

Cardinal Richard Annibaldi

First Protector of the Augustinian Order

1243-1276 *)

In the year 1956 the Augustinian Order will commemorate the 700th anniversary of its Great Union, which transformed the former hermits into mendicant friars, transferred them from the seclusion of their hermitages into the life of the cities and towns and deman-

*) To conserve space, the following abbreviations have been employed in citations:

- AA = *Analecta Augustiniana* (Rome, 1905 sqq.).
- Archivio = *Archivio della R. Società Romana di Storia Patria*.
- ASS = *Acta Sanctorum*.
- CRUSENIUS = *Nicolai Crusenii, OESA, Pars tertia Monastici Augustiniani complectens epitomen historicam FF. Augustiniensium a magna ordinis unione usque ad annum 1620 cum additamentis... Josefi Lanteri* (Vallisoleti, 1890), vol. I.
- EMPOLI = L. EMPOLI, *OESA, Bullarium ordinis Eremitarum Sancti Augustini* (Rome, 1628).
- HERRERA = Th. HERRERA, *OESA, Alphabetum Augustinianum*, 2 vols. (Madrid, 1644).
- LUBIN = A. LUBIN, *OESA, Orbis Augustinianus* (Paris, 1671).
- MGH = *Monumenta Germaniae Historica*.
- MURATORI = MURATORI L., *Rerum Italicarum Scriptores*.
- P = POTTHAST A., *Regesta Pontificum Romanorum*, vol. II (Berlin, 1874).
- RODENBERG = *Epistolae selectae aevi XIII* (MGH), 2 vols.
- STERNFELD = R. STERNFELD, *Der Kardinal Johann Gaetan Orsini* (Berlin, 1905).
- TORELLI = L. TORELLI, *OESA, Secoli Agostiniani* (Bologna, 1667-1686), 8 vols.
- Vfr. = *Jordani de Saxonia OESA Liber Vitas Fratrum*, ed. R. Arbesmann et W. Hümpfner (New York, 1943).

The new edition of the Papal Registers undertaken by the Bibliothèque des écoles françaises d'Athènes et de Rome will be quoted by the name of the editors: AUVRAY L., *Les registres de Grégoire IX* (Paris, 1899-1910); BERGER E., *Les*

ded of them an active, energetic participation in the care of souls through preaching and hearing confessions.

Most of the documents for the years when the change took place have been lost, but those remaining leave little doubt that the greatest influence upon the development of the re-organized Order was exercised by its first Cardinal Protector Richard Annibaldi, who ruled the Order with supreme authority for over thirty years. For reasons, later to be discussed, the historians of the Austin friars have paid him but faint praise. A similar treatment was given him by other historians, though Richard had served under nine popes (1237-1276) and was responsible for the coming of Charles of Anjou to Italy ¹). The obvious reason for this silence was the destruction of the archives of the Annibaldi family and any details of Richard's life can be gathered only from widely scattered items in the numerous documents of the period. Some of these records, however, have been misinterpreted to such an extent that one may speak of a wilful defamation of this *pater magnificus* as he was called even by his contemporary opponent, Saba Malaspina ²). Sternfeld ³), in particular, presented Richard as a villain ruled by greed, ambition and faithlessness who opposed his hero, Cardinal John Gaetano, and always found a derogatory adjective when speaking of our cardinal; but many of his statements served only as stageprops for a dramatic presentation of Gaetano's biography, with little or no foundation in fact.

While the primary sources are few and widely scattered, we have many secondary accounts of the life of Cardinal Richard; but these abound in error ⁴). One of the most common mistakes

registres d'Innocent IV (1884); BOUREL DE LA RONCIÈRE C., DE LOYE J., DE CENIVAL P., COULON A., *Les registres d'Alexandre IV*; GUIRAUD J., *Les registres d'Urbain IV*; JORDAN E., *Les registres de Clément IV*; GUIRAUD J., *Les registres de Grégoire X*; CADIER E., *Les registres de Jean XXI*; GAY J., *Les registres de Nicolas III* (1898-1932).

¹) Emil VAN MOÉ was the first to outline Cardinal Richard's efforts on behalf of the Augustinians: *Recherches sur les Ermites de Saint Augustin entre 1250 et 1350*, *Revue des questions historiques*, LX (1932), 257-316, but the scope of his excellent paper did not include a biography of the cardinal nor a history of the various groups of hermits forming the newly organized Order.

²) MURATORI VIII, 820.

³) STERNFELD, *passim*, e. gr. 13, 163, 172, 325.

⁴) This censure does not apply to the short biographies by Emilio RE in the *Enciclopedia Italiana*, VI (1929), 394, and by P. RICHARD in the *Dictionnaire*

is to confuse him with Cardinal Richard of St Cyriacus, the former abbot of Monte Cassino, who was created cardinal by Innocent IV, deposed in 1259 by Alexandre IV for participating in the coronation of Manfred and died in 1262⁵⁾, but, the lives and aims of these two cardinals of the same name and the same period are entirely different.

Richard's Family

The Annibaldi, a powerful and richly endowed house in Latium believed in their descent from Hannibal⁶⁾, but in reality the family must be traced to a Count Annaldus or Anwaldus and was, like the Conti and the house of Ceccano, of German origin⁷⁾. The foundation of their future greatness was laid about 1090, when Annibale Annibaldi married a daughter of Agapio, Count of Tusculum, who received for her dowry Rocca Priora (Arx Perjura) Monte Porzio (Mons Porculi) and Molaro⁸⁾. The family, however, became politically prominent only after Annibaldus Senior married the sister of Pope Innocent III. He was senator in Rome in 1221 and after his reelection in 1231 introduced some kind of secular inquisition against heretics which continued until 1336⁹⁾. This

d'histoire et de géographie ecclésiastique, III (Paris, 1924), 388. P. Richard, however, leans too heavily on Sternfeld.

⁵⁾ M. INGUANEZ, *Cronologia degli abati cassinesi del sec. XIII, Casinensia*, II (Montecassino, 1929), 427. A. OLDOINUS, *Athenaeum Romanum* (Perugia, 1675), 580, had already proved that Cardinal Richard Annibaldi had not been an abbot of Montecassino.

⁶⁾ E. BATZER, *Zur Kenntnis der Formelsammlung des Richard von Pofi* (Heidelberg, 1919), 133: 'describit enym ystoriografforum antiquitas venisse de Cartagine ad Italie partes Annibalem, de cuius vos Anibaldenses linea sanguinis descendistis'; also PETRARCA, *Epistolae* II, 12 (Basel, 1581, p. 98):

Paulo Hannibalensi Senatori

Nota loquor, fuerit potius tibi sanguinis auctrix
Scipiadam divina domus, nova nomina sumens
Hostibus a domitis, Afroque ex more subactus
Hanibal haec domui dederit cognomina vestrae.

⁷⁾ F. GREGOROVIVS, *History of the city of Rome in the Middle Ages* (transl. A. Hamilton, London, 1897), V, 158.

⁸⁾ T. TOMASETTI, *Topografia della Campagna Romana*, *Archivio*, XLVI (1923), 260.

⁹⁾ Th. AMAYDEN, *La storia delle famiglie Romane* (2. ed., C. A. Bertini, Rome, 1914) 61 *cfr.* A. SALIMELI, *Senatori e statuti di Roma nel Medioevo* (Rome, 1935), 66. For the inquisition: E. RE, *Statuti della città di Roma*, I (Rome, 1880), 2, 3.

Annibaldus Senior was probably the father of our cardinal and the first of a long line of senators from the house of Annibaldi who ruled Rome during the thirteenth century. At the end of this period the family was divided into many branches, and in order to distinguish one from the other they added to the family name that of the place where they lived or the name of one of their possessions ¹⁰). Thus the Annibaldi in Rome were first known as the *Annibaldi de Urbe*, but during the middle of the 13th century one branch called itself *Annibaldi de Militiis* from the Torre delle Milizie which had become their stronghold; the other was known as the *Annibaldi de Coliseo* after they had taken it from the Frangipani ¹¹). Cardinal Richard is often surnamed « de Molaria » after the ancient seat of his family, a renowned fortress which was located near Frascati and which commanded the valley dividing the Latin mountains ¹²). Whether this surname was given him because he was born there or because he became the sole owner of the castle in his late years, cannot be determined. With great probability, he had three brothers Mathias, Annibaldus and Petrus de Urbe, among whom the family of Mathias was the most prominent. Mathias' son, Riccardello, was a fiery Ghibelline and caused a great deal of trouble for the papacy. Adrian, another

¹⁰) F. SAVIO, *Gli Anibaldi di Roma nel secolo XIII, Studi e documenti di storia e diritto*, XVII (1896), 355-363. Other branches were the Annibaldi of Monte Compatri, Zancato, Cave, etc.

¹¹) Both the Coliseo and the Torre delle Milizie faced the gates and streets which led to the possessions of the Annibaldi in the Campagna and Maritima. The Annibaldi forced Henry and James Frangipani to cede half of the Coliseo and succeeded, because they were allies of Frederick II, but Pope Innocent IV reversed the pact on March 16, 1244 on the ground that the Frangipani had received the Coliseo as papal fief. A decade later, however, the Annibaldi were in possession of the entire Coliseo: A. THEINER, *Codex diplomaticus domini temporalis S. Sedis*, I, (Rome, 1861), 118.

The Torre delle Milizie was a military post built on the highest point of the Quirinal and overlooked all buildings of the Eternal City. In 1301 Pope Boniface VIII forced the Annibaldi to sell it to his family, the Gaetani, because it was situated too close to the tower of the hostile Colonna. Since its acquisition the Gaetani like the Annibaldi used the title 'dominus de militiis' or 'militarum': G. GAETANI, *Domus Caietana* (Val di Pesa, 1927), I, 1, p. 144. A. DE BOUARD, *Le régime politique et les institutions de Rome au moyen-âge* (Paris, 1920), 85, 164.

¹²) G. & F. TOMASETTI, *La campagna Romana, antica, medievale e moderna* (Rome, 1926), IV, 515-528.

son of Mathias was made archbishop¹³⁾ and a daughter Colitia married Fortebraccio Orsini and placed in 1263 a monument in the Augustinian church St. Maria de Popolo in Rome¹⁴⁾. For the rest, we have no knowledge of Richard's life before he became cardinal with the exception of a papal document which calls him a canon of St. Peter¹⁵⁾.

CHAPTER I

The Cardinal of the Roman Curia

At the beginning of the year 1237¹⁶⁾ Richard was created cardinal deacon of St. Angelo in Pescheria, a deaconry which had been vacant since the transfer of Cardinal Romanus to the episcopal see of Porto in 1236. Richard held the same position for 39 years which would seem to indicate that he was never ordained a priest; otherwise, he would probably have been promoted to a higher titular church¹⁷⁾. A decisive role in his appointment played, no doubt, the blood relationship of his family with Popes Innocent III, Gregory IX and Alexander IV¹⁸⁾.

¹³⁾ *Archivio* XLVII (1924), 140.

¹⁴⁾ AMAYDEN, *Famiglie Romane*, 61.

¹⁵⁾ 'Ex libro primo anni XI Regesti Gregorii Noni fol. 488 canonicus erat Sancti Petri': GRIMALDI, *Catalogus omnium presbiterorum sanctae Vaticanae Basilicae*, Ms. H. I, Archivio Capitolare S. Pietro. The text was kindly copied by Rev. Reinhold Schraml, OESA, Rome. I could not locate the passage in Auvray.

