“Un chant à l’honneur de la France”: Women’s Voices at the End of the Republic of Siena

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Résumé : *Au cœur du XVI^e siècle, alors que la république de Sienne était menacée par les intérêts expansionnistes du duc Côme I^{er} de Florence, plusieurs femmes se portèrent à la défense de leur ville. Quelques-unes écrivirent et firent circuler des poèmes pleins de passion, d’autres retroussèrent leurs manches et contribuèrent à renforcer les murs de la ville, geste qui fut rapporté par Blaise de Monluc dans ses Mémoires. L’article qui suit rappelle brièvement l’épisode du bastion rebâti grâce aux efforts des femmes siennoises, puis analyse deux échantillons de poèmes composés en faveur de l’intervention française contre les Espagnols par deux poétesses siennoises, Virginia Martini Salvi et Aurelia Petrucci.*

In the 1540s, when Duke Cosimo I of Florence began to pride himself on his direct and personal access to Emperor Charles V and to cast roving expansionist eyes around Tuscany, the Republic of Siena on his southern border rightly began to worry.¹ Internal family rivalries, profound splits in its political classes, and the presence of imperial troops in Siena itself were threatening the republic’s stability. Tensions inherent in this delicate situation were further aggravated by the presence in town of Florentine expatriates seeking to enlist the Sienese in their personal struggle against Duke Cosimo and, thereby, to move Siena into the pro-French camp that supported the Florentine *fuorusciti*.

Attempts to draw Siena into the French sphere of influence and thereby counter-balance the new pro-Spanish atmosphere in Florence were not new. Already in the late 1530s, the Salvi family, in particular, had been the object of secret negotiations to this purpose carried out by Luigi dell’Armi on behalf of King Francis I.² In 1537, shortly after Cosimo I’s ascension to power, the Salvi struck a close friendship with the Florentine exile Piero Strozzi (c. 1510–58), in Siena at that time on the pretext of paying his respects

to the widowed Duchess Margaret of Austria, who was passing through town on her way to Rome and to her second husband.³ The true purpose of his visit, however, was to enlist the Sienese in his struggle against Duke Cosimo. Strozzi's youthful good looks, his liberality, and his charm did endear him to the Sienese and especially to the equally young, noble, and war-like Salvi brothers. This, in turn, aroused the suspicion of the pro-Imperial faction in Siena, for Piero was, among other things, a firm supporter of French interests in Italy. Worried about the situation and warned of these threatening possibilities by Cosimo himself, Emperor Charles V sent an operative, "a certain Sifonte," to Siena, who was able not only to warn the city to beware, but also to get Piero Strozzi to leave town voluntarily.⁴ Not surprisingly, after Siena's capitulation to Florentine forces (1555) and its annexation to Duke Cosimo's newly doubled and newly renamed Duchy of Florence and Siena (1557), the Salvi family opted to become exiles and fled to Rome.

Before its fall, however, Siena did briefly switch sides and join the French camp, all in the futile hope of obtaining protection and support from King Henri II (reigned 1547–59). And some help did arrive. French troops entered Siena at the end of July 1552, in the wake of a successful Sienese insurrection against the Spanish (27 July). One of the most memorable episodes of the struggle against imperial Spanish forces took place the following January, when the women of Siena organized themselves to carry stones, sticks, and dirt to Porta Camollia, the city's northern gate, to help with the construction of a defensive bastion meant to withstand an expected attack from pro-Spanish Florence.

The building of the bastion caught the imagination of Marshal Blaise de Monluc (c.1502–77), the French commander in charge of Sienese defences from 1553 to 1555. In his memoirs, Monluc describes and immortalizes the women's effort. He first recalls how he saw them carry earth to build the fort, then retells the story of how, a little earlier, they had organized themselves for the task and set themselves to work with flourish, banners, and colours:

. . . et il me fust montré par des gentils-hommes sienois un grand nombre de gentil-femmes portans des paniers sur leur teste pleins de terre. Il ne sera jamais, dames siennoises, que je n'immortalize vostre nom tant que le livre de Monluc vivra; car, à la verité, vous estes dignes d'immortelle loüange, si jamais femmes le furent. . . . Au commencement de la belle resolution que ce peuple fit de deffendre sa liberté, toutes les dames de la ville de Sienne se despartirent en trois bandes: la première estoit conduite par la signora Forteguerra, qui estoit vestue de violet, et toutes celles qui la suivoient aussi, ayant son accoustrement en façon d'une nymphe, court et montrant le brodequin; la seconde estoit la signora Picolhuomini, vestue de satin incarnadin, et sa troupe de mesme livrée; la troisieme estoit la signora Livia Fausta, vestue toute de blanc, comme aussi estoit

sa suite, avec son enseigne blanche. Dans leurs enseignes elles avoient de belles devises; je voudrois avoir donné beaucoup et m'en resouvenir. Ces trois escadrons estoient composez de trois mil dames, gentil-femmes ou bourgeoises; leurs armes estoient des pics, des palles, des hotes et des facines. Et en cest equipage firent leur monstre et allèrent commencer les fortifications. Monsieur de Termes, qui m'en a souvent faict le compte (car je n'estois encor arrivé), m'a assuré n'avoir jamais veu de sa vie chose si belle que celle-là. Je vis leurs enseignes depuis. Elles avoient faict un chant à l'honneur de la France, lorsqu'elles alloient à leur fortification; je voudrois avoir donné le meilleur cheval que j'aye et l'avoir pour le mettre icy.⁵

That song, still unidentified, has been attributed either to Laura Civoli or to Virginia Martini Salvi, two women poets active at that time in Siena and well known for their patriotic poetry, full of anti-Spanish and pro-French sentiment.⁶

Virginia Martini Salvi's work, in particular, is highly politicized and influenced not only by the current political climate in Siena, but also by her spousal family's pro-French leanings. In the sonnet "Ride tutta l'Italia e per te spera," datable to the months immediately following the anti-Spanish insurrection of 27 July 1552 and Siena's new pro-French realignment, Salvi addressed King Henri II as follows:

Ride tutta l'Italia e per te spera
 Enrico invitto far quel che fatto hai
 Nell'alma Patria mia colma di guai
 Che lieta la ritorni ove prima era.
 Ha spento il Gallo tuo l'Aquila altera
 Che dar ne procacciava interni lai
 E con la luce de' tuoi santi rai
 Scorgi il camin di sua salute vera.
 O santo Re che dalle irate mani
 E dallo ingiusto giogo il gregge umano
 Hai tolto e posto in libertà sì cara,
 Stian dunque, tua mercè, sempre lontani
 Mostri sì rei e la regal tua mano
 Lungi ne tenga da vita tanto amara.

[All Italy rejoices and hopes through you,
 Invincible Henry, to do what you have done
 In my noble Homeland, once full of woe,
 Whom you returned to joy, as she once was.
 Your Rooster has killed the haughty Eagle
 That had sought to give us internal anguish
 And with the light of your holy rays
 You show the path of its true salvation.

O holy King, who have removed the human flock

From wrathful hands and from the unjust yoke
 And placed it in liberty, so dear,
 By your mercy, then, let such evil monsters
 Always stay far away, and may your royal hand
 Keep us far from such a bitter life.]⁷

In this sonnet, Salvi thanks the king for having freed Siena from imperial Spanish domination and voices the belief that all of Italy now looks to him as the saviour who will liberate the entire peninsula from the Spanish/Hapsburg yoke. Using two rather colourful ornithological images, whose meaning would have been obvious to everyone, she points out that the Gallic Rooster has overcome the Austrian Eagle, a clear reference to the long-standing Valois/Hapsburg rivalry and to the recent Sienese switch in alliances.

