

OXFORD
UNIVERSITY
SCHOOL OF
ENGLISH

THE
WORKS
OF
NICHOLAS MACHIAVEL.

VOL. I.

THE
WORKS
OF
NICHOLAS MACHIAVEL,

Secretary of State to the Republic of FLORENCE.

Translated from the ORIGINALS;

ILLUSTRATED WITH

NOTES, ANNOTATIONS, DISSERTATIONS,

And several New Plans on the ART of WAR,

By ELLIS FARNEWORTH, M. A.

Late Vicar of Rosthern in CHESHIRE,

Translator of the Life of POPE SIXTUS V. and
DAVILLA's History of the Civil Wars of FRANCE.

THE SECOND EDITION, CORRECTED.

IN FOUR VOLUMES.

VOL. I.

L O N D O N,

Printed for T. DAVIES, Ruffel-Street, Covent-Garden; J. DODSLEY,
Pall-Mall; J. ROBSON, New Bond-Street; G. ROBINSON, Paternoster-Row; T. BECKET, T. CADELL, and T. EVANS, Strand.

MDCCLXXV.

S O M E
A C C O U N T
O F T H E
LIFE of NICHOLAS MACHIAVEL.

THOUGH writers in general afford but very scanty materials to the Biographer, yet it might have reasonably been expected, that Machiavel would have proved an exception to this observation; for, exclusive of his active spirit and the perpetual agitations his country laboured under at that period, he was frequently employed in public characters, and consequently became, in some degree connected with the history of those times.

His fame also as a writer of extraordinary abilities, which was never called in

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question till several years after his death, might have induced some person of the succeeding generation to collect the memoirs of his life, a circumstance that has fallen to the lot of many authors of inferior genius. But either the confusions of the times, and the little attention paid to literary merit, or the calumnies which some years after his death were thrown ^{alds} upon his character and writings by several religious Orders, have deprived him of this honour. Even his cotemporary Paulus Jovius, that professed collector of anecdotes, has given himself no trouble on this subject, and records little more than the falsehoods and invectives of the Ecclesiastics.

Niccolo Machiavelli, the son of Bernardo, and Bartolomea the daughter of Stefano Nelli, was born at Florence the 3d of May, 1469; both his parents were descended from noble families, who had filled with dignity the first offices in the state; and as his father followed the profession of the law, it
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is probable that he intended his son for the same employment. But as young minds are frequently captivated with the splendor of a military life, and as the profession of arms at that period was attended with great honours and emoluments, princes becoming frequently tributary to generals and partizans, it is somewhat more than probable that he spent his earlier years in the field, where he acquired that profound knowledge in the art of war, which he has displayed in his very ingenious treatise on that subject. We may also conjecture that his poems and plays were some of his first productions; and also the Marriage of Belphegor, which, in point of style, humour, and invention, is esteemed at least equal to any of the novels of Boccace, and is a proof of his powers in this species of writing. His comedies are very elegant, the language pure, and the dialogue spirited; but the many indecencies they contain, is a great abatement of their merit: they were, however, frequently exhibited,

and even at Rome by the particular command of the pope, which is a strong proof of the corrupt taste of the age. It is very probable that the liberty our author took with the Ecclesiastics in his play called *Il Frati*, was in a great measure the occasion of that virulent persecution his works fell under several years after his decease, and which terminated in the condemnation of his *Prince* in 1592.

His poetical performances are hasty incorrect compositions, but interspersed with many strokes of genius.

The dissensions which the republic of Florence at this time laboured under, rendered it no difficult matter for a person of Machiavel's parts and active spirit to advance himself in the state; accordingly we find him, in 1502, employed in an embassy to duke Vaventine; and it is a strong proof of his great penetration and abilities, that he
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conducted his negotiations both to the approbation of the factious Florentines, and also that of Cæsar Borgia, the most base and infidious man of that age. Our author has been censured for having an intimate connection with this prince, and for being a friend to his principles and designs; but his letters, during this employ, sufficiently clear his character from these insinuations, and prove him to have been superior even to the artifices of Borgia.

In 1503 he was sent in a public character to the court of Rome, in which he conducted himself with great address, and his letters on this subject are looked upon as fine models for public business. In this year he was also secretary to the council of state, and conveyed their instructions to Tebalducci Malespini, commissary of the Florentine troops employed against Pisa.

In 1504 he went ambassador to the court of France.

In

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In 1505 he was sent by the republic to solicit Gianpaolo Baglioni to take upon him the command of their troops which had been defeated by the Pisans in the preceding campaign.

In 1506. the republic sent him ambassador to Rome, and he attended Julius the Second, in his expedition against Perugia and Bologna.

In the years 1510 and 1511 we find him in the office of secretary of state, in which he acquits himself with great elegance and precision ; and his letters, during this employment, shew his disposition in a very different point of view from that which is collected from his political writings ; for he here appears to be a person of the utmost candour, moderation, and integrity of heart.

From the above period to his death he was probably out of favour with the reigning faction in the state ; and, retiring from
public

public life, employed himself in writing the History of Florence, the Prince, and the Political Dissertations on the First Decad of Livy, which remain lasting monuments of his abilities.

In the History of Florence, his violent antipathy to a monarchial government is supposed to have induced him sometimes to swerve from truth; and those diabolical maxims which have been so frequently and so justly censured in his Prince, undoubtedly had their origin from the same powerful principle, and ought to be considered rather as an exaggerated portrait of the princes of that age, and as an incitement to his countrymen to be zealous in the defence of their liberty, than as a system of policy for the instruction of future princes.

His Political Discourses are the most correct and elegant of his works; and though they contain some exceptionable passages, yet they

they abound with deep researches and most excellent instructions.

Though our author was one of the first persons of the age both in literary and political acquirements; and though he was frequently employed in considerable departments in the state, yet he neither met with the countenance and support of the great, nor received any considerable reward for his services, of which he very pathetically complains in one of his dedications. He died in very low circumstances, July 22, 1527, in the 58th year of his age.

THE
TRANSLATOR'S PREFACE.

THE generality of Readers, especially those of a volatile turn, are apt to overlook Prefaces, as nothing more than lumber and rubbish; or at best, but as Offices and Out-houses to the main Fabrick: and perhaps, if any should by chance cast their eyes over this, they may see no great reason to alter their opinion. There are some other pre-fatory Discourses, however, at the head of the several parts of this work, collected and translated from different writers and languages, which are not only very curious and interesting, but absolutely necessary to be read by those that would have a clear comprehension of the ensuing Treatises; and as such, the Editor begs leave to recommend them to perusal of every one desirous to be thoroughly acquainted with the scope and tenour of Machiavel's writings. A short Preamble, therefore, and that chiefly relative to the execution of this, and some other English versions of his Works, may suffice at present.

In the year 1588, his seven Books of *the Art of War* were set forth in English (as the Translator calls it) by one Peter Withorne, or Whitehorne, who styles himself *a Student at Gray's Inn*: a sample of which performance is prefixed to the beginning of those Dialogues in the fourth Volume of this Translation;
and

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and therefore, it is not necessary to say any more of it in this place, than that there is not so much as one Note throughout the whole, nor any Plan that is intelligible; and that the language is so obsolete, that nobody can now form any judgment whether it was well or ill translated, after making all reasonable allowances for the Idiom of the times.

The next piece that is necessary to be mentioned here, is *a Translation of the Political Discourses upon Livy, by E. Dacres, printed at London, in the year 1636*; in which there is here and there a Note, though seldom much to the purpose: the most pertinent of them are inserted in this version, and set down in their respective places to the Author's account. But as there was an interval of no more than forty-eight years betwixt the publication of this piece, and the other just now mentioned, there seems to have been but little improvement made in our language, during that period; to say nothing of its other defects.

For the same reason, much more cannot be said in this respect, (though something indeed) in behalf of an English Translation of all Machiavel's prose writings, first published at London, in the year 1675; which was afterwards reprinted in 1680, and again in 1694, without the least alteration or amendment (though full of errors and other faults) and without any body's name to it. At the conclusion of it, there is a Letter addressed to
Zanobi

Zanobi Buondelmonte, said to be written by Machiavel himself, in vindication of his writings and principles; which is a most bitter invective against the Clergy, and at the same time, a bold stroke at Monarchy: but as it is not to be met with, either in any Italian Edition of his works, or foreign translation of them, and seems not only to be of more modern date, but calculated by some atrabilair writer, to serve certain particular purposes in the last century, one may justly be allowed, I think, to reject it. Upon which account, it is omitted in this version: for in a Performance, intituled, *A Translation of Machiavel's Works*, it must have been a shameless thing to insert a Piece as translated from Machiavel, by a person who never saw the Original himself, nor never heard of any other man that did.

But to speak a little more particularly of the Translation of all Machiavel's prose works, just now said to be first published at London in the year 1675. The language in general, is poor and jejune, full of vulgarisms, quaint sayings, and what the Italians call *il modo basso*, or low-life expression. But that is not the worst of it: for the meaning of the Author is very often grossly mistaken; of which the Reader may take the following instances in the History of Florence, out of numberless others in every part of the work. In the second book of that History, the Author says, "I Fiorentini dopo questa rotta Sforzarono le loro torri all'intorno, et il Re Robert Mando

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Mando per loro Capitano il Conte di Andria, detto il Conte Novello; per i portamenti del quale, ovvero perche sia naturale a i Fiorentini *che ogni stato rincrezca*, & ogni accidente divida, la Citta, non ostante la guerra haveva con Huguccione, in amici & nemici del Re si divise:" which the old English Translator has erroneously rendered in this manner. "After this disaster, the Florentines fortified at home as much as they could; and King Robert sent them a new General, called Count di Andrea, with the Title of Count Novello. By his deportment (or rather by the genius of the Florentines, whose property it is *to increase* upon every settlement, and to fall afterwards into factions upon every accident) notwithstanding their present war with Uguccione, they divided again, and some were for King Robert, and some against him." But surely it might have been more properly thus translated. "After this overthrow, the Florentines began to fortify all the towns and castles round about them, and applied to King Robert for another General: upon which he sent them the Count di Andria, commonly called Count Novello; whose behaviour, added to the impatient temper of the Florentines (which is *soon tired* of any form of government, and ready to fall into factions upon every accident) occasioned the City to divide again, notwithstanding the war they were engaged in with Huguccione: some declared for King Robert, and some against him."