¹⁶⁾ This date given by OLDINUS, *Athen. Rom.*, 580, is correct. It was the fourth creation of cardinals by Gregory IX and took place at the beginning of 1237. Cfr. J. FELTEN, *Papst Gregor IX* (Freiburg, 1888), 384. K. EUBEL, *Hierarchia catholica medii aevi*, I (2 ed., Münster, 1913), 6, is in error when he accepts 1239 as the date of Richard's elevation, because the latter subscribed his first papal bull on Aug. 30, 1238: AUVRAY 4515.

¹⁷⁾ See the controversy between Huyskens and Sägmüller in *Historisches Jahrbuch der Görresgesellschaft*, XXVII (1906), 817. Even Richard's appointment as archpriest of St. Peter's Basilica (*infra* note 53) did not necessarily imply a promotion in Holy Orders, for Cardinal Gaetan Orsini, who followed Richard in this position, received special papal permission 'ut ad susceptionem sacerdotalis ordinis minime tenearis', *Collectio Bullarum SS. ae Basilicae Vaticanae*, also called *Bullarium Vaticanum*, I (Rome, 1747), 154.

¹⁸⁾ 'Innocentius Papa Tertius avunculus tuus', GUIRAUD, *Reg. d'Urbain IV*, n° 27. Alexander IV speaks of an Annibaldi, senator of Rome in 1262, as his nephew, P 17826. Gregory IX was a member of the Conti family which was closely related to the Annibaldi.

Two years after his elevation Richard served as rector of the Campagna and Maritima, two papal provinces south of Rome ¹⁹). The rectorship consisted in a general supervision of the territory, the collection of taxes, the mobilization of troops in case of war and the judgment of disputes of the second instance ²⁰). Very few documents speak of the actual work done by Richard. In 1240 he imposed upon the inhabitants of Ceperani a fine of 100 ounces of gold for the murder of the son of Thomas de Rubeo ²¹). In 1243 he decided that the inhabitants of Piperno could not build an aqueduct in the territory of Terracina ²²). In July 1246 he was ordered by the Pope to compel Alatri to keep peace with Ferentino ²³); in the following year he mobilized the inhabitants of Terracina to regain a castle from the neighboring town of Setino and in 1248 he was called upon to settle the differences between the nobility and the commoners of Anagni ²⁴). Meager though these records are, they indicate sufficiently the main trouble during his rectorship: the continuous private warfare of city against city, baron against baron, cities and communities against the encroachment of neighboring nobility upon their hard gained liberties.

¹⁹) He is mentioned for the first time in this position on April 12, 1239, AUVRAY 4830. The Campagna stretched through the valley of the Aniene river as far as the Lepini mountains. The Maritima ran along the coast to the same mountains and was bounded to the south by the kingdom of Naples (FAWTIER, *Les registres de Boniface VIII*, Index).

²⁰) G. FALCO, *Il comune di Velletri nel medio evo*, Archivio, XXXI (1913), 382; J. B. SÄGMÜLLER, *Tätigkeit und Stellung der Kardinäle bis Bonifaz VIII* (Paderborn, 1896), 110, states briefly: « Verwaltung, Gerichtswesen, Finanzen und Armee lagen in den Händen des Rektor ». BOUARD, *Reg. Polit.*, 81.

²¹) AUVRAY 5254, July 13, 1240.

²²) RODENBERG II, 168; BERGER 2043.

²³) THEINER, *Domin. temp.* I, 116.

²⁴) Pope Innocent IV commanded the faithful in Campania and Maritima 'Setinos armis cogant ut nobili viro G. de Trebis castrum ab eis ereptum restituant', THEINER, *op. cit.*, I, 125 and 136. It is not certain, whether this is the castle of Trivigliano (Trebellianum) which Cardinal Richard gave to the Roman Church as a punishment for a crime: Archivio XLVII (1924), 186, where we also find a description (p. 157) of the various classes within Anagni and their struggle for freedom. *Pedites* were the free workers: the artisans, merchants, industrialists. *Milites* were the small feudatores, who wanted to free themselves from the Church: i. e. the bishops and monasteries and from the *nobiles* or the great landowners. The rest of the population were the *massarii* or *populares*. As a rule the *nobiles* and *milites* banded together against the *populares*, but the various groups often struggled with each other.

Overshadowing this constant local turmoil was the division of all Italy into Guelfs and Ghibellines, the unfortunate warfare between pope and emperor. Cardinal Richard, no doubt, partook in the meeting of cardinals which decided to excommunicate the Emperor Frederick II on Pentecost 1239. Calculated to make the Hohenstaufen submit, the excommunication incited him to declare war against the pope. In August 1241, his army surrounded Rome; but Frederick knew that an attack would be unnecessary since the dreaded malaria had already struck the city; among its victims was the aged Pope Gregory IX, who died on August 22 ²⁵).

Under Innocent IV (July 25, 1243 - December 7, 1254)

The senator of Rome, Matteo Rosso Orsini, immediately set about imprisoning the ten cardinals present, in order to force a quick election of a pope who would vigorously defend Rome against the emperor. The cardinals who resisted the incarceration were beaten, thrown to the ground and dragged hand and foot into the Septizonium where they were locked in a common room and subjected to the foulest indignities ²⁶). The unsanitary living conditions aggravated the malaria epidemic and caused serious illness among the cardinals. Sinibald Fieschi and Richard Annibaldi were among the victims and one temporary historian even reported Richard's death ²⁷). Care of the sick, even warm water was refused; and when Cardinal Richard Summercote died, the cardinals were not allowed to partake in his funeral; but were jeeringly told they had better follow his example.

Despite these sufferings the cardinals did not unite upon a

²⁵) A. CELLI, *La malaria nella storia medievale di Roma*, *Archivio* XLVII (1924), 32-3. Frederick II died of the same illness on Dec. 3, 1250 and with him many of his troops; his son Conradin was struck down by it and Celli is of the opinion that many of Manfred's so-called tactical blunders in 1264-5 were due to his fear of malaria.

²⁶) K. HAMPE, *Ein ungedruckter Brief über das Konklave von 1241*, *Sitzungsberichte der Heidelberger Akademie der Wissenschaften*, 1913, n° 1. O. JOELSON, *Die Papstwahlen des 13. Jahrhunderts* (Berlin, 1928), 27; *Archivio* XLVII, 31.

²⁷) Matthew PARIS, *Chronica Maiora* (ed. H. R. Louard, London, 1872/82), IV, 172: 'et sub eodem tempore obiit unus cardinalium, videlicet Ricardus Hannibaldi'. The author had probably heard of the sickness of Richard of S. Angelo and confused him with Cardinal Richard Summercote.

candidate until November, when they chose the aged Geoffrey of Milan and immediately fled from the city. Geoffrey chose the name Celestin IV, but three days later took sick and died on November 10, before he was consecrated. The cardinals refused to return to Rome, where they had experienced deepest ignominy and where one of them, Cardinal John Colonna was still held prisoner by the senator. For a year and a half, the Church was without a head, but finally through the efforts of the emperor, nine cardinals gathered in Anagni, free from interference, and elected on July 12, 1243 Sinibald Fieschi who took the name of Innocent IV. — *Wien*

There is no question about the political standpoint of Cardinal Richard ²⁸). He, together with Sinibald and Raynald Conti, had held firm to the candidacy of Romanus Bonaventura, cardinal bishop of Porto, whom the emperor regarded as an enemy ²⁹). Only after Romanus died, did they change their vote; but they succeeded in having one of their own group elected. Frederick II approved of Sinibald, but seldom was an emperor more mistaken in his judgment. Innocent IV and his followers had but one political aim: to keep the emperor from uniting all Italy in his hand; for they recognized clearly that the independence of the papacy could be sustained only if the north and south of Italy were controlled by different rulers. This policy was henceforth the basis of all political actions of Cardinal Richard, who within a decade became « the celebrated leader of the Guelfs » ³⁰). If imperial historians like Saba Malaspina were quite at a loss to explain his 'sudden' change of heart under Pope Urban IV ³¹), then they either did not know

²⁸) J. MAUBACH, *Die Kardinäle und ihre Politik um die Mitte des 13. Jahrhunderts* (Bonn, 1902), 56, is clearly in error when he writes: 'Unbestimmt ist auch die Parteistellung bei... Richard Annibaldi'.

²⁹) M. PARIS, *Chronica* IV, 165, reports Richard on the side of Romanus, whom Frederick II had accused in 1243, 'quod fecerat dissidium inter papam iam defunctum et ipsum imperatorem'. H. HUILLARD-BRÉHOLLES, *Historia diplomatica Friderici II* (Paris, 1869), VI, 88. See E. WESTENHOLZ, *Kardinal Rainer von Viterbo* (Heidelberg, 1912), 57.

³⁰) GREGOROVIVS, *Rome* V, 642.

³¹) 'Nescitur quo spiritu ductus... cum tota domus cardinalis eiusdem nomen Gebellinitatis ab antiquo sortita Regi iam dicto (Manfredo) studeret sincera devotione placere': MURATORI VIII, 807. Malaspina was also in error with regard to Richard's family, which like most of the Roman families was divided in its political allegiance between pope and emperor. Inner conviction and material advantages rather than tradition determined their loyalty.

the antecedents or wilfully obscured facts for purposes of propaganda. There is no explanation for the 'change' in Richard's politics because there was no change. He had but two aims: freedom of Rome, freedom of the Holy See. Richard's Guelf sentiments were also nurtured by the emperor's vicious warfare. In one of his few extant letters he wrote to Pope Innocent³²⁾:

« Churches and altars stand desolate; priests, clerics and religious are exterminated; women are raped and the children cremated in their burning homes. The rights of the church are discarded, the sacred hosts desecrated... To counteract the emperor's plans, to subdue the powers which support him is nothing else but to save Faith from perdition; to free by God's ineffable power, the church from this roaring lion... from this dragon who is Satan and the devil himself ».

Richard was rather hard pressed to defend these aims when Innocent IV in order to preserve his freedom of action and personal integrity, fled to Lyon on June 28, 1244 and did not return until October 6, 1251. By order of the pope only three cardinals remained; Richard as rector of the Campagna and Maritima, the fiery Rainer of Viterbo (d. 1250) as legate to Tuscany, Spoleto, the March of Ancona and the Patrimony and Stephen of St. Mary in Trastevere as administrator of Rome, which always formed a special governmental district³³⁾. A fourth cardinal, Raynald of Ostia (later Alexander IV), was *persona non grata* and remained behind against

³²⁾ 'Post desolacionem ecclesiarum, altarium, post sacerdotum et clericorum ac religiosorum exterminium, post mulierum in dispendium adulteria, parvulorum concremacionis incendium, per ecclesiastice potestatis [abusum?], divinum in derisum, summi pontificis et clavium Petri contemptum ingerendo se divinis misteriis, polluit celebriter, publici contaminat, et sollempniter divinum officium et quantum est in se crucifigit patris unigenitum et unicum matris filium, dum prophanat et prophanari facit dominici corporis sacramentum. Eius, pater sancte, astuciis occurrere vires servientes reprimere nichil aliud est, quam fidem, ne pereat, defendere et ecclesiam totam a rugiente preparato ad escam, a dracone, qui sathanas est et dyabolus ineffabili Domini munere liberare': K. HAMPE, *Papst Innozent IV und die sizilische Verschwörung, Sitzungsber. Heidelberg*, 1923, n° 8.

