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## ARTICLES

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### *Mercenaries and Military Expenditure: The Costs of Undeclared Warfare in Fourteenth Century Siena*

William Caferro  
Yale University

One of the most dramatic and ruinous problems faced by the Italian peninsula in the fourteenth century were the raids of the great mercenary companies. These companies, known as Free Companies or Companies of Adventure, were private armies, composed of professional soldiers and assorted adventurers, tied together under the allegiance of a captain, or, as the Italians called him, a *condottiere*. In times of war they sold themselves to the highest bidder; in times of peace they became roving bands despoiling the countryside and extorting money from towns and cities. Their presence was felt throughout Europe. In France, where they were known as *routiers* or *ecorcheurs*, they fought in the battles as well as during the truces of the Hundred Years War. In Spain they were involved in the bitter war between Peter the Cruel of Castille and Peter the Ceremonious of Aragon. Many of their worst excesses, however, were reserved for Italy, where they spread terror and destruction from the northern reaches of Savoy to the southern limits of the kingdom of Naples. Their arrival in the middle of the century constituted, along with frequent plagues and famine, a great challenge for local city-states.

Although the deeds of these companies are amply recorded in the chronicles and documents of the period, surprisingly little attention has been paid to them by modern historians. The current literature on the companies is woefully inadequate. The basic sources, Ercole

Ricotti's *Storia delle compagnie di ventura in Italia* and Giuseppe Canestrini's "Documenti per servire della milizia italiana del secolo XIII al XVI" are now well over a hundred years old and, in each case, suffused with nationalistic bias.<sup>1</sup> Written at the time when Italy was moving toward reunification, both emphasize the foreign nature of the companies and view their arrival in Italy as a symptom of the decay of native military spirit. More recent studies have tended to treat the companies of the fourteenth century in terms of their more well-known successors of the fifteenth century, when individual *condottiere* emerged from their companies and, in several spectacular cases, took over the communes they served.<sup>2</sup> The aim of the present article is to examine the most important and the most ignored aspect of the companies: their financial impact on the communes they ravaged.<sup>3</sup> The focus will be Siena, a city that suffered unduly harsh misery at the hands of the companies.<sup>4</sup> In the period from 1342 to 1399 Siena endured at least thirty-seven separate mercenary incursions, beginning with the arrival of the Great Company of Werner of Urslingen, the self-styled "enemy of God, piety and

<sup>1</sup> Ercole Ricotti, *Storia delle compagnie di ventura in Italia*. 2 vols (Turin, 1845-47); Giuseppe Canestrini «Documenti per servire della milizia italiana del secolo XIII al XVI». *Archivio Storico italiano* s. 1.15 (1851). The chauvinism of Ricotti and Canestrini elicited response from a German historian, Karl Schäfer, who, writing just before the outbreak of the First World War, detailed the deeds of the German mercenaries in Italy. To Schäfer these mercenaries were nothing less than «Sagenhaften Helden grauer Vorzeit (the legendary heroes of yesteryear)», who were called to Italy to perform a needed service. Karl Schäfer, «Deutsche Ritter und Edelknechte in Italien». in *Quellen und Forschungen aus dem Gebiet der Geschichte*. Paderborn 15 (1911) p. vii.

<sup>2</sup> This is true of Geoffrey Trease, *The Condottieri* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1970) and Michael Mallett, *Mercenaries and their Masters* (London: Bodley Head, 1974). The literature devoted specifically to the Free Companies of the fourteenth century consists only of D. M. Bueno Mesquita's brief «Some Condottieri of the Trecento». *Proceedings of the British Academy*, 32 (1946) pp. 310-333. There are, in addition, scattered studies of individual condottieri, such as Giuseppe Marcotti and John Temple-Leader's *John Hawkwood* (London: T. Fischer Unwin, 1889), G. Franceschini's «Boldrino da Panicale» *Bolletino della deputazione di storia patria dell'Umbria*, 46 (1949) 118-139 and G. Gerola, «Fra Moriale in Toscana» *Archivio Storico Italiano* (1906) pp. 261-300. Of these Marcotti and Temple-Leader's *John Hawkwood* is by far the most useful.

<sup>3</sup> Only the most superficial attention has been paid to mercenary costs. The existing literature contains, at best, cursory recapitulations of the bribes extorted by the

mercy," and ending with the Company of St. George led by Biordo Michelotti and the Count of Carrara.<sup>5</sup> In the intervening years, the Sienese experienced the ravages of all the major *condottieri* and their companies operating in Italy, including the fierce Bretons of Bernardo della Salla and the most formidable *condottiere* of them all, John Hawkwood. The period of mercenary activity contributed directly to the great economic troubles that culminated in the subjugation of Siena by Giangaleazzo Visconti of Milan in 1399.

Our account of mercenary costs must begin with a look at the bribes extorted by the companies. One of the first actions taken by a mercenary band when it entered the territory of a local commune was to send messengers to demand a bribe. Even the most casual examination of Sienese sources makes clear that these were substantial. In July 1375 a company led by John Hawkwood extorted the formidable sum of 30,500 florins (114,700 lire) from the commune.<sup>6</sup> To appreciate this figure, it should be noted that the *Podestà*, who was chief executive officer of the commune and presided over the chief deliberative body, the *Consiglio Generale*, earned approximately 2,356 florins (8,718 lire) for six months worth of work, while the *Sanatore*, who prosecuted criminal cases and dealt with internal security, earned 3,784 florins (14,000 lire) for the same period.<sup>7</sup> The combined six-month salary of these two officials — the two most important of the commune — was 6,140 florins (22,718 lire), a figure representing no more than a fifth of what Hawkwood earned for several days worth of

companies, intended to impress rather than inform. These can be found in Ricotti, Canestrini, Marcotti and Temple-Leader and, most recently, Geoffrey Trease.

<sup>4</sup> The broad outlines of Siena's experience with mercenary bands have been traced by Alphonso Professione, *Siena e le compagnie di ventura* (Civitanova-Marche, 1898). This work, constructed primarily from the surviving letters of ambassadors, focuses on the movements of the companies in and out of Sienese territory.

<sup>5</sup> «Nemico di Dio, di pietà e di misericordia» Werner wore this motto proudly on his breastplate. Ercole Ricotti, *Storia delle compagnie di ventura in Italia*. Vol 1, p. 53.

<sup>6</sup> Reg 3 [305v]; *Cronaca Senesi in Rerum Italicarum Scriptores* edited by Alessandro Lisini and Fabio Iacometti n.s. 15, pt. 4 (Bologna: Nicola Zanichelli, 1931-1938), p. 658. This figure pales beside the 130,000 florins Hawkwood allegedly received from Florence in the same year.

<sup>7</sup> Reg 3 [305v].

harassment. Even the sale of the fortified town of Marsigliano, which the commune was forced to do to help amass the money needed to pay Hawkwood, fetched only 5,000 florins (18,500 lire).<sup>8</sup> Indeed, if all the regular sources of income that appear in the budget are added together, the sum, 27,120 florins (100,345 lire), is still less than the amount paid to Hawkwood.<sup>9</sup>

This bribe was not the largest Siena was forced to pay. That distinction goes to the bribe of 38,650 florins extorted by the company of Hannekin Baumgarten and Albert Sterz in 1364; a sum nearly as great as the operating capital of the companies of Francesco Datini, the famous Merchant of Prato.<sup>10</sup> The settlement left the commune so strapped for cash that it was forced to give hostages to the company as guarantee of eventual payment in full.<sup>11</sup> Table 1 provides a comprehensive list of the bribes paid by the commune to mercenary companies during the period of this study.

For all their splendour the bribes were, nevertheless, only a part of the settlement made with mercenary companies. Settlements between mercenary companies and communes were, in reality, a series of settlements with the various elements that made up a company. Mercenary companies, particularly the larger ones, were diverse entities, composed of several, often multi-national, contingents, each

<sup>8</sup> On October 21, 1375 the commune sold the castle at Marsigliano to Ranieri di Ugolino da Baschi for 5,000 florins. (According to the budget Siena received 18,500 lire from Ranieri; the «capitolo» of the deal is in Caleffo Nero, October 21, 1375, 556r; see also Alessandro Lisini, *I Provvedimenti economici della repubblica di Siena nel 1382*. (Siena, 1895) p. 145. This was a pawn to pay for Hawkwood, CG 185 [93v].

