, 
prince of Altamura, until the Baron’s Revolt in 1485. Sixtus’ nephew, Leonardo della Rovere was created 
Prefect of Rome in 1472 and occupied that position until his death in 1475; see Leti, 45. “He gave to Leonard, 
his brother’s son, a natural daughter of King Ferdinand in marriage, and made him prefect of Rome”; Pastor, 
4:245. See also note 4 below.

18 Giovanna d’Aragona, Ferrante’s natural daughter by his mistress Diana Guardato. This marriage is 
shown in the Della Rovere family tree, see Di Fonzo, 56–57.
Et licet a bocca ve habiamo declarato quanto cqui se contenera di quello volimo dicte per nostra parte alo Ill.mo S. duca vostro consorte et nostro figlio, tamen volimo ancora qui toccarne alcuna particella brevemente per memoriale: And even though we have told you all that is written here about what we wish you to say to the Most Illustrious Lord Duke, your husband and our son, on our behalf, nevertheless, we want to touch on every little detail of it again briefly as a reminder.

Primo, le recomandarite lo Illustre misser Sigismondo suo fratello, loquale et per la virtù et meriti soi et per essere exemplo d’amore de fratelli, lo deve amare piú como ad figliolo che fratello. Firstly, commend the Illustrious Misser Sigismondo, his brother, both for his virtue and his qualities and for being the model of brotherly love, loving him more as a son than as a brother.

Et cussi le recomendarite ancora lo Magnifico misser Alberto pur suo fratello et per essere cussi degni et virtuoso cavalero et havendo cussi ben servito et etiam perché cognoscimo ama ad isso signor duca et suo stato quanto al mondo è possibile. So too commend the Magnificent Misser Alberto, also his brother, both for being so worthy and virtuous and for having served him so well.and also because we know that he loves the same Signor Duke and his state as much as it is possible in the world.

Quisti ientilominj di casa di Soa Signore che so’ venuti per accompagnare vuj né so’ molto piaciutj tucti et ce so’ paresi dignissijm del servitio di Soa Signore et che lo amano grandemente et perció in genere tucti celj recomendarite et perche in specie nuj havimo havuto pratica per lo passato con li magnifici misser Nicolò de’ Contrarij et misser Teofilo Calcagnino19 per haverne spesso visitati de lettera et etiam de presentj, et certamente ne pareno cossi digni et virtuosi ientilominj quanti altj ne habiamo practicati a nostri di et, licet loro se laudeno de esso S. duca incredibilmente, tamen per lo amore li portamo, volimo da nostra parte li recomandate al decto S. duca che ormai omne fortuna loro reputarimo nostra et cussi ne alegrarimj de loro benj come de qualunca de nostril carissijm create, allargandone circa ciò secundo a bocca ve havimo dicto che non poterissivo tanto direne quanto piú havimo volunta lo facciate. Et quando vidissivo che isso Illustre Signor duca fosse de altro parere o ne conoscesse altro che quello a nuj ne pare, lo pregarite ne done noticia di tucto perché deve We have liked all these gentlemen from the house of His Lordship, who have come to accompany you, and they seemed to us most worthy to be in the service of His Lordship and they love him greatly. Therefore commend them all to him in general, and because we have had dealings in the past with the Magnificent Misser Niccolò de’ Contrarij and Misser Teofilo Calcagnino, having been visited by them by letter and also in person, and certainly they seem as worthy and virtuous gentlemen as others we have dealt with in our time, and although they are praised incredibly by the same Signor Duke, nevertheless, because of the love we bear him, we for our part wish that you commend them to the said Signor Duke, that we regard their every fortune to be ours and thus we rejoice in their successes as with any of our own most loved servants, expanding about this what we have said verbally, that you could not say as much about them as we wanted you to. And if you saw that that Illustrious Lord Duke was of a different opinion, or that he knew differently from what appears to us, beg him to take note of it all.

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19 Niccolò de’ Contrarij and Teofilo Calcagnino were both senior members of Ercole d’Este’s court, charged by him to travel to Naples in Sigismondo’s party to collect Eleonora. Both wrote accounts of the wedding celebrations in Naples to him; see Olivi, 29–33 and 33–34.
credere le cose sue nui le reputemo proprie nostre.

Datum in Casalj Arnonj
die vicesimonono maij M° CCCLXXII°
Rex Ferrandus

because he should believe that we regard his affairs as our own.

Dictated in Casale Arnone,
twenty-ninth day of May 1473

King Ferrante

20 The date of these instructions, 29 May, five days after the party left Naples, indicates that Ferrante had accompanied Eleonora at least part of the way to Rome and that the progress had halted for some days at Casale Arnone, approximately 50 km north-west of Naples.
Letter from Teofilo Calcagnini to Ercole d'Este, Rome, 7 June 1473.

Min. 54v

Copia litterarum ducalem ad
Illustrissimum dominum Herculem
Ferrarie Regii Mutineque Ducem, De
Foelici Introitu Romano

My Most Illustrious and Most Excellent
Only Lord,

Illustrissimo et Excellentissimo unico
Signore mio,

Votre Esteemed and Most Excellent Lordship
will be advised through this my inept, simple
letter of the successful entry, on the fifth of
this month, of Your Most Illustrious
Madama the Duchess, and her party, into
this blessed city of Rome.

La prefata madama se partite da Marino et
inanti che zunzese a Roma li andoron
incontra fuori de la terra cercha tre miglia
dui Gardenali cum una gran brigata de
vescovi e prelati, l’uno fu Napoli, l’altro
Monreale, novamente creato. Et racolto che
hebeno la Vostra Illustrissima Madama in
megio cum caritative visitatione, la
condusero dentro la citade a Sancto Zuane
Laterano dove sua excellentia fu lassata da’d
dicti Gardenali, conduta però prima in
camera da epis et li ha desinato cum la
compagnia sua et cum li Illustrissimi Vostri
fratelli et sui gentilhomini.

Madama left Marino and, before she
reached Rome, about three miles outside the
city walls there came to meet her two
cardinals, Naples and the newly elected
Monreale,21 with a large party of bishops
and prelates. Having gathered up Your Most
Ilustrious Madama in their midst with
affectionate greeting, they accompanied her
into the city and on to S. Giovanni Laterano,
where Her ladyship was left by the cardinals,
however not before she had been taken by
them to her chamber where she dined with
her party and with Your Most Illustrious
brothers and their gentlemen.

Dapuo desinare, reposato che hebeno
alquanto, la prefata vostra madama la se ne
vene cum madona Duchesa del Melfi e le
altre gientildone sue, et cum lo Illustrissimo
misser Sigismondo e tutti quisti baroni e
castellani in Sancto Zuane et andete vedando
le cose sancte de questa gesia. Dapoi li fu
monstrato lo capo di Sancto Piero e de
Sancto Paulo.

When they had eaten and rested a while,
Your Madama went out with the Madonna
the duchess of Malfi and her other ladies,
and with the Most Illustrious Misser
Sigismondo and all those lords and knights
she went to San Giovanni [in Laterano] see
the holy relics of this church. Then she was
shown the head of St Peter and that of St
Paul.

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21 Oliviero Carafa, and the Spaniard, Ausias Despuig, newly created in May 1473.
Et facto questo, che era cercha hore 18, zunzeno li a cavallo, mandati da la Sanctità del nostro Signore, li Reverendissimi monsignori Gardenali Sancto Sixto e Sancto Pietro in Vicula. Smontati da cavallo subito la vostra madama li andete incontro cum mainere tute gientile e pelegrine e, facte fra lore le degne [f. 55r] acoglientie, montati tuti a cavallo, meseno in megio la madama vostra vestita a sua guisa de veluto negro, cum una bavera de dicto pano et uno capeleto negro cum certe pene bianche inante adornata de infinite perle e zoglie, pareva veramente uno angelo in mezo de quisti dui gardenali e prelati, e montati cum tuta la vostra comitiva inanti et quella de la Maestà del Signor Re e de’ dicti gardenali et altri ambasatori che qui sono e gentilhomini Romani se aviorono verso Sancto Apostolo al habitacione de San Sixto preparata per madama cum molti pifari, trombeti e tamburini inanti et tute le strade dove siamo venuti per Roma erano piene de famegli de gardenali a cavalo de queste done e populo Romano. Stimo che'l ge sia stà più de cavalli sie milia.