³³⁾ MAUBACH, *Kardinäle*, 46, states that Cardinal Richard was in charge of the Roman Curia until 1249. E. SÜTTERLIN, *Die Politik Kaiser Friederichs II und die römischen Kardinäle* (Heidelberg, 1929), 31, assigned this task to Cardinal Stephen. The solution might be found in RODENBERG III, 319, where in 1245 both are called 'in Campania et Maritima papales vicarii'. The administrative work of the Curia, therefore, could be done by either one.

the wishes of the pope ³⁴). The three ruling cardinals often met in council and despite their meager means performed miracles of statesmanship. The fight was waged with great bitterness on both sides and fair means or foul were used indiscriminately. From the circumstantial evidence of a newly discovered letter, the Sicilian murder plot of 1246 which was directed against the emperor has been imputed to our cardinal ³⁵). The original text, however, neither designated the addressee nor does it indicate sufficiently that either the pope or Cardinal Richard had anything to do with this undertaking; nor is there compelling proof that the pope asked Cardinal Richard to protect the wouldbe murderers after their attempt had failed ³⁶). The emperor openly accused the pope of being the instigator of this attack upon his life ³⁷) and the three cardinals were so afraid of his wrath that they did not attend the council of Lyons ³⁸) at which the red hat for the first time was given to the cardinals, both as a sign of distinction and as a reminder that they must always be ready to shed their blood for the defense of the freedom of the Christian people ³⁹).

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In 1249 Innocent IV thought the time opportune for the inauguration of a vigorous campaign to overthrow Frederick's reign. This plan demanded a unified command of all papal forces and, therefore, the three older cardinals had to cede their position to

³⁴) 'remansit sine papae voluntate', P II, p. 1286.

³⁵) When HAMPE, *Verschwörung*, 12, writes: 'Seine eigenste Politik konnte er (Innocent IV) nur unter Mitarbeit seiner zuverlässigsten Anhänger unter den Kardinälen betreiben und als streng geheim schwerlich dem Papier anvertraut werden. Höchstens allgemeine Andeutungen ohne greifbaren Inhalt darf man in dem Briefe erwarten', he is giving to a hypothesis the weight of proof. Hampe's students regarded his interpretation as definitive, e. gr. SÜTTERLIN, *Politik* 100.

³⁶) RODENBERG II, 124: « Ut sicut olim laudabiliter sic et in posterum ipsos benignis fovetis favoribus » interprets ipsos by adding 'i. e. fugitivos' and BERGER 1896 follows his example; but another letter indicates that the Pope got the first report from the Italian cardinals and, therefore, excludes his participation: RODENBERG II, 125.

³⁷) « A bull was tied to the forehead of Theobaldo Francisco, the leader of the conspiracy so that all the world might know the instigator of the murderous plot: Innocent IV »: E. KANTOROWICZ, *Frederick the second 1194-1250* (transl. E. O. Lorimer, London, 1931), 635.

³⁸) The request to attend was dated Jan. 31, 1245, RODENBERG II, 63; SÜTTERLIN, *Politik*, 87.

³⁹) G. TAMAGNA, *Origini e prerogative de' Cardinali della Santa Romana Chiesa* (Rome, 1790), I, 330.

the young nephew of the pope, Cardinal Richard Peter Capocci ⁴⁰⁾, who had been very successful as legate to Germany, but whose campaign ended in dismal failure. Much ado has been made about the ingratitude of the pope in dismissing these three cardinals ⁴¹⁾ and his short letter to Richard seemed particularly offensive since it simply stated that the cardinal had wished for some time to be stationed in Rome and this request could now be granted ⁴²⁾. There is no reason to doubt that Richard had expressed the wish and on his arrival was appointed *vicarius in Urbe*, which position he held until 1252. It was a position similar to that of vicar general of a diocese; but in this period it also included the political representation of the pope in the city and neighborhood of Rome ⁴³⁾.

Any doubt about Richard's position was further dispelled, when Innocent IV delegated him and Gaetan « because of their prominence

⁴⁰⁾ REH, *Kardinal Peter Capocci* (Heidelberg, 1934), 72. It has often been incorrectly claimed that Richard continued in his office as rector of the Campania and Maritima, but the office was held by Jordan Pirunti (died 1269) who is mentioned as rector in 1253, though he was then only papal notary, RODENBERG III, 186. Pirunti was made cardinal in 1262 and is mentioned again as rector in 1264 (GUIRAUD 195) and 1268 (RODENBERG III, 406). In 1259 he was also in charge of the papal chancery (STERNFELD 34, 141). In 1264 he was taken sick and had to leave his post for at least a year (BATZER, *Pofi* 268).

⁴¹⁾ « Er schob diese Männer, die doch unter den schwierigsten Verhältnissen die Interessen der Kirche in Italien verteidigt hatten, in rücksichtsloser Weise und unter nichtigen Entschuldigungsgründen zur Seite »: MAUBACH, *Kardinäle* 36 cf. SÜTTERLIN, *Politik* 117. The soundness and propriety of the pope's action never seems to enter the minds of certain historians.

⁴²⁾ « Nos itaque audito frequenter quod venire ad praesentiam (nostram) intendebas »: RODENBERG II, 491.

⁴³⁾ K. EUBEL, *Series vicariorum urbis a. 1200-1558*, *Römische Quartalschrift* VIII (1894), 493-9. Fr. SCHILLMANN, *Die Formularsammlung des Marinus von Eboli* (Rome, 1929) brings three papal letters addressed to « R(iccardo) S. Angeli cardinali diacono vicario nostro in urbe » (nos 335, 782, 793). Dr. R. Schraml kindly copied from H. PONZETTI, *Elenchus chronicus vicariorum urbis* (Rome, 1797), 19: « (Innocentius IV) qui eidem Ricardo dirigit bullam anno 1252 datam: Dilecto filio s. Angeli c. d. vicario nostro in urbe, editam in Supplemento ad Bullarium Franciscanum p. 28. De hoc Ricardi vicariatu altum silentium apud omnes scriptores satis magno numero a nobis lecto ». The *Supplementum ad Bullarium Franciscanum* was edited by Flaminus Annibaldi da Latera, O. F. M. (Rome, 1780). Cf. C. EUBEL, *Bullarii Franciscani Epitome* (Quaracchi, 1908), 251 and note p. 28. Innocent IV recommended in the above mentioned bull to Cardinal Richard the Franciscan Friar Lawrence whom he had sent to Rome on a special mission. — BOUARD, *Reg. polit.*, 70, stresses the political influence of the vicarius de Urbe.

in the Church » to make peace between Florence and Siena ; the mission, however, failed ⁴⁴).

Emperor Frederick II died in the same year in which Cardinal Richard was appointed vicar of Rome, but Manfred, the emperor's regent in Sicily, proved more successful in the conquest of Sicily than his former master. The pope and his counsellors came to the conclusion that the Papal States could be freed from the danger of encirclement only, if an outsider who was neither Guelf nor Ghibelline, neither Italian nor German would accept the kingdom of Naples and Sicily as papal fief. In 1252, the *Regno* was, therefore, offered to Richard of Cornwall, brother of King Henry III of England, and Charles of Anjou, brother of King Louis the Saint of France, but the price demanded was extremely high, because Sicily was then a very rich country ⁴⁵). Both princes proved shrewd bargainers and finally refused ; but King Henry III accepted for his son Edmund who was a mere child. This papal policy split the Guelfs among the cardinals into a French and English faction ⁴⁶), but the English cardinal, John of Toledo, won over six of the nine cardinals, among them Richard Annibaldi for Edmund. The contention that his success was due to many grants of the king is fully justified ⁴⁷). Cardinal Richard gained a yearly salary for him-

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⁴⁴) 'R(icardo) a S. Angelo et I(oanni) S. Nicolai in Carcere Tulliano diaconibus cardinalibus celebri quidem ecclesie membris de latere nostro missis, pacem discordibus nuntiavit... nullum sui fructum laboris preter pie intentionis meritum retulerunt': RODENBERG III, 135. At least this often quoted appointment should have prevented Miss Joelson from making the following unfounded statement (*Papstwahlen*, 48): '... dass Gaetan Orsini und Richard Annibaldi in der letzten Zeit abseits standen... Mit Gewissheit lässt sich nur sagen, dass sie zur Opposition gehörten. Das beweist auch die Tatsache, dass Innocent IV sie zu keinem politische Geschäfte heranzog. Die beiden scheinen 1252 (April 20 - Mai 27) nicht an der Kurie gewesen zu sein, da sie die Privilegien bei Potthast 14560 und 14606 nicht unterzeichnet haben'.

⁴⁵) In his allocution to the cardinals on April 21, 1264, Pope Urban IV said: « ... sed a Regno Sicilie nobis et vobis panditur omne malum; nam de eius divitiis magna pars mundi corrumpitur, ecclesie patrimonium laceratur... »: THEINER, *Domin. Temp.* I, 159.

⁴⁶) STERNFELD 9.

⁴⁷) Richard's contacts with England can be traced to the year 1243, when King Henry III sought his support for his uncle Boniface of Savoy, candidate for the archbishopric of Canterbury (*Cal. Pat. R. 1232-47*, p. 400). Boniface was successful (Wm. STUBBS, *Registrum Sacrum Anglicanum*, Oxford, 1897, p. 59) Richard's chaplain Roffridus de Ferentino upon the cardinal's request was given

self and many favors for members of his family. Also a number of Augustinian foundations in England are most probably due to his influence. The pact with England was signed at Vendome on May 14, 1254 but Henry III was unable to satisfy the high financial demands of the agreement and was plagued by so much political trouble at home that he failed to send an army against Manfred. When the pope tried to expel the Sicilian usurper with his own troops under the leadership of his nephew, Cardinal William Fieschi, he was decisively defeated near Foggia on 3 December 1254 and died four days later at Naples. During the preparation for this war, Cardinal Richard was supposedly commander of the papal army in the March of Ancona, but we can find no proof for this ⁴⁸).

a benefice in the diocese of York (BERGER 5473, Sept. 2, 1251) and on July 21, 1256 the Pope asked the king of England to assign the church of Stodentin in the diocese of Hereford to Magister Stephen Annibaldi, canon of Furnes and nephew of our cardinal (P 16479). A Mathias (Mathew ?) Annibaldi obtained great favors from the English king 'ob reverentiam Ricardi Dei gratia s. Angeli c. d.' (*Close Rolls 1247-51*, p. 566, and *Pat. R. 1247-58*, p. 414 (A. D. 1255)). In 1251 King Henry III ordered that our cardinal 'to whom the king long since granted for life 30 Marks a year from the Exchequer' be paid annually at Michaelmas' (*ibid.*, p. 101), but these repeated promises were broken time and again as is evident from the order of 1268 that the 300 marks in arrear should be paid (*Pat. R. 1268-1272*, p. 197). In 1259 the king wrote to several cardinals among them Richard, thanking them for the promotion of his interests and begged them 'if he can do anything in return to signify it' (*Pat. R. 1258-66*, p. 52). The last known contact Richard's with England is a very vague letter from Walter Giffard archbishop of York of May 23, 1271 (*Surtees Soc. Publications*, 109 (1904), 244-5).

The *Calendar of Papal Registers*, vol. I, contains a number of requests for benefices for both his clerks and relatives, esp. for Richard, son of Mathew (Mathias ?) Annibaldi, pp. 202, 273, 301, 377, 417. This hold of the Annibaldi on the church of England continued after the cardinal's death. His nephew Stephen Surdus drew 40 Marks a year from a benefice and an Aldobrandinus Annibaldi was granted a prebend in 1301. *Op. cit.*, 492, 596 and note 126 *infra*.

⁴⁸) Annibaldo, son of Trasmund Annibaldi, whose family was especially dear to our cardinal, because it was always on the side of the pope, is mentioned as commander of the papal troops in the March of Ancona in 1256 and 1259, but not in 1254: J. VON PFLUGK-HARTTUNG, *Iter Italicum* (Stuttgart, 1883), 578. He used the opportunity for his own advantage which caused a wearisome process with the city of Fermo, which was not yet settled in 1272 (*Documenti di storia patria Italiana*, IV (Florence, 1870), 415, 434-6, 443, 548). In July 1282 he was ambassador to Perugia (PFLUGK-HARTTUNG, *l. c.*) and in 1283 he is mentioned with other noblemen and Anibaldo de Militiis as friend of Peter of Aragon (SALIMEI, *Senatori* 86). In the same year he received a feudal estate from Charles of Anjou (SAVIO, *Anibaldi* 357, 362).