<sup>9</sup> By «regular sources» I refer to those sources of income traditionally collected by the commune, in mercenary years and non-mercenary years. These sources include income from communal gabelles, income from the so-called «ceppo» of the *Sanatore* (fines from those who committed crimes), income from «censi», the semi-annual tribute paid by subject towns and income from the so-called «gabella di due soldi per lira», a tax on the salaries of communal officials. I exclude those sources, such as voluntary and forced loans, direct taxes and pawned properties, which were employed specifically to raise money to pay Hawkwood.

<sup>10</sup> The bribe was actually a series of bribes made in August, October and December. B. 245 [43v], [63v], [75r]. The operating capital of Datini's companies was approximately 40,000 florins.

<sup>11</sup> C.S., pp. 607-608.

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Table 1

Bribes for major mercenary intrusions (In Florins)

Year	Company	Bribe	Source
1354	Montreal d'Albano (Great Company)	13,324	C.S., p. 573; B 231 [191v]
1357	Conrad of Landau (Great Company)	13,000	C.S., p. 585; B 237 [98r]
1364	Hannekin Baumgarten and Albert Sterz (Company of the Star)	38,650	B. 245 [43v], [63v], [75r]
1365	Albert Sterz	8,000	C.S., p. 609; CG 172 [51v]
1366	Ambrogio Visconti	10,500	C.S., p. 611; CG 174 [42r]
1370/1371	Lucius Landau and Frederigo of Brescia	8,000	Conc. 59 [10v]
1375	John Hawkwood	30,500	C.S., p. 658; Reg 3 [305v]
1379	John Hawkwood and Lucius Landau	32,000	C.S., p. 675
1380	Charles of Durazzo	11,000	C.S., p. 680; Giuseppe Canestrini, «Documenti per servire della milizia italiana del secolo XII al XV». p. lxx. Capitoli 86 [1r]
1381	Hawkwood and Giovanni Bano	4,000	
	Villanozzo of Brumfort and Alberigo da Barbiano (Company of the Hook)	10,000	B. 264 [189r]; CG 191 [134v]
1383	Hawkwood, Giovanni D'Azzo degli Ubaldini and Richard Rornsey	7,000	B. 267 [187v]
1384	Hawkwood, Giovanni D'Azzo degli Ubaldini and Richard Romsey	11,000	B. 268 [58r]
	Eguerrand of Coucy	7,000	B. 270 [138v]; Conc 123 11v]
	Bernardo della Salla and Brettoni	2,000	B. 270 [185v-186v]; CG 194 [90r]
1385	Eberhard Landau, John Beltoft, et al	14,000	B 272 [130r]
1386	Boldrino da Panicale	2,000	CG 195 [80v]

*William Cafarro*

1387	Bernardo della Sala and Brettoni	9,000	Conc. 140 [20r]
1388	John Beltoft	9,000	C.S., p. 721; Res 4 [182v]
1392	Broglia, Brandolino, Biordo de Michelotti, et al. (Company of St. George)	5,000	Capitoli 86 [2r], Conc 168 [9v]
1393	Brettoni	2,700	CG 197 [58r]
	Azzo da Castello, Biordo	3,600	CG 197 [91r]
1395	Bernardo della Sala and Brettoni	2,875	Reg 5 [90v]; B 282 [29r], [31v], [35v], [37r], [44v], [47r]
1396	Bartolomeo da Prato and the «Florentine» Company	3,400	CG 198 [21v]
1399	Broglia and the Count of Carrara	5,600	Capitoli 86 [3v]

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Note: Florins have been used here because mercenary companies were paid in florins. The transactions were, however, usually recorded in lire in communal budgets. The figures in this and all subsequent tables have been rounded off to the nearest florin or, where applicable, the nearest lira. The table does not include mercenary intrusions in which the sources do not distinguish carefully between the bribe and other additional payments. For this reason the mercenary costs associated with Werner of Urslingen in 1342, Conrad of Landau in 1359, Bernardo della Sala in 1386 and Azzo da Castello in 1386 have been omitted.

with substantial and well-articulated hierarchies. Included in their number were co-commanders, sub-commanders, chancellors, treasurers and an assortment of other functionaries.<sup>12</sup> Michael Mallett has pointed out that the agreement between the Great Company of Fra. Moriale and Florence in 1354 was signed by more than 234 members of that company.<sup>13</sup> The contract between Siena and the company of Hawkwood on 30 October 1381 was signed by Hawkwood's co-commanders "Giovanni Bano," Eberhard Landau

<sup>12</sup> The best description of the internal organization of a fourteenth-century mercenary company is still that given by Florentine chronicler Matteo Villani for the Great Company in 1354. Matteo Villani, *Cronica*, p. 115. A brief general description is also given in John Temple-Leader and Giuseppe Marcotti's, *Sir John Hawkwood*, pp. 44-45. A detailed account of the inner workings of the mercenary company of Michelotto Attendolo in the fifteenth century can be found in Mario Del Treppo, «Gli aspetti organizzativi economici e sociali di una compagnia di ventura italiana». *Rivista Storica Italiana*, 85 (1973) pp. 252-75.

<sup>13</sup> Michael Mallett, *Mercenaries and their Masters*, (London, 1974) p. 34.

and Conrad Landau, the three leaders of a separate contingent of German mercenaries and four members of a contingent of Bretons.<sup>14</sup> Often these officials demanded their own special emoluments, which the unfortunate commune was expected to bear.

The main *condottieri*, for instance, frequently received separate personal compensation above the price of the settlement. In 1365 each of the captains of the Company of the Star received an additional one thousand florins, beyond the eight thousand florins stipulated in the peace accord.<sup>15</sup> In 1383 the settlement with the company of Hawkwood, Giovanni D'Azzo degli Ubaldini and Richard Romsey included a separate payment of 1200 florins to Hawkwood.<sup>16</sup> A year later, when the company returned, Hawkwood received a personal payment of 4,000 florins.<sup>17</sup>

Separate payments were also made to various chancellors, procurators and corporals. Cechino da Imola, "cancelliere maggiore" of the Great Company of Conrad of Landau was given 100 florins as part of the agreement made between the commune and the Great Company in 1357.<sup>18</sup> The commune got off relatively easy in 1382 when it paid the "procurati et cancelleri" of Villanozzo of Brumfort little more than 33 florins.

Even the notaries employed by companies to draw up peace settlements received special payments from the commune. For his work on the agreement between the commune and the company of Baumgarten and Sterz in December 1364 the notary of the company was paid 50 florins by the Siense.<sup>19</sup> The "paper and writing of the pacts made with the commune of Siena" and John Hawkwood cost,

<sup>14</sup> Capitoli 86 [1r].

<sup>15</sup> C.S. p. 609. The three captains were Albert Sterz, Giovanni, Count of Asporli and Anselm of Friggia.

<sup>16</sup> B 267 [193r]. This was supposed to be paid at a rate of 100 florins per month, but the Biccherna budget indicates that it was paid all at once. The payment is also mentioned in the Cronaca Senesi pp. 698-699.

<sup>17</sup> B. 268 [58r].

<sup>18</sup> C.S., p. 585; B 237 [98r], Semester II, 1357. Here, as elsewhere, the figures in the Siense chronicle are identical to those found in the budget.

<sup>19</sup> B. 245 [75r], Semester II, 1364; C.S., p. 608. Once again the figures in the chronicle match those in the Biccherna budget.

according to the chronicler, 120 florins.<sup>20</sup> To appreciate these sums, it is worthwhile to note that the highest paid *fattore* in the employ of Francesco Datini received a yearly wage of 100 florins.