Zunti a Sancto Apostolo, dove che'l prefato gardenale de Sancto Sixto, qui vere dici potest primus pontifex, ha facto coprire quela sua piazza de uno gram pavaglione et altre coperte, et facto fare tribunali alti per madama e sua brigata per festegiare.

La prefata madama vostra cum dicti gardenali smontati intorno in dicto palazo adornato non mancho che se Sancto Pietro de celo in terra descendesse. Questo monsignore Gardenale ha facto mettere in ordene in questa sua casa cercha 14 camere tute de excellentissime tapezarie cum mirabili paviglioni et le colcedre [coltre] deli leti, dove sono le piume, sono de raso

After that, and by this time it was about noon, the Most Reverend Cardinals San Sisto and San Pietro in Vincoli arrived on horseback, sent by His Holiness our Lord Pope. As soon as they dismounted, Your Lady went forward to meet them, with noble and excellent gestures, and, when the appropriate greetings had been exchanged, everyone mounted their horses. They put Madama in the middle. She was dressed, as is her custom, in black velvet with a cloak in the same fabric and a little black hat with white feathers in the front and it was adorned with countless pearls and jewels. She really looked like an angel in the midst of those two cardinals and the prelates. And riding along with all of your party on horseback out in front, then those of His Majesty the King and of the two cardinals and the other ambassadors who are here and the Roman nobles, they set off for Santo Apostolo, the residence of San Sisto, which had been prepared for Madama, preceded by many pipers, trumpeters and drummers, and all the streets on our way through Rome were filled with members of the cardinals’ households on horseback, with the ladies and the Roman public. I estimate there were more than six thousand cavalry.

They reached Santo Apostolo, where the cardinal of San Sisto, who can truly be said to be the real pope, has had its piazza covered with a large pavilion and other coverings and has had constructed high platforms for Madama and her group to enjoy the celebrations.

Madama dismounted with the cardinals, and they entered the palace which was decorated no less than if Saint Peter were to come down to earth from heaven. This Monsignor cardinal has prepared in his house about fourteen rooms, all with the most excellent tapestries, wonderful canopies and quilted mattresses on the beds, with the feathers, were in crimson, blue, and green satin. The

22 Pietro Riario, and his cousin, Giuliano Della Rovere, both cardinal nephews of Sixtus IV.
L’argentaria de la credenza tanto sumptuosa e grande d’oro e d’argento che quella che messì fuora lo Illustrissimo quondam Duca Borso in quello locho non bastaria. E meglio comprendo che se 'l fuse venuto a Roma lo Imperatore non li seria sta facto tanto apparecho cosi soleme e grande.

The silverware on the credenza was so sumptuous and grand, that the silverware which the late Most Illustrious Duke Borso put out would not suffice in that place. And I truly believe that, if the Emperor himself had come to Rome, there would not have been made such a solemn and grand preparations.

Conduta in camera la madama vostra, el gardenale San Pietro in Vincula se partì su le 23 hore et tute le brigate sono ite ali soi alogiamenti a reposarsi insino ala mactina.

When Madama had been taken to her room, the Cardinal of San Pietro in Vincoli took his leave. It was an hour before sunset and each group went to its lodgings to rest until the morning.

Questa mactina ante, che è el zorno sollemne dela Pentecoste, la comitiva nostra a cavalo se n’è ita a Sancto Apostolo et li ha montato a cavalo la Vostra Illustrissima madama, vestita di brochato d’oro cum sue mirable colane e zoglie, e posta in mezo di sancto Sixto e di Sancto Pietro in Vincula cum le soe matrone e [f. 56r] gentildone et la brigata nostra inanti ben vestiti e adornati, c um quilli etiam de la Maestà de lo Re, cavalcoran a Sancto Pietro e smontati andoron in Sancto Pietro ala capella grande dove 'l Sancto Padre era cum li gardenali et madama vostra montò supra de uno tribunale

Early this morning, which is the Feast of Pentecost, our party went on horseback to Santo Apostolo and there Your Most Illustrious lady mounted, and she was dressed in gold brocade with her wonderful necklaces and jewels, and she was in between San Sisto and San Pietro in Vincoli with her matrons of honour and gentlewomen, and our group rode in front, well dressed and adorned, and together with His Majesty the King’s party, they rode to St Peter’s, where they dismounted and went to the main chapel, where the Holy Father was waiting with the cardinals, and, with her

23 Alesandrino, ‘di colore azzurro’; Trenti, 21.
24 Tamaracio, ‘materazzo’; Trenti, 371.
cum le soe done, facto de novo supra la feriata de dicta capella et poi el papa incomentiò a celebrare la messa cum quelle sollemnità e ceremonie (per non essere longo) che faceva Papa Paulo.

When the mass was over, Your Most Illustrious lady was conducted with the greatest honour into the presence of His Holiness and, reverently and humbly she cast herself at his feet in order to kiss them. His Holiness would not allow it and offered her his hand, which she kissed and then threw herself at his feet, and His Holiness gathered her up and embraced her, and she was received with more loving charity and honour that words can describe, and he gave her and all those who were in St Peter’s his holy blessing. And while this was happening, My Most Illustrious Lord, and I don’t say this out of flattery but because it is the truth, several of those cardinals wonderfully praised Your Lady for her considered and serious way of speaking, which was so authoritative and so perceptive that Tulius Cicero would be struck dumb. Certainly, by everyone’s common agreement, she is an angelic and divine soul. O God, Your Excellency is indeed blessed with such a supreme luminary! Oh, how rightly your people shall rejoice and celebrate because you have such a strong support and they shall shout “Leonora, Leonora!” over all the sea, land and hills. In truth if Your Excellency’s people, and I mean every person in every place, were to celebrate the arrival of your hope and joy, it would not satisfy in the smallest part of the debt we owe, however ornate and excellent the celebrations were.

Dapoi questo la prefata Vostra Madama cum licentia del Sancto Patre se ne vene in megio de lo Illustissimo misser Sigismondo e del ducha d’Andri fora de Sancto Pietro, e dapoi el Sancto Patre fu portato sopra la sedia, ut moris est, in palazo cum li gardenali inanzi, et la madama vostra cum tua la comitiva ladies, Your Lady climbed up onto a stand, newly built above the railings of that chapel and then the pope began to celebrate the mass with all the solemnity and ceremony (so as not to go into detail) as Pope Paul used to do.