This firmly pro-French and strongly anti-Spanish sonnet was not included in Ludovico Domenichi's ground-breaking collection of Italian poetry by women (1559).⁸ Perhaps Salvi's praise of Henri II's Italian politics was no longer suitable in the year of the treaty of Cateau-Cambrésis (3 April 1559), which finally ended the long standing Valois/Hapsburg rivalry and established Spanish hegemony over Italy; or in the year of Henri's unexpected death from a jousting accident (10 July 1559). Whatever the case, the sonnet lay unpublished for close to 350 years; neither Antonio Bulifon in 1695 nor Luisa Bergalli in 1726 included it in their extensive collections of poetry by women.⁹ It was finally printed in 1898 in a minor Sienese journal as part of a short article by a local historian, clearly the fruit of antiquarian interests and of a heightened post-unification sense of Italian nationalism.¹⁰

A second sonnet by Virginia Martini Salvi, datable to the same period, interprets this Sienese change in alliances as an example of how a "true king" conquers new lands and gains his subjects' affection — by love and not by force (*pace Machiavelli*, one might add):

Quai dotti scritti, o quai trofei sien degni,
 Signor, del merto di vostre opre sante
 Poscia ch'il valor d'esse a tutte innante
 Passa e fa muti i più sublimi ingegni,
 Così sue si dee far le patrie e i regni,
 Non con l'inique crudeltà cotante.
 Deh, ferma sacro Re tue sante piante
 Entro alla Città mia colma di sdegni.
 Sia la mia patria a tutte l'altre esempio,
 Nè più d'Aquila infida alcun si fidi,
 Chè troppo fece di noi crudo scempio,
 Ma da l'un mare all'altro al ciel si gridi

“Enrico invitto” e al vostro santo tempio
Facciam de’ nostri cuori eterni nidi.

[What learned writings, what trophies will be worthy,
Lord, of (singing) the merits of your holy works,
Since these far outstrip the worth of those
And leave the most sublime wits speechless.

This is how one should gain lands and kingdoms,
Not with great and wicked cruelty.
Come, sacred King, halt your holy feet
Inside my city, so full of wrath,

Let my Homeland be an example to all,
And let no-one trust the faithless Eagle again,
For it wreaked far too much havoc upon us,

Instead, from one sea to the other let the cry rise
“Invincible Henry!” and for your holy temple
Let us make eternal nests of our hearts.]¹¹

Aside from praising Henri II for having managed to gain Siena's support without force of arms, Salvi encourages him to enter the city and to stop there — a clear invitation to occupy and govern. Siena, Salvi continues, would then become an example of good government and peace for all of Italy to emulate, and this, in turn, would lead all Italians to sing Henri's praises from shore to shore, their hearts a “holy temple” of their love for him. Not surprisingly, this poem also circulated only in manuscript form and was not published until Alessandro Lisini included it in his short article of 1898.

Salvi's naively optimistic view of French occupation may well have been conditioned (at least in part), by the *modus operandi* of the first two French “protectors” who arrived in Siena shortly after the eviction of the Spanish, for they demonstrated exceptional respect for local institutions and generally deferred to the Siennese government. Louis de Saint Gelais, Seigneur de Lanssac (1513–89), a favourite of the Constable de Montmorency, entered Siena on 30 July, three days after the uprising. He immediately initiated discussions with Duke Cosimo I for a return of Siennese territory conquered by Florence. An agreement was reached just days later, on 4 August. The following day the Spanish garrison left the fortress they had been building on the outskirts of town and in which they had taken refuge after the insurrection. Lanssac, who received the fortress, handed it over to the Siennese, who immediately set about to tear it down — its construction, in fact, had been one of the factors that turned the Siennese against the Spanish and eventually led to the insurrection. A week later, on 11 August, general Paul de Thermes arrived in Siena with 2,400 further French troops, thus

bringing the French contingent to 15,000 men — a rather sizeable force.¹² By keeping only 2,400 soldiers in the city, dispersing the rest throughout the territory, and letting the Sienese understand that he was interested only in military, not in political matters, De Thermes quickly gained the trust of the Sienese and received, in return, both honours and recompense from them. Such reserve on the part of the French contrasted starkly with the manners and methods used by their Spanish predecessor, Don Diego de Mendoza, and may well lie behind Salvi's references to "inique crudeltà cotante" ("great and wicked cruelty") and "Aquila infide" ("faithless Eagle").

Salvi's poems clearly not only praise a foreign lord protector, but promote foreign intervention and domination. Salvi is not just thanking the French for their support of Sienese efforts to remain an independent republic, but encouraging them to come to Siena and take control of the city.