Again,

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Again, in the fourth Book, Machiavel says, "A chi ricorreranno eglino ora per aiuto? A Papa Martino, stato a contemplazione di Braccio straziato da loro?" "To whom (says the old Translator) will they now address for supplies? To Pope Martin? *Braccia can be witness* how they used him before." Which should have been rendered in this manner, or something like it: "To whom will they now have recourse for assistance? To Pope Martin, whom they have so vilely abused, only to gratify Braccio da Montone?" *A contemplazione* being an Italian phrase, which signifies *for the pleasure, gratification, or satisfaction of any one; on account of, or in consideration of such a person or thing.*

The last instance I shall quote, is, from the seventh Book of the same History, where the following passage occurs. "Carlo Visconte, perche s'era posto piu propinquo alla porta, & essendogli il Duca passato avanti, quando da i Compagni fu assalito, non lo potette ferire d'avanti; ma con duoi colpi *la Schiena & la spalla* gli trafisse;" which is thus translated. "Carlo Visconte being placed nearer the door, the duke was past him before he was assaulted, and therefore he could not strike him *before he was dead: however, he must do his part, and with a Schine* gave him two deep wounds upon his shoulder." Now, what in the name of wonder is *a Schine*? one would be apt to think it was some dreadful murdering wea-

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pon like a Butcher's Cleaver, or something of that kind. Tremble not, gentle Reader, it is no such matter. Indeed, I believe it is nothing at all : for the word *Schine* is not to be found in any Dictionary. The meaning is plainly this : " Carlo Visconte, who stood nearer the door, and by whom the Duke had passed before he was attacked by his accomplices, not having an opportunity of striking him *in the fore part of his body*, gave him a stab *in the back*, and another in the shoulder." Mistakes and unwarrantable liberties of this sort, are to be met with in almost every page : so that it would be not only an endless but unnecessary task to collect them ; as any Reader must be pretty well satisfied already with these specimens.

In the present Translation, the Editor may truly say, that no pains have been spared to make it acceptable to the Public : for which reason, he is not altogether without hope it will be looked upon with candour. The style of the Author, indeed, (notwithstanding the encomiums which have been bestowed upon him in that respect by some writers) is generally short, broken, sententious, and difficult to connect in common periods : his transitions are sudden ; his meaning often deep, abstruse, and intricate ; his argumentation close and severe. But great care has been taken to elucidate his meaning, to explain dark and difficult passages, to connect his periods, and to
give

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give his arguments their full scope by the addition of Notes, Dissertations, and Plans, where they seemed necessary; as well as of several other pieces translated from different languages, and never before published in the English tongue; of which some mention has been already made; and if the Translator has now and then indulged himself in a moderate and reasonable use of circumlocution, it is hoped it will be excused; since it would otherwise have been impossible to do the author justice.

As to the further merit, or demerit of the Author, little needs to be added here: the Reader will find what has been said both for and against his Writings, fairly and impartially laid before him elsewhere, and is left to judge for himself; Nothing has been either palliated or aggravated: it is true, where his Principles are liable to exception (as in some places they certainly either are, or at least seem to be so) they have been combated *pro vitili*, and an antidote attempted for the poison: in others, where he is blamed, though not justly blameable, his Character has been vindicated. Much censure, indeed, and great applause, have been, and still are, bestowed upon him; which (how much soever they may tend to influence the living) can have no effect upon one who has now been dead above two Centuries, and far out of the uncertain sound of both trumpets. His Translator, who is still within

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distance, and subject to human feelings, does not pretend to be indifferent to either : and though he is sensible how slender a title he has to one, he would willingly, if possible, escape the other.

1762.

MACHI-

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MACHIAVELL'S

DEDICATORY EPISTLE

T O

POPE CLEMENT VII.*

HOLY FATHER,

AS your Holiness was pleased to lay your commands upon me, to write a History of Florence, long before your Exaltation to the Pontificate, I accordingly applied myself

* This Pontif, whose Name was Julio de' Medici, was son to Juliano, killed at Florence, by the Pazzi, in 1478. See *Book VIII. of this History*. He was a Knight of Rhodes, afterwards made Cardinal by his Uncle, Leo X. and succeeded Adrian VI. in 1523. His Pontificate was distinguished by several considerable Events. All Germany was divided about the new Doctrine preached by Martin Luther; and Clement, dreading the power of Charles V. having entered into a league with the French and Venetians, wrote in very haughty terms to that Emperor, who answered him in the same style. But the Colonna, who were of the Imperial party, rising against the Pope, cited his Holiness to appear before a general Council, which Charles intended to call at Spire, and forced him to retire into the Castle of St. Angelo, in 1526. The next year, Charles of Bourbon, the Em-

to it with the utmost care and attention, and with all the abilities which Nature and Experience have afforded me, that I might shew my readiness to obey you in every thing. But after I had brought it down to the time when the death of the illustrious Lorenzò de' Medici gave a new turn to the affairs of Italy, and found the Events which afterwards happened, grew so interesting and important, that they de-

termined the Emperor's General, took and plundered Rome, and obliged the Pope to pay 400,000 Ducats for his ransom; to raise which, all the vessels of gold and silver that belonged to the Churches were melted down and coined, and the vacant Cardinal's Hats sold by public Auction. Besides other concessions, it was likewise agreed, that his Holiness, and thirteen Cardinals, should remain prisoners in the Castle, where they were to be confined till the money was paid, and afterwards go to Naples, or Gaieta, till the Emperor's further pleasure was known. In the year 1529, he made a peace with that Emperor, by a marriage betwixt Alexander de' Medici, created Duke of Tuscany, and Margaret, Charles's natural daughter; which alliance was afterwards confirmed by the marriage of Catherine de' Medici to Henry II. King of France. During these transactions, Henry VIII. of England, divorced his Wife, Catharine of Austria, and was excommunicated by Clement for so doing: upon which, he declared himself *Head of the Church in his own dominions*, and promoted the Reformation, which he had, till then, opposed. *Platina, continued by Sir Paul Ricaut.* It was said, of this Pope, whilst he was in prison, *Papa non potest errare.* Though Machiavel was much esteemed by him, he at last incurred his heavy displeasure, on a suspicion of being engaged with the Soderini in a conspiracy against him; concerning which, the Reader will meet with some other anecdotes in the course of this work.

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served to be related in a higher style, and more spirited manner, I resolved to present what I had already digested, in one Volume, at your Holiness's feet; that so you might have a taste at least of the fruit which you yourself planted, and an earnest of my endeavours to bring it to maturity.

In the perusal of it, your Holiness will see to what havock and distractions our Country was exposed for many ages after the declension of the Roman Empire in the West; how often it varied its form of government; and to how many different People and Princes it became subject. You will see how the Popes, your Predecessors, the Venetians, the Sovereigns of Naples, and the Dukes of Milan, by turns came to bear the chief rule in this Province. You will see your native City, after it had shaken off the yoke of the Emperors, labouring under continual discords and civil dissensions, till the government of it happily fell into the hands of your family.

But as your Holiness (equally despising flattery, and esteeming just praise) strictly enjoined me to avoid all kind of Adulation, when at any time I should have occasion to mention the names of your Ancestors, I am afraid I shall seem to have transgressed that command, when I extol the virtue and liberality of Giovanni, the prudence of Cosimo, the affability of Pietro, the magnifi-

cence and wisdom of Lorenzo de' Medici, For which, and all other passages that may appear in any wise fullom or offensive, in the course of this work, I most humbly intreat your Holiness to admit my Apology, when I say, that it was not possible to avoid it. For as I found all the Memoirs of those times full of their merit and praises, I should justly be accused either of deviating from truth, if I represented them in any other light, or of extreme envy if I passed them over in silence. And if there was any private or ambitious view concealed under their glorious endeavours to serve their Country, as some have not scrupled to hint, I do not think myself at liberty to say so; as that has not appeared to me. Indeed, it may easily be perceived, that in all other parts of this History, I have never endeavoured to throw a veil of Honesty over a foul deed, nor to calumniate any one that was worthy of praise, by meanly insinuating that it was done to serve some vile purpose. How little I have been guilty of flattering any one, will more particularly appear in the speeches and harangues to the public, and in my private reflections and observations; which are always delivered without restraint or reserve, and in a manner consistent with the actions, character, and temper of the person that speaks, or is spoken of: and I have at the same

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time studiously endeavoured to avoid all odious names of distinction and party difference, as unbecoming the dignity of History, and of very small account in the support of truth.

No one certainly, therefore, who reads this history with candour, will upbraid me as a Sycophant and Time-server; especially when he finds that I have made but little mention of your Father: for, indeed, he was snatched away from us at so immature an age, and when his Reputation was but just beginning to spread itself amongst mankind, that I might otherwise have been thought too partial to his Virtues. Nevertheless, if he had had nothing else to boast of, the Glory alone of having given your Holiness to the world, is sufficient to balance all the splendid actions of his Ancestors, and will add many more ages of Fame to his memory, than the malevolence of his Destiny so enviously cut off years from his Life.

I have endeavoured, Holy Father, as much as I could (without doing violence to truth), to say nothing that might offend any one; and yet perhaps I have pleased no one. And, indeed, I shall not be at all surpris'd, if that should be the case: since it is almost impossible for a man to write a History of his own times, without giving offence to many. However, I come boldly into the Field: for as I have been honoured with your Countenance,
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and preferred by your Bounty, I am not without hope, that I shall likewise find shelter under the sanction of your favourable opinion and great wisdom. In this confidence I shall pursue my Undertaking with the same spirit and alacrity that I have proceeded thus far, if life and health continue, and your Holiness still vouchsafes to support me with your protection.

ADVER-

ADVERTISEMENT to the READER,

Concerning the History of FLORENCE.
 From the French Translation, published at the Hague, 1743*.

Aldo the have title of *The History of Florence* may appear a little dry at first sight, to those that are not acquainted with its merit, it seems necessary in some measure to premise, that the interests and concerns of that Republic were so intimately connected and interwoven with those of the rest of Italy, that it was impossible to speak of one, without frequent mention of the other. For here we shall find many things that relate to the Popes, the Republic of Venice, the Dutchy of Milan, and several other considerable States; which altogether make almost a complete History of Italy, during a period that has not had much light thrown upon it, though very fertile in remarkable events.

With regard to Florence alone, the Reader would have no occasion to complain of being neither improved nor entertained by the His-

* There had been several Editions of this French Translation before. The Translator's name was Tetard, a French Refugee and Physician at the Hague. He was a native of Blois, and of the Family of Monsieur Tetard, a Minister there, who made a good deal of noise in the French Synods, at the time of the Controversy concerning *Universal Grace*, at Saumur.

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tory of it; if he met with nothing more than a detail of the conduct by which the House of Medici, from a mercantile condition, at last exalted itself to sovereign grandeur and authority.

But there are many other admirable Lessons to be learnt from it, which may be of great use to such as are called to the government of Republics. They will see what means are most expedient to preserve the Liberties of a free State, and to frustrate the attempts of Ambition to subvert them. They will find those wiles exposed to the world, which designing men have practised for that purpose: and this may be so far of use as to deter others from treading in the same Steps, when they perceive, that the Mine is already sprung, and these dangerous Artifices now clearly seen through by every one. They will learn from the proceedings of the Florentines, to judge of the views and inclinations by which the several degrees of mankind are actuated. For as the government of their City was successively in the hands of the Grandees, the Nobility, the Commoners, and the Plebeians, the predominant passion of every one of these different Governors will plainly appear to be the same; and that whatsoever may be the rank or condition of those that are at the helm of such States, the form of Government will always degenerate into insupportable Tyranny, if they are not restrained by good Laws, and those

those Laws maintained in their full force and vigour. As the Author abounds with political reasonings and reflections in all his other works; he has not been sparing of them in this, especially in his Harangues; of which there are many that may serve for excellent models, in the like circumstances, to such as are employed in the administration of public affairs, and have sometimes occasion to avail themselves of Eloquence in moving the passions and affections of men. And though this History may possibly be thought too limited and circumscribed by particular persons, the very name of Machiavel will still be sufficient to recommend it to the notice and esteem of the public. Great Masters always stamp such marks of Genius upon their works, as distinguish them from all others: and if the Facts that are related in this, should not be deemed sufficiently interesting to any other people on this side the Alps, yet the judicious manner in which they are collected and digested, by a man who so well knew how both to chuse himself, and point out to others, what was most useful and worthy of observation in History, will always make it appear in a respectable light. Whosoever then shall carefully and attentively read the present, which relates the Transactions of a wise and perspicacious people, may reap as much advantage from it, in my opinion, as from almost any other whatsoever.