Under Alexander IV (December 12, 1254 - March 25, 1261)

Immediately after the death of Innocent IV the podestà of Naples, Bartholomew Tavernerio, imprisoned the cardinals to stop their flight from Manfred's approaching army; but their treatment this time seems to have been more humane and the eleven cardinals present (only thirteen cardinals were living) quickly elected Raynald Conti, cardinal bishop of Ostia, a tall, stout man of a mild, somewhat shy disposition and deep piety⁵⁰). Cardinal Richard was related to the new pope; the bonds of blood became one of mind and heart by their common political views. Richard's strong, forceful character, which had wisely accommodated itself to the autocratic regime of Innocent IV, could now assert itself without causing too much trouble, for Alexander IV was 'easy-tempered and easy-led; he would select a man for a business and then leave all to him'⁵¹).

Richard's new strength became immediately apparent when the pope appointed him archpriest of St. Peter's as successor of Cardinal Stephen of St. Mary in Trastevere⁵²). The new position carried with it great riches and more power. Some historians have tried to liken this position to that of the papal secretary of state, yet no similar position existed before the time of the *cardinale nipote* in the Renaissance period⁵³). The great income of the basilica

⁴⁹) JOELSON, *Papstwahlen* 45.

⁵⁰) 'Vir satis benignus et bene religiosus, assiduus in orationibus, in abstinentia strenuus'. — 'Grossus i. e. corpulentus et crassus fuit et Deo devotus'. P II, p. 1472.

⁵¹) *Cambridge Medieval History* V, 178.

⁵²) Cardinal Stephen died on Dec. 8, 1254 (EUBEL, *Hierarchia* I, 4) after he had held the position of archpriest for eleven years: *Bull. Vat.* I, 126. The first papal bull addressed directly to Cardinal Richard as archpriest is of July 26, 1263 (*Bull. Vat.* I, 143) but there are four other previous letters addressed to 'Dilectis filiis archipresbytero et capitulo', the first one written on May 27, 1256 (*ibid.* I, 134). There can be no doubt, that Richard was appointed shortly after Stephen's death.

⁵³) Communication of professor S. Kuttner, Washington. The claim had been made by STOPPER, *Papst Johann XXI* (Münster, 1898), 104, and accepted by STERNFELD 281. Following the steps of Ciacconius, CARDELLA, *Cardinali* I, 2, 257, assigned the dignity of cardinal arch-deacon to Richard, because he crowned Pope Clement IV. It would have been an important office since it included the government of the church at the death of the pope (SÄGMÜLLER, *Kardinäle* 180),

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2 derived from the possession of forty-four churches, fourteen hospitals, two monasteries and twelve castles ⁵⁴). Whether the offerings of the many pilgrims also belonged to the Chapter is unknown. The archpriest had full freedom in the assignment of the canonries and benefices of St. Peter's, the pope appointing only the *custos altaris* or *altararius*. Richard's policy was to keep the income in as few hands as possible, and by the time of his death only ten canons were left ⁵⁵). The management of the cathedral was not of the best. In the papal letter to Gaetan Orsini, Richard's successor, one does not have to read between the lines to see the great displeasure of the pope with Richard's administration ⁵⁶). Two years after his appointment Richard had to be told that the income of the basilica was destined for the upkeep of its buildings and in 1259 Alexander IV determined that at least one fourth of the income had to be set aside for that purpose. In 1263 the books and records of the basilica disappeared and in 1267 Pope Clement IV complained that its income was used for other than the intended purposes to the great loss of the church ⁵⁷).

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In his dignity as archpriest of St. Peter's, Cardinal Richard together with Cardinal Hugo of Sabina accepted on April 7, 1255 the solemn oath of John le Roux, duke of Brittany, to abide by the commandments of Popes Gregory IX and Innocent IV, whereupon they absolved him from the bond of excommunication which he had incurred by his attacks upon the bishop of Nantes ⁵⁸). A year later Richard ended the destructive warfare between Henry, bishop of Speyer, and Iringus, bishop of Würzburg, thus gaining a friendship which he used to obtain a monastery for the Augustinians in the latter city, which has survived to this day ⁵⁹). In 1258 he ex-

but not a single document calls him by that title and the title of arch-deacon was no longer known after the 12th century.

⁵⁴) This is the combined number of possessions listed for the years 1188, 1205 and 1228: *Bull. Vat.* I, 68, 83 and 113.

⁵⁵) *Hist. Jahrbuch* XXVII, 267.

⁵⁶) *Bull. Vat.* I, 154 (Oct. 18, 1276).

⁵⁷) *Ibid.* 137 (May 27, 1256), 139 (1259), 143, 147.

⁵⁸) M. BRÉQUIGNY, *Table chronologique des diplômes, chartes, titres... concernant l'histoire de France* (Paris, 1850), VI, 283 (Apr. 7, 1256) and 479 (May 7, 1266). The difference of dates derives from the repetition of the oath by John le Roux, who ruled from 1227-1286: POCQUET DU HAUT-JUSSÉ, *Les papes et les ducs de Bretagne* (Paris, 1928), I, 135.

⁵⁹) RODENBERG III, 382, 387, 417 (Jan. 23, 1256 - to March 31, 1257), VAN MOË,

communicated by a sentence published through his chaplain Andrew Spiliati, the consuls of Genoa because they had refused to keep the term set by him in the cause of John Cinthius a prominent merchant of Genoa who in his appeal to the Holy See had asked for Cardinal Richard as auditor ⁶⁰). A year later he procured a pension for St. Albert the Great to recompense him for the injustice he had suffered on account of his opposition to Emperor Frederick II ⁶¹). These and similar ⁶²) documents reveal our cardinal

Recherches 228, reprinted the charter from A. HÖHN, *Chronologia Provinciae Rheno-Suevicae* (Würzburg, 1744), 25. The special agreement of the bishop and his chapter with the Augustinians was signed by Guido Salanus on May 13, 1263: *Monumenta Boica* XXXVII (1864), n° 1093.

⁶⁰) Th. HIRSCHFELD, *Genuesische Dokumente zur Geschichte Roms im 13. Jahrhundert, Quellen und Forschungen aus italienischen Archiven und Bibliotheken* XVII (1924), 125.

⁶¹) RODENBERG III, 460, Oct. 11, 1259. When St. Albert became bishop of Ratisbon in 1261, he admitted the Augustinians into the city. Whether his friendship with Cardinal Richard was a deciding factor we do not know, since most of the old documents of the monastery were destroyed when the Reformers seized the city. It is remarkable, however, that in the document of 1267, by which the city council gave the famous church of St. Salvator to the Augustinians, Cardinal Richard is esp. mentioned though there was no apparent reason for doing so. Document in CRUSENIUS I, 18.

Albert the Great and Cardinal Richard were no doubt well acquainted with each other through their friendship with St. Thomas Aquinas. St. Albert was in Anagni in 1256, from Dez. 1256 to May 1257 probably in Rome and in 1258 with the Papal Curia in Viterbo: H. C. SCHEEBEN, *Albert der Grosse. Zur Chronologie seines Lebens (Quellen und Forschungen zur Geschichte des Dominikaner Ordens in Deutschland* XXVII, Vechta, 1931), pp. 43-47. Scheeben brings also the text of the indulgence which Albert granted to the Augustinians in Wuerzburg (p. 73, 140, June 28, 1263), but does not seem to know a like document for the Augustinians in Nuremberg (*vide* appendix). St. Albert also blessed the altar of the Augustinians in Mühlhausen: MOSSMANN, *Cartulaire de Mulhouse* (Strassburg, 1883), I, n° 84.

⁶²) On Apr. 13, 1255 he settled the dispute between Dean Warric of Treves and Theoderic of Prüm: RONCIÈRE 393. In 1256 he decided a case in the diocese of Rochester (*Cal. Pap. Reg.* I, 329) and the following year another in the diocese of Durham (*ibid.*, 352). When Richard's judgment would have deprived the prominent Englishman Mag. John Mansell of all his benefices, Pope Urban IV voided it (*ibid.* 378, A. D. 1262). This is the only such case known to us and Richard's decision might have been influenced by his dissatisfaction with the cunctative English policies, of which Mansell was an outstanding representative.

Alexander IV had appointed him as auditor in the difficulties which the Dominicans of Hereford (England) experienced with the cathedral chapter of that city, but had to appoint another cardinal 'cum dictus cardinalis (Richardus)

as a member of the Papal Curia to whom the more important decisions were entrusted. He seems also to have been active in the political life of Rome, where the senator Brancalone had exercised a very tyrannical government since 1252. The Annibaldi became the principal agitators against the senator and jailed him in 1257 ⁶³). Unfortunately they appointed in his stead Manuel of Brescia, 'who deviated from the path of justice, impoverished the people and tried to please the nobles alone and, in particular, the Annibaldi' ⁶⁴). With the support of Manfred and under the leadership of an English baker, Brancalone was freed by the infuriated populace, which reappointed him senator. He took terrible revenge on the Annibaldi by driving them from the city, destroying their palaces and sending two of Richard's nephews to the gallows ⁶⁵). After Brancalone's death in 1258 Richard again became active in Roman politics. He and the other cardinals of the English faction spent a great deal of money to elect as senator of 1261 Richard of Cornwall, chosen emperor of Germany ⁶⁶); the Ghibelline party, however, created a stalemate by electing King Manfred as senator, both parties suffering from the illusion that the office of Roman senator was still important enough to seat its candidate as German emperor. The two candidates failed to enter the city, though Manfred tried repeatedly to attain his aim by force. The English prince, on the other hand, was so beset by his own difficulties that he did not even attempt to go to Rome despite the frantic pleas of the « white » cardinal, John of Toledo and his followers, who desired his help even against the will of the ever-hesitant

a Romana Curia discessisset' (Sua nobis of Oct. 21, 1261): W. CAPES, *Charters and records of Hereford Cathedral* (*ibid.*, 1908), 117. Richard's departure was probably connected with his interference in Roman politics. *Vide* note 87.

⁶³) 'Invitis Romae nobilibus et Hanebalensibus et omnibus aliis qui incarcerationem suam provocaverunt': John DE WALLINGFORD, *Chronica*, MGH-Script. XXVIII, 511; cf. F. TENCKHOFF, *Papst Alexander IV* (Paderborn, 1907), 76.

⁶⁴) 'et solis nobilibus maxime Hanebalensibus studuit complacere': MGH XXVII, 377.

⁶⁵) 'Liberatus (Brancalone) igitur duos nepotes Ricardi Hanibalensis videlicet cardinalis suspendit'. J. WALLINGFORD, *loc. cit.* The same author tells us that the pope became so frightened that he moved from Viterbo to Assisi, from where he threatened Brancalone with excommunication.

⁶⁶) BOUARD, *Régime politique*, 23, n° 6.

pope ⁶⁷⁾. In the midst of this confusion Alexander IV died at Viterbo on March 5, 1261.

