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MISCELLANY

WILLIAM HUNDLEBY'S ACCOUNT OF THE ANAGNI OUTRAGE*

Although the story of the attack of September 7, 1303, upon Pope Boniface VIII in his native town of Anagni has been told often enough by competent historians¹ and the background has been sketched in the many studies which trace the growth of the tension between the Pontiff and King Philip IV of France², until recently the best informed of our sources for the Anagni incident³ has been available only in the form found in the British Museum Ms Royal 14 C I, fol. 12⁴.

* The writer wishes to express his gratitude to the Library Committee and to Sir Charles W. C. Oman, Librarian of All Souls College, Oxford, for permission to publish the document and to the Clarendon Press for having made and forwarded the photostat.

¹ The best accounts are those of Robert Holtzmann, *Wilhelm von Nogaret* (Freiburg-i-B., 1898) and of P. Fedele in *Bullettino dell' istituto storico italiano*, 41 (1921), 195-232. Other good studies include: Knöpfler in *Historisch-politische Blätter für das katholische Deutschland*, 102 (1888), 1-11; J. v. Döllinger: *Akademische Vorträge* (Munich, 1891), III, 223-244; Ernest Renan: 'Guillaume de Nogaret' in *Études sur la politique religieuse du règne de Philippe le Bel* (Paris, 1899), pp. 1-250; R. Newhall in the *Catholic Historical Review*, VII (1921), 277-295; U. Mariani in *La Ciudad de Dios* (Madrid), 147 (1926), 18-27, 181-190, and the relative chapters in H. K. Mann, *The Lives of the Popes in the Middle Ages*, XVIII (London, 1932), and in T. S. R. Boase, *Boniface VIII* (London, 1933). Mercedes Pieri, *L'attentato contra Bonifacio VIII* (Milan, 1903), was not obtainable.

² Robert Fawtier, *L'Europe occidentale de 1270 à 1380* (Paris, 1940), pt. I, 378-412, and Victor Martin, *Les origines du Gallicanisme* (Paris, 1939), I, 149-208, give excellent summaries. There are fuller treatments in August Baumhauer, *Philipp der Schöne und Bonifaz VIII in ihrer Stellung zur französischen Kirche* (Freiburg-i-B., 1920); Pocquet du Haut-Jussé in *Mélanges Albert Dufourcq* (Paris, 1932), pp. 73-108; Sister Mary Mildred Curley, *The Conflict between Pope Boniface VIII and King Philip IV* (Washington, 1927), and Georges Digard, *Philippe le Bel et le Saint-Siège de 1285 à 1304* (Paris, 1936, 2 vols.); these latter two have chapters on Anagni.

³ The fullest list of sources is that of R. Holtzmann, *Nogaret*, pp. 66-74, although he has missed the Troyes Ms edited in the *Bulletin du comité historique des monuments écrits de l'histoire de France: Histoire* (Paris), IV (1853), 57-61. Since Holtzmann's study, several of the Italian sources, v. g., the Orvieto and Parma Chronicles, Stefaneschi, Ferreto, Compagni, and the *Storie Pistoresi*, have appeared in critical editions.

⁴ First edited by Henry T. Riley, *Willelmi Rishanger . . Chronica et Annales* (Rolls Series, London, 1865), pp. 483-491; subsequently by Lettenhove in the *Revue des questions historiques*, XI (1872), 511-520, and by Liebermann in *Monumenta Germaniae Historica Scriptorum*, XXVIII (Hanover, 1888), 621-626.

In 1931, however, Walter Holtzmann called attention⁵ to a more perfect transcript of the same which exists at Oxford in the Ms All Souls 39, fol. 117b-120b. Therein the account—which heretofore has been known simply as that of the 'curtisan'—appears as the letter of a Master William of Hundleby and bears the date of September 27, 1303. It is addressed to John Dalderby, Bishop of Lincoln, 1300-1320⁶, for whom William served as procurator at the Roman Curia.

Holtzmann's search for a copy of the letter in Bishop Dalderby's *Liber memorandorum*, still preserved at Lincoln, failed in its purpose, but it did bring to light further information about Master William. On October 18, 1300, he was commissioned representative of the bishop "in omnibus causis et negotiis ad Romanam curiam devolutis," and on the next day set out for Rome. Once or twice again his name occurs; then, on December 23, 1303, a Master Henry de Insula is appointed to fill the post vacated at the Curia, "magistro Willelmo de Hundelby clerico procuratore . . . suum diem claudente extremum"⁷. Thus it would seem that among the last acts of William's life was this account of his to Bishop Dalderby in England.

Unfortunately, Holtzmann did not edit the new text but contented himself with giving a list of readings wherein the All Souls Ms differs from the Royal Ms. Upon comparison with the ms, Holtzmann's variants are found incomplete and to some extent inaccurate. In the following pages, therefore, the All Souls text appears in its entirety⁸, with an apparatus listing the divergent readings of the Royal Ms (=R) and those of the chronicle attributed to William Rishanger (=W)⁹ which will be of assistance eventually in establishing the definitive text of the Hundleby letter. The few emendations which are called for have been placed in italics. To the Latin text there is joined an English translation and commentary; into the English version alone have the commentary references been introduced.

William's letter has long been recognized as the account of an eyewitness to the events described. Unquestionably, it is the most colorful of all narratives of the Anagni incident; in it one glimpses a very human side of the *magnanimo* Boniface VIII.

⁵ In *Festschrift Albert Brackmann* (Weimar, 1931), pp. 492-507.

⁶ On Dalderby, cf. the *Dictionary of National Biography*, XIII, 383-384, and A. G. Little — F. Pelster, *Oxford Theology and Theologians, c. A. D. 1282-1302*, (Oxford, 1934), p. 73.

⁷ *Festschrift Albert Brackmann*, 494-495.

⁸ For a description of the Ms All Souls 39, cf. Henry O. Coxe, *Catalogue of Manuscripts in the Library of All Souls' College* (Oxford, 1842), pp. 11-12.

⁹ In Henry T. Riley, *Willelmi Rishanger . . Chronica et Annales*, Rolls Series, (London, 1865), pp. 216-221; cf. *Speculum*, XXI (1946), 28 n.

117 b. Memorandum quod anno domini M° CCC° tercio circa festum nativitatis beate Marie contigit casus, qui subscribitur, de Bonifatio papa, prius vocato magister Benedictus de Anagnia, anno papatus sui octavo, secundum quod quidam magister Willelmus de Hundelby, Lincolnensis diocesis, procurator tunc in curia Romana domini I, Dei gratia, Linc. episcopi, dicto domino suo episcopo tunc existenti in Anglia scripsit^a:

^a *om ms; R om entire preface; cf. Commentary No. 1.*

Ecce^b, reverende pater, in vigilia^b nativitatis beate Marie^c proxime^d preterita^d in^e aurora^e venit ad^f Anagniam^f subito et inopinate magnus exercitus hominum armatorum ex parte regis Francie et etiam ex parte duorum cardinalium Columpnensium dampnatorum. Qui ad portas Anagnie^g venientes, ipsas portas apertas invenerunt, et villam ingressi, statim dederunt insultum palacio pape et etiam^h palacio marchionis, nepotis pape. Cumⁱ clamor super hoc incepisset per villam, homines et mulieres, de lectis surgentes et ostia sua^j aperientes, et unde clamor huiusmodi processit inquirentes^k, incompertum^l fuit quod Thayra^m, frater Columpnensium cardinalium dampnatorum, venerat ad villam cum magna potencia sibi adquisita per regem Francie, ut caperet papam et ipsum morti traderet. Quo audito, populus Anagnie, id est communitasⁿ ville, pulsata communi campana, convenit in certo loco, et habito

*118 a. tractatu ad invicem aliquantulum prout tunc tempus^o * permittebat, ordinavit ipsa communitas et constituit sibi unum capitaneum in villa Anagnie, per quem tota communitas sive populus debuit dirigi^p et^q etiam^q gubernari^r. Qui^s quidem capitaneus vocatur dominus Adinulphus et est potentissimus homo^s inter omnes de Campania et, preter hoc, est^t ipse^t capitalis inimicus pape. Cui statim maiores totius populi iurarunt fidelitatem et obedientiam et promiserunt se in omnibus suis^u iussionibus parere^u.

Et dum ista fuerunt sic tractata^v et ordinata per populum Anagnie, prefatus Thayra cum suo exercitu hostiliter et acriter dedit insultum ad palacium pape et etiam ad palacium marchionis^w

^b adveniente die sabbati videlicet vigilia, R. ^c Marie virginis, R.
^d anno domini supradicto, ms; om R. ^e ecce quod in aurora, R.
^f om R. ^g Anagum or Anagñ, R, W, generally. ^h om R.
ⁱ cunque, R. ^j om R. ^k querentes, R. ^l compertum, R.
^m Schaira, R, W, generally; Scarra, W. ⁿ comitas, R, generally.
^o temporis, R. ^p dirrigi, ms. ^q sive, R. ^r gubernari, ms.
^s et sic factus est dominus Adnulfus ibidem presens capitaneus populi comitatus Anagum. Qui quidem Adnulfus est homo potentissimus, R.
^t om R. ^u parituros iussionibus suis, R. ^v protracta, R.
^w machionis, ms; nepotis pape, R; marchionis nepotis sui, W.

ac etiam ad palacia^x trium cardinalium, scilicet, domini Gentilis penitenciarum pape^y, domini Francisci nepotis pape, et domini Hispani^z. Sed familiares pape^a interius existentes^b et similiter marchio, nepos^c pape^c, in palacio suo proprio existens cum familia^d sua viriliter se defendebant, balistando^e circumquaque et lapides prociendo, in tantum quod palacium pape vel palacium marchionis nullo modo potuerunt invadere. Sed palacia trium cardinalium, qui reputabantur specialiter amici pape, per vim et potenciam sunt ingressi et omnia bona ibidem inventa asportarunt^f, et cardinales ipsi a tergo per latrinam vix cum^g vita^g evaserunt.

Adhuc^h durante isto conflictu, supervenitⁱ dominus Adinulphusⁱ, capitaneus ville, adducens secum dominum Reginaldum de Supine, qui est magnus dominus in Campania et etiam^k inimicus^l pape capitalis^l, et etiam^m duosⁿ filios domini Iohannis de Chichan^o, quorum patrem papa tunc tenebat in carcere. Et cum dictus capitaneus cum suis^p sociis^p predictis venissent^q ad Thayram de Columpna et eius exercitus, statim idem capitaneus et socii^r coniunxerunt se^s dicto Thayre, eo quod omnes fuerunt inimici capitales pape. Et sic crevit potestas Thayre per ipsum capitaneum et suos socios in tantum^t quod papa et marchio, nepos eius^u, non potuerunt, ut credebant^v, ipsis diu resistere. Propter quod papa peccit treugas; quas Thayra sibi^w et nepoti suo marchioni concessit^w usque ad horam nonam dicte^x diei in vigilia nat. beate Marie; et * sciendum est^y quod treuge inceperunt circa horam primam et durarunt^z usque ad horam nonam, ut predixi.