A few short years later, after Siena had been conquered by the Florentine forces and had returned to the imperial Spanish orbit, Virginia Martini Salvi, now an exile in Rome, again voiced views in favour of French intervention and outright possession. In the sonnet "Afflitti e mesti intorno all'alte sponde," addressed to Queen Catherine de' Medici, wife of Henri II, Salvi laments the exile the Sienese suffer in Rome and asks the queen to turn her eyes to Florence, the most dejected of all cities:

Afflitti e mesti intorno all'alte sponde
del Tebro altiero i cari figli vanno
della mia Patria, e 'l grave acerbo affanno
ciascun nel petto suo dolente asconde.

Miran lungi il bel Colle, ove s'infonde
ira, sdegno, furor, rapina, e danno
del famelico Augello, in cui si stanno
ingorde voglie a null'altre seconde.

Spargon per l'aria alti sospiri ardenti;
versan dagli occhi largo pianto ogn'ora;
muovono i sassi i lor giusti lamenti.

Piange, Reina mia, la vostra Flora,
più di tutt'altre mesta; e son possenti
i vostri rai far che di duol non mora.

[Mournful and downcast beside the high banks
Of proud Tiber the dear sons of my Homeland
Wander, and the bitter, grave distress
Each in his heart with aching pain does hide.

From far away they spy the wondrous Hill
Where wrath, disdain, fury, theft, and harm
Come pouring out from the ravenous Bird
Whose gluttonous cravings are second to none.

They heave through the air sharp, burning sighs;
 A constant flow of tears pours from their eyes;
 Their righteous lamentations move the stones.
 Your Flora, my Queen, is also weeping,
 More sorrowful than the rest; but your glance
 Has the power to let her not die of grief.¹³

The unvoiced suggestion in this sonnet is clearly that Catherine should turn her attention to Florence and claim the city for herself, thus freeing Florence (and by extension Tuscany) from the oppressive yoke of the Spanish Hapsburg (the “ravenous Bird”) and of her distant cousin Cosimo I de’ Medici.¹⁴ As the direct heir of the elder branch of the Medici family and as the great-granddaughter of Lorenzo the Magnificent, Catherine did, in fact, have a stronger dynastic claim to the ducal crown of Florence than Cosimo did. However, given the circumstances surrounding the establishment of the duchy by imperial fiat in 1532 and the affirmation both in 1532 and again in 1537 of a line of succession that excluded women and the senior Medici branch, Catherine and the French were unable to advance a successful claim for her rights to the city. Not surprisingly, Catherine considered her young cousin an upstart usurper and, accordingly, detested him.

Salvi expressed similar pro-French and anti-Spanish sentiments to other recipients of her epistolary poems. One such person was Cardinal Ippolito d’Este of Ferrara, whose family were in-laws of the French royal family through Renée de Valois, daughter of King Louis XII and wife of the current ruling duke of Ferrara, Ercole II, brother to cardinal Ippolito. The Este family had long been openly and strongly pro-French. Cardinal Ippolito, for example, served the French crown not only as “cardinal protector” of France at the Vatican, but also politically on many missions throughout Italy. On 1 October 1552, King Henri II named him his lieutenant general in Siena. One month to the day later, the cardinal arrived in Siena with a personal guard of 300 mounted soldiers and a baggage train of 100 mules. He installed himself in the palazzo of Anton Maria Petrucci, brother-in-law of the poetess Aurelia Petrucci and son-in-law of Borghese di Pandolfo Petrucci, who had ruled Siena briefly in 1512–15.¹⁵ While the cardinal busied himself with political matters, De Thermes oversaw military matters.¹⁶

For the Salvi family and the pro-French party in Siena, problems seemed to be, for the most part, over: the Spanish had been ousted, and the French had come to safeguard the city. That did not mean, however, that they could rest at ease. Others had to be won over or kept faithful to the Sienese cause. Virginia Martini Salvi contributed to the effort by composing epistolary poems seeking support for Siena. Her poetry was directed not only at King Henri II and Queen Catherine de’ Medici, but also at their daughter