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soever. But as to such as relish no sort of Books, except those in which a quarter of the world at least, is dragged upon the theatre at one time, they may better amuse themselves, if they please, with reading Gazettes, or Abridgements of Chronology, where sudden Revolutions and Downfalls of great Empires, and such astonishing Events, occur in every page: from which they will receive just as much satisfaction and improvement as those ignorant people who sit wondering at the strange gesture of puppets upon a stage (as well they may), whilst they know nothing of the secret springs that put them in motion. Our author, indeed, is not altogether so sententious as Cornelius Tacitus; but yet he enters so deep into matters of fact, and lays open the remote causes of them with so much perspicuity, that the Reader himself will naturally draw proper conclusions. And perhaps this may be the better way of the two to form the judgment: for such remarks and reflections as seem to be the result of our own reasoning, commonly please us more, and make a deeper impression, than those that are obtruded upon us by others.

There may be some, perhaps, who will think many circumstances in this History might have been omitted, as trifling or superfluous. But every one is not capable of distinguishing what are the most proper materials for such a composition; and those that

really

TO THE READER. xxxv

really are, will pay great deference to the Judgment of an Author, whose Abilities and Understanding at least have never been called in question. Others, very likely, who are ready to allow him these endowments, will not so easily be prevailed upon, to make the same concessions in regard to the goodness of his heart: but as the Reader will find that *Mattæi* more amply discussed in the Preface to his *Political Discourses*, and other detached Pieces of this Work, let it suffice at present, to give a remarkable proof of his integrity and love of truth, in speaking so boldly of the Pontiffs, through the whole course of a History, dedicated to one of the most powerful of them, who was of the House of Medici too, and had been his great Patron and Benefactor. For, not content with relating many of those horrible truths with which the Lives of the Popes abound, he says, in his first Book, after a recital of the miseries and distractions his Country had already groaned under, “that all the wars which Foreigners afterwards made upon Italy, were chiefly owing to the Popes, and most of the several inundations of Barbarians that poured themselves into it, in a great measure occasioned by their incitement and instigation: which practices being continued *even to this time*, have so long kept, and still keep Italy weak and divided.” This was but an awkward manner, some may think, of paying court to such a Pontif as Cle-
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ment VII. and especially in so great a Politician as Machiavel. Even our common Parochial Clergy of Paris, would have behaved with more politeness. They say finer and handsomer things in their addresses to their Archbishop, than perhaps they would do to Our Saviour himself, and his holy Apostles, if they were now upon earth.

What I would infer from this Stricture is, that a Man, who dares to speak the whole truth in such delicate circumstances, cannot be suspected of either suppressing or disguising it upon any other occasion, out of pusillanimity or private interest: so that how deficient soever he may appear to some people as a Courtier, he certainly deserves great applause from every one, as an Historian who has written with strict impartiality and regard to truth.

THE

THE HISTORY OF THE
AUTHOR'S INTRODUCTION.

WHEN I first resolv'd to write the History and Transactions of the Florentines, both at home and abroad, it was my design to have begun with the Year 1434, at which time the Family of Medici, by the means of Cosimo, and his father Giovanni, had acquired a greater degree of authority than any other in Florence; imagining that Leo-

Leonardo Aretino was one of the most learned men of the fifteenth Century; and the Restorer of the Greek Tongue in Italy. Pope Innocent VII. made him Secretary of the Briefs, merely on account of his merit: which office he discharged with great credit, during the Reign of that Pontif, and the four next. He attended Pope John XXIII. at the Council of Constance, in 1413, and was afterwards Secretary, or, as some say, Chancellor to the Republic of Florence, by which he amassed great riches. A catalogue of the books he wrote, which were many, may be seen in Gesner's *Bibliotheca*, and in Baretti's *Italian Library*, a very useful work, published by the Author at London, in 1757; in which he says, it was reported, that this Leonardo had found a *piece* of Tully, intituled, *De Gloria*, that he made use of it in some of his Latin works, and then destroyed it. The Florentines were so pleas'd with his History of Florence, that when he died, they buried him with a chaplet of laurel round his head, and a copy of that book laid upon his breast. There is still a marble monument to be seen over his grave, in the Church di Santa Croce at Florence. It is said, that a copy of his Letters was found some years ago amongst the manuscripts of the public Library at Oxford, in which there are some that have never yet been printed. He died at the age of forty-four, in the year 1444. The inscription upon his mo-

nardo d'Arezzo, and Marco Poggio *, two excellent Historians, had given a particular ac-
 nument does him great honour. It is as follows: "Since
 the death of Leonardo, History is in mourning, Eloquence is
 become mute, the Greek and Latin Muses are in tears." *Mabil-
 lion. litér. Ital.* p. 165. *L'Enfant's Poggiana*, tom. i. p. 111

* Some call him Bracciofino, or Brandolino Poggio. He
 was secretary to Pope Eugenius IV. Nicholas V. and six
 other Popes, as he himself says. From Rome he was recalled
 to Florence, at the age of seventy-four, to succeed his friend,
 Leonardo, in the office of Chancellor to that republic. He had
 been very intimately acquainted with him during his life,
 and wrote a critique upon his works. His learning was con-
 siderable, but his genius satirical, as appears from his invectives
 against Laurentius Valla, and his History of Florence
 is not looked upon to be either candid or exact. Whilst he
 attended the Council at Constance, he and Mabilion (as the
 latter says in his *Museum Italicum*, tom. i. part. i. p. 211.)
 discovered several old manuscripts, in the Abbey of St. Gall,
 about twenty miles from that City, and particularly a perfect
 one of Quintilian's works; the news of which was received
 with great pleasure by the *Literati*, as they had no complete
 copy before. Though it is said, there is one in the Bodleian
 Library above 500 years old, and several of very ancient date
 in the French King's. In his travels through Germany, he
 transcribed the books of Tully *De Finibus* & *de Legibus*, which
 had not been seen in Italy before that time. Many other works
 he published; and died in the year 1450, at the age of eighty.

It is said, this Poggio sold a Manuscript of Livy's works,
 very fairly transcribed with his own hand, for 120 crowns, to
 the celebrated Panormita, Secretary to Alphonso, King of
 Naples; Upon which, the Secretary, in a letter to his Ma-
 jesty, says, "I intreat you, of your great wisdom, to let me
 know, whether Poggio or I act the more prudent part; he
 in disposing of Livy, to purchase a farm near Florence, or I,
 who sell an Estate to buy that author, in his hand-writing.
 Your goodness and modesty encourage me to ask you this fa-
 miliar question." *Gallois traite des Bibliothèques*, p. 154, 155.
 This Alphonso was a lover of Letters, and gave Poggio a
 large sum of money for a translation of Xenophon's *Cyropæ-
 dia*.

INTRODUCTION. xxxv

count of all the events which happened before that period. But afterwards, having carefully perused their writings, to see in what method and order they had proceeded, that so I might recommend my own by imitating them, I found they had been very accurate indeed in their relation of the wars which the Florentines had been engaged in with foreign Princes and States; but that they were either totally silent concerning their civil dissensions and domestic animosities, and the consequences of them, or had touched upon them in so cursory and superficial a manner, that the Reader was neither in the least profited nor entertained by it; which, I suppose, they did, either because they thought those occurrences rather trifling and insignificant, than worthy of being recorded; or out of fear of offending the descendants of such as they should have been otherwise obliged to mention with dishonour. Both which reasons, if I may be allowed to say so without offence, seem to be altogether unworthy of so great men. For whatsoever is either instructive or entertaining in history, principally results from a clear and circumstantial narration of Facts. If any reading can be of service to such as govern Republics, it must be that chiefly which lays open the first causes of discord and divisions in them; by which they may grow wise at the expence of others, and learn to preserve peace and unanimity at home: if examples drawn

from foreign countries are apt to affect mankind in some degree, surely those that are deduced from their own, must naturally be more useful and make a deeper impression; and if the Factions that ever existed in any State, were worthy of notice, it is certain, those that have distracted Florence are still much more so. For whereas most others that we know any thing of, have only been divided into two, which have sometimes added strength to, and sometimes been the destruction of them, that City has been subject to many. In Rome, as every one knows, there arose a contest betwixt the Patricians and Plebeians, after the expulsion of their Kings, which continued till the utter dissolution of that Republic. The same happened at Athens, and in all the other Commonwealths that flourished in those ages. But in Florence, the first dissension was amongst the Nobility; the second, betwixt the Nobility and the Citizens; and the last, betwixt the Citizens and the People, or Plebeians. In all which, one Faction had no sooner got the upperhand, but it divided itself into two; and the consequence of those divisions was such a series of assassinations, executions, banishments, and dispersion of families, as is not to be paralleled in the history of any people that has descended to our times. And, in my opinion, nothing demonstrates the strength of our City so clearly as the effects of those Divisions, which were sufficient to have subverted

suffered almost any other in the world. But
 wars on the contrary, seems to have gathered
 strength, and to have risen stronger from
 them. For such was the Virtue and Patri-
 otism, and so powerful the good genius of the
 Citizens, that some who escaped these evils,
 contributed more effectually by their courage
 and constancy to the exaltation of themselves
 and their country, than the malignity of Pae-
 trics had done to depress them, though it had
 so grievously harassed the one, and diminished
 the number of the other. And, indeed, if
 such a form of Government had fortunately
 been established in Florence, as would have
 kept the Citizens firmly united together, after
 they had shaken off the yoke of the Empire,
 I don't know of any Common-wealth, ancient
 or modern, that could have been deemed su-
 perior to it, either in Military power, or the
 arts of peace. For it is well known, that
 after the Ghibelines were banished the City in
 such numbers that all Tuscany and Lombardy
 swarmed with them, the Guelphs and those
 that remained in possession of it, were able to
 raise an army of twelve thousand foot and
 twelve hundred heavy-armed horse out of their
 own Citizens for the expedition against Arez-
 zo, which was in the year before the battle of
 Campaldino. And afterwards, in the war
 with Philip Visconti Duke of Milan, when
 they were obliged to trust to dint of money
 and Stipendiary forces (as their own were
 insufficient)

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them very much reduced), the Florentines expended three millions and five hundred thousand* Florins during the course of it, which lasted five years: and it was now soon ended, but, dissatisfied with the peace, and desirous of making a further display of their strength, they marched out with an army and laid siege to Lucca: it was all in vain. — I can see no reason, therefore, why the causes and progress of the civil Dissensions which happened in this Republic, should not be thought worthy of a minute and particular relation. And if these noble Authors, were deterred from it only by the fear of hurting the memory of some whom they should necessarily be obliged to speak of, they widely mistook the matter, and shew they were not sufficiently aware of that latent ambition which is naturally implanted in all men, and their desire of having their own names and those of their Ancestors transmitted to Posterity. Nor did they recollect that many, who never had any opportunity of signaling themselves by virtuous and laudable achievements, have endeavoured to perpetuate their memory by the most flagitious and detestable means †. Neither did they consider that

* A coin first stamped by the Florentines. That of Palermo and Sicily is worth about 2s. 6d. Sterling; that of France 1s. 6d. of Germany 3s. 4d. of Spain 4s. 4d. of Holland and Poland 2s. of Savoy 3d. half-penny; of Gold 5s. The last is most probably meant here.