Dapoi questo la prefata Vostra Madama cum licentia del Sancto Patre se ne vene in megio de lo Illustissimo misser Sigismondo e del ducha d’Andri fora de Sancto Pietro, e dapoi el Sancto Patre fu portato sopra la sedia, ut moris est, in palazo cum li gardenali inanzi, et la madama vostra cum tua la comitiva
Se Vostra Excellentia volesse ch’io li facesse intendere di questo Reverendissimo, glorioso, inclito Monsignore San Sisto, qui tuto mi perdo né saperia cum alcuno mio spirito non che dirne ma pur cignarne una minima parte. Illustrissimo mio signore quostui è uno prelato nato da uno Cesaro più magnanimo, più liberale e splendido che prelato che fuse mai, acepto et amato da tuto questo collegio de gardenali e da questo populo romano, quanto fuse mai gardenale veruno et bem la era, conzosiaché l’è alter pontifex, al quale concore l’altra turba de gardenali et ciò che Sua Signoria comete e ordina [f. 57r] è facto in omnibus et per omnia et questo è lo evangelio. Lui è bello quanto la natura potesse fare ridente, piacevole, bel parlatore, niuno se parte da Sua Signoria mal contento. Lui è tanto faceto, tuto iocondo, dolce, suave et ameno, et per quanto Sua Signoria me ha parlato lo ama ultra modo et più che figliolo Vostra Excellenza et per amore di Vostra Excellenza et me ha acarezato tanto et facto tante offerte che desta uno stupore. Siano del tuto laudato l’omnipotente idio et in specialità de la bona gratia ha Vostra Excellenza cum questo glorioso monsignore gardenale che dio el campi in questo stado 100 anni como el merita.

Dapoi desinare, riposata che hebe, Madama Vostra cercha le hore 19 vene suso el tribunale grande facto fare per Sancto Sixto cum la sua compagnia et signori et gentilhomini, e da l’altro canto de la piazza party, waited for the Most Reverend cardinals San Sisto and San Pietro in Vincoli, who, having mounted their horses, gathered her up in the midst of the largest group of horses and conducted her with honour and triumph to the dwelling at Santo Apostolo, as described above.

If Your Excellency wanted me to tell him about this glorious and distinguished Most Reverend Monsignor San Sisto, I am at a loss to be able to say even the smallest part with any of my usual spirit. My Most Illustrious Lord, this prelate is as one born of an emperor, he is more generous, more liberal and splendid than ever a prelate was before him; he is accepted and loved by all the College of Cardinals, and by the Roman people, as much as he was ever a more genuine cardinal and indeed he deserves it, inasmuch as he is the alternative pope, and the alternative group of cardinals thongs around him and whatever he commissions and orders is done in every case and in all respects, and this is the gospel truth. He is as handsome as nature could make him, laughing, pleasant, a good talker, no one leaves His Lordship’s presence unhappy. He is so humorous, cheerful, sweet-natured, gentle and easy-going, and from all that His Lordship has told me, he loves Your Excellency beyond measure and more than a son, and that he has a burning desire to please Your Excellency. Moreover, by the grace of his Lordship and on account of his love for Your Excellency, he has shown me such affection and made me so many offers that I’m amazed. May almighty god be praised, and especially for the good grace Your Excellency enjoys with the glorious Monsignor Cardinal, and may god preserve him in this state for a hundred years as he deserves.

After eating and resting, at about one o’clock, your Madama went up onto the large stage, which San Sisto has had built, with her ladies in waiting and lords and gentlemen. On the other side of the piazza
de questo tribunale ex opposito era uno altro
tribunale adornato dignissimamente supra
el quale esta facto la representatione de
Sushana per alcuni fiorentini che l’hano
facto cum bel ordene et notabiliter et e durata
forsi 3 hore et poi Madama Vostra andete in
camera.

Questo altro zorno che s’è el luni de
pasqua,25 Sancto Sisto ha facto conzare una
credenza grandissima cum 12 scalini tuto
pienti d’argentaria fiorita de diverse sorte in
tanta quantità che è uno miraculo da vedere.
Supra dicto tribunale dove Sancto Sisto ha
dato desinare ala Vostra Illustrissima
Madama, alo [f. 57v] Illustrissimo misser
Sigismondo e misser Alberto. Et questo è
stato uno disinare stupendo de diverse
vivande in quantitate delicatissime e
sumptuose cum soni e canti infiniti. Et era ex
opposito de la tavola uno fanciulino naturale,
vestito in forma d’aniolo posto supra una
colona, el quale per uno brazo getava una
fontana d’aqua. Questo è stato uno
sollenissimo pasto, richo e triumfante, el
quale è durato piú de sei grosse hore, nel
quale s’è facto due tavole. Ne la prima son
stati asentati seti, zoé in megio la Vostra
Illustrissima Madama, apresso lei dal canto
dritto Sancto Sixto, el duca d’Andri, el conte
Ieronimo, nepote del papa. Dal canto sinestro
presso Madama Vostra, lo Illustrissimo
misser Sigismondo, la duchessa de Melfe e
lo Illustrissimo misser Alberto. A l’altra
tavola era el ducha de Melfe, la contessa de
Altavila e la contessa de Buchanianco.

Asentati comenciarono, dato prima l’aqua
ale mane, a venire le vivande et cadauno cum
sono de trombetti e piffari inanti. Et el
Seschalcho ad ogni vivanda sempre de veste
se mutava. Io non ho tanto intellecto né
memoria che la minima parte de le varietade
de queste sollenissime e sumptuosissime
vivande me potesse ricordare. Ma intenda
Vostra Excellenza che in tavola per vivande
in confectione hano portato tute le fatiche de

25 Pasqua rosata: an alternative name for Pentecost.
Hercule, cadauno grande in statura de uno homo, et primo Hercule nudo cum la pelle et una nuvola cum stelle dentro in spalla in significazione de tignire el cielo. Et così seguendo tute le representatione de le fatiche de Hercule.

Furon portati castelli grandi de confectione cum tore e roche dentro e banderole in cima cum diverse arme dentro, et infinite confetiere de divise [sc. diverse] [f. 58r] confectione, et questi castelli funo cum dicte confectione asacomanati e zetati zoso del tribunale in piazza per ‹Sua› Excellentia che pareva una grossa tempesta. Foron portati in tavola castelli, in piatelli d’argento suso cicere dorate, alti dui cubiti e pieni de pipioni, caponi et altre delicate carne alese cum le bandarole in cima, lo arosto in altri castelli e in barelle d’oro. Quivi è stato portato in tavola daini, caprioli, cervi grandi e integri in piè cum la pelle intorno, coti et pareano vivi, et octo pavoni parte cum la pelle intorno, coti et pareano vivi; grue cum le pene che pareano vive; una serpe grande in uno monte che parea naturale de confectione; item una vivanda de homini salvatici; item cercha dice galee grande cum le velle e corde tute de confeti; multi piati de celadìa cum le sepe intorno, et in mezo uno alicorno cum una rovere de drieto; et quanto se disinava fu portato uno monte suso el tribunale del quale saltò fora uno homo monstrandosi tuto admirativo de tanto convito, e dise certe parole, le quale non potì intendere.

Et poi vene suso el tribunale cercha octo homini cum octo vestite da nynfe et sue inamorate, fra le quale era Hercule cum Dianera per mano, Yason cum Medea, Theseo cum Fedra et sic de singulis cum le sue inamorate, vestite de convenienti habiti, et zonti li comenzirono a sonare li piffari et

Hercules were brought to the table, each with life-sized figures, the first Hercules, naked apart from an animal pelt, and with a starry nimbus behind him, representing him supporting the heavens. And following on came the representation of all the labours of Hercules.

Large confectionery castles were carried out, with towers and fortresses, and banners on top, with various weaponry within, and infinite containers with various candies, and these castles were raided, and the sweetmeats were thrown from the stand into the piazza by His Excellency so that they seemed to rain down in a great storm. There were brought to the table small silver platters on gilded trays, holding castles, two cubits high and filled with pigeons, capons, and other delicate boiled meats, with banners on the top; the roasted meat in other castles and on gold salvers. Fallow and roe deer were brought to the table, large whole great stags, cooked but standing with their pelts, so that they appeared to be alive; and eight peacocks, some with their tails fanned out, others with their young, and all with their plumage so that they appeared to be alive; cranes with their plumage that seemed alive; a large serpent in a mountain which looked real but was made of sugar; then a course of wild men; and then about ten big galleys with sails and ropes made completely of sugar; many plates of jelly with hedges around them and, in the middle, a unicorn with an oak tree behind it, and while they were eating, on to the stage a mountain was carried, and out jumped a man who acted as though he was full of wonder at such a feast, and spoke certain words that I could not understand.