In addition to personal payments, the commune was also expected to make good the damage suffered by the company. Such payments usually involved restitution for the loss of horses.<sup>21</sup> The agreement between the commune and the company of Charles of Durazzo in 1380 included separate payment for the loss of horses during its raid on the Valdichiana.<sup>22</sup> A more audacious demand was made by the company of John Hawkwood in 1367, which sought, and received, restitution not only for horses that were killed while in Sienese territory, but also for horses that were killed by Sienese forces sent to aid Perugia while the company was attacking that city.<sup>23</sup>

Horses were also often included in agreements as gifts. Eberhard Landau, Lucius' brother, and a member of Hawkwood's band in 1379, received a palfrey as part of the agreement between his company and the commune.<sup>24</sup> In 1385 the settlement with the company of John Hawkwood, Eberhard Landau and Tadeo Pepoli included the grant of three war horses.<sup>25</sup>

The costs were significant. Restitution of a single war horse to

<sup>20</sup> C.S., p. 659 «... per ricogliere le carte e scritture de patti fatti col comune di Siena».

<sup>21</sup> This practice appears to have been fashioned after the so-called *mendum* clause in the contracts that Siena, and other communes, made with the mercenaries they employed. Typically a contract or, in the language of the time, *condotta* with a mercenary band included the stipulation that the employer, i. e., the commune, would pay for any damage done to horses while the mercenaries were in their employ. A brief discussion of this practice is in Daniel Waley, «Condotte and Condottieri in the Thirteenth Century» *Proceedings of the British Academy*, 61 (1975) pp. 340-341.

<sup>22</sup> C.S. p. 680; B. 262 [152r]. The payments appear to have gone directly to the sub-commanders and corporals who lost the horses. The Great Company under the command of Montreal D'Albarno received payment in 1354 for the loss of horses. C.S., p. 573.

<sup>23</sup> C.S., p. 613. Likewise, the agreement with the company of John Hawkwood and Lucius Landau in 1379 included a provision granting Lucius compensation for damage received during a previous entry into the Sienese contado. C.S. p. 675.

<sup>24</sup> C.S., p. 675. A palfrey (known as «palafreno» in the documents) was a riding horse.

<sup>25</sup> B 272 [130r], Semester II, 1385. These were known in the documents as *corsieri*.

a corporal of the company of Villanozzo of Brumfort cost the commune 40 florins.<sup>26</sup> The Concistoro deliberations of July 22, 1392 record individual payments of 40 florins and 50 florins to the various corporals of the company of Broglia, Brandolino and Azzo for damage suffered while in the Sienese *contado*.<sup>27</sup>

There is evidence that on at least one occasion the commune went so far as to make good the cost of a human being. While ravaging Sienese territory near the Maremman town of Monticello in March of 1385, "one of the family" of the *condottiere* Bernadone della Sala was killed by the local inhabitants. The indignant *condottiere* demanded and received the sum of 61 florins as compensation for his loss, a mere eleven florins greater than what one of Broglia's corporals received for his horse.<sup>28</sup>

Generous gifts of baked bread, wax, sweets and wine were frequently included in deals as extra enticement. In addition to the substantial payment of 13,324 florins, the Great Company of Montreal D'Albano received "bread, wine, sweets and other things" as further incentive to leave the Sienese *contado*.<sup>29</sup> The first payment to the company of Hannekin Baumgarten and Albert Sterz in August 1364 included not only "much wax and sweets," but also wine, grain, goblets of silver, a covered horse and, to the principal knights of the company, silver tassels for their horses.<sup>30</sup> The final payment to Baumgarten and Sterz in December 1364 included a gift of nine

<sup>26</sup> B. 264, [189r] Semester II, 1382. A «Nicholo da Cielle» is listed as the recipient.

<sup>27</sup> Conc. 168 [12r]. The commune paid, in all, 357 florins for seven horses. The largest expenditure I was able to find for a single horse was the 60 florins paid for a palfrey in the entourage of the Sanatore in 1396. CG 198 [14v].

<sup>28</sup> CG 195 [64r], March 16, 1385. «... pro illo suo familiari quod fuerit occisus in territorio Monticelli comitas Senarum...» «The 61 florins was originally paid by the town of Roccalbegna, which maintained nominal administrative control over the nearby Monticello. In the deliberations of March 16, 1385 the Sienese city council decided to repay the 61 florins by deducting the sum from the annual taxes of the town of Roccalbegna.

<sup>29</sup> C.S., p. 573. «... di pane e di vino e confetti e altre cose ...».

<sup>30</sup> C.S., p. 607. «Sanesi mandoro a misser Anechino capitano di detta compagnia uno bello e ricco presente, e fu uno bello cavallo covertato, e molta cera e confetti, e vino solenne e biada e altre cose ... E anco donoro a certi de suoi cavalieri principali, nappi d'ariento...».

mules loaded with two varieties of arrows.<sup>31</sup> Among the gifts given to the company of John Beltoft in 1388 were two mules and ten pieces of velvet; the company led by John Hawkwood in 1385 received three pieces of drapery.<sup>32</sup>

It was not uncommon for a haughty *condottiere* to hold out for more. Before he would accept the terms of the agreement made by his fellow commanders of the Company of St George in 1366, Johann of Hapsburg demanded that in addition to the customary grant of "sweets and wax" he also receive a generous gift of armour.<sup>33</sup> Although he was granted his gift, which, according to the chronicler was worth more than 1000 florins, Johann continued to press for more. It took the personal intervention of the captain of the company, Ambrogio Visconti, to convince Johann to leave the Sienese *contado*. Thirteen years later John Hawkwood went so far as to send a letter to the Sienese city council demanding that he be given a house so that he might have a place to stay when he came to Siena.<sup>34</sup> There is no record whether his request was granted.

The Concistoro deliberations of 30 August 1375 reveal the myriad of additional payments that often lay behind each transaction. Beyond the liberal gifts of wine, bread and sweets given to Hawkwood, the commune was also forced to pay for 19 barrels to hold the wine, 12 sacks to hold the bread, four big boxes, two baskets and cloth to package the sweets and cord to tie the above items.<sup>35</sup> In addition, 17 men and 26 beasts of burden were employed for two days at a rate of 10 *soldi* per day per man and 6 *soldi* per day per beast to transport the goods to the company.<sup>36</sup> In

<sup>31</sup> C.S. p. 609. «... nove muli carichi di frecce e «guirettoni». The word «guirettoni» is a medieval variant of the modern-day Italian word «verrettoni».

<sup>32</sup> C.S., p. 721; B 272 [130r].

<sup>33</sup> C.S., p. 612.

<sup>34</sup> CG 189 [49v] July 5, 1379.

<sup>35</sup> Conc. 77 [25r]. According to the document Hawkwood received two *moggia* and two *stai* of red wine worth 33 florins and 26 *soldi*, three *moggia* of baked bread worth 45 lire and 60 *libre* of sweets worth 34 lire and 17 *soldi*. The barrels, sacks, boxes, baskets, cloth and cord cost, collectively, 45 lire/15 *soldi*/4 *denari*. This document is reproduced in John Temple-Leader and Giuseppe Marcotti, *Sir John Hawkwood*. Document # XXIII pp. 330-331.

1382, and again in 1395, the commune incurred additional expenses by allowing the mercenary companies to exchange their debased florins for good coins.<sup>37</sup>

The inclusion of these many extras often resulted in a substantial increase in the size of the payment to a mercenary company. When all the incidental payments made to the company of Baumgarten and Sterz in 1364 are added to the original bribe, the cost of the incursion moves from 38,650 florins to an even more alarming 42,627 florins.<sup>38</sup> In 1384 the inclusion of the personal payments to John Hawkwood and his subordinates raised the cost of that incursion from 11,000 florins to 16,000 florins.<sup>39</sup> The additional charges for horses and "other expenses" increased the size of the payment to the Brettoni in 1387 by a somewhat more manageable 850 florins.<sup>40</sup>

The incidental payments explain the frequent discrepancy between the price of the settlement recorded in surviving contracts and the price of actual payment recorded in communal budgets. The contract between the commune and the company of John Hawkwood in October 1381, for example, reveals that the two parties agreed upon a payment of 4,000 florins.<sup>41</sup> According to the Biccherna budget, however, the amount actually paid to the company was 5,600 florins.<sup>42</sup> In July 1399 the contract between Siena and the company of Broglia and the Count of Carrara provided for payment of 5,600 florins, but the Biccherna budget,

<sup>36</sup> Conc. 77 [25r]. The total cost was 20 lire/12 *soldi*.

<sup>37</sup> B. 264 [189r], Semester I, 1382; Reg 5 [90r], Semester II, 1395.