Under Urban IV (August 29, 1261 - October 2, 1264)

Only eight cardinals gathered for the conclave at Viterbo. Alexander IV had been afraid to appoint new members to the Sacred College because one of them had tried 'to build Zion upon his relatives' ⁶⁸⁾. The cardinal thus accused was Gaetan Orsini and not Richard Annibaldi, because the pope could scarcely have any objection to the strengthening of his own family. The Orsini had hoped to obtain the papal throne by adding some members of his family to the Sacred College; and though he failed during the lifetime of Richard, he never wavered in striving for his goal. His main opponent during this conclave as well as in the next two was Richard. Their flaring rivalry for the papal throne increased the disunity among the cardinals who were already at odds through their political affiliations. When it became evident that the required majority could not be obtained by ordinary balloting, the cardinals elected Gaetan and Richard as *compromissarii* ⁶⁹⁾, thus eliminating them as candidates. With their hopes for the triple tiara shattered, they rose above personal difference and elected Jacob Pantaleone, the shoemaker's son of Troyes, who was not a member of the Sacred College, but who as patriarch of Jerusalem was well versed in the problems of the East where the Tartars in a steady advance had conquered Syria in 1259 and where the Greek Emperor, Michael Paleologus, was willing to submit to Rome in religious matters, if by doing so he could find the necessary military support against

⁶⁷⁾ 'Die Unentschiedenheit der päpstlichen Politik nach aussen und ihr Mangel an Straffheit innerhalb der Kurie erlaubte es den englisch gesinnten Kardinälen den missglückten Versuch von 1259 zu erneuern um durch die Wahl Richard's als Senator sein Eingreifen in Italien selbst gegen den Willen des Papstes zu erzwingen': P. SCHMITTHENNER, *Die Ansprüche des Adels und Volkes der Stadt Rom* (Berlin, 1923), 40.

⁶⁸⁾ This much discussed statement in the *Annales S. Justinae*, MGH Script. XIX, 181, gave considerable annoyance to STERNFELD (16, n. 1), who even proposed a different reading of the text in order to save the reputation of his hero Gaetan and involve Richard Annibaldi. His proposition was without foundation and necessity.

⁶⁹⁾ STERNFELD 22.

the enemies of Christendom and his empire. Being of French descent, Urban IV was acceptable to both Guelfs and Ghibellines, and the two *compromissarii* could expect equal favors from the new pope; he did not disappoint them. Within the first years of his regime he created fourteen new cardinals, of whom two each belonged to the Orsini and Annibaldeschi. Richard of St. Angelo was joined in 1261 by his nephew Geoffrey of Alatri ⁷⁰⁾, cardinal deacon of St. George ad velum aureum, and in 1262 by Annibaldo degli Annibaldi ⁷¹⁾ (also called Annibaldus de Molaria), the learned Dominican, who became cardinal priest of the Twelve Apostles. Both men were excellent choices as far as worthiness was concerned. They followed the leadership of their uncle in all political matters, especially in the bold course which Richard took during the near future.

The inability of the English king to come to the support of the desperate position of the Holy See in its battle with Manfred turned all cardinals except John of Toledo from England. Help could be expected only from France but St. Louis was opposed to the undertaking and Charles of Anjou refused to reveal his position. At this moment Cardinal Richard decided to force the issue; had he foreseen the historical events which would result from his action, he would scarcely have chosen this course.

His first move was to elect the count of Anjou to the senatorship of Rome and thus force him to come. This high office was a source of constant dispute since the divided election of 1261; and

⁷⁰⁾ 'Dominus Godefridus, natione Campanus, affinis Domini Richardi factus est St. Georgii ad velum aureum diaconus cardinalis': EUBEL, *Hierarchia* I, 8. According to CARDELLA (*Cardinali* I, 302) he crowned Honorius IV and fell a victim to the pestilence of 1287. He signed for the first time on Jan. 23, 1262: P 18221.

⁷¹⁾ 'Hic (Urbanus IV) fecit unum cardinalem de Ordine Predicatorum, nepotem videlicet Domini Ricardi cardinalis, cui nomen frater Anibaldus, qui fuit magister in theologia, qui multa humilitate in dicta dignitate permansit et sancta vita quasi alter frater videbatur... quem frater Thomas (Aquinas) multum dilexit': *Die Annalen des Tholomeus von Lucca* (ed. Schmeidler, 1930) *MGH Script.* n. s. and MURATORI XI, 1153. The dates for his election are greatly at variance. GREGOROVIVS, *Rome* V, 605, gives 1257, MURATORI XI, 1153, places it in 1261 and Schmeidler in May or June 1262. AMAYDEN, *Fam. Rom.* 62, has all fourteen cardinals appointed in 1263. A. WALZ, *I cardinali domenicani* (Rome, 1940), 16, follows Muratori. Cardinal Annibal Annibaldi signed his first document on Nov. 13, 1263 (P 18713) and died in 1272.

the candidature of Peter of Aragon only increased the difficulties, but papal leadership had meanwhile created an efficient government of the city through the *boni homines*, who, composed of two candidates from each of Rome's thirteen districts, formed a kind of parliament and enjoyed great popularity because they were elected by the people. Whether Cardinal Richard originated this democratic form of government cannot be proved by direct evidence, but his overwhelming influence upon these representatives of the people cannot be denied; otherwise, they would not have taken the extraordinary step in 1263 to elect Charles of Anjou as senator for life ⁷²). This election for life was apparently offered to the count of Provence as a guarantee that his engagement in Italy was to be permanent and not a temporary crusade for the papacy. The election of Charles had taken place without the knowledge of the pope ⁷³) and even of Charles himself. The pope, completely taken by surprise, was so strongly opposed to this election that he refused to appoint Charles as king of Sicily until he resigned the senatorship ⁷⁴). As far as the secretive count is concerned we do not have a single document which would indicate that he took the initiative ⁷⁵). Moreover, he did not accept the position until seven months later. With his acceptance he also sent a deputy and some troops to help

⁷²) Saba Malaspina leaves no doubt that it was Cardinal Richard and his Guelfs who were responsible for this election: 'Huius igitur cardinalis pars Guelfa Urbis sedulum... vel potius subdolum praesentiens studium... procuraverunt sagaciter et provide ordinarunt quod populus Urbis... praedictum Provinciae comitem eligerunt in Dominum et Senatorem Urbis perpetuum vocaverunt': MURATORI VIII, 807; SCHMITTHENNER, *Ansprüche* 48.

⁷³) Urban IV wrote on Aug. 11, 1263 to Magister Albert of Parma, who was his representative in France, that Charles of Anjou had been elected senator, but that he did not know whether it was for a fixed time or for life: P 18621.

⁷⁴) 'Sine nostro et Romane ecclesie gravissimo preiudicio nostreque discrimine libertatis tolerari non posse, quod comes... ad vitam vel ad longum tempus dictam obtineat dignitatem': Letter of Dec. 25, 1263, MARTÈNE-DURAND, *Thesaurus novus anecdotorum* (Paris, 1717), II, 30, and H. GRAUERT, *Der Kardinal Johann von Toledo* (München, 1901), 152.

⁷⁵) « Mais toutes ces manœuvres trouvèrent un adversaire habile et entreprenant en la personne du Cardinal Richard Annibaldi. Celui-ci avait depuis longtemps mis toute sa confiance pour l'Eglise et pour Rome dans une intervention étrangère et à l'insu du pape, à l'insu de Charles d'Anjou lui-même avec autant de zèle que d'adresse il posa sous main la candidature du comte de Provence... Du moins aucun texte n'indique que Charles d'Anjou ait pris la moindre initiative »: E. JORDAN, *Les origines de la domination Angevine en Italie* (Paris, 1909), 458.

Cardinal Richard drive Jacob Orsini and his Ghibellines from the city ; it did not disturb him that some of his own Ghibelline relatives were among the exiled ⁷⁶). Rome was ready for the triumphant entry of Charles, but he hesitated. In desperation Richard turned in July 1264 to Alfonse, count of Toulouse and Poitiers, to inquire about his brother's plans, but Alfonse confessed that he knew nothing whatever about them ⁷⁷). From this letter, which has been overlooked by most modern historians, it is evident that the election of Charles as senator of Rome had been the personal accomplishment of Cardinal Richard, but it is also apparent that Charles kept his independence to the fullest extent ; he used Richard but did not confide in him.

Richard, however, continued to urge him to stop his delay and come to the assistance of Rome ⁷⁸). The plight of the city had become desperate after Count Pandulf of Anguillara, its most successful defender, had been decisively defeated by Peter de Vico at Vetrella in August 1264. Because of Richard's foresight in driving the Ghibellines from Rome, the city remained in the power of the Guelfs. « This fact decided the future. The city became the meeting place for all foes of Manfred, especially the Apulian exiles who hoped for restoration and revenge » ⁷⁹). Manfred's only hope lay in keeping the Count of Provence from entering the city, but the cardinal's nephew, Riccardo son of Peter Annibaldi, had forestalled this move by occupying in 1262 the port of Ostia to the great annoyance of the pope whose permission had not been obtained ⁸⁰).

⁷⁶) '... exclusis pro maiore parte Nobilibus Ghibellinis ab Urbe, de quorum numero quidam ipsius cardinalis nepotes erant': MURATORI VIII, 807; STERNFELD 134.

⁷⁷) '... quos quasi penitus ignoramus cum super hoc dictus karissimus frater noster nobiscum collationem minus plenam habuerit, immo ut verius dicamus, in tanto negocio quasi nullam': A. MOLINIER, *Correspondance administrative d'Alfonse de Poitiers* (Paris, 1900), II, 553, n° 2035. The letter of Richard does not seem to be extant; the answer of Alfonse is dated July 14, 1264.

⁷⁸) '... indefessae solitudinis studio (Richardus vehementer instabat quod praedictus comes Provinciae negotium regni contra Regem eumdem mora qualibet aggrediretur abiecta, offerens magna de suo peculio pro expensis dicti Comitibus mutare)': MURATORI VIII, 807.

⁷⁹) GREGOROVIVS, *Rome V*, 357.

⁸⁰) In 1264 Urban IV called Riccardo an evil man who against God and justice had occupied Ostia for more than two years. GUIRAUD 754. Sternfeld wrongly gives the date as 1263, moreover he regards Riccardo as a partisan of

The cardinals themselves were busy with many missions ⁸¹⁾ during the critical days of 1264 and mobilized all their forces for the defense of the Church, but the danger, the excitement and manifold intrigues brought about the pope's death on October 2, 1264.

Under Clement IV (February 5, 1265 - November 29, 1268)

Eighteen cardinals assembled at Perugia to elect a successor to Urban IV. The division among them, the delay in the election, the way of solving the problem were the same as in the previous conclave. For four months Cardinals Richard and Gaetan canvassed their colleagues to gain the desired tiara and again their rivalry was ended by their appointment as *compromissarii* ⁸²⁾. As such they elected the absent French cardinal, Guido Fulconii, who took the name of Clement IV and chose Cardinal Richard

Manfred, probably confusing him with Riccardo, son of Mathias. BOUARD, *Reg. pol.* 34 makes the same mistake. GREGOROVIVUS, *Rome V*, 400, correctly calls him a Guelf and SAVIO, *Gli Annibaldi* 357 writes: 'che per suo Guelfismo fu con feudi splendidamente remunerato da Carlo d'Angio'. Riccardo was podestà of Todi in 1250 (PFLUCK-HARTTUNG, *Iter Ital.* 548), senator of Rome in 1258 (SALIMEI, *Senatori* 79) and taken captive by Henry of Castile in 1266 (P 20165). His nephew of the same name, a son of his brother Thebald, forced Orso Orsini to resign in 1280 as podestà of Viterbo, appointed himself guardian of the conclave imprisoned two cardinals and made himself guilty of many other offenses. Matteo Orsini, cardinal bishop of Porto, imprisoned him until the new pope was elected, who absolved him under the condition, that he visit the principal churches of Rome barefoot and with a rope around his neck: H. MANN, *Lives of the Popes in the Middle Ages XVI* (St. Louis, 1931), 171, 391. He was also called Riccardo de Rota: R. MORGHEN, *Il cardinale Matteo Rosso Orsini*, *Archivio XLVI* (1923), 309. Whether he is identical with the Richard son of Theobald who offered his services to James II of Spain for his 'journey' to Sardinia, remains to be seen: *Acta Aragonensia*, ed. H. Finke (Berlin, 1908), 90. These three Richards have often been confused with each other. About Richard, son of Mathias, also called Riccardello, see note 95 *infra*.