Durante treuga, papa misit secreta ad populum Anagnie, supplicando eis ut^a ipsi salvarent vitam ipsius, promittendo^b eis quod, si sic^c facerent, ipsos in tantum locupletaret quod omnes suo perpetuo merito^d gauderent. Sed populus respondit^e quod constituerat et ordinaverat unum capitaneum, scilicet^f dominum Adinulphum antedictum^f, in quo remansit omnis potestas populi,

^x so R; palacium, ms. ^y om R. ^z Petri Ispani, R.
^a om R. ^b exeuntes, R. ^c om R. ^d familia, R.
^e balistando, R. ^f asportaverunt, R. ^g om R. ^h adhec, ms.
ⁱ ecce quidem supervenit, R. ^j Adnulfus, R, W. ^k om R.
^l c. i. p., R. ^m om R. ⁿ duxit, R. ^o Chitan., R, W.
^p so ms, W; sociis suis, R. ^q venisset, R, W. ^r socii sui, R.
^s so ms, W; om R. ^t et tunc irruerunt in tantum in papam et nepotes, R; irruerunt tantum in papam et nepotem suum, W.
^u ipsius, R. ^v credebatur, R; putabatur, W. ^w sibi concessit et nepoti suo, R, W. ^x dicti, R, W. ^y om R.
^z duraverunt, R. ^a so ms, W; quod, R. ^b et promisit, R; promittens, W. ^c hoc, R, W. ^d so W; om ms, R.
^e respondebat, R. ^f predictum, R. ^g missi fuerunt nuncii, R.

sine quo nichil voluit nec potuit facere populus. Quo audito a papa, hinc inde missum^s est per nuncios et^s inter cetera papa supplicavit quod Thayra vellet sibi^h significare articulos, in quibus fuerat sibi et fratribusⁱ suisⁱ iniuriatum, et quod paratus fuit iuxta^l consilium cardinalium sibi emendas facere. Idem vero Thayra respondit quod numquam dimitteret papam vivum^k nisi faceret hec tria que secuntur: videlicet, quod primo restitueret^l seu traderet totum thesaurum ecclesie Romane in manus duorum vel trium cardinalium de antiquioribus totius collegii. Item, quod papa postmodum^l restitueret plene duos cardinales Iacobum et Petrum quos prius dampnaverat, et hoc ad temporalia et spiritualia, et non solum illos cardinales sed etiam^m omnes aliosⁿ de sanguine. Item, tertio, quod papa post restitutionem huiusmodi renunciaret papatui^o et^o quod corpus pape postmodum esset ad voluntatem ipsius Thayre^p. Quibus auditis, papa dixit: 'Hoy me, durus est hic sermo!' Et sic intervenerunt nuncii hinc^q inde quampluribus^r sed nullo modo potuerunt^r concordare.

Adveniente igitur hora nona, populus^s exclamavit: 'Ades, ades', quod est vulgare^t et valet^u tantum quam^v: 'Aly, ali'. Cepit exercitatus irruere in papam et nepotem suum, at ipsi se^w viriliter^w defendebant ut prius. Tandem, quia^x matrix ecclesia beate Marie Anagnie prestitit eis impedimentum, quo minus potuerunt venire ad palacium pape et^y cardinalium^y, apposuerunt ignem ad ostia^z ecclesie, et ipsis ostiis ecclesie totaliter combustis, ingressi sunt ecclesiam homines Thayre^a, et spoliaverunt et derobarunt omnes clericos et laycos et mercenarios ibidem habentes cultellos suos^b et alia diversa^c mercimonia ad vendendum, nec^d dimiserunt

*119 a. * valorem unius^e quadrantis quam^f apprehendere potuerunt.

Tandem marchio, nepos pape, perpendens quod se^g non posset ulterius^h defendere, reddidit se dicto Thayre et capitaneo, ita quod vitam ipsius et filii sui et suorum salvarent. Etⁱ sic captus est marchioⁱ et filius suus unus, alter^j fugit^k per privatam^l cameram^l, et detrusi sunt^m in carcere. Quo audito, papa lacrimatus est amare. Et cum papa non posset ultraⁿ se defendere, per

^h om R, W. ⁱ so ms, W; s. f., R. ^j secundum, R, W.

^k habere vitam suam, R; vivere, W. ^l restitueret-postmodum, om R, W.

^m om R. ⁿ om R, W. ^o et quarto, R. ^p Tayre, ms.

^q quamplures hinc inde, R. ^r potuerunt, ms. ^s om R.

^t vulgare ipsorum, R. ^u so R; vathet?, ms. ^v quantum, R.

^w so ms, W; v. s., R. ^x quod, R. ^y om W. ^z ostium, R, W.

^a Tayre, ms. ^b om R, W. ^c om R, W. ^d ut non, R;

ita quod non, W. ^e om R, W. ^f quem, R.

^g s. u. n. p., R, W. ^h ultiuers, ms. ⁱ om R. ^j et alter, R.

^k fugiit, ms. ^l c. p., R. ^m fuerunt, R. ⁿ ulterius, R.

Thayram et suos ruptis et^o ostiis et fenestris palacii^p pape per plura loca^p, ac^q igne imposito ex alia^r parte^s, finaliter exercitus, quasi mente^t furibunda, per viam ad papam est ingressus, et multi ipsorum ipsum^u papam^u verbis^v contumeliosis aggrediebantur et minas graves ei intulerunt; quibus papa non respondit verbum. Et cum papa ad^w rationem positus est^w, an vellet renunciare^x papatui^x, dixit constanter quod non, sed^y cicius perderet caput^y, et dixit suo^z vulgari: 'E^a le col, e^b le cape!', ac^c si diceret^c: 'Ecce collum, ecce caput!' Et statim protestatus^d est coram omnibus quod non^e renunciaret papatui^e quamdiu vivere posset. Thayra vero libenter^f voluit^f eum^g interfecisse^g, sed fuit prohibitus^h per aliosⁱ, in^j tantum quod malum^k in corpore non recepit papa^k. Dominus P. Hispanic^l assistebat pape in toto isto conflictu et^m omnes alii familiares papeⁿ fugerunt. Et statim, fugatis ostiariis pape et quibusdam interfectis^o, deputati sunt custodes^p per Thayram et capitaneum ad custodiendum papam in carcere^q. Et sic captus fuit papa et nepos^r eius apud Anagniam in vigilia^s beate Marie predicta^t circa horam vesperarum^u et, ut creditur, dominus^v papa habuit malam noctem.

In^w primo vero ingressu, ipse exercitus^w derobarunt papam, cameram suam et thesaurariam^x suam, vasis^y, vestimentis, ornamentis, auro et argento et omnibus^z rebus ibidem^a inventis, ita^b quod papa remansit tantum^c pauper sicut^d Iob post illa^e tristissima nova sibi nunciata. Item^f, papa aspiciens^g undique et videns^g, qualiter viri scelcrati dividerunt^h vestimenta sua et omnia bona

^o om R. ^p palacii-loci, so R, W; om ms. ^q so R, W; sic, ms.

^r altera, R. ^s om R. ^t voce, R. ^u om R. ^v versis, ms.

^w p. esset a. r., R; a. r. esset p., W. ^x so ms, W; p. r., R.

^y immo cicius vellet perdere capud, R, W. ^z in suo, R, W.

^a ec, R; et, W. ^b ec, R; et, W. ^c quod est dicere, R, W.

^d so ms, W; prostratus, R. ^e p. nunquam r., R, W. ^f v. l., R, W.

^g interficere papam, R; interfecisse p., W. ^h perhibitus, R.

ⁱ aliquos, R; quosdam, W. ^j im, ms. ^k m. i. c. p. n. r., R;

p. m. i. c. n. r., W. ^l Ispanus, R. ^m sed, R.

ⁿ domini p., R. ^o R adds: et aliis domicellis omnibus tam

minoribus quam maioribus delectis; W adds: ejectis tam maj.

quam min. de sua familia. ^p custodes pape, R, W.

^q R adds: videlicet dominus Reginaldus de Suppine et multi alii cum

eo; W adds: dom. Reg. — cum eodem. ^r marchio nepos, R.

^s vigilia nativitatis, R. ^t om R. ^u septimam, R; septima hora dici, W.

^v om R. ^w sed unum preterivit quod ipse exercitus in primo suo

ingressu, R. ^x thesauriam, R, W. ^y de vasis et, R.

^z omnibus aliis, R, W. ^a so ms, W; ibi, R. ^b in tantum, R.

^c ita, R. ^d sicut fuit, R. ^e om R. ^f idem, R.

^g a. c. v. u., R. ^h dimiserunt, R. ⁱ om R.

mobilia, maiora¹ et minora¹, abstulerunt, statuentes quidem quis tolleret hoc vel illud, nichil aliud dixit: 'Dominus dedit, Dominus abstulit, etc.' Et quisquis² rapere vel^k capere^k potuit, abstulit, rapuit et¹ asportavit. Sed de papa nullus tunc^m plus^m curavit quam de * Galfridoⁿ Ceco de Linc. vel de Petro Stalleⁿ.

*119 b. Revera non creditur quod omnes reges in^o mundo possent tantum de thesauro reddere infra unum annum, quantum fuit asportatum de palacio pape et^p marchionis et trium cardinalium, et hec^q quasi in modica^r hora die^s. Insuper, Symon^t Gerardus^t, mercator papeⁿ, fuit^v totaliter^v derobatus et^w vix evasit^w. Et sic fuit^x papa et nepotes sui sub custodia quorundam militum et^v aliorum laycorum a vigilia nativitate beate Marie usque ad tertium diem sequentem, scilicet^z, usque diem Lune in^a crastino beate Marie.

Interim vero tractabatur per Thayram et suos, quando^b vellet ipsum papam morti tradere vel ipsum vivum ad regem Francie transmittere. Audiens populus Anagnie^c, sive^d communitas ville^d, quod papa morti traderetur, ipsa communitas ville Anagnie fecit quamdam congregacionem^e prof^f se in secreto^g loco^g, ignorantibus capitano, Thaira et aliis custodibus pape. Que quidem congregacio sic facta^h communitate Anagnie facta fuit in crastino nat.ⁱ beate Marie circa horam tertiamⁱ.

In illa vero congregacione inter se dixerunt qui^k venerant^k: 'Licet papa multa mala fecerit in hac vita, non tamen licet eum occidere in^l civitate ista quia, si interficiatur inter nos omnes hic, diceretur^l per universum orbem quod nos sumus rei mortis illius^m, et sic villa ista remanebit interdicta, in tantum quod nunquam celebrabitur missa in villa ista et preterea, ex isto facto, tota christianitas surget contra nos et sic erimus destructiⁿ omnesⁿ. Dixerunt etiam^o aliqui: "Quid ergo^p est^p faciendum?" Responderunt alii: 'Eamus ad palacium pape omnes simul statim^q et auferamus^q corpus pape et nepotis^r sui de manibus custodum^s, et habea-

¹ quicumque, R. ^k quicquam, R. ^l om R. ^m p. t., R.
ⁿ ceo vel alio quocunque ribaldo, R. ^o de, R. ^p et de palatio, R.
^q hoc, R. ^r brevi, R. ^s dici, R. ^t so R; om ms.
^u domini pape, R. ^v t. f., R. ^w quod vix evasit cum vita, R.
^x remanserunt, R; remansit, W. ^y et etiam, R. ^z videlicet, R.
^a qui fuit in, R. ^b quomodo, R, W. ^c Anagni, ms; so generally henceforth. ^d om R. ^e advocacionem, R; facta convocacione, W.
^f per, R. ^g quodam loco secreto, R. ^h om R. ⁱ om R.
^j so R; nonam, ms; cf Commentary No. 32. ^k om R.
^l si papa hic in civitate ista inter nos omnes interficiatur dicitur, R.
^m ipsius, R. ⁿ o. d., R. ^o om R. ^p est ergo, R.
^q e. a. s., R. ^r marchionis nepotis, R. ^s custodientium, R.

mus nos custodiam ipsorum et sic salvabimus vitam ipsorum', adiciendo^t et iurando quod, si custodes pape primo deputati per capitaneum et Thayram eis resisterent, nullum^u vivum dimitterent.