<sup>38</sup> B 245 [43v], [63v], [75r]; Reg 2 [133v]; C. S., pp. 607-608. In this instance we are fortunate to possess both the original Biccherna budget and the Regolatori revision. The existence of the Biccherna budget, which carefully itemizes the costs of the intrusion, makes it possible to separate the bribe from the overall payment. The Regolatori revision in this case contains only the overall expenditure. It is worthwhile to note that the figures in the Biccherna budget again match exactly those recorded by the chronicler.

<sup>39</sup> B. 268 [58r]; C.S., p. 702. Here again the figures in the budget match those in the chronicle.

<sup>40</sup> Reg 4 [156v] The entry reads thus: «A misser Bernardo da Sala e compagni della compagnia e per menda di cavalli e altre spese».

<sup>41</sup> Capitoli 86 [1r].

<sup>42</sup> B 264 [161v].

which specifically included "other expenses," recorded an actual disbursement of 6,137 florins.<sup>43</sup> Table 2 offers a list of the actual payments made by the commune to the companies, alongside the price of the original bribe.

In the fifty-seven year period from the advent of Werner of Urslingen in 1342 to the subjugation of the commune by Giangaleazzo Visconti of Milan in 1399, Siena paid approximately 291,379 florins to mercenary companies. This majestic figure was greater than all communal expenditure for a full three years from 1394 to 1396.<sup>44</sup> Indeed, with the money spent on mercenary payments, the Sienese would have been able to buy six times over the town of Arezzo, a city they coveted but which was purchased from under them by the Florentines in 1384.<sup>45</sup> The town of Lucca, purchased for 80,000 florins by the Florentines in 1341, might have been had thrice, with a substantial change.<sup>46</sup>

The agreement, with all its special bonuses and extra payments, was still only a part of the overall cost of a mercenary incursion. The

<sup>43</sup> Capitoli 86 [3r]; Reg 5 [253v]. The actual payment was 6,137 florins/1 lira/4 soldi. I have rounded it off to the nearest florin.

<sup>44</sup> Total expenditure for the three years, 1394-1396, (six semesters) was 278, 209 florins.

year/sem	total	exchange	conversion	source
1394 sem I	170,4161 lire	77s/fl	44,264 florins	Reg 5 [ 38r]
sem II	163,005 lire	77 s/fl	42,339 florins	Reg 5 [ 47r]
1395 sem I	190,464 lire	77 s/fl	49,471 florins	Reg 5 [ 71r]
sem II	184,542 lire	77s/fl	47,933 florins	Reg 5 [ 89v]
1396 sem I	167,4621 lire	77 s/fl	43,497 florins	Reg 5 [106r]
sem II	197,751 lire	78/fl	50,705 florins	Reg 5 [122r]

Total expenditure = 278,209 florins

1394-1396 is not an isolated instance. The expenditure on mercenaries also exceeds the amount spent on all expenses in the four year period from 1328 to 1331 and the three year period from 1376 to 1378. For totals for 1328 to 1331 see Bowsky, *The Finance of the Commune of Siena 1287-1355*, Appendix 1, p. 300.

<sup>45</sup> The Florentines purchased Arezzo, according to the Sienese chronicler, for 50,000 florins. C. S., p. 704. Siena's indignant response is recorded by the chronicler and in the minutes of the city council meeting of November 6, 1384. CG 194 [80v].

<sup>46</sup> Giovanni Villani, *Istorie Fiorentine*, (Milan, 1834) p. 456.

*The Costs of Undeclared Warfare in Fourteenth Century Siena*

Table 2  
Actual costs of mercenary settlements (In Florins)

Year	Company	Bribe	Total
1342	Werner of Urslingen (Great Company)	[2,852]	[2,852]
1354	Montreal D'Albano (Great Company)	13,324	13,624
1357	Conrad of Landau (Great Company)	13,000	13,265
1359	Conrad of Landau (Great Company)	[6,041]	[6,041]
1364	Hannekin Baumgarten and Albert Sterz	38,650	42,627
1365	Company of the Star	8,000	10,000
1366	Ambrogio Visconti	[10,500]	[10,500]
1370/71	Lucius Landau and Frederigo of Brescia	8,000	[8,000]
1375	John Hawkwood	30,500	31,000
1379	Hawkwood and Lucius Landau	32,000	32,000
1380	Charles of Durazzo	11,000	12,156
1381	John Hawkwood and «Giovanni Bano» Villanozzo of Brumfort and Alberigo da Barbiano (Company of the Hook)	4,000 10,000	5,600 10,153
1383	Hawkwood, Giovanni D'Azzo degli Ubaldini and Richard Romsey	7,000	7,000
1384	Hawkwood, Giovanni D'Azzo degli Ubaldini and Richard Romsey Eguerrand of Coucy	11,000 7,000	16,000 7,000
	Bernardo della Sala and the Brettoni.	2,000	[2,000]
1385	Eberhard Landau, John Beltoft and Tadeo Pepoli	14,000	14,555
1386	Boldrino da Panicale and the Brettoni	2,550	2,550
1387	Bernardo della Sala	9,000	9,850
1388	John Beltoft	9,000	10,350
1392	Broglià, Brandolino,	5,000	11,112*

	Biordo de Michelotti, et al. Company of St. George)		
1393	Brettoni	2,700	[2,700]
	Azzo da Castello, Biordo	3,600	5,350
1395	Bernardo della Sala and Brettoni	2,875	3,053
1396	Bartolomeo da Prato the «Florentine» Company	3,400	4,060
1399	Broglia and the Count of Carrara	5,600	6,137

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Note: Brackets have been used in those instances when the sources do not make clear whether the expenditure included all costs or merely the bribe.

\* This figure includes a mercenary payment to the Brettoni «for accord made and ... to not offend our territory.» Reg 5 [448v] Since the budget does not itemize, it is impossible to determine how much of the increase in the price of the settlement was due to incidental payments to the Company of St George and how much was due to payments to the Brettoni.

Sources: 1342-C.S., p. 534; 1354-C.S. pp. 573-574, B. 231 [191v-192r]; 1357-B 237 [98r]; 1364-B 245 [43v], [53v], [75r], Reg 2 [133r]; 1365-C.S. p. 609, CG 172 [51v]; 1366-C.S., p. 611; CG 174 [42r]; 1370/1371-Conc 59 [10v]; 1375-CS, p. 658, Reg 3 [305v]; 1379-C.S., p. 675; 1380-B. 262 [152r], [154r], [161r]; C.S. p. 680, Giuseppe Canestrini, «Documenti per servire della milizia italiana del secolo XIII al XVI» p. LXX; 1381-C.S. 690, Capitoli 86 [1r], B. 264 [161v]; 1382-C.S. p. 693, B 264 [189r]; 1383-C.S. p. 699, B 267 [187v]; 1384-B 268 [58r], CG 194 [58r] (Hawkwood); 1384-B 270 [138v], Conc 123 [11v] (Eguerrand of Coucy); 1384-B 270 [185v], [186v], CG 194 [90r]; 1385-C.S., p. 716. CG 195 [80v], Reg 4 [98v], 1387-C.S. 720, Reg 4 [156v], Conc 140 [20r]; 1388-C.S., p. 721, Reg 4 [182v]; 1392-Capitoli 86 [2r]; Conc 168 [9v] Reg 4 [448v]; 1393-CG 197 [58r] (Brettoni); 1393-CG 197 [91r], Reg 5 [38r] (Azzo da Castello, Biordo); 1395-Reg 5 [90v]; B 282 [31v], [35v], [37r], [44v],[47r], [29r]; 1396-CG 198 [21v], Reg 5 [123r]; 1399-Capitoli 86 [3v], Reg 5 [253v]

commune was also forced to bear many additional expenses which were not part of the formal settlement and are, consequently, easily overlooked. One such expense was for ambassadors. Ambassadors had an important role during mercenary crises; not only were they entrusted with the delicate task of negotiating with mercenary companies, they were also sent to neighbouring communes to try to procure troops to handle the incursion. When the Company of the Hat first entered Sienese territory in the fall of 1363, the commune immediately sent ambassadors in all directions for help. Ambassadors were sent directly to the company at the town of Abbadia e Isola, where it had established itself, in search of an accord and to the neighbouring communes of Florence and Pisa, members of the

so-called Guelph alliance, in search of military reinforcements.<sup>47</sup> When it became clear that the company would not relent peacefully, Sienese authorities continued to send a steady stream of ambassadors to it as it moved throughout the countryside. Even after the company was defeated, it was necessary to send ambassadors to the town of Campagnatico to convince the remnants of the company holed up there to withdraw peacefully. In 1366 the pressing need for assistance against Ambrogio Visconti's Company of St George impelled the commune to send ambassadors to Pisa, Perugia, Florence, Orvieto, to papal officials at Radicofani and to Bologna in search of extra troops.<sup>48</sup> The commune even sent ambassadors to its old nemesis Hannekin Baumgarten in order to hire his band.<sup>49</sup>