⁸¹⁾ STERNFELD 39. Cardinal Annibald of the Twelve Apostles was sent to Narni, where he tried 'sedulis monitis et studiosis inductionibus' to persuade the citizens to come to the aid of the Church: GUIRAUD 1095; JORDAN, *Origines* 500.

⁸²⁾ « In duos ex ipsis fratres qui magis contrari videbantur communiter extitit compromissum, qui compromisso accepto... statim effecti... unanimes et concordēs, concorditer elegerunt... ». This is Pope Clement's own report in his letter to Smaragdus, archbishop of Colocza: *Neues Archiv XXII* (1897), 406; JOELSON, *Papstwahlen* 78.

to crown him at the cathedral of Perugia on February 22, 1265⁸³). Though strong-willed and circumspect, he had little influence upon the swift sequence of political events which were to determine the fate of the papacy for more than a century.

Charles of Anjou has suddenly decided upon his Italian campaign when political conditions in the Lombardy turned in his favor. He sailed for Ostia on May 14 and having avoided the fleet of Manfred, which lay in wait for him, arrived in Rome on May 23, 1265. The pope like everyone else, had been unaware of his coming, but quickly delegated the two Annibaldi, Richard and Annibale, and the two Orsini, Gaetan and Jacob Savelli to greet the future king of the *Regno*⁸⁴).

At this moment the count's most fervent adherent in Italy was Cardinal Richard who relentlessly had urged him to come and on no one did Charles depend as much as upon this Annibaldi. The count had no money for waging an effective war and the papal treasury was almost empty. It was Richard's task to procure the necessary finances and rally the Guelfs behind the newcomer. Richard responded and gave of his own money 2,000 florentines in gold⁸⁵) thus partially keeping his promise to spend a great deal of money in order to make the undertaking a success. Charles wanted Richard at his side constantly⁸⁶) and for the next three years our cardinal seems to have been continually absent from the Papal Curia⁸⁷). Clement IV, who numbered Richard among his most intimate counsellors⁸⁸), was convinced that despite his

⁸³) J. HEIDEMANN, *Papst Clemens IV* (Münster, 1903), 3, corrects POTTHAST II, p. 1543, who had placed the coronation in Viterbo.

⁸⁴) May 19, 1265, JORDAN 1462; MARTÈNE, *Thesaurus* II, 130.

⁸⁵) JORDAN, *Origines*, 500.

⁸⁶) 'A karissimo in Christo filio C(a)rolo preces obnixas accepimus petentes ex affectu, ut tuam sibi concederemus praesentiam, hoc sibi tempore admodum necessariam: causam tamen huius necessitatis non expressit... quia tamen regium volumus explorare secretum tuae totum discretioni commitemus': Letter of Clement IV to Richard on Oct. 12, 1265: MARTÈNE, *Thesaurus* II, 215.

⁸⁷) He signed only a few papal bulls in 1265, none in 1266 and 1267 and only one in 1268: POTTHAST II, p. 1649. The rule that all cardinals present at the Curia had to sign important documents originated under Innocent II: SÄGMÜLLER, *Kardinäle* 71. See also note 137 *infra*.

⁸⁸) 'Nec enim omnibus communicare volumus quoniam non omnium unus est animus et defectuum publicatio posset parere detrimentum': G. GIUDICE, *Codice diplomatico del regno di Carlo* (Naples, 1863), I, 36.

interest in Charles' success, Richard would place the interest of the Church above all other considerations and depended upon him not only for the many necessary transactions but also to obtain correct information from the secretive, ambitious ruler. The Annibaldi and Orsini cardinals conferred with the count concerning the difficult conditions under which he would obtain the *Regno*⁸⁹⁾ and received his oath of allegiance in place of the pope⁹⁰⁾. When Charles and his wife Beatrice were crowned king and queen of the *Regno* on January 6, 1266 the three Annibaldi were among the six cardinals chosen by the pope for the ceremony⁹¹⁾, and before Charles left for the decisive battle of Benevento (February 27, 1266)⁹²⁾ in which Manfred lost his throne and life, Cardinal Richard served the royal couple and its entourage a sumptuous banquet at his castle Molara. He alone of the cardinals accompanied them to the boundaries of the Neapolitan Kingdom where he dismissed them with his blessing and the words: « Vade cum Deo »⁹³⁾. With the great victory of Benevento, Richard saw his aims fulfilled and

⁸⁹⁾ P 19217, June 21, 1265.

⁹⁰⁾ RODENBERG III, 639.

⁹¹⁾ GRAUERT, *Johann v. Toledo* 132. Cardinal Annibale of the 12 Apostles is mentioned in MURATORI IIIb, 422. The pope had wisely refused to crown Charles unless he came to Perugia: BÖHMER, *Acta Imperii* 9617, 9621.

⁹²⁾ Cardinal Richard lost two relatives in this battle. The name of one is unknown (MURATORI VIII, 1125), the other was Thebald, son of Peter Annibaldi. 'Iuxta cadaver Manfredi compertum est corpus Theobaldi de Anniballis qui semper in pugna Manfredum e vestigio sequebatur': MURATORI VIII, 830. This Thebald had been proconsul of Rome and podestà of Alatri in 1260: SAVIO, *Anibaldi* 363.

The battle is important for Augustinian history because it completely changed the life of Matthew of Thermes, counsellor and supreme judge of Manfred's court. He had fled in horror to Sicily when the infuriated French soldiers killed whom-ever they pleased. There he took ill and having made the promise to enter a religious community, if he should recover, he entered the Order of Augustinian Hermits under the name of Augustinus Novellus: VFR. 458. His juridical knowledge proved of great help in the final redaction of the Constitutions of the Order in 1274, and during his term as general from 1298-1300. Mathew of Thermes is not mentioned in the enumeration of Manfred's judges in H. ARNDT, *Studien zur inneren Regierungsgeschichte Manfred's* (Heidelberg, 1911). The only extant document for the life of Augustinus Novellus before his entrance into the Order was discovered by the Bollandists: ASS (May 19), 615.

⁹³⁾ Malaspina, MURATORI VIII, 807 and 820. See the appendices of STERN-FELD 317.

his rejoicing must have been great indeed ; but the reaction set in quickly.

Charles of Anjou did not show himself the supporter of the Church that his saintly brother Louis was. His cruel administration of Sicily shocked all Christendom and finally led to the Sicilian Vespers ; his constant interference in the Papal States and his treaties with the various communes left no doubt that he strove for the same unification of Italy which had caused the bitter struggle between the Church and the Hohenstaufen. His endeavor to gain control of the Byzantine empire ruined the seventh crusade and the planned union with the Eastern churches. From a defender and liberator of the Church he had turned into a most dangerous enemy. Cardinal Richard must have been bitterly disappointed and humiliated by this turn of events. For a while he used his influence with Charles to soften his harsh measures. In 1267 he pleaded successfully for the citizens of Pisa living in Sicily ⁹⁴), and in 1270 he saved the life of his nephew, Ricardello called Marchio, who had been faithful to Conradin to the end ⁹⁵). Charles must have felt the change in Richard's attitude, for his letter containing the pardon exceeded the ordinary forms of politeness and expressed in the warmest terms his esteem for the cardinal ⁹⁶). Another reason for such graciousness might have been the intent of Charles to mitigate the blow which his representative in Rome, Robert Summerosa, had dealt the cardinal. Robert had ordered a punitive expedition against certain barons of the Campagna and did not exclude Rocca di Papa, Molara, Burgum and Monte Compatri, all of which were estates of our cardinal ⁹⁷). It was too late, however, by a flattering letter to undo the serious damage or close the breach caused by Charles' craving for power. During the long conclave of 1268-71

⁹⁴) MIN. RICCIO, *Alcuni fatti riguardanti Carlo II* (Florence, 1875), 21.

⁹⁵) Riccardello of the staunchly Ghibelline family of Mathias Annibaldi fought with young Conradin at Tagliacozzo (Aug. 23, 1268). When retreating with his master to Astar he took the castle of Larriano which was of great importance to the papacy, since it dominated the entire Campagna (*Archivio XXXI* (1913), 388, 449; SAVIO, *Anibaldi* 357). From this stronghold he attacked the soldiers of Charles of Anjou and had many of them strangled in the woods at the foot of the fortress: MURATORI VIII, 864; GUIRAUD 229.

⁹⁶) '... Quod nos considerantes grata servicia que venerabilis pater Dominus Ricardus Dei gratia Sancti Angeli Cardinalis praecordialis amicus noster, maiestati nostre hactenus exhibuit...': GIUDICE, *Cod. dipl.* III, 235 (Nov. 15, 1270).

⁹⁷) *Archivio XXXI* (1913), 454. The document is dated Aug. 14, 1270.

Richard is reliably reported to have been a member of the Imperial party ⁹⁸). This change of policy was in reality not a change but followed consistently from his tenacious, lifelong adherence to the principle ; freedom of Rome, freedom of the Holy See. This freedom could be achieved only by keeping the North and South of Italy in the hands of different rulers. With the Hohenstaufen and their claim on the *Regno*, eliminated through the death of Conradin, their last descendent, help could be expected from the future German emperor ; for a loyal emperor had always regarded it a duty to protect the Holy See against attackers.

Richard's power reached its zenith during the short-lived pontificates of Urban IV and Clement IV. The reasons are quite obvious ; both popes owed him their election ; both were little versed in the methods and policies of the Papal Curia and therefore, had to rely upon experienced men like Richard ; both were of French origin and could not afford to reject Charles' best friend. Cardinal Gaetan was according to Sternfeld the more intimate counsellor of these two popes, but Richard surpassed him in decisive political action. Richard's policies were carried out, while those of Gaetan ended in compromise or failure.

The independent actions of Richard Annibaldi were not always pleasing to these popes and Clement IV quickly chided Richard and his fellow-cardinals when they granted Charles permission for a military campaign without consulting him ⁹⁹) and a sharp personal disagreement arose, when in May 1265 Richard interfered with his order to punish the cities Civit  Castellana, Orte, Todi, Spoleto and Narni for having sided with the enemy. Bertold, the vicar of Cardinal Matteo Orsini, used the opportunity to proceed also against the Annibaldi and their friends. In the first flare-up of his choleric temper, Richard wrote Clement IV a ' violent letter ' ¹⁰⁰) in which he made, among other things, the statement that he could not permit any interference with the territory in which he alone held jurisdiction. The pope answered with equal sharpness ¹⁰¹) :

⁹⁸) Vide *infra* notes 125 and 126.

⁹⁹) ' Quodsi de vestro procedit assensu miramur plurimum et dolemus, simul si nostra sententia non requiritur vel contemnitur requisita. Stupemus utique et confundimur ' : MART NE, *Thesaurus* II, 163 ; MAUBACH, *Kardin le* 118.

¹⁰⁰) STERNFELD 49. The letter of Richard seems to be no longer extant.

¹⁰¹) MART NE, *Thesaurus* II, 138 ; P 19162 (May 28, 1265).

« The letter which you have sent us does, in our judgment, neither us nor you honor... You should never have stated, that we could not send another rector into the territory in which you alone rule... We cannot admit a cardinal to equal power... We also want to add that those territories which are governed by you or your family offend us more than any other. We just mention Corneto, Spoleto, Cività Castellana and keep silent about Peter de Vico and other individuals ».