† As Erostratus, who burnt the Temple of Diana at Ephesus, which was reckoned the most magnificent structure in transac-

I N T R O D U C T I O N. xxxix

transactions which carry an air of greatness along with them, such as those of States and Governments, still reflect more honour than infamy upon the Actors, what ends soever they have had, or in what light soever they are represented. These considerations prevailed upon me to alter my first Plan, and to begin my History from the very foundation of our City. And since it is not my intention to transcribe what has been already published by others, I shall relate such things only as happened *within* the City to the year 1434. taking no further notice of foreign transactions than what will be absolutely necessary for a better understanding of what occurred at home: after which period, I shall give a distinct account both of one and the other. And that the Reader may have a clearer and more extensive prospect both ways in this History, before I come to treat of the affairs of Florence, I will shew by what means Italy became subject to those Princes who governed it that time: all which will be included in the four first books. The first shall contain a brief recital of the principal events that happened in Italy from the declension of the Roman Empire to the year 1434. The second, a general account of affairs from the foundation of Florence to the

told to be a great author, observes, that, "the love of riches and pleasure is not so predominant amongst mankind, in general, as the thirst of fame."

xi THE AUTHOR'S, &c.

war that was commenced against the Pope, after the Expulsion of the Duke of Athens. The third will conclude with the death of Ladislaus King of Naples: and in the fourth we shall arrive at the year 1434. After which we shall give a particular narrative of all proceedings, both within and without the City, till we come down to our own times.

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THE HISTORY OF THE
ROMAN EMPIRE
FROM THE DESTRUCTION OF THE
FIRST TO THE LAST
BY
F. LORENCE.

B O O K I.

A R G U M E N T.

The Roman Empire ruined by inundations of Barbarians. The Western Goths the first invaders of it. Rome taken and sacked by them under the command of Alaric. The Huns invade Italy, take Aquileia under the conduct of Attila, and advance to Rome; but retire at the request of the Pope. The first residence of the Roman emperors at Ravenna. Odoacer causes himself to be styled King of Rome, and is the first of the Barbarians that thought of fixing in Italy. The Empire is cantoned out into several divisions. Theodoric invades Italy, kills Odoacer, calls himself King of Rome, and holds his residence at Ravenna. His great actions and death. Belisarius appointed General for the Emperor Justinian. He is recalled and succeeded by Narses, or Narsetes, an Eunuch. Longinus changes the form of government in Italy. The Lombards invade it under their King Alboin, who is afterwards assassinated by Almachild, at the instigation of his own wife. The Bishops of Rome begin to extend their authority. The Eastern Empire ruined in the time of the Emperor Heraclius. Charlemagne exempts the Pope from all human Jurisdiction, and is chosen Emperor of the West. The original of Cardinals. Osperco being elected Pope is ashamed of his name, and changes it; which custom is followed by succeeding

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B

Popes.

Popes. The original of Pisa. The state of Italy in the year 931. Pope Gregory V. is driven out of Rome, but returns thither. He deprives the Romans of the power of choosing their Emperors, and confers it upon Six Princes of Germany, who are afterwards called Electors. Nicholas II. deprives the Romans of their right of approving the Popes when elected, and reduces the election to the suffrages of Cardinals only. An Antipope is set up, which causes a schism in the Church. A quarrel betwixt the Emperor Henry IV. and the Pope gives rise to the Guelph and Ghibeline Factions. The original of the Kingdom of Sicily. The first Crusade against the Saracens promoted by Urban II. Why so called. Another Antipope. The penance enjoined Henry II. King of England, upon the complaints made about the murder of Thomas Becket, Archbishop of Canterbury. The orders of St. Dominic and St. Francis instituted in the year 1218. The title of King of Jerusalem transferred to the Kings of Naples. The House of Este become Lords of Ferrara. The Guelphs side with the Church, the Ghibelins with the Emperor. The first mention made of Pope's Nephews. Celestine V. resigns the Pontificate to Boniface VIII. The jubilee instituted by Boniface, and at first appointed to be celebrated every hundredth year. Clement VI. removes with his Court into France in the year 1336. The Visconti, a great family in Milan, become Princes of that city by the expulsion of the Torri. The first Duke of Milan. The Dukedom falls to the Sforzas. The original of the Venetians. Candia ceded to them by the French. Nicolò di Lorenzo, under the title of Tribune, makes himself the chief Magistrate of Rome. The jubilee reduced to fifty years. Avignon given to the Pope by the Queen of Naples. Gregory XI. returns with his Court to Rome, after it had resided seventy-one years in France. Clement VII. Antipope. Great guns first used in the war betwixt the Genoese and the Venetians. Three Popes at one time. The Queen of Naples calls in the King of Arragon to her assistance, adopts him, and makes

makes Braccio de Montone her General. The state of Italy at that time. A character of the several Princes and chief Commanders.

THE people who inhabit the Northern parts that lie beyond the Rhine and the Danube, living in a healthful and prolific climate, often increase to such a degree, that vast numbers of them are forced to leave their native country, and go in search of new habitations. For when any one of those provinces begins to grow too populous, and wants to disburthen itself, the following method is observed: In the first place, it is divided into three parts, in each of which there is an equal proportion of the Nobility and Commonalty, the rich and the poor. After this, they cast lots; and that division, which the lot falls upon quits the country, and goes to seek its fortune, leaving the other two more room and liberty to enjoy their possessions at home. These demigrations proved the destruction of the Roman empire: to which the emperors themselves also did not a little contribute. For when they abandoned Rome, the ancient seat of their government, and went to reside at Constantinople, the western parts of the Empire became weak and defenceless, being far removed from their inspection, and consequently more liable to be plundered both by their own substitutes and the incursions of foreign enemies. And indeed, if the indolence and pusillanimity of the Princes, the perfidy of their Ministers, the fury, strength, and obstinacy of the Invaders, had been in any degree less than they were, an Empire so powerful, and founded in the blood of so many brave men, could not well have been subverted: since it was not till after many of these inundations that its ruin was finally accomplished.

The first of these Northern nations that invaded the empire, after the * Cimbri (who were subdued

* These people, according to Cluver, at first came from the extremity of the North, and then possessed the whole of that large

by Marius a Roman Citizen) were the Visigoths, that is, the Western Goths, to whom the Emperors, after several battles fought upon the confines of the empire, at last assigned the country that extends itself along the banks of the Danube for their habitation; of which they maintained the possession for a great number of years. And though they afterwards often invaded the Roman Provinces at different times and upon various occasions, they were as often repelled by the power of the emperors. Theodosius, to his great honour, was the last that defeated and entirely reduced them to obedience: after which, they did not chuse any other King of their own to reign over them, as they used to do before, but voluntarily submitted to his government, received his pay, and fought under his banners. But when that Prince died, and his two sons Arcadius and Honorius were left heirs to the crown, tho' not to the valour and good fortune of their father,

peninsula which extends itself into the German ocean, formerly called Cimbria Chersonesus, and now Jutland. And this opinion is confirmed by the testimonies of Velleius Paterculus, Eutropius, and Orofius. They left this angle about the year 639 of Rome, or 390 of the world, either because the sea had encroached upon it, or that it was not any longer capable of sustaining so vast a multitude of inhabitants, who, as some say, amounted at that time to above 500,000, besides women and children; and joining with the outcast of several other nations, they over-ran all Germany, Istria, Sclavonia, the country of the Grisons, and Switzerland: from whence they fell into Dauphinè, Languedoc, and Provence, and last of all into Italy. The Romans being astonished at such swarms of Barbarians, sent out their armies against them, which were often defeated: but at last Marius beat them near Arles in the plains of Camargue, and afterwards gave them a total overthrow betwixt Aix and St. Maximin. The monuments of which victory are yet to be seen upon the same road, where the Romans erected pyramids in memory of this decisive battle, fought in the year of Rome 652, and 102 years before the Christian æra. Some authors say the Cimbrians first invented drums: but that, if it is worth their while, is left to the disquisitions of the curious. Strabo says, they stretched the skins of animals over their open chariots in time of war, and beat them with sticks at the beginning of the fight. They were a very fierce and warlike people, large of stature, and used to rejoice, says Valerius Maximus, over any of their relations or friends that fell in battle, and to make great lamentation over those that died of sickness; looking upon the one as a glorious and happy death, the other as infamous and dishonourable.

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the times, like the Emperors, began to alter for the worse.

Theodosius had appointed three Governors to preside over the three parts of the empire, Ruffinus over the East, Stilico over the West, and Gildo over the South; but, after his death, they all resolved to drop the title of governors, and assume the sovereign dominion over those provinces themselves. Gildo and Ruffinus were soon suppressed: but Stilico concealing his ambition with more artifice, endeavoured to insinuate himself into the favour and confidence of the new Emperors, with a design, however, to perplex and embarrass their affairs, that so he might afterwards the more easily succeed in his attempts. To stir up the Visigoths against them, he advised the Emperors to retrench their former pay; and lest that nation alone should not be able to raise a rebellion in the empire, he likewise incited the Burgundians, Franks, Vandals, and Alans, (Northern people like the others, and already in motion to seek new habitations) to invade the Roman provinces.

The Visigoths, therefore, seeing their usual subsidies reduced, determined to redress themselves. For which purpose, they made Alaric their King, under whose conduct they invaded the empire, and after many enterprizes, not only took and sacked Rome itself, but over-ran all the rest of Italy. Not long after these victorious achievements Alaric died, and was succeeded by Ataulph, who marrying Placidia, sister to the Emperors, promised them, in consequence of that alliance, to march with an army to the relief of Gaul and Spain, which provinces were then much harrassed by the incursions of the Vandals, Burgundians, Alans, and Franks. The Vandals who had seized upon that part of Spain called Betica, being now hard pressed and reduced to extremities by the Visigoths, were called over by Boniface, (who at that time governed Africa in the name of the Emperors) to come and settle there:

for as he was then in open rebellion himself, he was afraid of being called to account and punished for it by those Princes. The Vandals, therefore, willingly embarked in this enterprise, for the reasons abovementioned, and under the banners of Genserich their King made a descent upon the coast of Africa.