Marguerite of France (later to become “Queen Margot,” wife of King Henry of Navarre, later Henri IV of France). Salvi addressed further epistolary poems to a number of powerful pro-French cardinals, including (besides the influential Ippolito d’Este of Ferrara), the powerful and venial Cardinal Carlo Carafa of Naples,¹⁷ his friend Cardinal Vitellozzo Vitelli of Città di Castello,¹⁸ the learned Cardinal Antonio Trivulzio of Milan,¹⁹ the loyal and efficient Cardinal Girolamo Veralli,²⁰ and the elegant and refined Cardinal Pietro Bembo.²¹ Salvi also wrote poems to a number of prominent Sienese men, such as Count Annibal d’Elci and Lattanzio Benucci, not to mention members of the Florentine Academy. If nothing else, the variety of influential recipients is an indication of the breadth of contacts a Sienese noblewoman of the mid-sixteenth century might enjoy.

While Virginia Martini Salvi, echoing the politics of her family, saw the Sienese problem in terms of Spanish aggression and the solution in terms of French intervention, another woman poet saw the situation in drastically different terms. Long before the 1555 siege, this Sienese woman composed verses lamenting, not foreign domination, but the city’s internecine warfare. She warned her fellow citizens that their inability to work in harmony for the common good would lead to the republic’s loss of liberty and to its eventual enslavement by a foreign power. This bright, insightful person was the young, beautiful, talented, and universally admired Aurelia Petrucci (1511–42).²² In a sonnet that must be dated before 1542, Aurelia cried out “Where is your valour, Beloved Homeland?”:

Dove stà il tuo valor, Patria mia cara;
Poiché il giogo servil misera scordi
E solo nutri in sen pensier discordi,
Prodiga del tuo mal, del ben avara?

All’altrui spese, poco accorta, impara
Che fa la civil gara e in te rimordi
Gl’animi falsi e rei fatti concordi
A tuo sol danno e a servitute amara.

Fa delle membra sparse un corpo solo
Ed un giusto voler sia legge a tutti,
Che allora io ti dirò di valor degna.

Così tem’io, anzi vegg’io, che in duolo
Vivrai misera ognor piena di lutti;
Che così avvien dove discordia regna.

[Where is your valour, Beloved Homeland,
That, wretched, you forget the servile yoke,
And in your breast you nourish only discordant thoughts,
Prodigal with what’s bad, stingy with what’s good for you?
Learn, careless, from the mistakes of others

Where civil discord leads, and punish in yourself
 False spirits and evil deeds, which are united only
 So as to bring you harm and bitter servitude.

Draw your scattered limbs into a single body,
 And let one just will be everyone's law,
 For only then I will call you worthy of valour.

As it is, I fear—rather, I see—that you will live
 In grief, wretched, always full of woe;
 For this is what happens, when discord reigns.²³

The grand-daughter of Pandolfo Petrucci, the powerful and effective lord of Siena at the turn of the fifteenth century, Aurelia was not a starry-eyed young poet, but an intelligent person with privileged insights into the recent history and the current political situation, not just of her city, but of the entire Italian peninsula. Her political insight and acumen might have been fostered by her own family's connections, or by her own experience of exile: when her family was removed from power in Siena in 1524, it sought refuge in Rome, where Aurelia then lived for nearly twenty years and where she eventually died in 1542.

Not surprisingly, her sonnet not only cries out the pain of a city in turmoil, but also correctly identifies the city's major problem and its consequences. The poem was so well received that it appeared in the standard collections of poetry by women published in the sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth centuries. Both Domenichi and Bulifon gave it pride of place, using it as the opening poem of their collections. Such a privileged position not only gave the poem precedence over the works of other women poets but also added significance in an Italian, not just a Siennese, context. Its position at the head of two important collections of poetic works by women indicates that, both in the mid-sixteenth century and again at the end of the seventeenth century, with all of Italy now under Spanish control and hegemony, Aurelia's profound understanding of the problems caused by internal dissension and her lament for a country divided against itself and at the mercy of foreign powers had a general appeal.