It is difficult to get a precise reading of the costs of these ambassadors because Sienese budgets generally do not distinguish between expenditure for ambassadors involved in mercenary incursions and those involved in non-mercenary-related business. The Biccherna budget from the second semester of 1363 is, however, an important exception. In this semester, during which the Sienese negotiated with and fought the Company of the Hat, the budget states openly that 29,613 lire (8,974 florins) were spent "for the salaries of ambassadors and officials sent outside the commune... because of the Company of the Hat."<sup>50</sup> That such expenditure was atypical is clear from the budget for the succeeding semester when the commune, facing no mercenary threat, spent a total of only 3,283 lire (980 florins), approximately a tenth of the expenditure for semester II,

<sup>47</sup> Pisa ultimately granted the Sienese the services of two German captains, Ugo del Ala and Hermann with 400 horses. C.S. p 603.

<sup>48</sup> C.S., p. 611.

<sup>49</sup> C.S., p. 611.

<sup>50</sup> Reg 2 [70r] «A salari di embasciadori e ufficiali mandati di fuore per lo comune al nostro tempo per ragione dela compagnia del capello. «That this expense was specifically mercenary related finds confirmation in the Sienese chronicle which specifically includes these expenses when adding up the overall cost of the mercenary intrusion in that year. See C.S. p. 608. Since it is unclear what coin was used to pay the ambassadors — «piccoli» or florins — I have presented the figures in lire, as they appear on the budgets, with the conversion to florins in parentheses.

1363, on ambassadors.<sup>51</sup> The arrival of the company of Baumgarten and Sterz only a few months later, in July of 1364, produced an immediate increase in expenditure on ambassadors to 10,971 lire (3,275 florins).<sup>52</sup>

A set of officials closely related to the ambassadors were the communal spies. The mere mention of spies here is in itself noteworthy because Sieneſe historiography contains no acknowledgement of their existence. Nevertheless, Biccherna budgets regularly record payments to these officials.<sup>53</sup> Their activities appear to have been coordinated by the office of the *Camera*, a somewhat indistinct governmental bureau whose major task involved storing the commune's arsenal of weapons.<sup>54</sup> The primary responsibility of the spies was to give the authorities advance warning of conspiracies and external threats that might threaten the city and its environs. Evidence from the chronicle indicates that Siena maintained an extensive network of spies. In 1373, fearing enemies and companies that might assemble and move against them, the city sent spies to virtually every part of Italy, including Lombardy, Venice, Perugia, Rome, Padua, Mantua, Todi, Gubbio, Forlì, Naples, Ferrara, Sarzana, Trevigi, Verona, Milan, Arezzo, Casentino and the Romagna.<sup>55</sup>

Here, as with ambassadors, it is difficult to isolate the costs of those spies specifically employed because of the mercenary companies from those employed for other reasons. The best we can get from the sources is an indication of the magnitude of the costs involved. During the encounter with the Company of the Hat the commune spent approximately 2,661 lire (806 florins) on spies.<sup>56</sup> During the

<sup>51</sup> Reg 2 [78r], Semester I, 1364.

<sup>52</sup> Reg 2 [133r].

<sup>53</sup> In addition to regular citations in Biccherna budgets, several of the original budgets of the «operai» in charge of the spies have survived and are scattered among the budgets contained in the Regolatori archive.

<sup>54</sup> Expenditure on spies is often cited in Biccherna budgets alongside expenditure for the office of the *Camera*. The broad outlines of the office of the *Camera* are described in *Guida-Inventario dell'Archivio di Stato*, vol 1, (Rome, 1951) p. 277.

<sup>55</sup> C.S., p. 651.

<sup>56</sup> Reg 2 [69r]. Here again it is unclear which coin was used to pay the spies.

more peaceful first semester of 1364 the expenditure for spies declined to 1,235 lire (369 florins), less than half of the figure for the previous semester.<sup>57</sup> By semester II, 1364, as Baumgarten and Sterz moved into the countryside, the costs of spies rose as precipitously as it had fallen, reaching 2,563 lire (765 florins).<sup>58</sup>

Such expenses were, however, relatively minor. A far greater expense was for the salaries of troops hired to protect the commune and its environs. To meet the challenge, Sieneese authorities frequently hired mercenaries of their own. In 1381, for example, communal officials hired the Tuscan *condottiere* Giovanni D'Azzo degli Ubaldini to defend the town against the company of Bretons that had established itself in the town of Montorio. Giovanni's force, which included 720 horses under his personal command and an additional 618 horses under the command of his German sub-captain "Gerardo Altimburgho" cost the commune more than 17,000 florins for two months of service.<sup>59</sup> Three years later the commune responded to the simultaneous incursions of the Bretons under the command of Bernardo della Sala and the Company of the Rose led by Hawkwood by hiring the Italian *condottiere* Guido di Giovanni Guidi D'Asciano. The agreement with Guido was in the form of a series of short-term contracts, the most impressive of which placed him at the command of a cavalry 800 horses strong. Four months of Guido's services cost the Sieneese nearly 11,000 florins.<sup>60</sup> When Guido D'Asciano was

<sup>57</sup> Reg 2 [78r].

<sup>58</sup> Reg 2 [70r] Figures for later years are less readily available due to the penchant in later Biccherna budgets to group expenditure for the *Camara* with that of spies. Occasionally, however, an isolated figure appears. In the first semester of 1380, for instance, a time of mercenary activity, the Biccherna budget records a payment of 5,785 lire for spies. B 263 [52v]. Other figures indicate that the cost of spies was generally increasing until the 1390s.

<sup>59</sup> B 263 [80v-81r] The precise figure is 17,233 florins. Each horseman was paid at a rate of 3 1/3 florins per month. C.S. p. 683; B 263 [80v-81r] Here the chronicle and the Biccherna citation coincide well. Both agree that Giovanni and his associate had a combined force of 2,000 horses.

<sup>60</sup> B 270 [133r]; C.S., p. 700. The chronicler's figure matches the figure in the Biccherna budget, but the dates are different. The chronicler records the date on which Guido was hired with 800 lances as May 2. The Biccherna records May 22. The error might well have occurred in transcription.

ultimately defeated in battle by Hawkwood, Siena turned next to another notable *condottiere*, Boldrino da Panicale, with a band of 150 lances, to command its armies.<sup>61</sup> Boldrino received 18,744 florins for six months of work.<sup>62</sup> This payment to Boldrino was itself greater than the bribe eventually extorted by Hawkwood and his company.<sup>63</sup>

Even in those instances when the commune employed smaller individual mercenary units, the costs were great. To face Fra. Moriale and the Great Company in 1354, the commune relied primarily on units consisting of one «constable» and nineteen «associates». Although the bimonthly wage of each unit was only 352 florins, the total cost, which included twenty-six such units hired between April and June, was a more impressive 9,162 florins<sup>64</sup>. The army employed against the Company of the Hat in 1363, lacking a large single unit, cost 26,289 florins (86,754 lire).<sup>65</sup> Some 9,262 florins (30,565 lire) were spent just in «double pay» to reward the mercenaries for their stunning victory over the Company.<sup>66</sup>

What is abundantly clear is that by employing its own mercenaries the commune substantially increased its own expenses (see table 3). The Biccherna budget from the first semester of 1359 reveals that while the commune paid 6,041 florins (20,842 lire) directly to Conrad of Landau, it spent substantially more, some 10,211 florins (35,280 lire) on its own mercenaries.<sup>67</sup> The encounter with the Brettoni in

<sup>61</sup> Biccherna 270 [126r]. C.S., p. 703. Here again the chronicler accurately relates the size of the force but gives the wrong date. The budget shows Boldrino was hired July 8, 1384, while the chronicler maintains he was hired on July 12.