*120a. Quibus^v factis^v, absque mora^w populus Anagnie, id est ipsa communitas, qui^x continebat, ut^y creditur, X milia hominum bene armatorum^z, currebat^z ad palatium pape, ubi incarcerabatur^a, et volentes intrare, non potuerunt propter custodes. Sed tamen, expulsis custodibus et multis^b ex eis^b interfectis, ingressus est^c populus Anagnie ad papam et dixit unus de communitate^d pro omnibus: 'Pater sancte, nos venimus huc ut vitam vestram salvemus, et ideo volumus habere custodiam persone vestre quousque sedetur ista tempestas.' Quo audito, papa, levatis oculis et manibus ad celum, regraciat^e est Deo et * communitati^e quia fuit liberatus a morte. Et^f sic factum est de nepotibus pape^f. Quibus auditis, Thayra cum exercitu suo de villa recessit, contra populum Anagnie multum provocatus^g et graviter comminatus est eis. Et sic liberatus est^h papa per populum Anagnie in crastino nativitate beate Marieⁱ, statim^j post nonam.

Et statim, cum sic^k liberatus est papa per populum Anagnie^k, populus^l fecit eum portari^l de palacio suo seorsum usque in magnam plateam coram toto populo; et tunc papa predicavit lacrimando et ante omnia regraciabatur Deo et omnibus sanctis et populo Anagnie de vita sua. Et^m multa alia dixit que non possum hic narrare^m, sedⁿ inter cetera dixit^o papa^o: 'Boni homines et mulieres, vos bene scitis qualiter inimici mei venerunt et abstulerunt mihi^q omnia^r bona mea et bona ecclesie, in tantum quod ipsi me^s dimiserunt ita pauperem sicut fuit Iob. Propter quod vobis dico quod nichil habeo ad comedendum vel bibendum, et adhuc sum ieiunus. Et ideo, si sit aliqua bona mulier que velit^t me^t iuvare de clemencia^u sua in pane vel vino^v, et si panem et vinum non habeat^w,

^t et adiciebant promittendo, R. ^u nullum ex ipsis, R.
^v quibus sic factis statim, R. ^w maiori deliberatione, R.
^x que, R. ^y decem m. h. b. a. u. c., R. ^z currebant, R;
^a cucurrerunt, W. ^a papa stetit in carcere, R; papa servabatur in custodia, W. ^b ex eis multis, R. ^c om R. ^d comitatu, R. ^e populo, R.
^f similiter comitas liberavit nepotes pape et tenuerunt custodiam illorum penes se, R. ^g et in iram p., R. ^h fuit, R.
ⁱ M. virginis, R. ^j circa horam statim, R. ^k papa sic liberatus fuisset et populus eum habuisset, R. ^l idem populus ipsum papam fecerat portari, R; p. fecit papam deportari, W. ^m tunc dixit quod longum esset hic narrare, R. ⁿ et, R. ^o que dixit, R.
^p papa talia verba protulit, R. ^q om R, W. ^r so ms, W; om R.
^s so ms, W; om R. ^t m. v., R, W. ^u elemosina, R, W.
^v so ms, W; in vino, R. ^w habuerit, R, W. ^x vclit, R.

dum tamen me vellet^x iuvare^y de modica aqua^z, ego dabo ei benedictionem Dei et meam; et omnes qui quicquam ad^z me^z portaverint, quantumcumque^a modicum, in subventionem^b meam, absolvo ab^c omnibus peccatis^c suis et a pena et a culpa.^z Et omnes clamabant suo^d more^d: 'Vive, pater sancte!' Et ecce, omnes mulieres ibidem^f existentes^f, et alie^g per villam, currebant^h statim^h ad palacium pape, offerentes sibi, alique vinum, alique panem, alique aquam, in tantum quod in momento tota camera sua fuit repleta pane, vinoⁱ et aqua; et quandoⁱ non inveniebant vasa ad sufficientiam^k, effundebant vinum et aquam in aera^l camere pape^m usque ad maximam quantitatem. Et tunc potuerunt omnes ingredi ad papam, boni et mali, parvi et magni, etⁿ loqui cum eoⁿ sicut cum alio pauperimo^o homine.

Papa videns quod liberatus fuisset, interim^p exivit de licencia custodum et benedixit populum et iterum regraciabatur Deo et populo de vita sua, adiciens talia verba: 'Heri nichil habui, sed fui ita pauper sicut unquam^q fuerat^q Iob. Modo, benedictus Altissimus! satis est mihi de pane, vino et aqua pro me et vobis omnibus.' Et statim absolvit omnes in communitate^r existentes a pena et a culpa, hoc excepto, quod derobatores et spoliatores honorum ecclesie Romane et etiam cardinalium et aliorum de curia non absolvit, nisi bona huiusmodi infra triduum reportarent. Verumptamen papa remisit expresse omnibus qui bona sua asportarunt, dum *
*120b. tamen bona illa non fuerint^t de thesaurario^u ecclesie Romane, sed de suo proprio thesauro^v. Et statim protestatus papa coram omnibus quod voluit habere pacem cum Columpnensibus cardinalibus et aliis inimicis suis, et paratus erat restituere^w ipsos Columpnenses ad temporalia et spiritualia; et hoc fecit proclamare per villam. Et sic stetit papa cum nepotibus suis sub custodia communitatis Anagnie a die crastino nat. beate Marie, circa horam vespertinam, usque diem Veneris proxime^x sequentem. Interim vero reportata fuerunt illa^y bona^y prius ablata, sed non credatis quod omnia^z sunt plenarie reportata^z.

^yd. m. a. i., R. ^zom R, W. ^aquantulumcumque, R, W.
^bsubvenit, R. ^cso ms, W; a peccatis, R. ^dom R, W.
^eviva, R; vivas, W. ^fque ibidem fuerant, R. ^galie similiter, R.
^hs. c., R. ⁱet vino, R. ^jcum, W; ipsi, R. ^ksufficiendum, R.
^lso ms, R; area W. ^mso ms, W; domini p., R. ⁿet omnes
tunc potuerunt loqui cum papa, R. ^opaupere, R. ^piterum, R.
^qfuerat nunquam, R. ^rcivitate, R, W. ^sabsolvebat, R, W.
^tfuerunt, R, W. ^uthesauro, R, W. ^vom R.
^wso ms, W; restaurare, R. ^xproxima, R. ^yb. i., R.
^zomnia prius ablata plenarie fuerunt restituta quia forte aliqua pecunia tunc exivit de camera pape que nunquam revertetur ad

Die Veneris proxima^a post^b nat.^b beate Marie in mane, papa subito et quasi^c inopinate recessit de Anagnia versus^d Romam cum maxima multitudine armatorum et, continuatis dietis suis, ingressus est urbem Romanam die Mercurii proxima post octavas nat. beate Marie et pernoctavit apud Lateranum, et ibi stetit per duos dies; et tercio die transtulit se ad^e beatum Petrum, ubi modo stat valde tristis, eo quod, ut videtur, quod^f non potest seipsum salvare in aliquo^g loco nisi in urbe Romana. Tot enim habet inimicos quod vix invenietur^h aliqua civitas in tota Tussia vel Campania que possit ipsum papamⁱ defendere contra Columpnenses. Et nisi populus Romanus assisteret^j pape et ipsum manutenuerit, timetur quod papa destrueretur^k. Ursini sunt^l cum papa totaliter, sed multi alii Romani sunt contra ipsum^m et cum Columpnensibus. Et sic est divisio in populo Romano, propter quod nos, qui sumus curse-saniⁿ, pessime sumus turbati et singulis diebus exspectamus quando erimus derobati de bonis^o nostris; nec possumus fugere extra villam, quia ex omni parte Rome sunt latrones^p ad derobandum transeuntes^q, in^r tantum^r, si veniant sexaginta homines bene armati et inciderent^s in manus eorum, non eis^t resisterent^t. Senatores vero^u urbis^v Romane, advertentes periculum quod iminet^w de die in diem, resignarunt officium suum in manus populi Romani; et sic in urbe Romana^x non est^y iudex, nec^y est qui ius reddit vel qui iura tueatur^z, sed defendat quilibet caput suum^a.

Dominus papa stat in palacio suo, ut predixi, apud sanctum Petrum in maximo tremore et, in quantum potest, attrahit secum populum Romanum paulatim et vicissem. Sed quid erit in fine nescio; Deus scit. Utinam essem in Anglia tali condicione quod omnia bona mea usque ad novissimum obolum dedissem pauperibus. Sciat quod non est cogitandum de aliquibus impetracionibus in curia faciendis isto tempore vel de causis tractandis et expediendis, quia non est spes de audiencia resumenda et vicino. Sciat insuper, quod postquam Christus natus fuit de virgine nunquam visa fuerunt tot et tanta mirabilia in uno loco in tam modico tempore sicut nos hic vidimus. Dat. Rome, die Veneris proxime ante festum sancti Michaelis, anno domini M^b CCC^{tercio} b.

illam, R. ^aom R. ^bpost octavas natalis, R. ^com R, W.
^dso R, W; ms illegible. ^eom R. ^fom R. ^galico, R.
^hso R; inveniretur?, ms. ⁱom R. ^jastiterit, R.
^kin brevi destruetur, R. ^ltenent, R. ^mpopulum, R.
ⁿcurces, R. ^oequis et aliis bonis, R. ^platrones et predones, R.
^qomnes t., R. ^rita quod, R. ^sinciderint, R.
^tpossent eis resistere, R. ^uom R. ^vurbe corr. to urbis, ms.
^wso ms, R. ^xom R. ^yom R. ^ztenent, R.
^ahere R ends. ^bsupradicto, ms.

It is to be recalled that close upon the feast of the Nativity of the Blessed Mary, in the year of the Lord 1303, the eighth of his pontificate, there befell Pope Boniface—known formerly as Master Benedict of Anagni—the following incident which is described in the account a certain Master William of Hundleby, of the diocese of Lincoln, at that time procurator at the Roman Curia of the Lord J., by the grace of God, Bishop of Lincoln, sent to the same Lord Bishop in England (1):

Behold, Reverend Father, at dawn of the vigil of the Nativity (2) of the Blessed Mary just past, suddenly and unexpectedly there came upon Anagni a great force of armed men (3) of the party of the King of France and of the two deposed Colonna cardinals. Arriving at the gates of Anagni and finding them open (4), they entered the town and at once made an assault upon the palace of the Pope (5) and upon that of the Marquis (6), the Pope's nephew. As the racket echoed throughout the town, men and women got up from their beds and threw open their doors and sought whence it came. They learned that Sciarra, brother of the deposed Colonna cardinals (7), had made his way into the town with a large troop gotten for him by the King of France (8) and that he intended to seize the Pope and put him to death (9). Hearing this, the people of Anagni, that is the commune of the town, rang the public bell and gathered (10) at one place; there they discussed the matter as long as time allowed and the commune decreed and chose for itself a captain in Anagni who was to command and govern the whole commune or populace. This captain is the Lord Adenulf (11); he is the dominant figure of the Campagna and is moreover a mortal enemy of the Pope. To him the officials of the people immediately swore fidelity and obedience and promised to carry out all his commands.

While these affairs were being discussed and arranged by the people of Anagni, the above named Sciarra and his soldiery pushed their attack with vigor upon the palace of the Pope and upon those of the Marquis and three cardinals, namely, the Lord Gentile (12), papal penitentiary, the Lord Francis (13), nephew of the Pope, and the Lord [Peter] the Spaniard (14). Yet so well did the members of the Pope's household within the palace, and the Marquis, the Pope's nephew, and his people in their own stronghold defend themselves, by letting fly missiles in all directions and by hurling stones, that neither the palace of the Pope nor that of the Marquis was breached at all. However the residences of the three cardinals (15) who were looked upon as special friends of the Pope, these three were broken into and all their furnishings carried off, while the cardinals themselves had all they could do to escape with their lives through a latrine at the back of the house.