The pope suspended further action against Cività Castellana ¹⁰²), but it took a request from Charles of Anjou before all action was suspended against the other cities except Corneto ¹⁰³). This did not placate Richard, who deeply offended, stayed away from the Curia ; but the pope depended so much on his judgment in these critical days, that he begged him to return ' daturus consilium quod tibi magni consilii angelus inspirabit ' ¹⁰⁴). The pope wisely refrained in his humiliating request from stressing local interests, which would have only deepened the breach ¹⁰⁵), but told of the dangers threatening the Church in Spain and the Holy Land.

Clement IV was, of course, fully justified in his accusation against Richard's family, even though Richard could not be held responsible for the misdeeds of his Ghibelline relatives who about this time had made common cause with Peter de Vico and invaded Sabinia thus making it necessary for the pope to warn the cardinals who were to meet Charles of Anjou at Ostia that they beware of an attack ¹⁰⁶).

¹⁰²) MORGHEN, *Matteo Orsini* 290. The Pope dispensed with action against Cività Castellana because Bertold Orsini had acted ' male ' and ' dishoneste '.

¹⁰³) ' Precibus regis Sicilie inductus cardinali Sancte Marie in Porticu mandat ut solum factum Cornetorum prosequatur iuxta traditam ei formam; contra autem Ortanos quibus Tudertini auxilium miserunt, Narnienses et Spoletani obtulerunt ulterius non procedat ': JORDAN 909 (July 14, 1265); MAUBACH, *Kardinäle* 121.

¹⁰⁴) P 19218 (June 21, 1265). On June 27, 1265, Clement IV permitted Richard and Gaetan either to stay in Rome as advisers to Charles or to come to the Curia in Perugia: JORDAN 899.

¹⁰⁵) BATZER, *Formelsammlung des Richard Pofi*, 133, gives a papal letter to Richard touching local questions only, esp. the problems connected with the arrival of Charles of Anjou: ' Ad curiam reditu celeri veniatis vestra iam inchoata negotia que ni iuventur perire possunt '. Evidently, Pofi's letter is not the mere fiction Batzer supposes it to be but the first draft of a letter to the offended cardinal. The words ' negocia vestra ' strengthen the evidence that Rome regarded Charles' arrival as the handiwork of our cardinal.

¹⁰⁶) JORDAN 884 (May 19, 1265). The Pope called Peter de Vico ' publicus

The letter of May 28, 1265 poses the problem of Richard's rectorial position during this period. He certainly was not, as the letter might indicate, rector of the duchy of Spoleto and the March of Ancona, because we have numerous letters of May and August 1265 to the rector of these territories, Simon Paltanieri, cardinal priest of St. Martin ¹⁰⁷). It has also been proved that Richard was no longer rector of the Campagna and Maritima after 1252, but he might have taken over his former position for the year 1265 because the rector, Cardinal Jordan Pirunti, was ill and had to retire to Viterbo to recuperate ¹⁰⁸); but definite proof cannot be given. Before the arrival of Charles of Anjou in 1265, Richard was in charge of the Roman Curia as is patent from the numerous decisions made by him ¹⁰⁹); after 1265 he held great powers as papal delegate in matters of the kingdom of Sicily. As such he appointed a certain Jacob as bishop of Tivoli, whom the pope confirmed in November 1265 ¹¹⁰). On 8 June 1266, he received orders not to permit any further molestation of the Augustinian Provincial of Pisa ¹¹¹) and a papal decree of December 1267 confirmed the new form of life which he and another cardinal had given to the *Militia Beatae Mariae Virginis*, some kind of Third Order for noblemen which embraced both laymen living in the world and such who led a common life. The society had for its purpose the veneration of Our Lady and a higher plane of life. The populace, however, laughed at their exclusiveness and called

ipsius ecclesie hostis et proditor nequissimus': RODENBERG III, 578. After the landing of Charles, Peter quickly submitted: JORDAN 888, May 21, 1265.

¹⁰⁷) A. MAIN, *Il cardinale de Monselice Simone Paltanieri nella storia del secolo XIII*, *Nuovo Archivio Veneto*, n. s. 22 (1920), 98, 138.

¹⁰⁸) BATZER, *Pofi* 368-369.

¹⁰⁹) On Febr. 2, 1263 Urban IV asked Richard to defend energetically the rights of the Church and fine Velletri 300 libras which were to be used for the rebuilding of Larriano: GUIRAUD 189. On April 20, 1263 Richard decided a dispute between two monasteries: *Ibid.* 224, also 1002 and 1010. — On June 18, 1264 he dedicated the church of St. Benedict de Guarcino in the diocese of Alatri: GUIRAUD 1191. Numerous favors were granted to his friends and chaplains: GUIRAUD 1517, 1725, 1752, 1765, 1899, 2198.

¹¹⁰) 'Jacobum a Ricardo s. Angeli card. legato in Tiburtinum episcopum confirmat': P 19349, Nov. 5, 1265; K. RUESS, *Die rechtliche Stellung der päpstlichen Delegaten bis Bonifaz VIII* (Paderborn, 1912), 99-103.

¹¹¹) EMPOLI 62; P 19678.

them on account of their soft rule *cavalieri gaudenti* or *fratres gaudiosi* ¹¹²).

The influence of Cardinal Richard depended not only on his forceful personality, his long experience and faithfulness to the cause of the papacy but also upon the great personal riches he had accumulated.

In 1261, Urban IV entrusted him for life with the administration of the Trinitarian hospital St. Thomas in Formis, Rome, in the expectation that he would endow it generously ¹¹³). Before the coming of Charles of Anjou he had gained exclusive possession of Molaria and made it his permanent residence ¹¹⁴). In its immediate neighbourhood he owned Castello Gerusalemme, San Lorenzo, Montefrenello, Monte Compatri and Fusiano ¹¹⁵). In 1270 Campagnano pledged him vassallage, since 'no one was his equal in might and authority, due to his friendship with Charles of Anjou' ¹¹⁶); in 1271 he obtained Rocca di Papa from the Frangipani, who had pledged it as a guarantee for a loan of 6,500 *libras* ¹¹⁷). Most of these places were fortified mountain tops or *roccae*, important as military strongpoints. Around the high tower lay as a rule the

¹¹²) According to H. HEFELE, *Die Bettelorden und das religiöse Volksleben ober- und Mittelitaliens* (Feiburg, 1910), 74, the union had been approved in 1261 and the decree *Solet annuere* of Dec. 31, 1267 confirmed the first recognition, P 20202. Cardinal Richard imposed the rule of St. Augustine in addition to the new constitutions.

¹¹³) 'Curam domus hospitalis Sti Thomae in Formis de Urbe Ordinis Sanctae Trinitatis et captivorum... quam felicis recordationis Innocentius papa tertius, predecessor noster, avunculus tuus, de bonis ecclesie Romane fundavit, per tuam industriam circa spiritualia et temporalia Deo propitio, salutaria poterit suscipere incrementa, ipsius curam auctoritate presentium tibi plene ad vitam tuam solummodo duximus committendam... possis corrigere, ordinare, reformare... et etiam per tuam industriam et beneficio tuo liberalitatis, largitionis et donationis acquirere in vita tua et postmodum...': GUIRAUD 27, Nov. 13, 1261. He also was appointed to supervise the sales of the hospital S. Spiritus in Saxia de Urbe: GUIRAUD 2314, Dec. 13, 1263.

¹¹⁴) «Pater tamen ille magnificus Dominus Richardus sancti Angeli d. c. natione Romanus usque ad castrum Molariae, quod idem cardinalis proprio impenso peculio pro sua et suorum perpetua hereditate quaesierat, Regem conduxit...»: Malaspina, MURATORI VIII, 820.

¹¹⁵) *Archivio* IX (1891), 404, and XLVI, 263 (July 15, 1277); GREGOROVIVS, *Rome* V, 384.

¹¹⁶) 'La cui potenza ed autorità difficilmente avevano l'eguale dopo che il suo amico Carlo d'Angio': *Archivio* XIV (1896), 23.

¹¹⁷) GAETANI, *Domus Caetana*, I (I), 122 and II, 13; GAETANI, *Reg. Chart.*, I, 44 (July 15, 1272).

buildings of the *curia* and close to these the houses of the villagers, whose farms and gardens formed the feudal estate, which owed tribute to the lord and in return received protection from enemies. The agreements or statutes of the towns of Campagnano and Sermoneta which are still extant, show Cardinal Richard as a mild and generous lord ¹¹⁸). Though all jurisdiction lay in his hands, the inhabitants were free to marry whom they pleased, to come and go as they desired, to sell their property and move away. No tax could be levied against home and gardens, but one fourth was collected from their vineyards and one eighth of their farms. The men were bound to military service but had to pay only the provisions of the first day. Some of the above mentioned places exist no longer but at the time of Cardinal Richard they were flourishing villages. Molaro consumed fifteen *rubbia* of salt ¹¹⁹), more than nearby Frascati, and like Campagnano counted at least 300 inhabitants. In the immediate neighborhood of Sermoneta, other members of the Annibaldi family possessed San Donato, Bassiano and Ninfa, possessions which were among the richest of the Pontian Marshes ¹²⁰). In 1297 these last mentioned four places were sold for 340,000 fiorini d'oro, and eighty mules were required to transfer this sum and some other money from Anagni to Rome ¹²¹).

Not satisfied with his feudal holdings, our cardinal used the methods common to the nobility of the period for increasing their influence. In 1270 he took over the office of *podestà* in Velletri ¹²²) and contrary to the wishes of the Church, he was apparently also instrumental in placing his family over Terracina ¹²³). Members of his family were *podestàs* in Alatri, Todi, Viterbo and other places.

¹¹⁸) F. PASSERI, *Lo statuto di Campagnano*, *Archivio* XIV (1891), 5-85. Sermoneta later became the main possession of the Gaetani; the statutes as preserved in their archives, had been confirmed by Cardinal Richard on Dec. 27, 1271: GAETANI, *Dom. Caetana*, II, 13.

¹¹⁹) In the thirteenth century the amount of salt used determined the amount of taxes to be paid: *Archivio* IX, 385 and 396.

¹²⁰) 'Castrum Nymphae quod ditissimum castrum est et uberrimum in redditibus': GAETANI, *Dom. Caiet.*, I (2), 112; 'vastissimo territorio': *ibid.*, I (1), 122; see also I (2), 274-277.

¹²¹) *Ibid.*, I (1), 114.

¹²²) G. FALCO, *I comuni della Campagna e della Maritima nel medio evo*, *Archivio* XLVII (1924), 180. Richard's nephew Thebald, son of Peter, was *podestà* of Alatri in 1260 and was followed in 1286 by Geoffrey d'Alatro, cardinal and nephew of Richard. *Ibid.*

¹²³) When the irate citizens of Terracina destroyed the tower of the Frangipani

With the coming of Charles of Anjou our cardinal had to take heavy financial burdens upon himself and made a special effort to collect outstanding obligations in France and England ¹²⁴). Sternfeld has repeated the accusation that the cardinals prolonged the conclave of 1268 for three years so they could divide the income of the Church among themselves and the above purchases by Cardinal Richard were no doubt made possible through this special income.

Under Gregory X (September 1, 1271 - January 10, 1276)

At the death of Clement IV on November 29, 1266, the Sacred College of cardinals consisted of 20 members, who were divided into an angovine and imperial group ¹²⁵). Cardinal Richard had

the rector of the Campagna and Maritima (probably Richard) fined them a large sum of money. Innocent IV recalled this judgment in 1250, but four years later the Annibaldi and Frangipani claimed on the basis of a signed pact that only one of their families could be chosen podestà of Terracina. Like his predecessor, Alexander IV denounced this claim since Terracina was a fief of the Church, but the noblemen prevailed until Pope Boniface VIII had himself appointed podestà of the city: A. CONTATORE, *De historia Terracinensi* (Rome, 1706), 188, 191, 193; *Archivio* XLVII, 145, 159.