<sup>62</sup> B 270 [126r] The cost of these contingents was padded by the tradition of paying for so-called «lance morte» or «dead lances». In the case of Boldrino the commune paid for 150 «living lances» at a rate of 18 florins per lance and 15 «dead lances» at the same rate. It appears to have been standard practice to assess the number of dead lances at 10% of the total number of actual or «living lances». There is, unfortunately, no literature on this practice.

<sup>63</sup> The bribe to Hawkwood was 16,000 florins.

<sup>64</sup> B 231 [156v], [157v], [158r], [160v], [171v], [174v], [175r], [181r], [191v], [193v]. It should be pointed out that in addition to these equestrian units the commune also appears to have employed many additional infantry units.

<sup>65</sup> Reg 2 [68v].

<sup>66</sup> Reg 2 [53v] Such payments were typical of contracts (*condotte*) made with mercenaries. See Daniel Waley «Condotte».

<sup>67</sup> B 239 [37r-43r].

Table 3  
 Combined expenditure on companies and communal mercenaries for  
 some available semesters.  
 (In Florins/Lire Below)

Year/semester	To Company	To Communal Mercenaries	Total
1359 sem I	6,041 fl (20,842 lire)	10,221 fl (35,280 lire)	16,262 fl (56,122 lire)
1363 sem II	—	26,289 fl (86,754 lire)	26,289 fl (86,754 lire)
1364 sem II	42,404 fl (142, 053 lire)	13,600 fl (45, 560 lire)	56,004 fl (187,613 lire)
1381 sem I	—	32,454 fl (126,079 lire)	32,454 fl (126,079 lire)
1382 sem I	15,600 fl (56,496 lire)	14,508 fl (52,229 lire)	30,108 fl (108,725 lire)
1383 sem II	7,000 fl (25,900 lire)	22,232 fl (82,258 lire)	29,232 fl (108,158 lire)
1384 jun-decb	25,268 fl (94,755 lire)	44,681 (167,544 lire)	fl 69,949 fl (262, 299 lire)

a) Paid through the office of the *Condotta*.

b) The mercenary incursion does not conform neatly to one semester. The bribe money was paid in June, but the action continued beyond.

Sources: 1359-B. 239 [37r-43r] (exchange rate: 1 fl = 3.45 lire); 1363-Reg 2 [68v] (exchange: 1 fl = 3.3 lire) 1364-Reg 2 [133v], [134r] (exchange: 1 fl = 3.35 lire); 1381-B 263 [40v-41v], [77v], [80v81r]; (exchange: 1 fl = 3.9 lire); 1382 B 264 [189r], [161v], [151r], [151v] (exchange rate: 1 fl = 3.6 lire); 1383-B 267 [176r-178v], [186v-187r] (exchange: 1 fl = 3.7 lire); 1384-B 268 [58r] [60r], [57r]; B 270 [185v], [186v], [138v], [133r], [126r], [125r], [112v], [102r], [179v]. (exchange: 1 fl = 3.75 lire)

1381 cost more than twice what was spent on both «friendly» and «unfriendly» mercenaries in 1359, although the commune was not required to pay a bribe to the company itself.

Still, these impressive figures, which are based on evidence from the Biccherna budgets, do not accurately represent all the money spent on mercenaries. Throughout the 1360s, for example, the commune routinely paid for its mercenaries through the office of the *Condotta*.<sup>68</sup> This office often received much of its money from the

<sup>68</sup> A brief description of this office is in *Guida-Inventario dell'archivio di stato*, vol 1. p. 282. The office was composed of «citizens employed to hire foreign soldiers».

Biccherna, but it also received substantial sums from a variety of other offices dealing in communal monies. According to the *Condotta* budget of July 1362-April 1363 nearly 41,000 (12,080 florins) of the 102,644 lire (30,264 florins) collected came from the proceeds of the tax on retail wine.<sup>69</sup> Additional sums were received from the tax on salaries («gabella di due soldi per lira»), the tax of 40 *soldi* on each *barbuta* hired and the tax on those soldiers who failed to fulfil their obligations («gabella di difeffi e pontature»)<sup>70</sup> Although the Biccherna budget from the second semester of 1363 indicates that 86,754 lire (26,289 florins) were paid to the office of the *Condotta* to hire mercenaries to battle the Company of the Hat, the *Condotta* budget itself, which survives among the mass of *Regolatori* registers, reveals that 108,380 lire (32,842 florins) were spent on mercenaries.<sup>71</sup> Here as in our previous example money was collected from a variety of additional sources, the most prominent of which was the *gabella* on retail wine.<sup>72</sup> After the demise of the office of the *Condotta* in the late 1360s, the commune appears to have paid for at least some of its mercenaries directly from the offices that handled indirect taxes.<sup>73</sup> In February 1379, for example, an extra 50 lances to supplement the force arrayed against John Hawkwood was paid for directly through the office of the *gabella* of wine sold at retail.<sup>74</sup> In August, 1382 the force of 200 lances that was put together to protect the Sienese countryside was paid for in large part directly from the proceeds of the *gabella* of wine sold at retail and the *dogana* of salt.<sup>75</sup>

In addition to mercenaries, the commune also employed its own

<sup>69</sup> Reg 2 [6r-36v].

<sup>70</sup> Reg 2 [36r-36v]. The budget reveals that some 9,616 lire (2,835 florins) came from the «pontature e difeffi», 9,416 lire (2,776 florins) from the «gabella di due soldi» and 407 lire (120 florins) from the «gabella of 40 denari per barbuta».

<sup>71</sup> Reg 2 [53r-53v].

<sup>72</sup> Reg 2 [53r].

<sup>73</sup> According to the *Guida-Inventario* the office of the *Condotta* appears to have been active from 1357 to 1365. *Guida-Inventario*, p. 282. I have, however, found, among the *Regolatori* revisions, a *Condotta* budget from 1369. Reg 3 [139v] May 1369 — July, 1369. (entry = 46,962 lire).

<sup>74</sup> CG 190 [9v-10v].

<sup>75</sup> CG 192 [6r].

homegrown forces, raised from within the city, *contado* and, frequently, from subject towns. In 1354, for example, the subject town of Montalcino sent a contingent of infantrymen «bene in punto» to help handle the incursion of Fra. Moriale.<sup>76</sup> The force sent to «escort» Hannekin Baumgarten through the *contado* in 1362 was composed of «captains, *Podestà*, vicars and other citizens sent in the service of the commune».<sup>77</sup> Sieneese authorities also commissioned a substantial force from the Masse to see to it that none of Hannekin's men stepped out of line.<sup>78</sup>

The two most prominent communal officials that were frequently involved in the defence against the companies were the *Podestà* and the Captain of War/*Conservatore/Sanatore*.<sup>79</sup> In addition to their domestic responsibilities, these officials were expected to ride along with the communal army in times of external threat. When a company entered Sieneese territory, the commune often moved to put one of these officials in charge of the army. This was the case in 1365 when Isnardo of Pitigliano, the *Conservatore*, was placed in charge of the forces assembled to take on Ambrogio Visconti's Company of St. George.<sup>80</sup>

<sup>76</sup> C.S., p. 573. «Montalcino mando in aiuto del comune di Siena cento fanti bene in punto...».

<sup>77</sup> C.S., p. 596; The citation comes from the Biccherna budget of semester I, 1362 reproduced by Giulio Catoni in «I 'Regolatori' e la giurisdizione contabile della repubblica di Siena, *Critica Storica*, 1975 p. 58. The full entry is «7, 557 lire/13 soldi/4 denari a capitani, Podestà, vicari e altri cittadini mandati in servizio del comune per riparo de la campagna da Necchino».

<sup>78</sup> The payment of 2,040 lire/10 *soldi* is recorded in the budget of semester II, 1362. Reg 2 [32r].