Then there came onto the stage eight men with eight ladies dressed as nymphs who were their lovers. They included Hercules holding the hand of Deianira, Jason with Medea, Theseus with Phaedra, and so on, each with their lover, suitably attired. When they were all there, the pipers began to play.
quostore, li in megio, començoron a danzare e festezare cum le sue nynfe, et stando in questo ballare echo che suprazungono deci vestiti in forma de centhauri [f. 58v] cum le targhete da una mano et le mace da l’altra per tuore queste nynfe ad Hercule et compagni et qui feceron una bella scharamuza fra Hercule e li soi, et dicti centhauri, et Hercule li superò et caciolì del tribunale.

Quivi è stato etiam la representatione de Bacho, de Andromade, e de altri che parte non mi aricordo, et parte non ho inteso per havere pocho studiato in arte de humanitade.

Ma una cosa mi ha parso stupenda che in tante infinite varie e diverse vivande sempre son state diverse argentarie, et mai nulla si è mossa dela credenza grande aparata. Questo è stato el più ordinato et el più sumptuosos pasto che fuse mai, né che mai credo sarà, et quello che fece misser Marìno Lustìniano a Venetia che durò una nocte non seria da fare comparatione ala insalata e preperazione de questo, el quale, quando dio ha voluto, si è fornito ale 20 hore.

In questo dì bene Sancto Sixto ha dimonstrato la grandezza de l’animo suo et quanto lo ama Vostra Illustrissima Signoria. Aricordo etiam de sei piatelli de lamprede portati in tavola cum una civera d’oro, dove era Ceres suso uno caro dorato tirato da dui tigri cum una face acesa. Item etiam struioni integri inargentati coti suso una civera d’oro. Item uno orso cotto cum la pelle cum uno bastone in bocha. Item le represenatione de Thalanta, quele de Ypomenes, e de Perseo quando liberò Andromade dal dragone, tute in vivande et tante altre cose che son sta [f. 59r] una maraviglia.

Fornito questo benedeto disinare et riposato alquanto Madama in camera, poi montata a cavaló cum li Illustrissimi dui gardenali, la and those in the middle began to dance and to celebrate with their nymphs, and while they were dancing there arrived ten men dressed as centaurs, with shields in one hand and clubs in the other, to take those nymphs from Hercules and his companions. And there followed a wonderful skirmish between Hercules and his companions and the centaurs, and Hercules overcame them and drove them from the stage.

There was also a representation of Bacchus, and Andromeda, and others, some of whom I cannot remember and some I did not understand because I am little versed in humanistic arts.

But one thing which amazed me was that, with such an infinity of varied and different courses, there was always different silverware and none was moved from the large credenza on display. This has been the best organised and the most sumptuous feast there has ever been, or that I think will ever be, and the one offered by Marino Giustinian in Venice, which lasted a whole night, rivals not even the salad and preparation of this one, which ended when God willed at two in the afternoon.

This day San Sisto has indeed demonstrated the greatness of his spirit and how much he loves Your Most Illustrious Lordship. I place on record the six plates of lampreys that were brought to the table on a golden salver, where had a Ceres on a gilded carriage drawn by two tigers with a lighted torch. And the whole, cooked, and silvered sturgeon on a golden salver. And a bear, all cooked, in its fur with a staff in its mouth. And the representations of Atalanta, of Hippomenes, and of Perseus when he freed Andromeda from the dragon, all as courses to be eaten, and so many other things which were a marvel.

When this blessed meal was over and Madama had rested in her room for a while, our party went on horseback with the two
comitiva nostra è andati a Sancto Piero dal papa a parlare a Sua Beatitudine, et adesso se aparecheia de fare domane una degnà demonstratione e representatione de la Sollemnità del Corpo de Cristo che se dice essere una bella e devota cosa e dicesi che ancho se monstrará el Sudario del Nostro Signore Iesu Cristo, el quale ne presti gratia e dono de retornare tuta questa vostra comitiva al conspecto de Vostra Illustrissima Signoria in sanità nela buona gratia al quale humilmente me ricomando que diu bene valeat.

Rome 7 iunii 1473

Most Illustrious cardinals to St Peter’s to visit the Pope and to speak with His Holiness. Now they are getting ready to stage tomorrow a worthy theatrical representation of the Feast of Corpus Christi, which is said to be a lovely and reverent thing, and it is said that the Sudarium of our Lord Jesus Christ will also be shown. And may He give us his gift of grace that your whole party may return in good health to the presence of Your Most Illustrious Lordship to whose good grace I humbly commend myself and long may he continue in good health.

Rome, 7 June 1473

Illustrissime Du[ca] D[omini] Vostre Servitor humilis

Your Most Illustrious Lordship’s humble servant,

Theofilus Calchagninus. 26

Teofilo Calcagnini

End

26 Teofilo Calcagnini (whose name is almost invariably written “Theophilo”) is described by Pardi as “principale compagno del duca Borso…creato conte con la facoltà di legitimare bastardi e nominare notari dall’Imperatore Federico III…accompagna alla sepoltura il primo ministro del duca Borso.” On the day of Borso’s funeral, the dairist writes “In quel giorno il prefacto signore duca Hercole fece di molti doni et grate a più persone; et fece suo compagno il magnifico messeer Theophilo Calcagnino, attribuendoli et lassandoli tutti li honori et emolumenti che la sua Magnificentia havea havuto con il duca Borso, a la sua Magnificentia parea et piacea.”; see Pardi, 71 and 295.
Document 6

ASMo, Carteggio principi esteri, busta 1247, autograph letter from Federico d’Aragona to Eleonora d’Aragona, Naples, 29 May 1473.

Illustrissima e mia molto cara sorella,

Per ben che gran tempo e’ abia desiderato vedere per contentamente dell’animo vostro quello giorno si aspectato de chi teneramente ve amava, non de meno la misera carne, unita prima con l’amore fraternale e poi asuefacta in la continua compangnioa, non pò far che venta dal dolore con lacrime non se lamenti de si longa asencia qual per le virtù de Vostra Signoria non solo a me ma a tuta Napolj da tristicia e dispiacer grandissimo,

onde per questo, carissima sorella, ve prego volliate e con l’animo e con le lectere satisfare al dolor dela asencia come anche io per satisfacione dell’animo de Vostra Signoria e mio continuamente farrò, e cusì pregando dio che con quella salute e honore che tutti desideramo felicemente ve conduca nel locho dove ancor tucti speramo verrà l’ultimo e prospero riposo de Vostra Signoria.

Farrò fine a la presente, recomandandome continuamente a quella.

En Napole a xxviiij de maio per propria mano.

Recomando a Vostra Signoria el conte Tristano come aservitor generale.

De Vostra Signoria fratello
Federico de Aragona

My Most Illustrious and very dear sister,

Although for a long time for the sake of your happiness I have wanted to see that day which has been so hoped for by those who have loved you dearly, nonetheless, this miserable flesh is bound both by brotherly love and by being long accustomed to your constant company, so that now, overcome by sorrow, it cannot help tearfully lamenting such a long absence which, on account of Your Ladyship’s virtues, affects not only me but the whole of Naples with the greatest sadness and displeasure.

For this reason, dearest sister, I beg, that you will both with your spirit and with your letters relieve the pain of your absence, even as I, for to relieve Your Ladyship’s spirit, and my own, will do constantly. And so I pray to God that he will bring you with that safety and honour which we all desire to the place which we all hope will be Your Ladyship’s final and prosperous resting place.

I will close for now, commending myself continually to you.

In Naples, 29 May, by my own hand.