While this battling was going on, the Lord Adenulf, captain of the town, arrived upon the scene; he had with him the Lord Rainald of Supino

(16), who is of great importance in the Campagna as well as a bitter foe of the Pope, along with two sons of John of Ceccano (17) whose father was at that time held by the Pope in prison. No sooner had the said captain and his companions made contact with Sciarra Colonna and his troops then they joined forces with them, for they were all mortal enemies of the Pope. So strengthened were Sciarra's soldiery through their union with the captain and his band that they felt convinced the Pope and the Marquis his nephew could not possibly hold them off much longer. Knowing this, the Pope asked for a truce. Sciarra granted it to him and to his nephew the Marquis; it was to run until the ninth hour of the same day, which was the vigil of the Blessed Mary's Nativity. This truce commenced, as I said, about the first hour and ran until the ninth*.

While the truce held, the Pope sent in secret to the people of Anagni, beseeching them to save his life and promising them that, if they did, he would so reward them that all would enjoy his endless good will. But the townsfolk replied that they had chosen and commissioned a captain—the aforesaid Lord Adenulf—in whom now resided the full authority of the people; without him they had neither the right nor the intention of making any commitments. Having gotten this answer, the Pope then sent messengers and begged Sciarra that he make known to him, amongst other things, the precise points upon which the Pope had harmed him and his family; in accord with the counsel of the cardinals, the Pope was prepared to give him satisfaction. Sciarra replied, however, that he would never let the Pope off alive unless he were to agree to the three following conditions (18): first, that he give back or make over to the care of two or three of the senior cardinals of the college all the wealth of the Roman Church; in addition, that the Pope then fully reinstate the Cardinals James and Peter, whom he had deposed, in their temporal and spiritual prerogatives, and along with the cardinals all their relatives; also, thirdly, that the Pope resign the Papacy, upon carrying out this restoration, and put himself at the disposition of Sciarra. When the Pope learned these conditions, he groaned: "Alas, this is a hard saying!" So messengers passed back and forth many times over but still no solution was hit upon.

With the approach of the ninth hour, the populace set up the cry: "Ades, ades", which is vernacular and means much the same as our "Aly, ali." The troops pressed home their attack upon the Pope and his nephew only to have the defense continue as stoutly as before. At last, however, because the cathedral of the Blessed Mary at Anagni stood in the way (19) of Sciarra's soldiery getting at the palace of the Pope and of the cardinals, they set fire to the doors of the church, and having destroyed them, broke into the building. Once inside, they pillaged and stripped all the

* I.e., from about 7 a. m. to about 3 p. m.

clerics and laymen and merchants who had cutlery and other kinds of merchandise there for sale (20); thus it was that of all they could lay their hands upon the soldiers missed nothing, even though it were worth as little as a quadrant.

After a time, however, the Marquis, nephew of the Pope, realizing that defense was no longer possible, surrendered to Sciarra and the captain, so that they spared his own life and those of his son and companions. In this fashion were the Marquis and one of his sons taken (21) and thrown into prison, while another son escaped by means of a hidden passage. When the Pope heard this reported, he himself wept bitterly, yet not even the Pope was in a position to hold out longer. Sciarra and his forces broke through the doors and windows of the papal palace at a number of points, and set fire to them at others, till at last the angered soldiery forced their way to the Pope (22). Many of them heaped insults upon his head and threatened him violently, but to them all the Pope answered not so much as a word. And when they pressed him as to whether he would resign the Papacy, firmly did he refuse—indeed he preferred to lose his head—as he said in his vernacular: "E le col, e le cape!", which means: "Here is my neck and here my head!" Therewith he proclaimed in the presence of them all that as long as life was in him, he would not give up the Papacy. Sciarra, indeed, was quite ready to kill him, but he was held back by the others so that no bodily injury was done the Pope (23). Cardinal Peter of Spain was with the Pope (24) all through the struggle, though the rest of his retinue had slipped away. Sciarra and the captain appointed guards to keep the Pope in custody after some of the papal doormen had fled and others had been slain. Thus was the Pope and his nephew taken in Anagni on the said vigil of the Blessed Mary at about the hour of vespers (25) and it is believed that the Lord Pope put in a bad night.

The soldiers, on first breaking in, had pillaged the Pope, his chamber (26) and his treasury of utensils and clothing, fixtures, gold and silver and everything found therein so that the Pope had been made as poor as Job upon receiving word of his misfortune. Moreover, the Pope witnessed all and saw how the wretches divided his garments and carted away his furniture, both large items and small, deciding who would take this and who that, and yet he said no more than: "The Lord gave and the Lord taketh away, etc." And anyone who was in a position to seize or to lay hold upon something, took and seized it and carried it off, while no one then paid any more attention to the person of the Pope than he did to Godfrey Cecco of Lincoln or to Peter Stall (27).

Truly one finds it hard to believe that all the kings in the world could have disbursed from their treasuries in one year as much as was carried away from the palaces of the Pope (28) and the Marquis and the

three cardinals in one short hour. Besides that, Simon Gerard (29), the papal banker, was stripped of all that he had and was barely able to get away himself. Thus were the Pope and his nephews held in the custody (30) of some soldiers and other laymen from the vigil of the Blessed Mary's Nativity until the third day following, that is, until Monday, the day after the Nativity.

In the meantime, Sciarra and his party debated whether they should put the Pope to death (31) or hand him over alive to the King of France. But when the people of Anagni, that is the commune of the town, heard that the Pope might be slain, the commune of Anagni summoned a secret meeting without the knowledge of the captain and Sciarra and the other guards of the Pope. This gathering of the commune of Anagni took place on the day after the feast of the Blessed Mary at about the third hour (32).

Those who came to the meeting said to one another: "Although the Pope has done much evil in his life (33), still it is not right to kill him in this city, for if he were to be slain amongst us here, men throughout the world would say that we are guilty of his death, and so our town will be interdicted and Mass will not be celebrated here, and all Christendom will rise against us on this score and we shall all be destroyed." And some asked: "What are we to do then?" Others replied: "Let us go together at once to the Pope's palace and free him and his nephew from the guards, and let us ourselves take over their charge and thus shall we save their lives." Thereupon they agreed on oath that should the men assigned by the captain and Sciarra to the guarding of the Pope resist them, not one would get away alive.

Having thus committed themselves, the people of Anagni, that is the commune which is said to number some 10,000 well armed men (34), hurried off at once to the Pope's palace where he was held a prisoner. Although they were anxious to get in, they found that the soldiers barred their entrance. But at last, when they had ousted the troops and had killed many of them, the people of Anagni forced their way to the Pope. One of the commune spoke on behalf of the others: "Holy Father, we have come here to save your life and so we ask that we be allowed to watch over you until this tumult is quieted." Upon the Pope's hearing this, he raised his eyes and his hands to heaven and he gave thanks to God and to the commune for his deliverance from death. In like manner were the nephews of the Pope set at liberty. When the report of these happenings reached Sciarra, he quitted the town (35) with his troops, though he was violently angry with the townfolk of Anagni and swore vengeance upon them. Thus was the Pope given his freedom by the people of Anagni on the day following the Nativity of the Blessed Mary, just after midday (36).

No sooner was the Pope delivered by the townfolk of Anagni than

they had him brought from his palace to the great *piazza* (37) before all the people. The Pope preached with tears in his eyes and began by thanking God and the saints and the people of Anagni for his life. All of what he said I cannot narrate here, but part of it ran: "Good men and women, you know indeed how my enemies have fallen upon me and have taken all my belongings and those of the Church and have left me as poor as was Job. I tell you, therefore, that I have nothing to eat or to drink, and at this hour I have not as yet broken my fast. And so if there is any good woman who would like to help me in her kindness with either bread or wine, or, if she has neither bread nor wine, at least with a little water, I shall give her God's blessing and my own. And to all who bring me something for my support, no matter how small it may be, I shall grant absolution from all their sins, both as to punishment and to guilt (38)." And all began to shout: "Vive, Holy Father!", for this is their custom. And behold, those women who had been in the crowd, and many others from the town, hurried off to the Pope's palace and offered him, some of them, wine, some of them, bread, and some of them, water, so that soon his entire chamber was filled with bread, wine and water. They even had to pour out great quantities of the wine and water in the Pope's courtyard because they could not find enough jars to contain it all. Then were all admitted freely to the Pope, the good with the bad, the little people with the important folk, and all chatted with him just as they would with any other poor person.

In the meantime, when the Pope realized that he had been set at liberty, he got the consent of his protectors and went out and blessed the people (39). Again he gave thanks to God and to the townsfolk for having saved his life and he added: "Yesterday I had nothing at all but was as badly off as ever Job was. Now, God be praised, I have bread, wine, and water enough for myself and for all of you." Thereupon he absolved the entire commune from both punishment and guilt, exception made, however, for those who had taken the property of the Roman Church or of the cardinals and others of the Curia. These latter he forgave only on condition that within three days they restore such holdings. Nevertheless, the Pope expressly pardoned all who had stolen his own goods, as long as these belonged to him personally and were not of the estate of the Roman Church. With that, the Pope made public his desire to be at peace with the Colonna cardinals and with his other enemies (40) and stated his readiness to reinstate the Colonnas in their temporalities and in their spiritual privileges; this announcement he had proclaimed throughout the town. Thus was the Pope with his nephews in the charge of the commune of Anagni from the day following the Nativity of the Blessed Mary, about the vesper hour, until the next Friday.* During that period, indeed,

* I.e., from September 9 to September 13.

those goods which had been carried off were brought back again, but I would not have you believe that they were restored in their entirety.

On the morning of the Friday after the Nativity of the Blessed Mary, the Pope left Anagni for Rome; he left in haste and rather unexpectedly and with him there went a large party of armed men (41). Without interrupting his journey, he arrived at the city of Rome on the Wednesday following the octave of the Blessed Mary's Nativity (42) and passed the night at the Lateran. There he remained for two days and, on the third, moved to St. Peter's where he resides at this moment. He seems saddened by the realization that he is safe only at Rome, for he has so many enemies that there is scarcely a city to be found in all Tuscia (43) or the Campagna to defend him against the Colonnas. Unless the Roman people aid and support the Pope, one fears that he may be destroyed. All the Orsini are on the side of the Pope (44), but many other Romans oppose him and sympathize with the Colonnas. Thus there are divisions amongst the Romans; on which account, we who are curtisans (45) are badly plagued and live from day to day in fear of being despoiled of all we have. We cannot leave the city for there are thieves on all sides of Rome (46) who lie in wait for travellers, so that even though sixty well armed men were to fall into their hands, they would not stand against them. Conscious of the danger that constantly hangs over us, the senators of Rome (47) have resigned their authority into the hands of the Roman people; wherefore, there is neither judge nor one to dispense or see to justice in the city, but each man looks to himself for his own protection.

As I have said, the Lord Pope keeps to his palace at St. Peter's in great distress (48) and tries as best he can to win the Roman people to his side, one after another. What the end will be, I know not; only God knows. But would that I were in England and had given to the poor all my goods, even to the last farthing. In these days no one thinks of presenting petitions at the Curia or of pressing cases, for there is no prospect that hearings will recommence within the near future (49). Be assured that not since Christ was born of the Virgin has one place and one period seen so many great and strange happenings as we have witnessed here. Dated at Rome, on the Friday** before the feast of St. Michael, in the year of the Lord 1303.