The Spanish hegemony was to last for two long centuries. France was not to return to Italy until Napoleon's time, and freedom was not to be regained, nor national unity attained, until a French royal house would refashion itself into an Italian royal house and, with the help of a soldier born in Nice, conquer all of Italy for itself. In the meantime, however, the voices of the women of Siena fell silent, and all that remained were a few poems published in anthologies and the memory of a lost song in praise of France. The politically engaged writings of Virginia Martini Salvi and Aurelia Petrucci thus reflect a fleeting moment in Siennese history when women were

able to speak out and to act forcefully for the political survival of their country. Whether they composed poems or carried earth, their efforts were not in vain, for they reveal to this day the profound sense of identity and the lively political consciousness of mid-sixteenth-century Sieneese women.

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Notes

1. On Cosimo's roving expansionist eye, see the recent work by Mary Hewlett, "A Republic in Jeopardy: Cosimo I de' Medici and the Republic of Lucca," in *The Cultural Politics of Duke Cosimo I de' Medici*, ed. Konrad Eisenbichler (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2001), pp. 9–22.
2. Jean Zeller, *La diplomatie française vers le milieu du XVI^e siècle d'après la correspondance de Guillaume Pellicier, évêque de Montpellier, ambassadeur de François I^{er} à Venise (1539–1542)* (Paris: Hachette, 1881), p. 300.
3. Margaret of Austria (1522–86) was the illegitimate daughter of Emperor Charles V by a Netherlandish noblewoman, Johanna van der Gheynst. She was raised in Malines, Flanders, by her namesake Margaret of Austria, aunt of Emperor Charles V and Regent for him of the Netherlands. On 13 June 1536, the fourteen-year-old Margaret married Alessandro de' Medici (1510–37), the illegitimate son of Pope Clement VII, in accordance with the Treaty of Barcelona (29 June 1529), by which the emperor also promised to re-establish the Medici in Florence, turn the old republic into a duchy, and then bestow it on Alessandro de' Medici with right of male primogeniture. After Alessandro was assassinated (6 January 1537), his distant cousin and heir, Cosimo I de' Medici, sought to marry Margaret himself in order to maintain a personal connection with the imperial family, thus ensuring imperial support of Medici rights to the duchy of Florence. The emperor, however, had other plans and used his daughter to establish family connections with the new pope, Paul III Farnese. As a result, Margaret was married to Ottaviano Farnese, son of Paul III's own illegitimate son, Pier Luigi Farnese (4 November 1538). The marriage was an abysmal failure on the conjugal level, so much so that many pasquinades were composed deriding it, but it did produce one of the most successful soldiers of the sixteenth century, Duke Alessandro Farnese (1545–92), "the great Captain" who fought at Lepanto and served as Governor of the Netherlands for King Philip II of Spain. Margaret herself would also serve, twice, as Governor of the Netherlands (1559–67 and 1580–83).
4. Giovanni Antonio Pecci, *Memorie storico-critiche della città di Siena*, vol. 3 (Siena: Agostino Bindi, 1758; rpt. Siena: Edizioni Cantagalli, 1988), pp. 96–97: "Piero Strozzi ancora non restava d'operare quanto potea per accrescere le forze, e procacciarsi degl' amici, per lo che, anch'esso venuto in Siena, e sotto colore di parentado, trattando continuamente colla Duchessa Vedova [Margherita d'Austria] accarezzava i giovani Sanesi, e per essere liberale, e affabile, esso, e Ruberto di lui Fratello erano ben veduti da tutti, e particolarment da Fratelli de' Salvi. Tali andamenti cagionavano sospetto nell'Imperiali, perche temeano chè non potesse voltarsi la Città a favore de' Francesi per meglio facilitare l'impresa di Firenze, e tanto più andava crescendo il timore, perchè in Siena non v'era Famiglia, che avesse maggior riputazione nell'armi, di quella de' Salvi, e per esser povera di sostanze molto più cagionava sospetto di potere esser corrotta, onde dubitandone gl'Imperiali, e dal Duca Cosimo resi avvertiti, spedirono da Roma a Siena un tal Sifonte, che arrivatovi sotto pretesto di far gente, e andare alla volta di Milano, vi si fermò molti giorni, alloggiando in Casa di Girolamo Mandoli Piccolomini, e avvertì il Duca d'Amalfi, e agli Officiali di Balìa

espose, che la stanza degli Strozzi in Siena era sospetta alla fazione Imperiale, e però esser bene il provedervi, e scacciargli, ma gli Strozzi accortisi del disegno degl'Imperiali, senza'altra intimidazione da loro stessi volontariamente si partirono.”