I commend to Your Ladyship Count Tristano as a general servant.

From Your Ladyship’s brother,
Federico d’Aragona
Madama amantissima,

sebene io credo che per prudentia la Signoria Vostra suplirà a tuto quello che io manchasse ma specialmente in recomandarme in grazia de la Maestà del Signor Re e del Signor Duca de Calabria, pur aciò che io suplische a quello che dovea far ieri quando se partesemo de sieme, che non fo per dementiganza ma avendo el core si restreto e tristo non averia potuto dire una sola parola, ve scrivo la presente aciò che quando seriti ala presencia de Signor Re, me arecomandati ala Sua Maestà con tuto quello offecto ve serà possibile, perché non mancho abia mo a desponere de questo stato e de nui tuti quanto del suo proposito e vui che sapiti lo animo mio sopra ciò, supliriti con queste poche parole tanto como se ve ne impesse tuta questa carta e arecordative de tornare presto che ve prometo che le ben vero quello proverbio che dize, che se le cosse se fazersero doe volte se fariano tute bene.

Ho deliberato mandare Angello Saltarello con vui fino che entrati in galea aziò ve veda intrare e poi subito torni, et me sapia bene informare come ve seriti bene conportata per questo camino.

Alfonso dio grazia sta bene.

A la Signoria Vostra me aricomando.

Scrita in Ferrara a dì xvii de maza 1477 de mia mano,

Hercules Dux

My most beloved Madama,

Although I believe that Your Ladyship, being prudent, will make up for all the things I’ve failed to do, especially in commending myself in gratitude to His Majesty the King and the Lord Duke of Calabria, yet, in order to provide what I should have done yesterday when we parted from each other, which was not due to forgetfulness, but due to having a heart so constricted and sad that I could not have said a single word, I am writing this letter to you, so that, when you are in the king’s presence, you may commend me to His Majesty with as much affection as will be possible for you, because he can make use if me and my state just as if they were his own, and you know my thoughts on that, and you will flesh out these few words just as much as if the whole page were covered with them. And remember to come back soon, because I promise you that that proverb is quite true that says that if things are done twice they are done really well.

I have decided to send Angelo Saltarello with you until you board the galley so that he will see you go on board and then come straight back, and he can inform me fully how well you conducted yourself during this journey.

Alfonso, thanks be to God, is well.

I commend myself to Your Ladyship.

Written in Ferrara on 17 May 1477 in my own hand,

Duke Ercole
Signore mio caro,

alla Signoria Vostra deve parere stranio che non avete avuta mia lectera. Non credate, Signore mio, me sia scordata de la Signoria Vostra, che tquesto non seria possibile quanno io ben volesse.

Marti ve ò facto scrivere tucto lo generale. Domeneca arrivai qua et trovai lectere dela Signoria Vostra che mme forno tante care quanto potesse dire ché mme parea mille anne non avea avuta vostra lectera. Ma certo me rencresce de lo detspiacere avete avuto della retsposta del Signor Re, ma lla Signoria Vostra se lla deueva tenere per dicto ma Signore mio non’ nde fate stima perché né ’l Signor duca né el Signor conte non erano en quello parere.

Ma basta Signore mio che mmo che ’l Signor Re ave ben penzato, le pare che ssia muito ben facto et avemende parlato et certo che nde sta assai contento et specialmente el Signor duca et duchissa tanto quanto sia possibile. Sitchè dela allegreza ne ò avuto io la deite estimare et cossì preo nostro Signore dio sia facta a la bona ora et con salute dell anima et de lo corpo et contentezza de tucte le parte, et cossì sono certa sarà per le oractione ne ò facte fare et farò.

Anche io parlai al Signor Re de quello de Isabella et de Lucrecia, como el conte vende scrive dello parere del Signor Re che ssoa Maestà ne sta molto contento et parele facta

My dear Lord,

it must seem strange to Your Lordship that you have not received a letter from me. Do not think, my Lord, that I have forgotten Your Lordship, for this would not be possible even if I really wanted to.

On Tuesday I dictated a letter to you about all the general news. Sunday I arrived here and I found letters from your Lordship that were as dear to me as words can express, for it seemed to me ages since I had received a letter from you. But certainly I am sorry about the displeasure you have had at the reply of the King, but if Your Lordship must take it as said, my Lord, you must not take it to heart because neither the Duke nor the Count were of that opinion.

But enough, my Lord, because now that the King has thought about it properly, he thinks that it is all quite well done and he has spoken to me about it and he is certainly very happy about it and especially the Duke and Duchess, as happy as can be, so that you just have to imagine the joy that I have taken from it, and so I pray our Lord God that it will be done soon, for the salvation of the soul and the body, and the contentment of all parties, and so I am sure it will be done, for the prayers that I have had said and which I will say myself.

I spoke to the King about the matter concerning Isabella and Lucrezia, and the Count has written to you with the King’s opinion of it, that His Majesty is very happy about it and it seems to

27 Alfonso d’Aragona, Duke of Calabria and Eleonora’s brother, and Diomede Carafa, Count of Maddaloni.
28 Ippolita Maria Sforza, Duchess of Calabria and sister of the Duke of Milan, assassinated on 26 December 1476.
multo al nostro preposito, sì che la Signoria Vostra poterà fare come le pare. Io voglio la Signoria Vostra sapere se ho trovato il Signor Re tanto bene disposto enver de nui quanto sia possibile e non poterissevo credere le carizì che mme fa Soa Maestà et tucte mei fratelli et onne altro, che tcerto, Signore mio, onne ora me trovo più contenta d’esser qua, ma, per non vedere la Signoria Vostra, non poterissevo credere quanto so venuta in falso di essere aqua, et tanto più essendo venuta nova a tmadama la duchessa de la morte de suo fratello.

Me besogna anche a tme fare d[uolo] et non posso pigliare piacere et certo non besognava a la duchessa più [rencre]scimento de quello se avea per la morte del Signor duca et anco per [tutte le] feste le fa suo marito, che tpenzate, de che s’è parlato.

I have to go into mourning too, and I am allowed no pleasure, and certainly the Duchess did not have to mourn more for him than she did for the death of the Duke, and with all the fuss her husband is making of her, you can just imagine what they’ve been talking about.

La regina [non] avea mai dormito, et dommeneca encomenzò per la sua partita; et per ventura l’era venuto el marchese, cosa che moltio piacie al Signor duca.

The Queen had [not] slept a wink, and on Sunday she set out on her way, and fortunately she’s entertaining the Marquis, something that the Duke is very glad of.

Et volerio che vedisse, quando io le dico de la vita che ttenimo insieme, la invidia che ave madamma la duchessa! Sìchì io concrudo la Signoria Vostra essere dele buone marite de Italia. Cossì nostro Signore Dio me ne quarde sopra la mia morte, et sìmme rencrescere che per la mia partita abitiate a fìare qualche tpeccato, ma io son certa me osservarite la prommessa. Ma, Signor mio, io voleria venesse a qualche bona scusa che mme ’nde avesse da retornare, ché per niente non posso stare tanto qua senza vui et se ve ’nde pare qualche buono mezo, non lo lassate a tdirlo per la mia pieneza, neanche per la spesa, ché a ttucto ène remedie.

And I wish you could see, when I tell her about our life together, how envious the Duchess is, so that I’ve come to the conclusion that Your Lordship is one of Italy’s good husbands. May our Lord God keep you, upon my life, and I am full of regret that because of my departure you may find yourself committing some sin, but I am sure that you will keep your promise to me but, my Lord, I wish you would come up with some good excuse for me to return, because I just cannot stay here without you, and if you can find some good way, don’t refrain from saying it on account of my pregnancy nor of the expense, for there is a remedy for everything.