** September 27.

COMMENTARY

- (1) *It is to be recalled . . . etc.*: this brief preface is not part of the original letter. From its marked similarity to the entry in Bishop Dalderby's *Liber memorandorum* that records William's death (quoted in *Festschrift Albert Brackmann*, p. 495), it would seem to have been composed at Lincoln by the official in charge of the episcopal register. Although

William Hundleby's despatch did not find its way into the *Liber memorandumum*, it may well have been copied into that *rotulus separatus* in the bishop's archives to which the above entry makes reference. This Lincoln transcript would thus be the source whence the All Souls Ms is derived. And it would be the scribe rather than William Hundleby who falsely assigns the Anagni outrage to the eighth instead of the ninth year of Boniface's pontificate. For examples of the narrative style of the Lincoln official, cf. A. G. Little, *Franciscan Papers, Lists and Documents* (Manchester, 1943), pp. 231-240.

- (2) *dawn . . . vigil of the Nativity*: Saturday, September 7, was chosen by the Frenchman William Nogaret, who organized the attack, that he might forestall the Pope's excommunicating King Philip IV of France upon the following day. Cf. P. Dupuy, *Histoire du différend d'entre le pape Boniface VIII et Philippe le Bel* (Paris, 1655), pp. 243, No. 24, No. 25; 246, No. 44; 256. What the excommunication would have entailed may be seen from the text of the bull in Dupuy, *op. cit.*, pp. 182-186. Our best sources support William Hundleby as to the early hour of the assault, placing it either "noctis tempore," as does the Orvieto Chronicle (ed. L. Funf, *Rerum Italicarum scriptores* [1903], XV, pt. V, 202), or "mane ante auroram," as does the Vienne Ms in *Revue des questions historiques*, 43 (1888), 559. At such an hour, of course, opposition was hardly to be expected.
- (3) *great force of armed men*: an estimate of 600 horsemen and 1050 foot soldiers appears in the Vienne Ms, 559, while Giovanni Villani, *Cronica*, VIII, 63 (in R. Palmarocchi: *Cronisti del trecento* [Milan, 1935], p. 251) speaks of 300 cavalry and foot soldiers "assai." R. Holtzmann, *Wilhelm von Nogaret* (Freiburg-i-B., 1898), p. 75, accepts Villani's calculation and suggests that the infantry may have been two or three times the size of the mounted force. Unfortunately, Nogaret avoids statistics, although he does refer to the relative fewness of his troops and maintains that, with the exception of two French retainers, the bulk of his men were strangers to him who had been recruited in central Italy, cf. Dupuy, *op. cit.*, pp. 246, No. 45; 248, No. 55; 257; 443. It is to the Pope's efforts on behalf of his own family that one must look for an explanation of the discontent which facilitated recruitment among the Italian barons, although Seidlmuayer has pointed out, in *Historisches Jahrbuch*, 60 (1940), 78-87, that in other respects Boniface followed an enlightened policy with reference to the Papal States. Two partial lists of the local participants in the attack have been preserved: one in Pope Benedict XI's *Flagitiosum scelus* (*Register*, ed. Ch. Grandjean, No. 1276), and the other in the Anagni Trial of 1304-05, cited by H. Finke, *Aus den Tagen Bonifaz VIII* (Münster-i-W., 1902), p. 269 n., with the corrections of P. Fedele in *Bullettino dell' istituto storico italiano* [BISI], 41 (1921), 213 n.
- (4) *gates . . . open*: the opening of the gates is attributed by the Orvieto Chronicle, p. 203, to the treachery of Adenulf di Matteo who was to be elected that morning as captain of Anagni. The tale in Ferreto (ed. C. Cipolla, *Le opere di Ferreto de' Ferreti* [Rome, 1908], I, 151) that Car-

dinal Napolcon Orsini tricked the innocent Godfrey Bussa into giving him the keys to the gate has been properly rejected by P. Funke, *Papst Benedikt XI* (Münster-i-W., 1891), p. 117. Bussa's own complicity with the attackers is established by the Anagni Trial of 1304-05 as well as by the testimony of Rainald of Supino (in Dupuy, *op. cit.*, p. 609). The gate used for entrance is uncertain. Though T. S. R. Boase, *Boniface VIII* (London, 1933), p. 345, favors the Porta Tufoli, that suggestion is no more than a possibility with difficulties of its own.

- (5) *assault upon the palace*: while Nogaret speaks of an attack upon the residences of the Pope and his nephew immediately following the entrance into Anagni, he makes it clear that barricades thrown up in the streets slowed his advance considerably, cf. Dupuy, *op. cit.*, p. 247, No. 46. The identification of the buildings involved raises a problem. G. Caetani, who gives a map of the area in *Domus Caetana* (Sancasciano, 1927), I, pt. I, 172 (cf. also I, pt. 2, 201), believes the papal palace to have been that which is still shown visitors as Boniface's residence, namely the Astalli Palace which housed a convent school in 1940. But if, as Marchetti-Longhi more justly contends, in the *Archivio della r. società romana di storia patria* [ARSRSP], 43 (1920), 390, the present convent is in reality the palace of the Marquis Peter, then Boniface must have dwelt opposite it, in the now ruined Trajetto Palace, which thus wrongly appears on Caetani's map as the "palazzo di P. Caetani." Ernest Renan seems also to have adopted this view in his *Études sur la politique religieuse du règne de Philippe le Bel* (Paris, 1899), p. 37.
- (6) *the Marquis*: Peter II Caetani was the son of the Pope's brother, Roffred II; by 1303, he bore the titles of Count of Caserta and Marquis of the province of Ancona. His family tree and what else is known of him is given by G. Caetani in *Caetanorum genealogia* (Perugia, 1920), Tav. A-XXXVII, and pp. 47-48, and *Domus Caetana*, I, pt. 1, 160-163. Along with his father, Peter had been the special object of the Pope's efforts to build up great territorial holdings for his family, cf. Previtè-Orton in the *Edinburgh Review*, 248 (1928), 298-300.
- (7) *Sciarra . . . the Colonna cardinals*: though one must agree with Michael, in *Zeitschrift für katholische Theologie*, 16 (1892), 367-372, in assigning the principal rôle in the Anagni affair to the Frenchman William Nogaret—we have his own affirmation that he had been chosen captain of the attacking party (Dupuy, *op. cit.*, p. 263)—still it is understandable enough that at Anagni men like William Hundleby and the author of the Vienne Ms, 559, should have thought of Sciarra Colonna as the actual leader of the band. For Sciarra and the Colonnas had the blood of warriors. And their battle with Boniface, which had startled the world in 1297, was as yet recent history in Italy. The two cardinals mentioned by William Hundleby, James and his nephew Peter, had been deposed by the Pope on May 10, 1297 (cf. the bull in Boniface's *Register*, ed. Digard-Faucon-Thomas, No. 2388), while Sciarra himself, the brother of Peter, is mentioned by name in the general excommunication of the Colonnas which is dated May 23, 1297 (*Reg.*, No. 2389, c. 970).

- (8) *the King of France*: apparently it was the soldiery's flaunting of the royal arms and banners of France — attested to by Nogaret (Dupuy, *op. cit.*, p. 442), and the Vienne Ms, 559 — which gave rise to William Hundleby's belief that Philip IV was implicated in the attack. Later indeed, Ferreto, *op. cit.*, I, 149, and Giovanni Villani, *op. cit.*, VIII, 63 (in Palmarocchi, *Cronisti*, 250), will maintain that the French crown was the prime mover of the expedition against the Pope. However, genuine proof is hard to come by. Nogaret admitted having a double instruction from his king concerning Boniface — that of consulting with Philip's Italian friends on the threatened unity of the Church (which, of course, conceals more than it reveals) and that of announcing to the Pope the French demands for a council (Dupuy, *op. cit.*, pp. 255; 308, No. 15) — yet he stoutly denied having had a commission to employ troops against the Pontiff; cf. the text in R. Holtzmann: *Nogaret*, 276. Unfortunately, our only extant royal mandate, a document of March 7, 1303, (in Dupuy, *op. cit.*, p. 175), is too vague to be helpful in determining the precise nature of Nogaret's charge from the king. Probability does, indeed, favor the contention of Renan, *Études*, 22, that Philip was aware beforehand of all that Nogaret had in mind for his mission into Italy. And one may perhaps go so far as to suspect, with Robert Fawtier, *L'Europe occidentale de 1270 à 1380* (Paris, 1940), pt. 1, 404, that monarch and agent were as one in the matter and that Philip shared with Nogaret an intense religious conviction which made him see in Boniface a threat to the Catholic faith, though Pocquet du Haut-Jussé, in *Revue d'histoire de l'église de France*, 26 (1940), 95-99, has questioned the theory of religious conviction as an adequate explanation of the "politique" of Philip the Fair. But it is extremely doubtful whether one may go beyond that and maintain, with R. Holtzmann, *Nogaret*, pp. 215-227, that the king had actually commanded the seizure of the Pope. For Philip must have seen how compromising such a mandate would become in the event of failure. What he wanted above all else was the summoning of a council by the Pope for the trial of the Pope. How that could best be achieved would depend upon circumstances which were as yet unpredictable. The seizure of the Pope might, indeed, prove practical, but it was wise to avoid definite instructions and to have the decision Nogaret's doing and not the king's. In that way, were failure to destroy the agent, it would not touch the crown. Thus only would Philip seem to have been responsible for Anagni. Somewhat similar interpretations are offered by Félix Rocquain, *La papauté au moyen-âge* (Paris, 1881), p. 269, and by Victor Martin, *Les origines du Gallicanisme* (Paris, 1939), I, 200; while Finke, in *Mitteilungen des Instituts für österreichische Geschichtsforschung*, 26 (1905), 211-212, believes that Philip's guilt for the outrage is far from demonstrated.
- (9) *seize the Pope and put him to death*: the talk of killing Boniface apparently came from some of the Italian barons and later, at least, was vigorously opposed by Nogaret, cf. Dupuy, *op. cit.*, pp. 248, No. 53; 257. The Frenchman, of course, was not adverse to capturing the Pontiff. Some months before, at Paris on March 12, 1303, he had himself advocated

- the seizure of the Pope and his arraignment before a general council for deposition; cf. Dupuy, *op. cit.*, p. 58, and Jean Rivière, *Le problème de l'église et de l'état au temps de Philippe le Bel* (Louvain, 1926), pp. 109-113. Then, in the weeks following the Paris appearance, Nogaret set out for Italy. Although he was still to give some hint of indecision (cf. *Journal des Savants*, 1917, 323), one will hardly err in supposing that the convocation of the council and, if possible, the gaining control of the Pope's person loomed large among his purposes. And yet, as Newhall has noted in the *Catholic Historical Review*, VII (1921), 282, it is quite improbable that, by the time September came around and he organized the assault upon Anagni, Nogaret was thinking any longer in terms of seizing Boniface that he might carry him off to France for trial. For the attack of September 7 bears all the evidence of hasty planning; it was gotten up within five or six days (Dupuy, *op. cit.*, p. 384). It sprang not so much from carefully laid plans to undo the Pope, as from the sudden realization of what Boniface was about at Anagni and that unless he were stymied by September 8, he would publish to the world his excommunication of the French monarch.
- (10) *people of Anagni . . . gathered*: this was not the spontaneous meeting that William Hundleby thought it to be. The populace was probably summoned by the local faction in league with the attackers; then Nogaret appeared before the gathering, outlined his reasons for the assault and secured the unanimous support of the "maiores" in the name of the people, cf. Dupuy, *op. cit.*, p. 247, No. 48. It may well be that upon this occasion, Nogaret insisted upon his allies carrying the banner of the Church, thus lending weight to the claim that his undertaking served the best interests of Christendom, cf. Dupuy, *op. cit.*, p. 442.
- (11) *the Lord Adenulf*: both the Orvieto Chronicle, pp. 202-203, and Pipinus (in *Rerum Italicarum scriptores* [ed. 1726], IX, 740B), speak of Adenulf as a party to the intrigue which prepared the assault. He was certainly of prominence in Anagni, being of the family di Matteo or di Papa which was related to Pope Gregory IX, and had been *podestà* of the town, perhaps in 1279, just as his father had been before him. In May, 1297, Adenulf and his brother Nicholas had sold to the Marquis Peter Caetani the palace wherein Peter resisted the attackers on the fateful September 7. For these and other details, cf. *ARSRSP*, 7 (1884), 264-5, 271; 43 (1920), 387-8, 391; 47 (1924), 146 n, 166.
- (12) *Cardinal Gentile*: of Montefiore; he was a Franciscan and was cardinal priest of the church of SS. Silvester and Martin ai Monti. He had commenced his career at the papal court in the capacity of a *lector curiae*; cf. Heinz Göring, *Die Beamten der Kurie unter Bonifaz VIII* (Königsberg, 1934), p. 75. Gentile first appears in Boniface's *Register* (No. 4664) with the function of penitentiary in a document of May 22, 1302. What little is known of him is given by Emil Göller, *Die päpstliche Pönitentiarie* (Rome, 1907), I, 90, No. 9.
- (13) *Cardinal Francis Caetani*: was the son of Roffred II and brother of the Marquis Peter. On December 17, 1295, he had been created cardinal

deacon of St. Mary in Cosmedin by the Pope, his uncle; cf. Caetani, *Caetanorum genealogia*, p. 49. From the remark in Dupuy, *op. cit.*, p. 105, No. 25, he would seem to have been a married man at the time, so that his wife was asked to take a vow of chastity to make possible her husband's elevation.