5. Blaise De Monluc, *Commentaires*, éd. Paul Courteault (Paris: Alphonse Picard et fils, 1913), pp. 106–7. Monluc's retelling of events in Siena is indebted to three previous works that he used as generous *aide-mémoires* for his own narrative; that is, to Guillaume Paradin's *Histoire de nostre temps* (a work that underwent many editions and additions; it was published in Lyon by Jean de Tournes in 1550, 1552, 1558 [twice], and in Paris in 1555 and 1568); to Paradin's *Continuation de l'histoire de nostre temps*, which is especially dedicated to the events of 1550–55 (Lyon: Guillaume Roville, 1556; Lyon, 1575; and Paris, 1575); and to François de Rabutin's *Commentaires*. See Paul Courteault, *Blaise de Monluc historien. Étude critique sur le texte et la valeur historique des Commentaires* (Paris: Alphonse Picard et fils, 1908), p. 75.
6. Alessandro Lisini, “Le poetesse senesi degli ultimi anni della Repubblica di Siena,” *Miscellanea storica senese* 5 (1898): 38. Biographical information on Civoli and Salvi is still not available. Preliminary research in the Archivio di Stato di Siena has so far been fruitless, not even yielding the basic information concerning birth, marriage, or dates of death.
7. Manuscript copies in Siena, Biblioteca Comunale degli Intronati di Siena (henceforth SI-BCI), MS I.XI.49, fol. 29^v and MS H.X.2, fol. 69^r; published in Lisini, p. 35. My translation.
8. Ludovico Domenichi, ed., *Rime diverse d'alcune gentilissime, et virtuosissime donne, raccolte per M. Lodovico Domenichi, e intitolate al Signor Giannoto Castiglione gentil'huomo milanese* (Lucca: Vincenzo Busdragho, 1559).
9. Antonio Bulifon, ed., *Rime di cinquanta illustri poetesse* (Napoli: Antonio Bulifon, 1695); Luisa Bergalli, ed., *Componimenti poetici: delle più illustri rimatrici d'ogni secolo, raccolti da Luisa Bergalli*, 2 vols. (Venezia: Appresso Antonio Mora, 1726), 1 (Parte prima, che contiene le Rimatrici Antiche fino all'Anno 1575).
10. Lisini, p. 35.
11. Manuscript copies in SI-BCI MS I.XI.49, fol. 29^v and MS H.X.2, fol. 70^r; published in Lisini, p. 36. My translation.
12. Arnaldo D'Addario, *Il problema senese nella storia italiana della prima metà del Cinquecento (La guerra di Siena)* (Firenze: Felice Le Monnier, 1958), p. 122.
13. Published in Domenichi, *Rime diverse* (1559), p. 197; Bulifon, *Rime* (1695), p. 185; and Bergalli, *Componimenti* (1726), 1: 155–56. My translation. Lisini does not publish this poem.
14. For a similar message, see also the canzone “L'ardente amor, la pura, e viva fede,” published in Domenichi, *Rime diverse* (1559), p. 199, and in Bulifon, *Rime* (1695), pp. 187–90. Neither Bergalli nor Lisini publishes this work.
15. Anton Maria di Giovan Francesco di Giacoppo Petrucci was born in 1508 in a lateral branch of the powerful Petrucci clan. In 1531 he strengthened his connections with the main branch by marrying Pandolfina di Borghese di Pandolfo Petrucci, whose grandfather had been lord of Siena for a decade and a half (1497–1512). Her father briefly inherited the reins of government (1512–15), but was soon removed by direct papal intervention because of his incompetence in the post. Although power changed hands, it still remained in the Petrucci family, for the pope charged Raffaele Petrucci, bishop of Grosseto, with the government

of the city (1515–22). He was followed by another Petrucci, Francesco (1522–23), who was in turn removed by a *coup d'état* and replaced by Fabio Petrucci (1523–25), the weak and inept youngest son of Pandolfo. With his eventual removal and exile, the Petrucci lost their grip on power, but they continued to exert significant influence in the political life of the city.