In the mean time Theodosius, the son of Arcadius, succeeded to the empire; but as he gave himself little trouble about the affairs of the West, these new intruders began to think of establishing themselves in their acquisitions. Accordingly, the Vandals soon made themselves masters of Africa, the Alans and Visigoths of Spain, and the Franks and Burgundians not only over-ran Gaul, but gave names to the places of which they had respectively possessed themselves, calling one part of it France, and the other Burgundy. The success of these adventurers inviting others to invade the empire, the Huns seized upon Pannonia, a province on this side the Danube, and gave it the name of Hungary, which it retains to this day. And what still increased these misfortunes, was, that the Emperor seeing himself attacked in so many different places, began to treat, first with the Vandals, and then with the Franks, in order to lessen the number of his enemies, which very much diminished his own power and authority, and at the same time added considerable strength and reputation to the Barbarians. Nor was the island of Britain, now called England, exempt from its share in these troubles. For the Britons beginning to grow apprehensive of the people that had conquered Gaul, and seeing the Emperor not able to protect them, called in the Angli, a German nation, to their assistance. The Angli, accordingly, under Vortiger their King, undertook to defend them, and for some time behaved like faithful allies, but afterwards drove them out of the island, and taking possession of it themselves gave it the name of England. Being thus expelled their country, and become desperate by necessity,

cessity, the Britons resolved to invade some other, though they had not been able to maintain their own : and with this resolution having passed the sea, they possessed themselves of that part which lies upon the coast of France, and called it Bretagne, or Britany. The Huns who, as we said before, had seized upon Pannonia, joining with divers other people, as the Zepidi, Eruli, Turingi, and Ostrogoths, or Eastern Goths, put themselves in motion once more, and went in quest of fresh quarters. But not being able to force their way into France, which was then bravely defended by the Barbarians, they penetrated into Italy under the conduct of their King Attila, who not long before had murdered his brother Bleda ; by which he rid himself of all partnership in the government, and became so powerful that he reduced Andaric King of the Zepidi, and Velamir King of the Ostrogoths, into a sort of subjection to him. And having thus got footing in Italy he invested * Aquileia ; before which place he continued two years without molestation, and during the siege not only laid waste the whole country round about it, but totally dispersed the inhabitants, which, as we shall relate in its proper place, first gave rise to the city of Venice. After he had taken and demolished Aquileia and many other cities, he advanced towards Rome, which he spared however out of reverence to the † Pope, whom he held in so great veneration, that at his intercession only he withdrew out of Italy into Austria, where he died ‡. After

* The capital of Friuli, formerly a city of great eminence, but now very much decayed. It is at present subject to the House of Austria, though the Patriarch is appointed by the Venetians.

† Leo I. commonly called St. Leo ; he enjoyed the pontificate from the year 440 till 461.

‡ He was called *the Scourge of God*, since there was hardly any nation in Europe that did not feel the weight of his arms. The peace which he made with Theodosius the younger was very dishonourable to that emperor : for he obliged him to advance six thousand pound weight of gold in ready money, and promise to pay him a thousand pound weight every year for the future. So that the eastern empire, notwithstanding the specious name of pension, which was given to

his death, Velamir King of the Ostrogoths, and some chiefs of the other nations took up arms against Tenric and Euric the sons of Attila, one of whom they killed, and drove the other with all the Huns over the Danube again into their own country : upon which the Ostrogoths and Zepidi established themselves in Pannonia ; and the Eruli and Turingi continued upon the banks of the Danube.

After Attila had left Italy, Valentinian then Emperor of the West, resolved to attempt the restoration of that empire to its former greatness and splendor ; and that he might be enabled to defend it with more ease and convenience against the irruptions of the Barbarians, he chose Ravenna instead of Rome for the place of his residence. These calamities which the Western empire sustained, had often obliged the Emperor who resided at Constantinople to give the government of it to other peo-

this exaction, in fact became tributary to the Huns. Maimbourg, *Hist. de l'Arianisme*. Tom. iii. p. 4. The same author says, *Hist. de St. Leon*. l. iii. p. 220 that Attila having seen a picture at Milan, which represented an emperor sitting upon his throne with Scythians in chains under his feet, ordered it to be removed, and another to be put up in its room, wherein he himself was drawn, sitting upon a throne surrounded with emperors loaded with bags of silver and gold, which they came to empty at his feet in a very submissive manner ; intimating by this, that as he had obliged Theodosius seven or eight years before to pay him tribute, he would force the Emperor Valentinian to do the same, in order to save his life and the miserable remains of the empire. It is said he designed to have established his own language in the empire upon the ruins of the Roman. Alcyonius in his *Medices Legatus* introduces Giovanni de' Medici speaking in the following manner, " There is preserved in our Library a book written in Greek by an unknown author, concerning the wars of the Goths in Italy. I remember to have read in it, that King Attila, after his victories, being resolved to propagate the Gothic tongue, published an edict to prohibit all persons from speaking Latin, and sent for teachers out of his own country to instruct the Italians in the Gothic language." This sort of ambition seems to have been common to most conquerors. The Greeks, Romans, Turks, Moors, Normans, and many other nations attempted it, and some of them with success. The French in these times are extending their language at a great rate, and endeavouring by all manner of artifices to make it become general throughout Europe at least. This Prince was either suffocated by an eruption of blood from his nose, as some say ; or murdered by his bride, according to others, on his wedding night.

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ple, as a charge attended with too great trouble and expence. Indeed the Romans themselves, when they saw they were thus slighted and abandoned, often created Emperors to defend them, without his permission to do so: and sometimes private persons, availing themselves of their own interest or authority, usurped the Imperial dignity: as it happened after the death of Valentinian, when Maximus, a citizen of Rome, seized upon it, and forced his widow Eudoxa to marry him; who being of royal extraction and disdaining the embraces of a private citizen, in revenge for so violent an outrage, secretly encouraged Genferic, King of the Vandals, and at that time master of Africa, to invade Italy, by representing how easy and glorious the conquest of it would be to him*. That Prince accordingly, being animated by the hope of so great an acquisition, made a sudden descent upon Italy, and finding Rome deserted, he sacked it, and continued there fourteen days. He likewise took and plundered many other towns, and having glutted both himself and his army with spoil, returned into A-

* Petronius Maximus, Grandson to Flavius Magnus Clemens, was at first a Roman senator. He had a very beautiful wife, with whom Valentinian III. fell in love, and endeavoured, though in vain, to debauch her. But that Emperor having won all the money that Maximus had, and his ring besides, one night at play, sent the ring as from Maximus himself, for his wife to come to the palace, where he ravished her. Maximus however dissembled his knowledge of the fact, and concealed his resentment till he had an opportunity of revenging himself, which he did not long after, by causing the Emperor to be dispatched in the Campus Martius: after which, he seized the empire, married the Empress Eudoxa by force, created his own son Cæsar, and married him to Eudoxa the Emperor's daughter. But having told the Empress one night, that it was for the love of her that he had killed the Emperor, she was so incensed at it, because she knew the contrary, that she sent to intreat Genferic King of the African Vandals to deliver her from the tyrant who kept her as his wife by force. Genferic came, according to her invitation, and Maximus fled from Rome, but was pursued and stoned to death by the people, or killed by a soldier as some say, and afterwards pulled to pieces by the Empress and her servants and thrown into the Tiber. But she herself and her daughters were carried away prisoners by the conqueror, Procop. de bell. Vandal. l. i. p. 15.

frica.

frica. Upon his departure, Maximus being now dead, the Romans returned to the city and made choice of one Avitus, a Roman, for their Emperor. After this and many other revolutions both within Italy and without it, and after the death of several Emperors, the empire of Constantinople fell into the hands of Zeno; and that of Rome, by intrigue and underhand practices, to Orestes and his son Augustulus. But whilst they were making preparations to maintain it by force, they were invaded by the Eruli and Turingi, who, as we have related, had repassed the Danube after the death of Attila, and settled themselves again in their former habitations on the other side of that river. These nations having confederated themselves afresh, under the command of Odoacer, for this expedition, left their own country to the Longobardi, or Lombards, another northern nation, who took possession of it under the conduct of Godoglio their King, and were the last that invaded Italy, as shall be shewn hereafter.

Odoacer having entered Italy, not long after defeated and killed Orestes in a battle near Pavia; but Augustulus made his escape. After this victory, Odoacer changing the title both of the governor and the government, abolished the name of Emperor and Empire, caused himself to be styled *King of Rome*, and was the first chieftain of those nations which then over-ran the world, that resolved to fix in Italy: for all the rest before him, either out of an apprehension that they should not be able to maintain a territory that might so easily be succoured by the Emperor of the East, or for some other private reason, had contented themselves with ravaging and plundering it, and then always retired to seek some other country to live in, which they thought more tenable.

In this manner then, the ancient Roman empire was cantoned out under the following princes and people. Zeno residing at Constantinople, governed the
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the whole empire of the East: the Ostrogoths were possessed of * Mœsia and Pannonia: the Visigoths, Suevi and Alans of Spain and Gascony: the Vandals of Africa: the Franks and Burgundians of Gaul: and the Eruli and Tœringi of Italy. The Kingdom of the Ostrogoths was devolved upon Velamir's nephew Theodoric, who being in amity with Zeno, the Eastern Emperor, wrote to him, "That his Ostrogoths being superior in valour to all other nations, thought it hard and unjust to be inferior to them in extent of territory and command; and that it would be impossible for him to confine them within the narrow limits of Pannonia: that as he was consequently under a necessity of complying with their desires, and of suffering them to take up arms, in order to provide themselves with larger and more convenient territories, he thought fit to give him timely notice of it; that so he might avert the danger if he pleased, by voluntarily assigning them some country, where, by his favour, they might live with more comfort and reputation." Zeno therefore, partly out of fear, and partly out of a desire of driving Odoacer out of Italy, gave Theodoric free leave to march against him and wrest it out of his hands if he was able. This offer he accepted, and immediately quitting Pannonia, where he left his allies the Zepidi, he entered Italy, killed Odoacer and his son, and after his example, not only called himself *King of Rome*, but took up his residence at Ravenna, for the same reasons that had before prevailed upon Valentinian to do so.

Theodoric was a great and excellent Prince both in the arts of war and peace: in the former he always came off victorious, and in the latter, was continually doing good to the cities and people that were subject to him. He distributed his Ostrogoths through the several towns, and set chiefs over them, to lead them in time of war, and to administer jus-

* Now called Bosnia and Servia.