- (14) *Card. Peter the Spaniard*: though the christian name is missing at this point in the All Souls Ms, it can be supplied from the Royal Ms. Peter Roderici is first mentioned, on January 2, 1292, as chaplain to Boniface who was as yet a cardinal, cf. Caetani; *Regesta Chartarum* (Perugia, 1922), I, 61. In the Pope's Register (No. 204 bis) he appears, on July 2, 1295, as "camere nostre clericus" and canon of Chartres; by November, 1300, he serves as papal *referendarius* and holds the Spanish See of Burgos; cf. Finke, *Aus den Tagen*, pp. xvi, xix. It was not until Boniface's fourth creation of cardinals, in December, 1302, that Peter was elevated to the cardinal-bishopric of Sabina, cf. A. Ciaconius—V. Ughellus; *Vitae et res gestae pontificum Rom. et cardinalium* (Rome, 1630), I, 812. Financial transactions in *camera domini Petri* (e.g., Register, No. 5003; Caetani, *Regesta chartarum*, I, 234) suggest that Boniface found use for his former chaplain in a confidential capacity. For brief notices of Peter, cf. Göring, *Beamten*, pp. 11-12, and Bruno Katterbach, *Referendarii utriusque signaturae a Martino V ad Clementem IX* [Studi e Testi, 55] (Vatican City, 1931), p. xix.
- (15) *residences of the three cardinals*: according to the Vienne Ms, 560, and to what may be deduced from Pipinus, 740D, there were at least four palaces of cardinals sacked in the course of the struggle: those of the three prelates just mentioned along with that of Cardinal Theodoric of Orvieto. There is thus little point to the discussion of R. Holtzmann, *Nogaret*, pp. 78-80, as to whom William Hundleby intended in referring to three cardinals. Peter the Spaniard, who is here said to have escaped from his dwelling, will appear later with the Pope in his palace. The explanation probably lies in the inter-connected passages of the papal quarter at Anagni whereby the cardinal could have gotten from his own residence to that of Boniface without having been seen by the soldiery, cf. Caetani, *Domus Caetana*, I, pt. 1, 174 n.
- (16) *Lord Rainald of Supino*: he was of the Conti family, the son of Baldwin of Supino, and held the captaincy of Ferentino in 1303. Concerning the part he played in the attack upon the Pope, we have his own description of 1312 (in Dupuy, *op. cit.*, pp. 608-611) and the Neapolitan citation of August 17, 1304 (in *BISI*, 41 [1921], 230). Boase, *Boniface VIII*, p. 345, has suggested that Rainald's grievance against the Pontiff arose from Francis Caetani's divorce of Rainald's sister Mary. One may note, however, that by 1303 the divorce was almost eight years in the past—if one is prepared at all to admit its having taken place—while in any case the lady, whether divorced or otherwise, had long since been provided for as a nun of S. Maria de Viano, cf. Caetani, *Regesta chartarum*, I, 181. Rainald may well have had more immediate grounds for complaint against the Pope in the transactions—such as that of April 7, 1300, in *Regesta*

chartarum, I, 184—whereby he and his family had been induced to cede territory to the Caetani. For a brief sketch of Rainald, cf. Göring, *Beamten*, p. 71.

- (17) *two sons of John of Ceccano*: the John here intended by William Hundleby is the son of Anibald of Ceccano whom Boniface sentenced, on June 13, 1299, "ad carcerem decennalem, plus minusve" (*Reg.*, No. 3418, c. 595). In the family tree worked out by Caetani, *Caetanorum genealogia*, Tav. Ixvi, Ixvii, he appears as John III (junior). The "two sons" to whom William Hundleby refers are believed by Caetani (*Domus Caetana*, I, pt. 1, 173) and by Falco (*ARSRSP*, 49 [1926], 130-131) to have been in reality his uncle John II, son of Landolf, and John II's son Goffred. In support of that interpretation is the fact that Pope Benedict XI (*Register*, ed. Grandjean, No. 1276) joins together the names *Johannes filius Landulfi, Gotfridus natus Johannis de Ceccano* in his list of participants in the Anagni assault. It is worth noting, however, that within the months following the outrage, another son of John II—a Landolf III—is twice associated, either with his father or with Adenulf di Matteo and Rainald of Supino, in projects directed against the Caetani, cf. *ARSRSP*, 49 (1926), 132-133. There is thus some likelihood that Landolf III had a part in the events of September 7, and that there were after all, two sons of John II of Ceccano involved with their father. That William Hundleby should have confused John II with John III and so not have mentioned him as joining in the attack is understandable enough.
- (18) *three conditions*: the different interests of the parties co-operating in the assault are reflected in their demands; only the last of the proposals could have been of much importance to Nogaret and the French. Some echo of the three conditions can be gotten from our other sources, though all assign them to a period after the Pope's capture. Ferreto, *op. cit.*, I, 153-154, had heard of the demand for the restoration of the Colonna, while the Troyes ms, 60, and the *Storie Pistoiesi* (ed. S. Barbi, in *Rerum Italicarum scriptores* [1907-27], XI, pt. 5, 239) record that Boniface's resignation had been called for. The condition concerning the cardinals has been preserved by an unknown English Franciscan, in MGH, SS, XXIV, 256, though one cannot exclude the possibility that he depends for his information upon William Hundleby. The proposal itself hints that high prelates were implicated in the attack and would seem to be based on the complaint that the Pope had shown little regard for the privileges of the Sacred College, cf. Dupuy, *op. cit.*, 104, No. 20; 212. For an analysis of the prerogatives of the cardinals under Boniface, cf. Johann B. Sägmüller, *Die Thätigkeit und Stellung der Cardinäle bis Papst Bonifaz VIII* (Freiburg-i-B., 1896), pp. 149-249, and, more briefly, Herbert Hofmann, *Kardinalat und kuriale Politik in der ersten Hälfte des 14. Jahrhunderts* (Bleicherode, 1935), pp. 13-17.
- (19) *cathedral . . . in the way*: with the streets barricaded in the vicinity of the papal palace (Dupuy, *op. cit.*, p. 247, No. 46), apparently the best way of getting at Boniface was from inside the cathedral. Marchetti-Longhi, in *ARSRSP*, 43 (1920), 390, has imagined a covered portico

running from the church to the palace whereby the entrance into the latter could have been effected. There is, however, no independent evidence for such a structure. That the cathedral doors were burned in the course of the battling is testified to by the Pope's grandnephew, cf. Dupuy, *op. cit.*, p. 472.

- (20) *merchandise for sale*: markets set up within the walls of churches and cathedrals were not unknown in the England of William Hundleby's day, cf. John R. H. Moorman: *Church Life in England in the Thirteenth Century* (Cambridge, 1945), p. 148.
- (21) *Marquis and one of his sons taken*: of the three sons of the Marquis Peter—Benedict, Roffred, and Francis—it is clear from the Orvieto Chronicle, 203, that only the first two are here concerned. But which of the two it was who was captured with his father is something of a problem. Our main clue is a remark of Nogaret (Dupuy, *op. cit.*, p. 311, No. 33) that the young man taken was known as "dominus Conticellus." That is, of course, simply the diminutive of 'count'. And thus the problem is that of identifying the "Conticellus." Caetani has suggested (*Caetanorum Genealogia*, pp. 52-53) that Roffred, Count of Fondi, was so called to distinguish him from his father who bore, among other titles, that of Count of Caserta. Despite Caetani's authority, a better case can be made out for Benedict's having gone by the name of Conticellus. One suspects that the title was applied to him, not to avoid confusing him with his father, but rather with his brother Roffred. There was real danger of such confusion. For Roffred had at one time borne the title of Count Palatine (cf. Boniface's *Register*, No. 5482, No. 5508); ultimately he had relinquished that dignity and had become, in October, 1299, Count of Fondi. Not long thereafter, Benedict obtained his brother's former title and began to be called by March, 1303, certainly, and probably as early as the spring of 1302, Count Palatine, cf. *Register*, No. 5334, No. 5335, and *ARSRSP*, 44 (1921), 21. There were thus two brothers each of whom was thought of with reference to the palatinate. Contemporaries would have needed some means of distinguishing them. Confusion could best be avoided by calling Benedict, the second holder of the title—and quite possibly the younger of the two—by the diminutive "conticellus." At all events, there is support for the thesis in the assertion of Pipinus, 740C, that it was the Count of Fondi—i.e., Roffred—who escaped the attackers. Benedict must, therefore, have been taken prisoner. And it is the captured son whom Nogaret calls "Conticellus".
- (22) *soldiery forced their way to the Pope*: according to the Orvieto Chronicle, 203, and Pipinus, 740E, subsequent to their capture the Marquis and his son (Benedict) were taken to the house of Aduulf. Nogaret, who wanted their good offices in armistice proposals to the Pope, accompanied them so that he was not with the soldiery when they broke in upon Boniface, cf. Dupuy, *op. cit.*, p. 247, No. 49, No. 50. There is some disagreement among our sources as to the Pope's appearance at the moment of his capture. In one account—that of Orvieto—Boniface

is described as in bed when his assailants find him. Many competent scholars accept the accuracy of that portrayal. Among them, J. v. Döllinger: *Akademische Vorträge* (Munich, 1891), III, 228, 236-7; R. Holtzmann: *Nogaret*, 83; and G. Digard: *Philippe le Bel et le Saint-Siège de 1285 à 1304* (Paris, 1936), II, 182, may be mentioned. The other description is given by Giovanni Villani, VIII, 63 (in Palmarocchi: *Cronisti*, 251); it has the Pope seated and arrayed in pontifical garb at the time his chamber is entered. Of recent studies, Fedele, in *BISI*, 41 (1921), 204-206, has made out the most convincing case for the reliability of the Villani account. It is this description which has been followed by F. M. Powicke in *History*, 18 (1934), 328, and which has in its favor the statement of the Pope's own grandnephew Francis: *constat enim notorie . . . tempore . . . quo fuit captus . . . ipse . . . Bonifacius erat indutus papalibus* (Dupuy, *op. cit.*, p. 402). Actually, if one keeps in mind the strain under which Boniface acted, it is not at all improbable that there is an element of truth in both descriptions. Having met his assailants in full pontificals and having been subjected to mistreatment, the Pope may well have sunk upon a couch when the worst of the ordeal was at an end, cf. *BISI*, 41 (1921), 207, and Boase: *Boniface VIII*, 347.