29 Tristano Sforza, natural brother of Ippolita Maria, Duchess of Calabria died 1477.
30 Giovanna d’Aragona, Ferrante’s new queen, was accompanied to Naples from Catalonia by the Duke of Calabria, setting out from Barcelona on 25 June. Florio glosses Marchese: “used also for the monethly flowres of a woman: and therefore when a woman in Italy hath them, if any man come to her she will say ‘Il Signor Marchese è in casa non si può entrare’ [the Marquis is visiting and you can’t come in]”; see John Florio, Queen Anna’s New World of Words (London: Melch. Bradwood, for Edward Blount and William Barret, 1611), 301.
Signor mio, da cqua ène uno grande dire de messer Cicco et promeetove che al Re et duca et duchessa sta molto detascrazione perché dice isso essere causa de tuete li conveniente che tveneno. Diceno esserenne causa isso ma segundo intendo, diceno lo duca de Rubino avere andare lla dove al Signor Re et al Signor duca le piace, ma a tmadama la duchessa non le piace njente et si è dello parere vostro. Io non o possuto sapere particolaremente onne ncosa, perché lo conte non se à possuto sentire trotpo bene ma como le pozo saverò. Signor mio ve gőuro che non ò tempo da mangiare, che dui di so· stata a ffare questa, sitché ve preo me perdonate. Io ve mando certe cente et quella scatola «a» carta. Datealo mio Alfonso e le altre per la Signoria Vostra, et quelle che non so· cossi belle, datele a tFiasco et a tTassone. Per lo Signor duca per via de Pisa ve mandarò certe altre cose. Signor mio, io non ve posso scrivere. El Signor duca sta cqua con mico et non è possibile io possa scrivere sitché, perfine che lla Soa Signoria sia cqua, con ve posso scrivere longo, sitché abiateme per escusata. La Soa Signoria se parte lunedi; et partuto, ve po scrivere longo.

Et alla Signoria Vostra me recommando.

Facta a tdoi ore de notte.
Facta iiij de gugno.

Dicite a tFiasco che o pigliato grande piacere dela so lectera, ma non le pozo fare reposta, ma attengo a tcercaere cose deve potere mandare.

La vostra scava,
Elionora

My Lord, there is a lot of talk here about Messer Cicco, and I assure you that the King and the Duke and the Duchess are very displeased with him because they say that he is the cause of all the events that have occurred. They say he is the cause, but according to what I hear tell, the Duke of Urbino is to go wherever the King and the Duke please, but the Duchess does not like it at all and shares your opinion. I have not been able to find out in detail about everything because the Count has not been very well, but as soon as I can speak to him I shall know. My Lord, I promise that I have not had time to eat because for the last two days I have been busy on this [letter], so I beg you to forgive me. I am sending you some belts and that paper box. Give it to my Alfonso and the others are for your Lordship, and the ones that are not as nice, give them to Fiasco and to Tassone. I will send some other things with the Duke via Pisa. My Lord, I cannot write to you. The Duke is here with me and it is not possible for me to write at length, so please forgive me. His Lordship is leaving on Monday, and when he has left I shall write at length.

And I entrust myself to you.

Written two hours after sundown
On this fourth day of June

Tell Fiasco that I enjoyed his letter very much, but I cannot reply to it, but I’ll try to find some things which I should be able to send to him.

Your servant,
Eleonora
Signor mio caro,  

questa sera so’lo che lla Signoria Vostra sia atvisata como el Signor Re non àve voluto che io parta oggi che sso’ li xv de lo presente, et Soa Maestà ène andato a caccia et credo tornarà sabato, et essendo bon tempo partirò domenecia a Salerno, piaçendo at Dio, per ben che el tempo non ène trotpo bono, ma spero se conciòrà.

Atvisarò la Signoria Vostra de quello òffacto de la mia dota. Io fice parlare al Signor Re da lo conte che piacesse at Sua Maestà de assignarme qualche modo che io potesse retscotere la mia dota segundo Soa Maestà me à inpromese.

Soa Maestà me fece retspondere essere contento et perché l’en’tratte de lo grano non era cossì cosa ferma, Soa Maestà me volea donare mil carra de sale che se ndè àve onne anno doi milia et cinco ciento docate.

Io le’ò atzettate et rengraciato Soa Maestà e àmme parso meglio questo che niente, et cossì me ndè farò ffare el previlegio et poi la Signoria Vostra poteria mandare at piglarele et intendere quello ce serà da fare.

La Signoria Vostra averà inteso de lo matrimonio et della ferma de lo signore de Faenza, atvisando la Signoria Vostra che llo Signor Re non volea farene niente et già era per sconcrusa, ma lo Signor Duca che non poteria più amare la Signoria Vostra et me che ffa, enfornò el Signor Re quello inportava Faenza alo stato della Signoria Vostra, como a tquello che llo sape, e tsè tDio me quarde la Signoria Vostra.

My dear Lord,

This evening I know that your Lordship has been advised that our lord the King has not wanted me to leave today, the 15th of the month, and His Majesty has gone hunting and I believe he will be back on Saturday, and if the weather is fine I will leave on Sunday from Salerno, if it pleases God, even though the weather is not so good, but I hope it will improve.

I shall tell your Lordship what I have done about my dowry. I got the Count to talk to my lord the King and persuade His Majesty to assign to me some way of cashing my dowry, according to what His Majesty promised me.

His Majesty sent his reply to me that he was happy to do so, and because the income from the grain was not such a reliable thing, His Majesty wanted to give me 1000 carra of salt that yields every year 2,500 ducats.

I have accepted these and thanked His Majesty and this seemed better to me than nothing, and so I shall have the contract drawn up and your Lordship can send and collect it and learn what is to be done.

Your Lordship will have heard about the marriage, and about the arrest of the lord of Faenza, and I inform your Lordship that my lord the King did not want to do anything, and it was all about to come to nothing, but his Lordship the Duke, who could not love your Lordship and me any more than he does, informed my lord the King of the importance of Faenza to your Lordship, as one who knows, and so may God protect your Lordship.
Subito che llo sentio Soa Maesta et lo conte dissero che era per onne mmodo da fare et cossì la cosa se tpatcìò sìtché lo Signor da Faenza pò rengratiaè la Signoria Vostra de quello che llo Signor Re àv〈e〉 facto.

As soon as His Majesty and the Count heard this, they said that it should be done at once, and so the matter was dispatched at once and the Lord of Faenza can thank your Lordship for what my lord the King has done.

Io so· stata alo Catstello Novo con la Rejna che me à factete tante carize quante se poza dire a lo mundo per modo che non poteriasse non credere quanto me pesa de lassarle et non poterisseo credere de la soa bontate.

I have been with the queen at the Castelnuovo and she has shown me such affection as anyone in the world could imagine, so that you couldn’t believe how it pains me to leave her and you couldn’t believe her goodness.

Signor mio, io son tornata castegliana inportuna de sollicitare la mia partuta, et se io non la sollicitia non ène niscì uno da cqua che se nde quara, perché non voleriano me partesse, ma non crede io lassarò de sollicitare.

My Lord, I have turned back into an annoying Castilian, seeking permission to depart, and if I don’t seek it, there is no one here who will care about it since they don’t want me to leave, but don’t think that I’ll stop seeking it.

Signor mio, non poterissevo credere Ferrante quanto se fa bello et non me poterìà scrivere quanto me rencrese de lassarlo. Tucte per la gratia de Dio stamo bene et ala Signoria Vostra ce recomandamo.

My Lord, you could not believe how beautiful Ferrante has grown, and I could not put into words how sorry I am to leave him. We are all well, by the grace of God, and we commend ourselves to Your Lordship.

Facta at xvi de octubre

Written on 16 October

La vostra scava,

Your servant,

E
Memorandum of Eleonora’s duties as Duchess of Ferrara.