16. D'Addario, pp. 132–33.
17. The corrupt Carlo Carafa was born in Naples in 1517 and died violently and in disgrace in Rome in 1561. At his uncle's elevation to the papacy as Paul IV Carafa, Carlo gave up his life of soldiering and opted for an ecclesiastical career, clearly thinking that it would give him a better chance of success. In fact, at the very first elevation in his reign his uncle raised him to the cardinalate (7 June 1555) and put him in charge of the daily running of the papal state, in order to turn his own attention to the reform of the Church. Carlo soon acquired many important posts. He headed the papal chancery and was legate to Bologna (the second most important city in the Papal States). Capitalizing on his uncle's anti-Spanish sentiments, in May 1556 Carlo went to France as papal legate, but his attempts at international politics merely precipitated a brief war between Spain and France that, unfortunately for him, was fought entirely on papal territory. A man of disordered life, his failings were eventually brought to the pope's attention. Paul IV, upset by what he discovered about his nephew, had him removed from office (early in 1559) and exiled him from Rome (but allowed him to retain his see in Naples). The next pope, Pius IV de' Medici (reigned 1559–65), initiated legal proceedings against Carlo and had him imprisoned, deposed from his bishopric, and eventually had him secretly strangled in prison (4 March 1561). The subsequent pope, Pius V Ghislieri (reigned 1566–72), sought to restore Carlo's reputation at least in part by ordering a re-examination of his trial, but this merely exposed irregularities in the process and did nothing to rehabilitate the dead man's name.
18. Vitellozzo Vitelli (1531–68) was bishop of Città di Castello. He was raised to the cardinalate by Pope Paul IV Carafa (15 March 1555). A close friend of the pope's nephew, Cardinal Carlo Carafa, Vitelli fell in disgrace at Carlo's downfall, but was still able to play an important part in the election of Gian Angelo de' Medici as Pope Pius IV and to rehabilitate himself.
19. Antonio Trivulzio or Trivulce (d. 1559), bishop of Toulon (France), was raised to the cardinalate by Pope Paul IV Carafa (11 Oct. 1557). He served as governor of Perugia, prefect of the Segnatura, nuncio to France and to Venice, and also as legate *a latere* to King Henri II with the specific assignment of promoting peace between France and Spain.
20. Girolamo Verallo (c.1497–1555) was a *protégé* of Pope Paul III Farnese, who appointed him to several bishoprics and eventually raised him to the cardinalate (8 April 1549). Verallo served the Church in various offices, including nuncio to Venice (1537–40), to Archduke Ferdinand I (1541), to Emperor Charles V (1545–47), and in a mission to Henri II of France (1551). He was also deeply involved with the opening of the Council of Trent and with the Inquisition (1552–53).
21. Pietro Bembo (1470–1547) was born in Venice, but firmly espoused the Florentine language, in particular that of Petrarch, as the ultimate paradigm of poetic style in Italian. A model of humanist learning himself, Bembo was raised to the cardinalate by Pope Paul III Farnese. His contribution to the debate on language (the *Questione della lingua*) that occupied so much of the sixteenth century strongly influenced the development of the Italian language.
22. Aurelia di Borghese di Pandolfo Petrucci was the daughter and granddaughter of previous rulers of Siena (see D'Addario, pp. 132–33). In 1531 she married Camillo di Girolamo

Venturi. She died young and much lamented in Rome, but her body was brought back to Siena and buried in the church of Sant'Agostino. The *letterato* Alessandro Piccolomini composed a funerary oration for her, published much later as *Orazione . . . fatta in morte di Aurelia Petrucci nel 1542* (Firenze: Domenico Marzi e Compagni, 1771).

23. Published in all three early collections of poetry by women: Domenichi, *Rime diverse* (1559), p. 9; Bulifon, *Rime* (1695), p. 2; Bergalli, *Componimenti* (1726), 1: 71. It is also published by Lisini, pp. 34–35. My translation.