- (23) *no bodily injury . . . done the Pope*: the evidence against the Pope's having been physically mishandled has been presented by R. Holtzmann: *Nogaret*, 86-89, while Fedele, in *BISI*, 41 (1921), 207-217, has marshaled the indications which point to such maltreatment. Fedele's arguments would seem to be the sounder. It should perhaps be noted that although W. Holtzmann, in *Festschrift Albert Brackmann* (Weimar, 1931), p. 502, has questioned Fedele's basic contention that the words of Benedict XI (*Register*, ed. Grandjean, No. 1276, cf. No. 1099): *manus in eum iniecerunt* are to be taken in the literal sense of physical mishandling, many years earlier, Fedele's interpretation had been anticipated by Lefèvre in the *Revue de l'École d'anthropologie de Paris*, 14 (1904), 82. In support of the view that Pope Benedict's phrase is to be taken literally, one may note a similar phrase in Boniface's *Register*, No. 3418, c. 592, where the meaning of physical violence is demanded; one may note also an explicit statement dating from 1308, that the Anagni assailants of Boniface in *eum manus violentas iniecerunt*; cf. Finke, *Aus den Tagen*, p. lxxx. It has apparently not been recognized that the real force of William Hundleby's assertion: *malum in corpore non recepit papa* is to deny, not the mishandling of the Pope, but the infliction upon him of that sort of injury or wound which would still have been visible after his deliverance on September 9.
- (24) *Card. Peter of Spain . . . with the Pope*: in addition to William Hundleby, the Vienne ms, 559, and Arnold of Villanova (in Finke, *Aus den Tagen*, p. clxxxii) make mention of Peter's presence in the papal chamber. The genuineness of the cardinal's attachment to Boniface is testified to by his desire to be buried *ad pedes domini sui*; cf. the sepulchral inscription in Ciaconius-Ughellus, I, 844, 812. On the evidence of the Vienne ms and the Orvieto Chronicle, 203, it would seem that a few at least of

- the retinue copied Peter in his refusal to abandon the Pope. Our only hint as to their identity is the statement of the Troyes ms (in *Bulletin du comité historique des monuments écrits de l'histoire de France: Histoire* [Paris], IV [1853], 60) that they were *fratres Templarii et Hospitalarii cubicularii sui*. Perhaps they were the James de Pocalpaia and John Fernandi of whom Göring, *Beamten*, 58-60, makes mention. John is known to have been a Templar.
- (25) *Pope . . . taken . . . about . . . vespers*: i. e., toward 6 p. m. In 1304, Nogaret was of the opinion that the fighting had ceased at vespers (Dupuy, *op. cit.*, p. 248, No. 55), though he was later to venture that perhaps *inter nonas et vesperas* was more accurate; cf. *ibid.*, *op. cit.*, p. 310, No. 27; 445.
- (26) *pillaged . . . the . . . chamber*: there is a description of the sacking in two bulls of Benedict XI (*Reg.*, No. 1099, No. 1119). Mention of the theft of sacred relics occurs in the *Storie Pistoresi*, 239, while one of the registers of Pope Clement IV still bears witness that the papal archives fell victim to the looters, cf. *BISI*, 41 (1921), 217 n. Some idea of what those archives may have contained is gotten from the inventory of 1295 published by Ehrle in *Archiv für Literatur- und Kirchengeschichte des Mittelalters*, I (1885), 24-41. Nogaret insists (Dupuy, *op. cit.*, p. 311, No. 29; 385; 445) that Boniface's relatives and domestics had a hand in the thievery, even while the palace was still unbreached, and that they did not overlook the Pope's cellars.
- (27) *Godfrey Ceco . . . Peter Stall*: these are, of course, local Lincoln figures known to Bishop Dalderby to whom William Hundleby is writing. The Royal ms has stricken out the two names and has made the text more general: *de papa nullus plus tunc curavit quam de reo vel alio quocunque ribaldo*.
- (28) *as much as was carried away from . . . the Pope*: Boniface is credited by Arnold of Villanova (in Finke, *Aus den Tagen*, p. clxxxiii) with having boasted of the immense wealth he had acquired for the Roman See. Amongst the Pope's contemporaries, complaints are frequent enough about his thirst for gold, cf. e.g. Finke, *ibid.*, pp. xxvii, xxxi, and Compagni (ed. J. del Lungo, *Rerum Italicarum scriptores* [1907-16], IX, pt. 2, 163). It has been estimated that Boniface's nine-year pontificate saw an income totaling 2,265,000 florins and an outlay of 2,170,000, cf. Baethgen in *Quellen und Forschungen aus italienischen Archiven und Bibliotheken*, 20 (1929), 190.
- (29) *Simon Gerard*: through an evident oversight, Simon's name has been omitted by the scribe of the All Souls ms and must be supplied from the Royal ms. Simon is mentioned fifty-two times in Boniface's *Register*. He was a member of the Florentine banking firm of the Spini (*Reg.*, No. 1296) who by 1300 had had sufficient contact with the Pope to be referred to as *familiaris noster* (*Reg.*, No. 3535). William Hundleby is our only source to connect him with the events of September 7, though the Vienne ms, 560, records the pillaging of the Spini house in Anagni. For the function of men like Simon, cf. E. Jordan, *De mercatoribus*

- camerae apostolicae sacculo XIII*, Remes, 1909; for Boniface's relations with the Tuscan bankers, cf. Gino Arias, *Studi e documenti di storia del diritto* (Florence, 1902), 102-114.
- (30) *The Pope . . . in custody*: both the Vienne ms, 560, and Nogaret (in Dupuy, *op. cit.*, p. 444) make it certain that the Pope was held in his own palace. Despite Nogaret's having seen to it that Boniface's domestics were permitted to bring him food (Dupuy, *op. cit.*, p. 257; 311, No. 32), the legend was to take shape that the Pope had had nothing to eat or to drink during the time of his imprisonment, cf. the *Storie Pistoresi*, 239. The tale may have been occasioned by Boniface's reluctance to eat for fear of poisoning (so Hocsem in Dupuy, *op. cit.*, p. 4) or perhaps by his deliberate refusal of food; this latter course is understandable enough given the resentment he must have felt at his captivity. Cf. R. Holtzmann, *Nogaret*, p. 96.
- (31) *whether they should put the Pope to death*: Nogaret's insistence that it was his guarding of the Pope which saved him from death implies that some at least of the attacking party were not opposed to murder; cf. Dupuy, *op. cit.*, p. 444. Against this radical element, the Frenchman counted, no doubt, upon his less embittered companions who, sated as they were with the Pope's wealth, now objected to further violence; so Döllinger, *Akademische Vorträge*, III, 231. Apparently, the unexpected success of the expedition had worked a change in Nogaret himself; he seems again to have thought of carrying Boniface off to France for trial. But because he could hardly have been ready with the detailed planning, debate dragged on, with even his moderate associates far from enthusiastic.
- (32) *gathering of the commune . . . about the third hour*: in assigning the meeting to the third hour, i.e., 9 a. m., the Royal ms provides a better reading than does the All Souls ms which places the gathering at the ninth hour. Supporting the former text are the Orvieto Chronicle, 203, the Vienne ms, 560, and Nogaret (in Dupuy, *op. cit.*, p. 248, No. 55). There is some indication in our sources of other motives for the assembly besides that given by Hundleby. That the excesses of the soldiery—mentioned by the Padua ms of Ptolomey of Lucca (in *errum Italicarum scriptores* [ed. 1727], XI, 1223C) and hinted at by Nogaret (in Dupuy, *op. cit.*, p. 311, No. 31)—should have caused resentment needs little belaboring. Of greater significance is the reference of the Torkes ms, 61, to the indignation of the townfolk upon being presented with decrees in the name of the French King rather than in that of the Pope. According to Pipinus, 740E, and Ferreto (*op. cit.*, I, 154-155) the popular discontent was fanned into flame by Cardinal Luke Fieschi, though there is probability behind the suggestion of Caetani, *Domus Caetana*, I, pt. 1, 177, that the Caetani cardinal and his nephew Roffred had been busy recruiting forces for the freeing of the Pope. It may be noted that Lévis Mirepoix, *Philippe le Bel* (Paris, 1936), p. 112, has blundered badly in having the Marquis Peter organize the counter-attack.

- (33) *the Pope has done much evil*: for the sort of thing his adversaries were saying about Boniface, cf. Dupuy, *op. cit.*, pp. 102-106; 526-543. A judicious evaluation of such charges is that of Finke: *Aus den Tagen*, pp. 252-268. For the accusation of heresy, besides the studies listed by Boase, *Boniface VIII*, p. 364, and his own discussion, attention may be called to L. Mohler, *Die Kardinäle Jakob und Peter Colonna* (Paderborn, 1914), 139-164, to Ludwig in the *Historisch-politische Blätter für das katholische Deutschland*, 154 (1914), 292-297, and, in support of the charge, to Robert Davidsohn, *Geschichte von Florenz* (Berlin, 1912), III, 7-11. The brochure of Clemens Sommer, *Die Anklage der Idolatrie gegen Papst Bonifaz VIII* (Freiburg-i-B., 1920), is of slight value.
- (34) *10,000 well armed men*: this estimate is obviously too high for it implies that Anagni had some 30-40,000 inhabitants in the days of Pope Boniface. During the same period, Naples was a city of only 25-30,000 souls, while Salerno numbered no more than seven or eight thousand, cf. Karl J. Beloch: *Bevölkerungsgeschichte Italiens* (Berlin, 1937), I, 170, 243. On the basis of Pardi's calculations — controversial, to be sure — Anagni can be estimated as having had not many more than 3200 residents in the year 1420, cf. *ARSRSP*, 49 (1926), 331-354.
- (35) *Sciarrò . . . quitted the town*: that a good deal of fighting accompanied this retreat is evident from Nogaret's earliest description of it (in Dupuy, *op. cit.*, pp. 175; 248, No. 55). Indeed, according to the Orvieto Chronicle, 203, Nogaret was himself wounded in the course of the struggle, while Rainald of Supino and his son Robert were captured by the townsfolk. However, the Frenchman was able to make good his escape; a month later, on October 17, 1303, he and Rainald, since freed by Boniface, pledged themselves to continue the feud with Anagni and the Caetani, see Dupuy, *op. cit.*, pp. 174-176.
- (36) *The Pope freed . . . just after midday*: although the Royal ms's *circa horam statim post nonam* would place the liberation at 3 p.m., the reading strikes one as too awkward to be original. That the more likely *statim post nonam* of the All Souls ms is to be interpreted as referring to midday rather than to 3 p.m. seems required by the context which implies a rapid succession of events between the commune's gathering and the freeing of the Pope. *Nona*, with the meaning of midday or noon, can be traced in insular sources as far back as 1148 A.D. Cf. J. H. Baxter—C. Johnson, *Medieval Latin Word-List from British and Irish Sources* (Oxford, 1934), p. 279.
- (37) *the great piazza*: the cathedral square. The Pope probably spoke from the west portal of the church, under the porch where his statue stands today.
- (38) *absolution . . . as to punishment and to guilt*: on the other occasion whereupon Boniface employs the expression *a culpa et pena . . . absoluti* (*Reg.*, No. 815), he is but repeating the phrase from a grant of Celestine V to the church of Collemaggio dated September 29, 1294. The expression itself, as Nikolaus Paulus, *Geschichte des Ablasses im Mittelalter* (Paderborn, 1923), II, 137-148, points out, was popular rather than strictly theological and was used in the 13th century in description of a plenary indulgence. One may surmise, however, from the frequency with which Robert Courson refers to *deletio pene et culpe* (cf. his *Summa*, ed. Kennedy, in *Mediaeval Studies*, VII [1945], espec. 304, 306, 307, 308) that the phrase had been first employed by theologians in explaining the effects of contrition before it was taken over and applied popularly to indulgences. Of such popular use with reference to indulgences a case in point is Boniface's own jubilee grant of 1300. Two who gained it, viz., G. Villani (in Palmarocchi: *Cronisti*, 232) and William Ventura (in *Rerum Italicarum scriptores* [ed. 1727], XI, 191-192), speak of it as a *perdonanza . . . di colpa e di pena*, though the Pope himself had not used that terminology but had called his indulgence *plenissima omnium . . . venia peccatorum* (*Reg.*, No. 3875). That contrition for and confession of sin was required for the gaining of such an indulgence is expressly laid down in the bull, cf. also, H. Thurston: "The Jubilee Indulgence a poena et a culpa" in the *Dublin Review*, 122 (1900), 1-24. For the distinction between the *macula culpae* and the *reatus poenae* as worked out by Boniface's day, see St. Thomas Aquinas, *Summa theologica*, Ia IIae, qq. 86-87.
- (39) *the Pope . . . went out . . . and blessed the people*: this appearance of the Pontiff is clearly distinct from that of the cathedral square. According to the Orvieto Chronicle, 203, and the *Storie Pistoiesi*, 239, it was made at the head of the stairs of the Pope's own palace and was climaxed by his freeing of Rainald and the others captured by the populace.
- (40) *desire to be at peace with . . . his enemies*: Boniface's announcement probably came at the close of his second discourse, perhaps in connection with his giving of liberty to Rainald and his companions. Among the seized had been a number of Anagni nobles; Cardinal Nicholas Boccasini, the future Benedict XI, spoke on their behalf and secured the Pope's pardon for them and all the townsfolk who had taken part in the uprising. Cf. Pipinus, 741A, and the *Storie Pistoiesi*, 239. There is evidence in Dupuy, *op. cit.*, (p. 248, No. 56; p. 312, No. 35) which makes it probable, despite Renan's doubt (*Études*, 52), that the Pope's forgiveness extended to all implicated in the attack. That specific mention was made of the Colonna cardinals is admitted by Mohler, *Kard. J. u. P. Colonna*, p. 121. Other members of the Sacred College were sufficiently involved in the affair to have had need also of pardon. Two of them—Richard of Siena and Napoleon Orsini—are singled out by the Orvieto Chronicle, 203. Certainly Napoleon's culpability was taken for granted by his own uncle, Cardinal Matteo Rosso Orsini; cf. his charge in H. Finke, *Acta Aragonensis* (Berlin, 1922), III, 134-135. For an account of Napoleon's part in the Anagni attempt, cf. Carl A. Willemsen, *Kardinal Napoleon Orsini* (Berlin, 1927), pp. 11-12.
- (41) *the Pope left . . . with . . . a large party*: Boniface's return to his see city was suggested by a delegation sent from Rome for that purpose; in its company the Pope set out for the capital, cf. the Troyes ms, 61, and the