Recordi che facea la Excellentia de Madama

De intendere ogni septimeana dalli maestri deli conti le scripture facte.

She ascertained every week from the bookkeepers the accounts that had been made.

De intendere dali factori quello se havea a scodere et quello se havea a pagare.

She ascertained from the stewards what they had to collect and what they had to pay.

De intendere che rasone era da fare et le partite in li rasonati et davali termine a farle.

She learned what accounts were to be settled, and the items in those accounts, and set a time limit to pay them.

De intendere dal Thesorero li dinari scossi et da chi et Sua Signoria faceva le liste dove se havea adispensare detti dinari et signavale de sua mane.

She ascertained from the Treasurer what monies had been collected and by whom and Her Ladyship made lists of where those monies were to be distributed and signed them in her own hand.

De intendere dallo exactore che dinari eran scossi et dove s’erano pagati, et loro officiali li dava le scripte del tutto, et vedeva li debitori che era da scodere et quelli che erano dati im pagamento.

She ascertained from the tax collector what monies had been collected and where they had been paid, and the relevant officials gave her the records they made of everything, and she could see the debts that were to be collected and the monies that had been paid.

Deedere allo exactorie che condenasone gli era venute et se li potestà ge havea mandate le sue condenasone, et faceva scrivere ogni mese alli potestà delle castelle et ville che mandasse le condemmnasone.

She ascertained from the tax office what taxes had come in and whether the military governors had paid their taxes and she sent a letter every month to the podestà of each castle and estate, telling him to send his taxes.

De fare vedere ogni septimeana quello che havea fatto la gabella grossa et che dinari gli era scossi et quelli che restava a scedere.

She was shown every week what the Excise had done, and what monies it had collected and what remained to be collected.

De vedere ogni septimeana quello che s’era scosso dalle gabelle grande et quello che s’era dato al Thesorero et dove s’era pagati et poi ogni mese el maestro del conto delle gabelle insieme cum li superiori dava il conto di quello

She saw every week what had been collected by the Excise, and what had been to be given to the Treasury and where it had been paid, and then every month the registrar of Excise, together with his superiors, presented the
havera fatto ditte gabelle quello mese.

De intendere del spendedore ogni septemana quello che haveva havuto dalla camera et lui dava la scripta alla Excellentia de Madama dove era spesi ditti dinari.

De intendere se quello del dazio delle beccarie havera pagato della sua ratta del mese de l’aficto et dove s’era spisi.

De intendero el simile del datio del vino et le scripture che s’era facte per ditta casone.

De intendero ogni mese la intrata de Romagna et la spesa cum le liste che ogni mese li veniva mandate.

De vedere ogni mese li facti delle valle se erano pagati et dove et a chi.

De havere ogni mese le liste delle intrade de Modena et de Rezo et la spesa, et li dinari che avanzava vegneva remissi nelle mane della Excellentia de Madama et lei le daseva al thesorero et facevali dispensare al suo modo insieme cum li factori et cosi delle intrate de Rezo.

De mandare ogni anno due on tre fiate alle castalderie et intendere quello che faceva li castaldi et li factori et se erano bene in ordine le possessione et faceva reparare le caxe, palazi et condutti.

Item faceva mettere per rasone quilli delli granari de Ferraria et biave.

Item faceva intendere ogni septemana come passava li facti delle canone.

Item faceva intendere como passava la panateria. Et il forno.
Item voleva intendere che carne se levava dalla beccaria et che polli et quando vegneva foresteri Sua Signoria faceva fare li piatelli alla sua presentia et li ordinava la spesa.

Likewise she wanted know what meat was being procured from the butcher and what poultry, and when foreign visitors came, Her Ladyship would have dishes prepared in her presence and she would take care of their expenses.

Item Sua Signoria andava alle camere delli forestieri in persona a vedere se erano bene ordinate et mettevali sopra sescalchi che intendesse se le brigate era bene atratade et che non fusse robate le robe.

Likewise Her Ladyship used to go personally to the rooms of foreign visitors to see if they were in good order, and she would put in place stewards who would ensure that their parties were well treated and that their belongings were not stolen.

Item havea dato ordene Sua Signoria de fare una hostaria che se gli alozasse tutti li forestierj.

Likewise Her Ladyship ordered that an inn be established which could accommodate all the foreigners.
Madama mia amantissima,

Per una lettere de Polantonio, la Signoria Vostra averà inteso como domatina me parto da qui per andare in Lombardia per el caso che l’averà inteso e perché lunedì piacendo a Dio spiero essere in Modena per non me fermare se non per una sera e andare al mio viaggio. Se aviti piacere de vederme come averò io de vedere vui, ve potiti atrovare lunidi a sera a Modena che ce vedremo insieme e se anchora non ve paresse de venire, fatine el vostro parere che del tutto restarò contento. Ma venendo, besogna che menati con vui la mogliere de Polantonio e suo figliolo Lodovico e la mogliere de messer Fiascho e de Antoniolo, e quando menasti anche tutte le altre moglieri de questi cortesani, credo che faristi piacere a l’uno o a l’altro.

I thought it right to advise you of this so that, if you wish to come, you may, but if you do come, you’ll have to pretend that you are acting without my knowledge, and that you have been moved to go to Modena on learning that I will be passing through our territory, and that no one knows that I have written to tell you where. And this is so that the Milanese commissary, whom I have with me, should not know that I have asked you to come to Modena, since we are turning up there unexpectedly, so to speak. Nonetheless, if you decide not to come, do what seems best for you.

Ala Signoria Vostra me recomando

Scritta de mia mano al Poggio Imperiale a di xxvi de agosto a hora Cinque de nocte 1479

I commend myself to Your Ladyship.

Written in my own hand at Poggio Imperiale on 26 August at eleven o’clock in the evening 1479

Hercules Dux

Duke Ercole
Brandelise,

dapoi che tu haverai visitato de parte nostra lo Illustissimo Duca de Calabria, nostro carissimo et amantissimo maior fratello, et che tu ce haverai ricommandato a Sua Illustissima Signoria col nostro Illustissimo consorte et li nostri delectissimi figliolini, tu li ricordarai per parte nostra che, havendone mandato questo anno per due fiate Albino suo per farci intendere quanto despacere pigliava la Maestà del Signor Re nostro padre et anche Sua Signoria per essere il prefato nostro consorte al soldo di questa liga et specialmente de li Illustissimi Signori de Milano et de Fiorentini et per essere in campo contra de Sua Signoria,

facendone fare instantia che volessimo operare per quelli migliori mezzi che ni paresse de retrarlo da tale impresa cum offerirni certi partiti che fariano la Santità de Nostro Signore et la Maestà del Signor Re al prefato nostro consorte come si debe molto bene ricordare Sua Illustissima Signoria, et nui che consideravamo Sua Signoria essere in campo in le terre de altri et dove non si haveria potuto tractare simile cose senza grande pericolo dela persona sua, li facessimo rispondere come il non ni pareva che 'l fusse il tempo di tentare tale cosa, ma expectare qualche megliore opportunità. Et cussì cum molte legitime excusatione et anche ragione nostre remettemmo epso Albino a Sua Signoria, laquelle dapoi per l’andata che fece

He petitioned us to work by the best means we could find to divert him from that undertaking, with offers of certain terms which His Holiness the Pope and His Majesty the king would make to our husband, as His Most Illustrious Lordship should remember well. And we, considering that His Lordship was in camp in foreign territory, where such things could not have been discussed without great personal danger, gave him the reply that we did not think it was the time to attempt such a thing, but to wait for some better opportunity. And thus, with many legitimate excuses and our own arguments as well, we sent Albino back to His Lordship, [The Duke of Calabria], after Messer Stefano della Montanara’s visit to
Messer Stephano dala Montanara a Quella per parte del prefato nostro consorte, ne fece dire per epso Messer Stephano che si devessimo ricordare de quello che la ni haveva facto dire per epso Albino perché Sua Signoria operaria che la Maestà del Signor Re et il papa gli fariano deli partiti digni et honorevoli quando il potessimo condure ale voglie sue, facendo despicare da questa brigata

Unde essendo tornata Sua Signoria a casa, desiderando nui sopra tute le cose de questo mondo de vedere Quella in amore et gratia dela prefata Maestà et del Illustrissimo Signor Duca nostro fratello ne parve scriverli de nostra mano, ricordandoli quanto il ne haveva facto dire per Albino et per Messer Stephano et che mo ne parendo il tempo che'l havesse a remandarci dicto Albino instructo de quello che fusse il pensiero et parere de Sua Signoria perché nui afaticaressimo per vedere s’è mezo alcuno se potesse pigliare per redure le cose al suo designo.