<sup>79</sup> I have called the second official the «Captain of War/Conservatore/ Sanatore» in reference to the three different titles he had throughout the period of this study. The office was originally known as the «Captain of War» when it was inaugurated in 1318. With the fall of the government of the Nove in 1355, the name was changed to «Conservatore», though the basic responsibilities remained the same. When the government of the Dodici fell in 1368, the name was again changed, this time to «Sanatore». This title remained until the end of the century and beyond. See *Guida-Inventario*, pp. 298-299. It should be pointed out that both the *Podestà* and the Captain of War/*Conservatore/Sanatore* were foreigners, i.e., non-Sieneese citizens. I have included them with native forces because they were a part of the domestic hierarchy of the commune and participated in domestic affairs.

<sup>80</sup> C.S., p. 611.

The involvement of these officials in defence against the mercenaries, as well as other external threats, had the effect of increasing the size of their entourages which, in turn, increased their salaries. In 1378, the *Sanatore* had a staff with, among others, thirty infantrymen and fifteen cavalry at a total cost of 7,000 lire (1,918 florins) per semester.<sup>81</sup> Only three years later, after incursions by John Hawkwood's company in 1379, the company of Charles of Durazzo and a company of Bretons in 1380 and another band of Bretons in 1381, the staff of the *Sanatore* had grown to sixty infantrymen and thirty cavalry at an overall cost of 12,000 lire (3,288 florins).<sup>82</sup> Likewise, the *Podestà*, who in 1378 possessed a staff of 30 infantrymen saw his entourage double to sixty infantrymen at a semester salary of 8,276 lire ( 2,237 florins) by 1381.<sup>83</sup> Frequent mercenary incursions, as well as other external threats, assured that the expenditure on these two officials would remain high. Indeed, on those frequent occasions when the commune sought to reduce its expenses, it often looked first to reduce the salaries and staffs of these two officials.<sup>84</sup> In the 1390s facing desperate financial straits and persistent external threats from the Florentines, Siense officials moved to eliminate costs by merging the two offices.<sup>85</sup> Table 4 gives the basic rate of pay for these officials for some available semesters.

Attempts to quantify the expenditure on many of the other communal elements that made up the armies sent against the companies are, unfortunately, elusive. It is difficult, as Professor William M. Bowsky noted for the period of the government of the Nove, to distinguish the size and function of many of the components of the regular Siense army.<sup>86</sup> Alongside well-known,

<sup>81</sup> B 260 [93r]. The staff of the *Sanatore* was set by the legislation of March 11, 1376. See CG 186 [53v]. The salary of the *Sanatore*, as well as that of the *Podestà*, was recorded in lire. The exchange rate for 378 was 73 *soldi* per florin.

<sup>82</sup> B 263 [68r].

<sup>83</sup> B 260 [78v]; B 263 [68r].

<sup>84</sup> This is particularly true of the *balia* of 1382. The proceedings of this *balia* were published in their entirety last century by Alessandro Lisini. See Alessandro Lisini, *Provvedimenti economici della repubblica di Siena*. Siena, 1895.

<sup>85</sup> CG 197 [139r] March 18, 1395.

well-documented officials such as the *Podestà* and the Captain of War/*Conservatore/Sanatore*, the Biccherna budgets also record payments to a series of more obscure communal officials known simply as *rettori* or *gonfalonieri*, whose functions are vague and whose entourages, if indeed they had any, are not mentioned. It is difficult for any given year to know with certainty which of these officials was involved in defending the commune against enemy companies. There is still much research to be done in this area.

One important group of communal stipendiaries involved in the defence of the city, though not part of the army proper, were the *castellani*. These officials, garrisoned the castles of the countryside and stood as the first line of defence against the companies. Each *castellano* had his own entourage of military personnel to help him execute his duties. The size of a *castellano's* entourage varied, usually with respect to the strategic importance of the castle and the amount of people or territory it was intended to protect. In 1357 the Masse, a populous area just outside the city walls, had two *castellani*, one *sotio*, two *magistri*, eight crossbowmen and eight shield-bearers.<sup>87</sup> In the same year Monteritondo, a relatively less populous town located in the Maremma, had one *castellano* and six infantrymen.<sup>88</sup> Little is known of their specific duties and responsibilities, but it is clear that when mercenary bands entered the countryside, the *castellani* were to provide defence. In such instances, however, a *castellano* and his entourage, however large, was seldom sufficient to handle the challenge. The commune was often constrained to send additional troops. In 1364, for instance, the town of Montalcino was sent an additional contingent of infantry to help defend the neighbouring towns of Camigliano and San Quirico from «the society of the English and Lord Hannekin».<sup>89</sup> Twenty-one years later a contingent of 42

<sup>86</sup> William M. Bowsky, *A Medieval Italian Commune: Siena under the Nine, 1287-1355*. Berkeley and Los Angeles, California. 1981 p. 157.

<sup>87</sup> B 237 [74v]. It is not clear what the particular responsibilities of the «sotio» and the «maestri» were.

<sup>88</sup> B 237 [81r].

<sup>89</sup> B 245 [71v] «... societatis Anglicorum et domini Anechini».

infantry was sent to the same town for 13 days to defend against the advance of a company led by John Beltoft.<sup>90</sup>

Such additions were particularly burdensome because the regular cost of the *castellani* was already quite substantial. Salaries were high. The *castellano* of Monteritondo in 1357 received 5 florins per month and each infantryman received 2 1/2 florins per month<sup>91</sup>. In comparison, a cavalry member in the company of Hannekin Baumgarten, hired in that year to wage war against Perugia, received a salary of 6 florins per month in the same year.<sup>92</sup> In 1381 Giovanni D'Azzo degli Ubaldini's men received only 3 1/3 florins per month.<sup>93</sup> In the second semester of 1395 the *castellano* of the fortress at Montalcino was paid 8 florins per month.<sup>94</sup> At approximately the same time the commune was paying 8 florins per month to an entire lance unit under the command of Guido da Correggio.<sup>95</sup> The table below gives the expenditure per semester on *castellani* for available years in the period from 1342 to 1399.

In addition to *castellani*, the commune also employed soldiers to guard the city during mercenary raids. With the approach of the Company of the Hat in the fall of 1363, the commune moved quickly to place *balestrieri*, men armed with crossbows, at the Palazzo Pubblico, at «all the gates» of the city and at positions on the town wall.<sup>96</sup> These troops were to remain at their positions day and night. From their lookout posts they performed two important functions. The first and most obvious was to watch carefully the movements of the mercenary bands through the countryside. The second and, perhaps, less obvious function was to watch carefully the movements of the local people within the city itself. Mercenary intrusions, as well as other external

<sup>90</sup> B 272 [155r].

<sup>91</sup> B 237 [81r].

<sup>92</sup> Condotta 1 [87v].

<sup>93</sup> B 263 [80v].

<sup>94</sup> B 282 [36v].

<sup>95</sup> CG 198 [24r].

<sup>96</sup> C.S., p. 601. «Dodici tenevano molti omini de la citta nel palazzo a loro guardia e a pie el palazzo stavano balestieri a quelli delle masse e a tutti le porti facean molte guardie e anco super la mura vi stava molta gente di di e di notte».

*The Costs of Undeclared Warfare in Fourteenth Century Siena*

Table 4  
Expenditure per semester on Castellani (In Florins/Lire Below)