tice in the intervals of peace. He enlarged Ravenna, repaired Rome, and restored all its honours and privileges, except its military discipline. He kept all the Barbarian Princes, who had cantoned out the Empire, in due bounds, without the noise or tumult of war, merely by his own wisdom and authority. He built several towns and fortresses betwixt the extremity of the Adriatick and the Alps, to obstruct any future incursion of Barbarians into Italy. If so many great virtues had not been sullied by some cruelties he was guilty of towards the latter end of his life (amongst which may be numbered the putting Symmachus and Boetius to death, though virtuous and innocent men, out of a suspicion that they were conspiring to depose him) his memory would have been every way unblemished and worthy of being held in the highest honour. By his valour and goodness, not only Rome and Italy, but all the other parts of the Western Empire, were freed from the continual devastations to which they had been subject for so many years, by the repeated irruptions of Barbarians, and at the same time reduced into good order. Certainly, if any times were ever to be called wretched in Italy and the other provinces that were thus over-run, they were those that intervened betwixt the reigns of Arcadius and Honorius, and that of Theodoric: for if we consider the calamitous consequences that generally ensue upon a change of Prince or form of government either in a kingdom or commonwealth, when effected, not by external force, but by civil dissentions, (in which, experience has sufficiently shewn us that the least alterations have proved fatal to such states, though exceeding powerful) we may easily conceive how much Italy and the rest of the Roman provinces must have suffered in those days, when they were forced to change, not only their Princes and form of government, but their laws, customs, manner of living, religion, language, habit, and even their very names. To reflect only upon

upon any one of these circumstances, is enough to make the stoutest man tremble, much more the seeing and enduring them all. But if they proved the destruction of some cities, they likewise occasioned the foundation and augmentation of many more. In the number of those that were destroyed, we may reckon Aquileia, Luni, Chiusi, Popolonia, Fiesoli, and some others: amongst those that were new built, were Venice, Siena, Ferrara, Aquila, and many more, both towns and castles, which, for the sake of brevity, I shall here omit. Those that from small beginnings became great and respectable, were Florence, Genoa, Pisa, Milan, Naples, and Bologna: to all which may be added, the ruin and instauration of Rome, and several other cities, which were demolished and afterwards rebuilt. These devastations and reiterated incursions of new people produced new languages, as appears from those now used in France, Spain, and Italy, which, being compounded of that of their invaders and the ancient Roman, are very different from what they were before. Not only provinces, but rivers, seas, and men, likewise lost their names: France, Italy, and Spain, being full of such as are altogether unlike the old ones. To omit many others, we shall only instance the Po, Garda, and Archipelago, in the first case: and with regard to the proper names of men, instead of Cæsar, Pompey, &c. those of Peter, John, Matthew, &c. now took place. But amongst all these revolutions and changes, that of Religion was of the greatest consequence: for the custom and prescription pleaded by Paganism against the Miracles of Christianity, produced very great tumults and dissensions amongst men, which yet would not have been so fatal if the Christian Church had continued united. But the Greek and Roman Churches, and that of Ravenna, being at variance, and the Hereticks and Catholicks fiercely opposing each other, occasioned infinite confusion and misery in the world: as Africa in particular can testify, which

which suffered much more from the Spirit and Effects of Arianism (a doctrine espoused by the Vandals) than from their natural ferocity, or any oppressive disposition peculiar to that people. Whilst men lived exposed to such dreadful persecutions, the terror and dejection of their hearts were legible in their countenances: for besides the numberless afflictions they otherwise endured, many were deprived of all recourse to the mercies of God, the surest refuge in adversity and distress: for as they were uncertain to what Being they ought to address themselves for protection, they miserably died without any hope or comfort.

Theodoric therefore deserved no small return of thanks, as he was the first that gave them any respite from so great Evils, and restored Italy to such a degree of Grandeur, during the thirty-eight years which he reigned there, that hardly any thing was to be seen of its former desolation. But when he died, and the government devolved upon Athalric, the son of his daughter Amalasontha, its evil destiny being not yet limited, it soon relapsed into the same miserable condition it had been in before. For Athalric dying not long after his grandfather, the kingdom reverted to his mother, who was betrayed, and put to death by Theodate, a minister whom she had employed to assist her in the government of the state. After which, he seized upon the kingdom himself, to the infinite disgust of the Ostrogoths; a circumstance that encouraged the Emperor Justinian to attempt the dispossessing him of Italy. For which purpose, he appointed Belisarius his commander in chief for that Expedition, who had already driven the Vandals out of Africa, and reduced it to its former obedience to the Empire. That general accordingly, in the first place made himself master of Sicily; from whence he transported his army into Italy, and there recovered Naples and Rome. Upon which, the Goths seeing the havock he daily made amongst them, laid hands on their King Theodate,

date, and having put him to death, as the author and occasion of it, they set up Vitiges in his stead; who, after several skirmishes, was at last besieged and taken prisoner in Ravenna by Belisarius. But the latter not having gained a complete victory, was recalled by Justinian, and succeeded in his command by Johannes and Vitalis, two generals so much inferior to him both in valour and conduct, that the Goths recovered their spirits and made choice of Hrodvodus, at that time governor of Verona, to rule over them. That Prince being killed soon after, the reins of government fell into the hands of Totila, who routed the Emperor's forces, regained Tuscany, and stripped the Imperial generals of almost every state that Belisarius had recovered. Justinian, therefore, thought fit to send him back again into Italy: but as he came only with an inconsiderable force, he rather lost the reputation he had acquired before, than made any addition to it: For, whilst he lay with his army at Ostia, Totila besieged Rome and took it, as it were, before his face: but, considering he could not well maintain it, and that it would be dangerous to leave it behind him in the condition it then was, he demolished the greater part of the city, dispersed the citizens, carried the senators along with him, and making little account of Belisarius, advanced with his army into Calabria, to cut off the supplies that were coming out of Greece to reinforce him. Belisarius, however, seeing Rome abandoned in this manner, resolved to attempt something that might re-establish his reputation; and having once more taken possession of that city, ruinous as it was, he rebuilt the walls with the utmost expedition, and then sent to invite the inhabitants to return to it. But fortune did not favour so meritorious an undertaking: for Justinian, being at that time invaded by the Parthians, was obliged to recall him. So that in obedience to the commands of his sovereign, he quitted

* quitted Italy, and left that province to the mercy of Totila, who retook Rome, but did not exercise the same rigour upon it that he had done before : for being moved by the entreaties of St. Benedict, (a person in those days held in great veneration for his sanctity) instead of pulling it down again, he immediately began to repair the ruins.

In the mean time, Justinian had made a peace with the Parthians, and resolving to send fresh succours into Italy, was prevented by a new alarm from the Sclavi, another northern nation, who had passed the Danube, and fallen into Thrace and Illyria ; so that Totila had made himself master of almost all Italy. But as soon as the Emperor had repelled the Sclavi, he sent another army into Italy, under the conduct of Narses or Narsetes, an eunuch, but a commander of great experience. At his arrival in Italy, he defeated and killed Totila ; after whose death, the remainder of the Goths retired into Pavia, and made Teia King over them. On the other hand, Narsetes, after his victory, took Rome again, and then marching against Teia, not only engaged, but routed and killed him near Nocera : by which overthrow the Name of the Goths was utterly extinguished in Italy, after they had reigned there for the space of seventy years, that is, from the time of their King Theodoric to that of Teia. But Italy had scarcely freed itself from their yoke, when Justinian died, and was succeeded by his son Justinus, who, at the instigation of his wife Sophia, recalled Narsetes out of Italy, and sent Longinus thither to

* He afterwards acquired great glory in the Parthian and many other wars. It is said by Crinitus, Volaterran, and other Latin writers, that being accused of conspiring against Justinian, he was not only deprived of all his employments, but had his eyes put out by that Prince in the year 551, and was reduced to such a degree of poverty, that he was forced to beg his bread in the streets of Constantinople. On the contrary, the author of " The Mixed History of Constantinople." Cedrenus, Alciat, and others, say, that he had not his eyes put out, that he was restored to all his employments the year following, and died in peace at Constantinople, in 565.

super-

superfede him. Longinus, after the example of his predecessors, kept his residence at Ravenna, but introduced a new form of government into Italy, not appointing governors over Provinces, as the Goths had done, but setting up a Chief in every city and town of any note, with the title of *Duke*. Nor did he make any distinction betwixt Rome and the other cities in this reform: for abolishing the names and authority of consuls and senate, which had continued till that time, he yearly sent a Duke from Ravenna of his own nomination, to take upon him the government of it, which was called the *Duchy*, or *Dukedom* of Rome. But he that presided at Ravenna, and more immediately represented the Emperor, having the superintendance of all Italy committed to his charge, was called the *Exarch*. This new division not only facilitated, but exceedingly hastened the ruin of Italy, by giving the Lombards an opportunity of possessing themselves of it. Narses was very much disgusted at the Emperor for depriving him of the government of that Province, which he had bravely recovered at the expence of his own blood: and Sophia not thinking it a sufficient disgrace to get him recalled, had also made use of some taunts and contemptuous expressions, sending him word, *that she wanted him at home to spin as other Eunuchs did**. At which he was so outrageously provoked, that he incited Alboin, who then

* This general, however, though so unworthily disgraced, and designed for a spinster by womanish malice and petulance, left many noble traces of his prowess in Italy: of which, the following inscription upon a bridge, about three miles from Rome, may serve as one testimony.

Quam bene curvati directa est semita Pontis,
 Atque interruptum continuatur iter!
 Calcamus rapidas subjecti gurgitis undas,
 Et libet iratæ cernere murmur aquæ.
 Ite igitur faciles in gaudia vestra Quirites,
 Et Narsen resonans, plausus ubique canat:
 Qui potuit rigidas Gothorum subdere mentes,
 Et docuit durum flumina ferre jugum.

See a Book, called, *Inscriptionum Metricarum Delectus*, published in 1753.

reigned over the Lombards in Pannonia, to come and invade Italy.

The Lombards, as we have already related, had taken possession of such places upon the Danube as were abandoned by the Eruli and Turingi, when Odoacer their King conducted them into Italy. There they continued some time, till the kingdom fell into the hands of Alboin, a fierce and enterprising man, who passed the Danube, engaged Cunimund, King of the Zepidi, a people settled in Pannonia, and not only defeated him, but made himself master of all that country. And though he married Rosamond, one of the daughters of Cunimund, whom he found amongst the prisoners that were taken, yet such was the savageness and inhumanity of his nature, that he ordered a cup to be made of her father's skull, out of which he sometimes drank in memory of that victory. But being invited into Italy by Narsetes, with whom he had contracted a friendship during the war with the Goths, he left Pannonia to the Huns, (who, as we have shewn, returned into their own country after the death of Attila) marched into Italy, and finding it cantoned out into so many divisions, he made himself master of Pavia, Milan, Verona, Vicenza, all Tuscany, and the greater part of Flaminia, now called Romagna. And imagining, from the greatness and suddenness of his conquests, that all Italy was now in a manner his own, he made a magnificent banquet at Verona; at which he got drunk, and filling the skull of Cunimund with wine, he caused it to be presented to Rosamond his queen, who sat over-against him at the table, saying (loud enough to be heard by her) *that, upon so joyful an occasion, she should drink with her Father.* Stung to the quick at so cruel a sarcasm, she secretly vowed revenge; and knowing that Almachild, a noble and brave young Lombard, had an amour with one of her women, she prevailed upon her to contrive that she herself might have an opportunity of lying with him in her stead:

read : for which purpose he was introduced into a dark room, where he lay with Rosamond, supposing it had been her maid. After which, she discovered herself and told him, it was now in his option either to kill Alboin and enjoy her and the Kingdom, or to be put to death by him for violating his bed. Almachild therefore agreed to kill his master : but after they had perpetrated the murder, finding they were not likely to maintain possession of the Kingdom, but rather to be murdered by the Lombards, out of the affection they bore to Alboin, they fled with all his treasure to Longinus at Ravenna, who received them with much honour.

During these troubles, Justinus the Emperor died, and Tiberius was elected in his stead ; who, being engaged in a war with the Parthians, could not send any relief into Italy. Longinus therefore, thinking this a fair opportunity to make himself King of the Lombards, and of all Italy, by the help of Rosamond and her treasure, communicated his design to her, persuading her to dispatch Almachild, and afterwards to take himself for her husband : which proposal she accepted, and having prepared a cup of poisoned wine for that purpose, she gave it to Almachild with her own hands, as he came thirsty out of the bath : who having drank about half of it, and finding it began to operate, soon perceived what she had given him, and thereupon immediately forced her to drink the rest of the potion herself, of which they both died in a few hours, and Longinus lost all the hopes he had conceived of obtaining the Kingdom : for the Lombards assembling at Pavia, which they had now made the seat of their government, chose Clesi for their King, who rebuilt Imola, a town that had been demolished by Narsetes. He likewise reduced Rimini, and almost all the country betwixt that place and Rome, but died in the midst of his victories. This Clesi treated not only strangers, but even the Lombards themselves, with such a degree of rigour and cruelty, that they now growing

ing weary of a monarchical government, determined to have no more kings, and appointed thirty *Dukes* to rule over them.