Storie Pistoresi, 239. The chronicler in recueil des historiens des Gaules et de la France, XXI, 149, estimates the strength of the party at 400. That the envoys had arrived in time to assist in liberating the Pope is hardly possible despite the suggestion of Mariani in *La Ciudad de Dios* (Madrid), 147 (1926), 189. Amongst the delegates, Cardinal Matteo Rosso Orsini figured prominently; it is he whom the Padua ms of Ptolomey, 1223D, credits with having protected the Pope en route to Rome. That such protection involved beating off the Colonna attack in the Campagna, mentioned by the Parma Chronicle (ed. G. Bonazzi, in *Rerum Italicarum scriptores* [1902], IX, pt. 9, 86), would seem improbable.

- (42) *arrived at . . . Rome on . . . Wednesday*: i.e., September 18. Ferreto (I, 155) is in agreement with Hundleby as to the date of the arrival as is apparently the continuator of Gervase of Canterbury (in MGH, SS XXVII, 314) who has Boniface at St. Peter's by the 20th of the month. The Vienne ms, 560, assigns the seemingly impossible *XII die Sept.* to the entrance into Rome. One cannot, of course, exclude a numerical error in the ms as we have it, but it may be pointed out that the simple addition of the abbreviation *ex.* to the Vienne form would make it mean September 19 in the reckoning known as the *consuetudo Bononiensis*. Cf. A. Cappelli, *Cronologia, Cronografia e Calendario Perpetuo* (2nd ed., Milan, 1930), p. 26 n. The supposition that the Pope reached Rome after vespers on Wednesday afternoon is quite sufficient to explain the minor difficulty of the clerical author of the ms having noted the event under Thursday's date.

Unfortunately, there is greater difficulty with the departure from Anagni. The All Souls ms places it on Friday, September 13, thus having the journey consume six days, which is inordinately long for the forty miles involved. Knöpfler, indeed, has suggested (in *Historisch-politische Blätter für das katholische Deutschland*, 102 [1888], 10 n.) that the delay was caused by the Pope's having had to rest after the second Colonna attack; but William Hundleby says expressly that the journey was unbroken, *continuatis diebus suis*. In contrast, Ferreto (*op. cit.*, I, 155) offers a more likely chronology which makes Boniface leave Anagni on Monday the 16th; cf. R. Holtzmann, *Nogaret*, p. 229. The present writer would like to propose that the original text of William Hundleby may have given the same date as Ferreto. One notes considerable difference between the Royal and All Souls mss at this point; for the former, the departure falls *die Veneris post octavas natalis b. Marie*. Liebermann, in the MGH edition, emends the *post octavas* to *ante oct.* to get the date of September 13. May not the difficulty lie rather in the *Veneris*? Had the original read *die veniente post octavas* etc., Monday, September 16th, would have been the day assigned. It may be observed that the reference to Friday the 13 in the sentence preceding the departure is not in contradiction with the proposed emendation; all that is implied therein is that the commune's guarding of the Pope came to an end on the 13th, not that he left Anagni on that day.

- (43) *Tuscia*: William Hundleby here uses the term in the sense of the *Patrimonium S. Petri in Tuscia*, a region stretching from Radicofani in the north to Rome in the south, with the residence of its rector still at Montefiascone in the days of Pope Boniface, cf. Calisse in *ARSRSP*, 15 (1892), 5-70. The term was also used, however, for the territory in the vicinity of Lucca and Florence. Cf. Finke, *Acta Aragonensia*, III, 119, for such usage in 1304.
- (44) *the Orsini . . . on the side of the Pope*: Boniface's transfer from the Lateran to St. Peter's — a move noted by the Padua ms of Ptolomey, 1223D, and the Troyes ms, 61, as well as by Cardinal James Stefaneschi (in F. X. Seppelt, *Monumenta Coelestiniana* [Paderborn, 1921], p. 122) — placed him at the very heart of the Orsini territory in Rome. It was this geographic proximity, no doubt, which gave rise to the very detailed account of Ferreto, *op. cit.*, I, 155-160, about the Pope's having fallen prisoner to his neighbors. R. Holtzmann, *Nogaret*, 231, has shown the inaccuracies in Ferreto's tale, yet, as he indicates, some sort of surveillance on the part of the Orsini would seem to have been exercised. Whatever may be true of the family, there are no grounds for doubting Cardinal Matteo Rosso Orsini's continued loyalty to Boniface. Cf. Finke, *Aus den Tagen*, pp. 273-274, and Morghen in *ARSRSP*, 46 (1922), 351-352.
- (45) *curtisans*: the term is here employed in the meaning listed by DuCange (ed. Favre, 1883), II, 589, s. v. *cortis*, 4, to describe those having some occupation at the papal court. Though William Hundleby was not himself an official of the Curia, as a resident procurator he would have had considerable business with the pontifical *data communis* — as well as with the *audientia*—on behalf of the Bishop of Lincoln. Cf. Robt. Fawtier's introduction to *Les Registres de Boniface VIII* (Paris, 1939), IV, xxxiii. For the beginnings of the system whereby prelates and princes maintained permanent representatives at Rome, cf. v. Heckel in *Miscellanea Francesco Ehrle* (Rome, 1924), II, 290-321, and Behrens in *The English Historical Review*, 49 (1934), 641-643; for the process whereby the Holy See came to be likened to the court of a lay sovereign, cf. K. Jordan, "Die Entstehung der römischen Kurie" in *Zeitschrift der Savigny-Stiftung für Rechtsgeschichte, Kan. Abt.*, 59 (1939), 97-152.
- (46) *thieves on all sides*: that there had been disturbances at Rome along with looting of the houses of cardinals upon receipt of the news that Boniface had been seized at Anagni, Benedict XI's *Register*, No. 1099, is witness. Even after the Pope's return to his see, the Vienne ms, 560, — which, like William Hundleby's letter, dates from the last weeks of Boniface's life—makes the observation: *Roma et tota terra est corrupta de predonibus et malefactoribus . . . et nullum dominium est in terra*.
- (47) *the senators of Rome*: i. e., Theobald Orsini and Alexis Bonaventura. The resignation was apparently but of short duration for by November 1303 they had resumed their functions, cf. A. Salimei: *Senatori e statuti di Roma nel medioevo: i senatori, 1144 al 1447* (Rome, 1935), p. 90. For

an account of the higher magistrates and the judiciary of Rome in this period, cf. A. de Bouard, *Le régime politique et les institutions de Rome au moyen-âge, 1252-1347* (Paris, 1920), pp. 133-158.

- (48) *the Pope . . . in great distress*: there is a legend, given currency by Ferreto (*op. cit.*, I, 161-163) and the Ambrosian ms of Ptolomey (in *Rerum Italicarum scriptores* [ed. 1727], XI, 1203-4), that prior to his death on October 12 Boniface lost his reason. Pipinus, 741C, indeed, adds the gruesome detail: *fertur enim quod . . . in ipsis mortis angustiis, brachia corrodebat ut canis*. That little credit need be given such tales is evident both from Cardinal James Stefaneschi's testimony (in F. X. Seppelt, *Monumenta Coelestiniana*, p. 122) to Boniface's serenity at the moment of death as from the examination of the corpse in 1605 which showed conclusively that his members had been integral at the time of decease, cf. the *Instrumentum recognitionis* abridged in T. Bottagisio, *Bonifacio VIII e un celebre commentatore di Dante* (Milan, 1926), pp. 393-397.
- (49) *no prospect that hearings will recommence*: this would indicate that there had been a suspension of the *audientia litterarum contradictarum* with which procurators had much to do, cf. Harry Bresslau: *Handbuch der Urkundenlehre für Deutschland und Italien* (2nd ed., Leipzig, 1912), I, 285. According to Villani (in Palmarocchi, *Cronisti*, p. 252), the Pope himself was occupied during these days with plans for a council that was to condemn the King of France. On the strength of the documents he publishes, Fedele contends, in *BJSI*, 41 (1921), 219, that there is nothing to the story of Ferreto, *op. cit.*, I, 166, that Boniface was also busied about getting Frederick of Sicily to serve as an ally against the Angevin King Charles II of Naples. One notes, however, that an Aragon despatch of December 31, 1303, mentions the Neapolitan monarch's anxiety *propter aliquas res quas dominus rex Fredericus dicitur pertractasse cum domino papa qui ab hoc seculo transmigravit*, cf. Finke, *Acta Aragonensia*, I, 155. For the background of Boniface's relation with Angevin Italy, cf. J. Gay, "Notes sur le second royaume français de Sicile et la papauté d'Urbain IV à Boniface VIII (1261-1302)," in *Mélanges offerts à M. Nicolas Torq* (Paris, 1933), pp. 309-329.

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