Year/Semester	expenditure	Source
Semester I, 1362	3,418 fl (11,449 lire)	Catoni, «I regolatori», p. 60
Semester II, 1363	2,835 fl (9,357 lire)	Reg 2 [68v]
Semester I, 1364	3,810 fl (12,762 lire)	Reg 2 [77v]
Semester II, 1370	3,809 fl (12,761 lire)	Reg 3 [160r]
Semester I, 1373	3,235 fl (11,243 lire)	Reg 2 [210v]
Semester I, 1375	1,639 fl (6,065 lire)	Reg 3 [269r]
Semester I, 1376	4,164 fl (15,408 lire)	Reg 3 [331r]
Semester I, 1385	5,919 fl (21,900 lire)	Reg 4 [19r]
Semester II, 1385	2,500 fl (9,251 lire)	Reg 4 [58v]
Semester I, 1387	320 fl (1,200 lire)	Reg 4 [143v]
Semester I, 1388	2,600 fl (9,750 lire)	Reg 4 [182r]
Semester II, 1388	2,425 fl (9,094 lire)	Reg 4 [220r]
Semester I, 1391	3,753 fl (14,101 lire)	Reg 4 [366r]
Semester II, 1393	2,679 fl (10,316 lire)	Reg 5 [26r]
Semester I, 1394	1,606 fl (6,183 lire)	Reg 5 [38r]
Semester II, 1394	4,075 fl (15,689 lire)	Reg 5 [47v]
Semester I, 1395	5,226 fl (20,122 lire)	Reg 5 [72v]
Semester I, 1398	3,215 fl (15,926 lire)	Reg 5 [199r]

interruptions, often gave encouragement to discontented local elements who used the confusion to press their own claims. The passage of the Emperor Charles IV through Sienese territory in 1355 and again in 1368 helped incite disturbances that ultimately overthrew communal regimes in those years. Mercenary incursions had a similar effect. The fall of the *Nove* in 1355 was preceded by Fra. Moriale's intrusion in 1354, the fall of the *Reformatori* in 1385 was preceded by three major intrusions in 1384 and even the transfer of power to the Visconti in 1399 was immediately preceded by the incursion of Broglia and the count of Carrara. It was with this in mind that communal leaders often assigned an additional force of crossbowmen to guard them when mercenary companies arrived in the countryside. One of the first acts of the «signori Dodici» when Conrad of Landau entered Sienese territory was to hire a group of crossbowmen to keep watch over them at the Palazzo Pubblico.<sup>97</sup> Table 5 lists expenditure on these officials for available mercenary semesters.

Table 5  
Expenditure of the Night Guard. (Florins/ Lire Below)

Year/Semester	expenditure	Source
1363 sem II	722 fl (four months) (2,383 lire )	Reg 2 [68v]
1364 sem II	1,000 fl (3,351 lire)	Reg 2 [133v]
1370 sem II	1,111 fl (3,721 lire)	Reg 3 [160r]
1375 sem II	639 fl (four months) (2,428 lire)	Reg 3 [306r]
1387 sem II	1,107 fl (4,150 lire)	Reg 4 [156v]
1388 sem II	1,000 fl (3,750 lire)	Reg 4 [182r]
1394 sem I	764 fl (2,940 lire)	Reg 5 [38r]

<sup>97</sup> C.S., p. 590.

It would be desirable at this point to combine the various expenses outlined above for specific mercenary intrusions, to get a reading of the overall costs suffered by Siena in those years. Unfortunately, the imprecise nature of the sources makes such an enterprise difficult. There are few years for which all the necessary figures are available, and still fewer for which the budgets adequately distinguish between those expenses that were strictly mercenary costs and those that were not. But even when we are unable to include all costs, expenditure still appears substantial. The amount spent by the commune just on troops to combat the Brettoni during the first semester of 1381 was by itself approximately 41% of the total expenditure that semester.<sup>98</sup> The payments to «friendly» and «unfriendly» mercenaries in the first semester of 1382 comprised a formidable 44% of the total expenditure for that semester.<sup>99</sup> We are somewhat better served by the budget of the second semester of 1364, which itemizes payment to a wide variety of officials who were, in some way, involved in the encounter with the company of Baumgarten and Sterz. Included are payments to *castellani*, the *Podestà*, the *Conservatore*, *contado* troops, ambassadors, spies, the night guard and mercenary troops hired specifically to defend against the company. When these expenses are added to the sums paid directly to Baumgarten and Sterz the total is a staggering 77,679 florins (260,223 lire).<sup>100</sup> This figure represented approximately 56% of all communal expenditure for that semester.<sup>101</sup> Indeed, the amount

<sup>98</sup> B 263 [26r]. Total expenditure was 306,422 lire. Expenditure on troops was 126,079 lire.

<sup>99</sup> B 264 [192r]. Total expenditure was 249,668 lire. Expenditure on troops was 108,725 lire.

<sup>100</sup> Payment to Hannekin = 142,053 lire (Reg 2 [133v]); payment to mercenaries = 45,560 lire (Reg 2 [134r]); *Castellani*, *Podestà*, 'rettori' of the *contado* = 22,632 lire (Reg 2 [133v]); Ambassadors sent outside the city = 10,971 lire (Reg 2 [133v]); Spies = 2,563 lire (Reg 2 [133v]); Night guard = 3,351 lire (Reg 2 [133v]); *Conservatore* and other foreign officials = 33,093 lire (Reg 2 [133v]). The exchange rate was 67 *soldi* per florin.

<sup>101</sup> This figure is an approximation. Certainly not all of the *castellani* payments, for example, were mercenary-related. Nevertheless, the magnitude of the figure does receive some additional support from other sources. In a rare moment of reflection, the

paid to handle Baumgarten and Sterz in this single semester was greater than the entire operating capital of the famed Medici bank during its heyday in the middle of the fifteenth century.<sup>102</sup>

And yet before we conclude, it necessary to add still another caveat. The expenses that we have detailed above have been those that, while not always recorded on all the Biccherna budgets or with the precision desired by the modern historian, were nevertheless recorded somewhere by the commune. Mercenary intrusions, however, inevitably involved a series of additional costs, substantial costs, that were not recorded anywhere. These were the costs extracted by the companies from the countryside, the setting of their spectacular raids. It should be remembered that it was in the countryside, where defences were less formidable and Sienese military might more distant, that the companies committed their greatest atrocities. Such activities usually included theft and destruction of farm animals, looting of personal possessions and setting fire to farms and local fortifications. John Hawkwood's raid through the countryside in 1385 was so severe that the Sienese chronicler estimated that in addition to fires set and property damaged the company walked away with some 600 oxen, 15,000 sheep and pigs and 8,000 *moggia* of grain<sup>103</sup>. Their departure into the *contado* of Arezzo was likened to that of a moving anthill.<sup>104</sup> Our only real indication of the magnitude of the damage comes from the chronicler's account of the raid of the Brettoni of 1380, which he

chronicler paused to add the various expenses, as he saw them, incurred by the commune as a result of Baumgarten and Sterz's visit. According to the chronicler's list of expenses, which included ambassadors, those who guarded the city and «other extraordinary expenses,» the commune paid 67,200 florins (225,120 lire). See C.S., pp. 60708. The chronicler's figures are accepted unquestioningly by Ercole Ricotti who reproduces them wholesale in his *Storia delle compagnie di ventura in Italia*. vol 1, (Turin, 1893) p. 147. I have chosen the higher number because I believe that the chronicler has not properly accounted for the expense of troops employed by the Sienese for defence.

<sup>102</sup> The capital of the Medici bank in 1451 was approximately 72,000 florins. Raymond de Roover, *The Rise and Decline of the Medici Bank*. (New York: W.W. Norton and Company, 1966).

<sup>103</sup> C.S. p. 713-714.

<sup>104</sup> C.S. p. 713. «... pareva uno formicaio, tanta la roba e bestiame e salamerie».

estimated as causing 40,000 florins worth of damage<sup>105</sup>. Our chronicler's figure receives support in the city council deliberation which, several months earlier, recommended that the town fathers pay a bribe to the Brettoni to avoid what they estimated would be 50,000 florins worth of damage to the countryside should the company be allowed to continue unchecked<sup>106</sup>. Such figures indicate that our original estimates of the costs of mercenary intrusions are, in all likelihood, quite low and that the actual costs were much higher.

Regardless of the exact figures, it is clear, and may be stated without qualification, that whenever a mercenary band chose to move against Siena the financial burden was enormous. The effort to meet these expenses had a devastating effect on the commune's finances. Massive amounts of money that might otherwise have been used for commercial investment were instead pressed from citizens and used for military exigencies. In this Siena faced a situation not unlike the modern-day Cold War: continuous and ruinous military expenditure without declared warfare. Adding to the general misery were a continuous string of plagues and famines which greatly reduced the tax base and further increased the fiscal pressure on those who survived. In the end, the commune had no choice but to submit itself to Giangaleazzo Visconti of Milan, who could both pay the bill and offer protection from further intrusions.<sup>107</sup>

<sup>105</sup> C.S., p. 683. «... valsero piu di 40,000 fiorini d'oro».

<sup>106</sup> CG 189 [103v-104r].

<sup>107</sup> William Caferro, «*The Companies of Adventure and the Decline of Siena*». (Ph. D. diss., Yale University, 1992).