Et Sua Signoria ne rispose per lettera de sua mano come la non potava mandarne dicto Albino ma la ce mandaria Messer Carlo Stendardo che ni faria intendere quanto circa ciò fusse de suo parere, il quale Messer Carlo essendo dapoi venuto et havendoni dicto come il seria de parere de Sua Signoria che nui li mandassimo uno nostro instructo de quello che volesse dala Maestà de Signor Re et dal Papa epso nostro consorte perché la si faticaria de fare ogni opera aciò il conseguisse il desiderio suo. De laquelle proposta ne havemo preso grandissima admiratione parendoni molto aliena da quello che per Albino et per Messer Stephano la ni haveva facto dire et ricordare.

And His Lordship [the Duke of Calabria] replied with a letter in his own hand that he could not send Albino but that he would send us Messer Carlo Stendardo to us who would explain to us what his opinion was about the matter. Messer Carlo then came and having told us that it would be His Lordship’s opinion that we should send him our man with instructions about what our husband wanted from His Majesty the king and the Pope, because he would endeavour to do everything to ensure that his wishes would be met. We have been very greatly amazed by that suggestion, because it seemed a long way from what he had told us and reminded us through Albino and Messer Stefano.

Et anche non havemo potuto passarsene senza qualche displicentia, parendoni che tal via non si potesse pigliare senza qualche nostro carrica, et però nì è parso incontinentemente mandate a Sua Signoria aciòché tu li faci intendere che questa non ni pare la via né il

And His Lordship [the Duke of Ferrara] had returned home, and since we wished above all the things in this world to see him received with love and favour by his Majesty and the Most Illustrious Duke our brother, we decided to write to him in our own hand, reminding him of what he’d had told us through Albino and Messer Stefano, and saying that we now thought it was time for him to send Albino back to us with instructions about His Lordship’s thoughts and opinion since we would wear ourselves out trying to find some way to bring things into line with what he wants.

And also we have not been able proceed without some displeasure, because it seems to us that such a path could not be taken without some burden on us, and therefore we decided to send you at once to His Lordship so that you could tell him that we do not
modo per il quale possiamo intrare su questa prattica col prefato nostro consorte, havendolo già motegiato che ci bastaria l’animo deli farli proponere deli partiti honorevoli quando il volesse venire alla devotione del Signor Re nostro padre et che fariano al proposito suo molto piu de quello che ’l tene al presente et se gli poteria pigliare tal mezzo che seria cum salvatione del honore suo.

And therefore it would seem to us that if he wanted us to negotiate something, he would have to send us someone of his own, with instructions about the terms and all those things which would be necessary to bring our husband around to the wishes of the Lord King our father, and they would meet his needs much better than the terms he is under at present and that if he could take such terms they would be the salvation of his honour.

Et però ne pareria che volendo che tractassimo qualche cosa il ni havesse amandare un suo instructo deli partiti et de tute quelle cose che fusseno necessarie per condure epso nostro consorte al desiderio del prefato Signor Duca nostro fratello, sopra le proposte del quale suo messo nui potessimo fundarsi per condure la cosa a bon fine perché, essendo obligata la Sua Signor anchora per duui anni al stato de Milano et de Fiorenza che dura la sua conducta, et rimanendo questa Liga ferma come facilmente la poteria remanere, per non volere il stato de Milano forsi abandonare fiorentini et Lorenzo, non volendo il Papa et lo Re abbraciarli, bisognaria che epso nostro fratello pensasse qualche bon mezzo col quale honestamente potessimo condure epso nostro consorte a lassare questoro, che a nui pare difficile et quodammodo impossibile a trovarlo, non volendo manchare dela fede sua come il non fària mai.

And therefore it will be necessary for His Lordship [the Duke of Calabria] to explain to us that it may also be that the things that concern this League will not remain firm and that the affairs of these allied states will take another form as we hope will happen and it appears to be certain they will do. And in this case we would like to hear from the Lord Duke what that would mean for our husband if a general or particular League should happen since, Messer Zacharia Barbaro, the Venetian ambassador, being here with us, he is being very insistent with our husband that His Lordship should be with them and the
essere cum loro et cum fiorentini quando se restringessino et colligassono insieme, offrendo li partiti assai digni et honorevoli, il quale ambassatore per epso nostro consorte se tene su le generale senza altra conclusione.

Et però è necessario che tu strenghi per parte nostra epso Duca nostro fratello a mettermi ale mane tali partiti per mezo de qualche suo, che non si lassi andare epso nostro consorte ad altra via che ala sua, et che ’l non sia constrecto a pigliare questo o altro partito per non gli essere facta proposta alcuna per parte della Maestà del Signor Re ala quale meritosmente il se gli potesse attachare come non se fece quello quando si fece quest’altra sua conducta, che seria uno errore dal canto suo pegiore del primo, nè se poteria excusare che per il nostro mezzo non gli sia sta facendo intendere il tutto aciocche possano pensare, volendolo ale voglie sue a quelli partiti che li habia a rensrivere.

Et certificarai anchor a Sua Illustrissima Signoria che il pensiero de epso nostro consorte è de non lassare le gentedarme per il bisogno che ni ha il stato suo, et pareriane havere ogni nostro contento quando il vedessimo ale voglie de Sua Maestà, parendovi che non mancha il facesse al proposito di quello che de epso nostro consorte per le ragione et cagione che te habiamo dicto tu li ricordi. Et facta a Sua Signoria questa nostra ambassata te ni ritornarai incontinente indrieto cum quella risposta che la ti farì perché oltra che questa cosa recheda celerità, tu sciai essere il bisogno che havemo ogni hora di te per le facende nostre.

Ferrare
xvii Novembre 1479

Florentines if they were to cling together and form an alliance together, that ambassador offering very worthy and honourable terms to our husband if he sticks to the general idea without any other conclusion.

And therefore it is necessary that you press our brother the Duke on our behalf to put such terms in our hands by means of some trusted representative, so that our husband is not allowed to take any other path but his, and so that he is not forced to take some contract or other simply because he has not received any offer on behalf of His Majesty the king. He could attach himself to the King just as easily as he signed up against His Majesty when he took on this other condotta, which was be a error on his part worse than the first. And he wouldn’t be able to excuse himself by saying that you are not using us to explain everything to him, so that they might think that if they want him on their side in these matters, they have to sign him up again.

And you will attest again to His Most Illustrious Lordship that it is not our husband’s intention to let his men-at-arms go because he needs them for his state. And all our desires would be fulfilled if we saw him in agreement with His Majesty, for we believe that he was doing it no less for him than for our husband, for the reasons and causes that we have told you to remind him of. And having made this embassy on our behalf to His lordship, you will come straight back with that reply he will give you because apart from the fact that this is urgent, you know how much we need you every hour for our affairs.

Ferrara
17 November 1479