¹²⁴) King Henry III of England ordered on Febr. 26, 1268 that the 300 Marks in arrears of the yearly fee of 30 Marks be paid to Cardinal Richard. *Cal. Pat. R. 1266-1272*, p. 197. In France the moneys due were collected by Florentine merchants: H. SUDENDORFF, *Urkundenbuch zur Geschichte der Herzöge von Braunschweig und Lüneburg und ihrer Lande* (Hannover, 1876), VIII, 217. The document of Nov. 9, 1267 seems to indicate that Richard's possessions were quite large, unless the words « von den Kirchen, Pfründen, Benefizien, die er in Frankreich besitzt », constitute a mere formula. *Ibid.*, p. 218, is a receipt by Thomas Spiliati, merchant of Florence, to Hildebold, archbishop of Bremen, over 100 pounds wich he had owed to Cardinal Richard, dated March 24, 1268.

Though the accumulation of benefices in one hand was forbidden by church-law, it was then officially sanctioned by papal decrees for each individual case. As for himself thus Richard obtained also for his relatives the income of benefices in other countries. Though his nephew Stephen Surdus possessed already the income of eight churches, among them a canonry in Spain, Richard made it possible for him to obtain several new benefices: BERGER 51113, GUIRAUD 1899. Through Richard's efforts a benefice was also assigned to his nephew William, son of Landulf Ceccano: BERGER 7699, Apr. 4, 1254.

¹²⁵) 'Eodem tempore maxima discordia erat inter cardinales Rome qui erant 17. Undecim ex ipsis, videlicet dominus Richardus de Annibaldis... fovebant

joined the Imperial party for reasons already mentioned and openly directed the negotiations with the German electors ¹²⁶). After the conclave had been delayed more than two years, the disgusted people of Viterbo held the cardinals virtual prisoners and gladly would have uncovered the roof of the building in which the cardinals were staying 'so that the Holy Spirit would have a chance to enlighten them' ¹²⁷). Yet it was not this insulting treatment which brought about the election of the new pope, but the progress made by Charles of Anjou in the unification of Italy. The method of election followed the pattern set by the two previous conclaves. Three *compromissarii* from each of the two inimical groups were chosen with the understanding that any candidate receiving five of their votes should be elected pope. Richard and Gaetan, the leaders of the two factions, were again among the *compromissarii* and thus again excluded from obtaining the tiara ¹²⁸). The choice fell upon Cardinal Theobald Visconti from Piacenza who took the name Gregory X.

It has been asserted that the new pope held both Richard and Gaetan responsible for the long delay of the conclave and had, therefore, little love for the two leading Roman cardinals ¹²⁹). The contemporary chronicler Salimbene even states, that Gregory X deprived Richard of the red hat for attempted simony ¹³⁰), and

partem imperii, alii scilicet dominus Johannes de Gaytanis... fovebant partem Karoli...'. *Annales Placentini Ghibellini, MGH Script.* XVIII, 533.

¹²⁶) 'Eodem tempore comes Anrigetus de Sparroeria, cives Papie, ivit in Alamaniam ad ortandum et adcellerandum domni Frederici III regis Sicilie et Theutonicorum qui cotidie prestollantur. Et predicta omnia acta sunt et tractata per Marchionem Montisferati de voluntate Ricardi de Onibalibus (i. e. Anibaldibus)'. *Ibid.*, 553.

¹²⁷) '... dominus Johannes (de Toledo) cardinalis dicebat ludendo ceteris cardinalibus: «Discooperiamus hanc domum, quia spiritus sanctus non potest ad nos per tot cooperacula pertransire»...: Bernardi Guidonis Vita Gregorii X' (MURATORI III, 597).

¹²⁸) 'Cum cardinales urbis Rome diu stetissent in magna divisione in electione summi pontificis per duos annos et plus, ad ultimum in concordia elegerunt sex ex eis; ex una parte primo dominum Ricardum de Anibaldis cardinalem... ex altera parte domnum Johannem Gaytanum... in quibus sex omnes in concordia compromiserunt, ut in quem quinque ex ipsis sex sese concordaverunt, esset papa...'. *Annal. Plac. Ghib.*, 554.

¹²⁹) STERNFELD 234, 248.

¹³⁰) 'Capellum rubeum abstulit (Gregorius) domno Ricardo cardinali pro eo quod visum fuit sibi quod simoniace quandam praeendam dedisset': Salim-

Panvinio has him lose the cardinalate itself, and, therefore, die of a broken heart ¹³¹). None of these statements can be proved from the few registers of Gregory X which have been preserved; in fact, they reveal the opposite. Gregory appointed Cardinal Richard to provide for the burial of Clement IV in the Dominican church of Viterbo and for the erection of his monument ¹³²).

In 1273 he and Gaetan received orders to imprison Guido de Montfort who had murdered Henry, son of Richard of Cornwall, in the Cathedral of Viterbo before the horrified eyes of the assembled cardinals ¹³³). On March 25, 1275, the pope confirmed Richard as cardinal protector of the Augustinians with the expression of his fullest confidence ¹³⁴). The continued influence of Cardinal Richard can also be gaged from the pro-German policy of the pope, a policy which had been inaugurated by Richard during the conclave. These documents clearly contradict Salimbene's report and this lively but sometimes unscrupulous historian contradicts himself, when he narrates the meek surrender of Gregory X to Richard in the question concerning the suppression of the Augustinian Order ¹³⁵). No disgraced cardinal would have exercised such in-

bene, *MGH Script.* XXXII, 491. Holder-Egger, the editor of Salimbene's *Cronica* and STERNFELD 198, 240, regard this statement as false. Holder is of the opinion, that if there is any truth to Salimbene's story, Cardinal Richard can have been deprived of the red hat only for a little while. — The only indication that Richard was accessible to bribery is found in a document given by DAVIDSSOHN, *Forschungen zur Geschichte der Stadt Florenz* (Berlin, 1908), II, 2, 128. On March 14, 1276 the council of the city of Perugia, in order to be free from the interdict, decided to bribe six cardinals. They were Richard Anibaldi, Matthew Orsini, Ottobuon Fieschi (later Pope Hadrian V), William and Jacob Savelli (later Pope Honorius IV) and Oliver Coconato. This decision of the council of Perugia, however had nothing to do with the conferring of a prebend nor with the alleged punishment by Gregory X, who had died two months earlier on Jan. 10, 1276.

¹³¹) 'Il Panvinio senza recare alcuna prova, o autentico monumento o autorità di antichi scrittori asserisce, che questo Porporato morì di dolore, per essere stato privato della cardinalizia dignità... e quella di Arcidiacono': CARDELLA, *Cardinali* I, 2, 257. It seems that Panvinio's story was an added important reason which kept Augustinian writers from delving into the life of their first cardinal protector. It also proves again the tremendous knowledge of medieval sources which Panvinio had acquired in his short span of life.

¹³²) POTTHAST 20876 (31 July 1274); 20934 (1 Oct. 1274); 21014 (1 April 1275).

¹³³) GUIRAUD 326 (Nov. 29, 1273); P 20767; DAVIDSSOHN, *Forschungen* IV, 206

¹³⁴) GUIRAUD 1067.

¹³⁵) See next chapter.

fluence. If there is any truth to the statement that Cardinal Richard did not attend the General Council of Lyons in 1274 but stayed in Rome in complete retirement for two years ¹³⁶), then it was not papal disfavor which caused this inactivity, but the miseries of old age which were creeping upon the cardinal who at this time must have been eighty years old or more. Nine years previous (1265) when Saint Thomas Aquinas was his guest at Molara and converted two prominent Jews, Richard suffered so much of gout that he could not walk, but had to be carried to the house chapel to partake in the singing of the Te-Deum ¹³⁷). Sickness and old age were probably also the main reasons, why in 1275 he asked that the general chapter of the Augustinian Order be celebrated at his castle Molara. It was the last chapter at which he presided and as a farewell gift he founded at the foot of his residence a house of the Order, which he dedicated to St. Augustine ¹³⁸). In September 1276, when the Italian (general) chapter was held at Todi, his name is not mentioned ¹³⁹). At that time he either attended the conclave for the election of Hadrian V or perhaps had died previously.

The death of Cardinal Richard

A document of Pope John XXI of October 18, 1276 tells us that Cardinal Richard had died 'a short while ago' ¹⁴⁰), but the word *nuper* could mean a few days or a few months. It is debatable whether Cardinal Richard took part in the election of all three popes chosen in 1276, but he certainly helped to elect Innocent V, who left in his hands the decision concerning the divided election for the bishopric of Aversa ¹⁴¹). The well-informed *Annales Veronenses* also give the date of his death as 1276, but mention his

¹³⁶) Thus P. RICHARD in *Dict. d'hist. eccl.*, III, 388. I could not find the source for his statement.

¹³⁷) A. WALZ, *San Tommaso d'Aquino* (Rome, 1945), 127.

¹³⁸) 'In loco novo in Castro Molarie tunc accepto': AA II, 225. The monastery remained in the hands of the Order until 1428: CRUSENIUS I, 299.

¹³⁹) AA II, 224, 226.

¹⁴⁰) 'Qui nuper in eadem Basilica per obitum bone memorie Richardi S. Angeli c. d. archipresbyteri Basilicæ supradictæ vacavit': *Bull. Vat.* I, 154: P 21171.

¹⁴¹) CADIER 47 (Dec. 28, 1276). The document gives a review of what had taken place.

name after that of Cardinal Hubert di Coconato, which would imply that Cardinal Richard took not only part in the conclave of July which elected Innocent V, but also in the conclave of September which elected Hadrian V ¹⁴²). The harsh treatment of the cardinals demanded by the decree *Ubi periculum* of Gregory X was ruthlessly carried out by Charles of Anjou in order to gain a pope of his choice. It brought about the death of two popes before they could be crowned and, no doubt, was the reason that Cardinal Richard succumbed, probably in September 1276.

The simple tombstone of Cardinal Richard is found on the wall of the left nave of the Lateran Basilica. The inscription, made at the time of Clement VIII ¹⁴³), gives a false date for both his elevation to the cardinalate and his death. The marble figure, however, is original ¹⁴⁴). The inscription reads ¹⁴⁵) :

Memoriae Riccardi Hannibaldensis de Molaria
S. R. E. archidiaconi cardinalis Sancti Angeli,
qui a Gregorio Papa Nono creatus est anno 1240,
obiit Lugduni in consilio generali anno Domini 1274.

Francis ROTH, O. E. S. A.

(To be continued).

¹⁴²) Innocent V was elected on Jan. 21 and died on June 22, 1276. Hadrian V was elected on July 23 and died on August 18, 1276. Vide N. SCHÖPP, *Papst Hadrian V* (Heidelberg, 1916), 222.

¹⁴³) 'Quod sepulcrum a Clemente VIII summo pontifice memoriae causa instaurato hoc epitaphio...': GRIMALDI, *Catalogus*, fol. 50^v. AMAYDEN, *Fam. Rom.*, 66-68, reproduces a decision of the Roman Rota of June 12, 1651, in which Tiberius de Anibalis de Molaria and Joseph de Anibalis de Zancato received permission to replace the inscription of the cardinal's tombstone which had been destroyed through the carelessness of some workers during the restoration of the basilica by Pope Innocent X.

¹⁴⁴) GREGOROVIVS, *Rome*, V, 642.

¹⁴⁵) *Patrologia Latina* (ed. Migne), CLXXIII, c. 11049, n° 48.