This change of their Constitution was the occasion that the Lombards could never thoroughly subdue Italy, nor extend their conquests any farther than Benevento: for as to the cities of Rome, Ravenna, Cremona, Mantua, Padua, Montfelice, Parma, Bologna, Faenza, Forli, and Cesena, some of them defended themselves a considerable time, and others never came under their dominion at all. For as they had no Kings, they were less disposed to war; and when they afterwards created Kings again, the taste which they had had of liberty made them less obedient to their Prince, more apt to quarrel amongst themselves, and not only checked the course of their victories at first; but, in the end, was the cause of their being totally driven out of Italy.

The affairs of the Lombards being thus circumstanced, the Romans and Longinus came to an accommodation with them: and it was agreed that all parties should lay down their arms and enjoy what they were respectively possessed of.

About this time the Bishops of Rome likewise began to assume a greater degree of authority than ever they had done before. The first successors of St. Peter having been held in the highest veneration for the sanctity of their lives and the Miracles they wrought, their Examples gave such credit to the Christian Religion, that many Princes embraced it to put an end to those evils and distractions which then reigned in the world. And the Emperor of Rome being converted amongst the rest, and quitting that Capital to hold his residence at Constantinople, the Roman Empire began to decline (as we have observed before), whilst the Church of Rome, on the other hand, daily gathered fresh strength and grew more powerful. Nevertheless, as all Italy was subject to the dominion either of the Emperors or Kings,

Kings, till the coming in of the Lombards, the Bishops of that See took upon themselves no other Authority than what was given them out of reverence to their learning and the holiness of their lives: in civil affairs they were still subject to those Princes, who often employed them as their Ministers, and sometimes put them to death for mal-administration. But what gave them something more weight in the affairs of Italy was the resolution taken by Theodoric, King of the Goths, to remove the seat of his Government to Ravenna: for as Rome was thereby left destitute of a Prince, the Romans were obliged, for their own safety, to put themselves under the protection of the Pope. This, however, did not make any great addition to their authority: for the only point they gained at that time, was, that the Church of Ravenna should acknowledge itself subject to the jurisdiction of that at Rome*. But after the Lombards had invaded Italy and divided it into several districts, the Pope took that opportunity of enlarging his power: for as he was the chief person and in a manner the Head of Rome, both the Em-

* Rome never recovered the fatal blow it received from Constantine's changing the seat of the Empire. Glory and the love of their country no longer animated the breasts of Romans: their courage lost its vigour: the Arts sunk into decay; and nothing was heard in the place, which had been the residence of the Scipios and Cæsars, but disputes and endless contentions betwixt the Bishops and secular Judges. After Justinian's time it was governed by a Viceroy, under the title of Exarch, who no longer regarded it as the capital of Italy; but living at Ravenna, from thence sent his orders to the Romans. The Bishop indeed daily augmented his authority in these times of Barbarism: the power of the Church increased, and the Prefect of Rome was not able to oppose the pretensions of a person that were constantly supported by the sanctity of his profession. In vain did the Church of Ravenna dispute a thousand privileges with that of Rome: the latter was acknowledged by all the Christians of the West as their common Mother: they consulted her, they petitioned her to send them Pastors, and whilst the City was in subjection the Bishop ruled abroad.

In this eighth Century, the Popes first conceived the design of making themselves masters of Rome. and saw that what would have been deemed a revolt and an ineffectual sedition at another time, might now be a Revolution excusable by its necessity, and illustrious by its success. See Voltaire's General History of Europe, Vol. I. P. 33. 34.

peror of Constantinople and the Lombards shewed him great respect. So that the Romans, by the Interest of the Pope, began to confederate themselves with Longinus and the Lombards, not as subjects, but as friends and equals; and the Popes entering into an alliance sometimes with the Lombards, and sometimes with the Greeks, daily became more and more respectable and of greater importance. But the Eastern Empire soon after fell to decay under the reign of Heraclius, in whose time the Sclavi, a people beforementioned, invaded Illyria again; and having made themselves masters of that Country, called it Sclavonia after their own name: the other parts of the Empire were likewise attacked, first by the Persians, afterwards by the Saracens out of Arabia, under the command of Mahomet, and last of all by the Turks, who dismembered it of Syria, Africa, and Egypt. Upon which the Popes seeing the Emperors no longer able to protect them upon occasion, and the power of the Lombards still increasing, thought it high time to look out for new friends and confederates, and for that purpose applied to the Kings of France. So that all the wars, which foreigners afterwards made upon Italy, were chiefly owing to the Popes, and most of the several inundations of Barbarians that poured themselves into it, were, in a great measure occasioned by their incitement and instigation; which practices being continued even to this time, have so long kept, and still keep, Italy weak and divided. However, in relating the events that happened betwixt those times and our own, I shall enlarge no farther upon the ruin of the Empire, but proceed to give an account of the exaltation of the Pontiffs and other Princes that governed Italy till the invasion of Charles VIII. King of France: and shew not only how the Popes became formidable and revered, at first by their Ecclesiastical censures, then by joining temporal arms to those spiritual weapons, and

and lastly by adding * Indulgences to them ; but likewise how, by making an ill use of that terror and reverence, with which they had inspired mankind, they have entirely lost the one, and lie at the discretion and courtesy of the world for the other.

But to resume the method we at first proposed. Gregory III. being advanced to the Papacy, and Aistolphus or Astolphus made King over the Lombards, the latter, contrary to express agreement, seized upon Ravenna and made war upon the Pope. Upon which, Gregory seeing the Emperor of Constantinople so debilitated by the abovementioned losses, despaired of any assistance from that quarter : and not daring to confide in the Lombards, who had already deceived him more than once, he had recourse to Pepin, who, from being Lord of Austria and Brabant, was become King of France, not so much by his own valour, as by that of his grandfather Pepin, and his father Charles Martel. For Charles, being Regent of France, gave the Saracens that memorable overthrow near Tours upon the Loire, wherein above two hundred thousand of them were killed † : upon which his son Pepin, in consider-

* A perpetual tax upon credulity and superstition ; and an inexhaustible source of riches to the Romish Church. The word *Indulgence*, amongst them, signifies a remission of punishment due to Sin, granted by the Church, and supposed to save the Sinner from Purgatory. They found their notion of Indulgences upon the infinite treasure of the merits of Jesus Christ, the Virgin Mary, and all the Saints ; which they suppose the Church has a right to distribute by virtue of the *Communion of Saints*. The Jubilee grants a plenary indulgence for all manner of crimes. Their Casuists say that a plenary indulgence does not always prove effectual, for want of complying with the conditions upon which it was granted.

It has been a common practice with the Popes to grant Indulgences for the extirpation of Hereticks. Thus, Clement XII. in one of his Bulls says, " That we may stir up and encourage the Faithful to exterminate *this ungracious Crew of forlorn wretches* (the Cevennois, then in arms against Lewis XIV.) we freely grant and indulge the full remission of Sins, whatever they may be, relying upon that power of *binding and loosing*, which our Lord conferred on his chief Apostle) to those that shall list themselves in this *Sacred Militia*, if they fall in battle."

† According to Anastasius, Paulus Diaconus, and several other historians, there were three hundred and seventy, or three hundred

ation of the father's bravery and his own great reputation, was afterwards made sovereign of the Kingdom. To him, as we have said, the Pope applied for succour against the Lombards, which he readily promised, but sent him word at the same time, " he was very desirous of first seeing his Holiness in France, that he might pay his duty to him in person." Upon this invitation Gregory set out for France, and passed through the quarters of the Lombards without the least impediment or molestation, though he was then at war with them: so great was their reverence and veneration for Religion at that time.

At his arrival in France, he was received with great honour by that Prince, and after some time sent back with an army into Italy, which laid siege to Pavia, and reduced the Lombards to such distresses, that Aistolphus was obliged to accept of the terms that were granted him by the French, at the intercession of the Pope, who said, " he did not desire the death of his Enemy, but rather that he should be converted and live." In this agreement, Aistolphus promised to restore all the towns he had taken from the Church. But as soon as Pepin's army was returned into France, he refused to perform his engagement, which forced the Pope to make a second application to Pepin, who sent another army

and seventy-five thousand Saracens killed, and but fifteen hundred of the French. But in this they have followed an exaggerated account which was sent to the Pope after the battle, by Eudo Duke of Aquitain, one of the French generals. But Father Labbé, Mezerai, Cordemoy, and the best historians, who fix the date of this battle in the year 732, say plainly, that the Saracen army (which poured itself out of Spain into France at that time under the command of Abderama, governor of Spain for Ischam, Caliph of the Saracens) consisted but of fourscore, or, at the most, a hundred thousand men: that they fought till night without giving way, and were not pursued the next day, when news was brought that they had marched away all night. Now it is impossible that such a prodigious slaughter should have been made in an army that stood its ground, or so many hundred thousand men be put to the sword, except they fled and were pursued, and had no quarter given them. The former account therefore must be looked upon as romantic.

into Italy, overcame the Lombards, took Ravenna, and gave it to the Pope with all the other territories under that Exarchate, and the country of Urbino and la Marca besides; though much against the inclination of the Grecian Emperor. Whilst these things were carrying into execution, Aistolphus died, and Desiderius, a Lombard, who was then Duke of Tuscany, taking up arms to secure the succession of the Kingdom to himself, solicited the assistance of the Pope for that purpose, promising him his friendship in return for the future; which the Pope granted, and he was not opposed by any other competitor. And indeed Desiderius for a while observed his promise with the utmost punctuality, and fairly resigned those territories to the Pope which had been ceded to him by the agreement made with Pepin: nor were there any more Exarchs sent from Constantinople to Ravenna, which was afterwards governed according to the will and discretion of the Pope alone. Not long after, Pepin died, and was succeeded by his son Charles, who, from the greatness of his achievements, was called Charlemagne, or Charles the Great.

About the same time Theodore the first was advanced to the Papal Chair, and quarrelling with Desiderius was besieged by him in Rome; which obliged him to apply for help to Charles, who, passing the Alps, shut up Desiderius and his Sons in Pavia, took them prisoners, sent them to France, and went himself to visit the Pope at Rome, where he declared and adjudged, *that his Holiness, being God's Vicar, was not subject to any human jurisdiction*: in return for which favour, the Pope and the People of Rome unanimously made him Emperor*.

* Machiavel seems to have made a mistake here in the name of the Pope in whose Pontificate this event happened, which was Zachary, and not Theodore the first. Voltaire sets this matter in a clearer light in his General History of Europe, Vol. I. p. 35. "Pope Gregory III. says he, was the first who conceived the design of making use of the arms of France to wrest Italy out of the hands of the Emperors and the Lombards. His successor Zachary acknow-

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So that Rome began to have an emperor of the West again; and though the Popes used to be confirmed by the Emperors before that time, the Emperor now, on the contrary, was obliged to be beholden to the Pope for his Election: by which the Empire began to lose its power and dignity, and the Church to advance itself and extend its authority daily more and more over temporal Princes. The Lombards had been in Italy two hundred and twenty-two years, and now retained nothing of the Barbarians, except their Name: so that Charlemagne, being desirous to new-model Italy in the Pontificate of Leo the third, was content that they should not only still inhabit, but also give name to that part of it where they had been bred, and call it Lombardy. And that the Roman Name might still be respected by them, he ordained that all that part of Italy which lay nearest them and was under the Exarchate of Ravenna, should thenceforth be called Romagna. He likewise made his son Pepin King of Italy, and extended his Jurisdiction as far as Benevento: whilst all the rest of it was suffered to continue under the dominion of the Grecian Emperor, with whom he had entered into a composition.

Jedged Pepin, the usurper of the Crown of France, as lawful Sovereign. It has been pretended that Pepin, who was then only Prime Minister, sent first to ask the Pope, which was the worthier of the two to sit upon the throne, he who took no care at all of the Kingdom, or he who governed it with wisdom, and upheld it by his valour, and that the Pope, who stood in need of Pepin's assistance, determined in favour of the latter. It has never been proved indeed that this farce was really acted: but it is certain that Pope Stephen III. the next successor but one to Zachary, called Pepin to his succour; that he forged a letter from St. Peter, addressed from Heaven to Pepin and his son; that he came into France and gave the royal Unction to Pepin, the first anointed King in Europe, in the Church of St. Dennis. He likewise forbade the French, on pain of Excommunication, ever to chuse a King of any other family. Whilst this Bishop, expelled from Italy and forced to become a supplicant in a foreign country, had the courage to give law to Nations, his Policy prompted him to assume an authority which secured Pepin: and that Prince, in order to enjoy what was not his right without disturbance or molestation, suffered the Pope to usurp prerogatives that did not belong to him.

This Bishop was the first Christian Priest that became a temporal Lord, and that was placed in the rank of Princes.

Dur-

During these transactions, Pascal the first was elected Pope, and the Parochial Clergy of Rome, on account of their being nearest the person of the Pope and ready at hand upon every Election, began to call themselves * Cardinals, (in order to add some Dignity to their power by a splendid title) and assumed so much authority, especially after they had excluded the suffrages of the Laity, that it hardly ever happened that a Pope was elected who was not one of their Body. So that when Pascal died, Eugenius (the second Pontif of that name) Cardinal of Santa Sabina, was chosen by them to succeed him: and Italy being thus fallen into the hands of the French, in some measure changed its face and constitution, by the Popes having taken upon themselves greater authority in temporal affairs, and the French introducing the Titles of Count and Marquis, as Longinus, Exarch of Ravenna, had done that of Duke before. After some others † Osporco, a Roman, succeeded to the Papacy, who being ashamed of so ugly a name, assumed that of Sergius; which first gave rise to the custom of the Popes changing their names, as they now always do at their Election.

In the mean time Charlemagne died, and was succeeded by his son Lewis: but after his death, there arose such discord amongst his Sons, that, in the days of his Grandchildren, the Empire was wrested out of the hands of the French, and the seat of it established in Germany by Ainolphus, the first Emperor of that nation. And indeed the posterity of Charlemagne not only lost the Empire, but their Sovereignty in Italy likewise, by their dissensions: for the Lombards gathering fresh strength, commenced hostilities against the Pope and the Romans, who, not knowing where to have recourse for

* See the original of Cardinals, and the meaning of that word, in the prolegomena to the Life of Pope Sixtus V. Number V. which is too long to be inserted as a Note.

† *Bocca di Porco*; *Os Porci*; *Swine's Face*.

protection, were forced to make Berengarius, then Duke of Friuli, King of Italy. This encouraged the Huns, who at that time were settled in Pannonia, to invade Italy once more: but they were defeated in an engagement with Berengarius, and driven back again into Pannonia, or rather Hungary, which was the name they had given to that province. At that time Romanus was Emperor of Greece, who, having been Admiral of Constantine's fleet, had deprived him of the Empire: and because Puglia and Calabria (which, as we said before, were still left subject to the Empire) had revolted, during these innovations, he was so enraged at their rebellion, that he suffered the Saracens to invade those Provinces; who having subdued them, endeavoured likewise to make themselves masters of Rome. But the Romans (as Berengarius was sufficiently employed in defending himself against the Huns) made Alberic, Duke of Tuscany, their General: by whose valour their city was preserved from the fury of the Saracens, who being obliged to raise the siege, retired from thence and built a fortress upon † Mount Gargano, by which they commanded Puglia and Calabria, and infested all that part of Italy. In this miserable manner was Italy harrassed at that time, by the Huns on that side next the Alps, and the Saracens on the other towards Naples: which troubles continued several years under three of the Berengarii, who successively reigned over it. During which space the Pope and the Church were likewise continually molested and disturbed, being deprived of all succour and protection by the dissensions which reigned amongst the Western Princes, and the weakness of the Eastern. The city of Genoa and all its adjacent territories were also overrun and laid waste by the Saracens: which depopulation gave birth to the greatness of Pisa, by the resort of multitudes thither that had been driven

† Now called Monte St. Angelo.

out of their own country. Such was the condition of Italy in the year 931.

But Otho, Duke of Saxony and son of Henry and Matilda, succeeding to the Imperial crown, and being a man of great reputation and prudence, Agapetus the Pope implored his assistance to deliver his country from the tyranny of the Berengarii. At that time the several States of Italy were governed in this manner. Lombardy was under the jurisdiction of Berengarius the Third and Albert his son. Tuscany and Romania, under the dominion of a governor deputed by the Emperor of the West. Some parts of Puglia and Calabria were subject to the Grecian Emperor, and others to the Saracens. At Rome two Consuls were elected every year out of the Nobility, who governed it, according to ancient custom: to whom a Prefect was joined to administer justice to the people. They had likewise a *Council of Twelve*, which annually appointed Governors over all the towns in their jurisdiction. The Pope had more or less authority in that city and the rest of Italy, according as he had more or less interest with the Emperors, or other Princes that had the greatest power there. Otho therefore marched into Italy and drove the Berengarii out of a Kingdom which they had possessed fifty-five years; and re-established the Pope in his former dignity. This Prince had a son and a grandson both of his own name, who in their turns succeeded to the Empire: and in the time of Otho the Third, Pope Gregory the Fifth was driven out of the City by the Romans. Upon which, Otho returned into Italy to reinstate him his Chair: and the Pope, to revenge himself upon the Romans, took the power of creating Emperors from them, and vested it in six Princes of Germany, three of whom were the Bishops of Munster, Treves, and Cologne; the other three were temporal Princes, namely, the Duke of Brandenburg, the Prince Palatine of the Rhine, and the Duke of Saxony, who were

were afterwards styled *Electors*, and their States, *Electories*. This happened in the year 1002.

After the death of Otho the Third, Henry Duke of Bavaria, was chosen Emperor by these Electors, but not crowned till twelve years after, by Stephen the Eighth. Henry and Simeonda his wife were eminent for their piety, as appears from the many Churches that were built and endowed by them; amongst which is that of St. Miniato, near Florence. Henry died in the year 1024, and was succeeded by Conrade of Suabia; and Conrade by Henry the Second, who came to Rome, and finding a schism in the Church, as there were then three different Popes set up at the same time, he deposed them all, and caused Clement the Second to be elected, by whom he was afterwards crowned Emperor.

The states of Italy were then governed some by the People, some by Princes, and others by the Ministers of the Emperors, one of whom had the title of Chancellor, and presided over all the rest. The most considerable and powerful of all the princes was Godfrey, husband to the Countess Matilda, who was daughter of Beatrice, sister to Henry the Second. She and her Husband were in possession of Lucca, Reggio, Mantua, and all that territory which is now called the *Patrimony of the Church*. The Popes at that time were not a little embarrassed and distressed by the ambition of the Romans; for though they had made use of the Papal authority to rid themselves of the Emperors; yet, as soon as the Popes had taken upon them the government of the City, and made such a reform in it as they thought proper, the citizens on a sudden became their enemies, and did them more and greater injuries than any Prince in Christendom: and at a time when the Pontiffs made all the Western part of the world tremble at the thunder of their Censures, that people alone had the hardiness to rebel; so that each party at last resolved to leave no endeavours untried to pull down the

the reputation and authority of the other. Accordingly, when Nicholas the Second was promoted to the Papacy, as Gregory V. had taken from the Romans the privilege of chusing their emperors; so *He* deprived them of their right of confirming the election of the Popes by their approbation, and confined it to the Cardinals only. Nor was he contented with this, but having entered into a treaty with the Princes who then governed Puglia and Calabria, for reasons which shall be presently explained, he obliged all the magistrates that were sent by the people of Rome into places under their jurisdiction, to acknowledge the Pope's authority, and some he deprived of their offices. After the death of Nicholas, there was another schism in the Church; for the Clergy of Lombardy would not pay obedience to Alexander the Second, (who had been chosen Pope at Rome) but set up Cadolus of Parma, as Antipope. Upon which, Henry the Emperor, who could not bear to see the Popes so powerful, commanded Alexander to resign the Papacy, and the Cardinals to repair into Germany, to make a fresh election: for which he had the honour of being the first Prince that was made sensible of the weight of spiritual weapons. For the Pope causing a new council to assemble at Rome, deprived him both of his kingdom and empire*: and some

* There resided at that time in Rome, a Monk of the Order of Cluny, lately created Cardinal; a man of a restless, fiery, enterprising disposition, but chiefly remarkable for his furious zeal for the pretensions of the Church, which he sometimes made subservient to his own private interests. Hildebrand was the name of this daring man, afterwards the celebrated Gregory VII. He was born at Soana in Tuscany of obscure parentage, brought up at Rome, admitted a Monk of Cluny, deputed afterwards to negotiate the affairs of his Order at Rome, and then employed by the Popes in all political concerns that required resolution and address. He had the chief management of the Church under Alexander II. which led him to consider the troubles in Germany as a favourable conjuncture for striking a bold stroke there. In fact, he engaged Alexander to excommunicate his sovereign Henry IV. under a pretence of its being reported that Henry sold Benefices in private, and led a scandalous life in the company of lewd women. Upon the demise of Alexander, Hildebrand procured himself to be elected and installed by the people of Rome, without waiting

of

of the Italian States espousing the Pope's party, and some the Emperor's, gave birth to the two famous

for the Emperor's permission: but he soon obtained that, by promising fealty and allegiance. Henry admitted of his excuses, and his Chancellor of Italy repaired to Rome to confirm the election. But he was scarcely settled on the Papal throne, when he pronounced Excommunication against all those that accepted benefices from the hands of Laymen; and against every Layman that conferred them. His design was to deprive all secular Patrons of the right of presentation to Church livings; which indeed was setting the Church at open variance with the Sovereigns of all Christian nations. Henry, amazed at this presumption, called a council at Worms, by the advice of the States, in which he deposed Gregory as a Simoniac and public disturber of the Peace of the Church and Empire: and afterwards sent an envoy to read this decree of the Council to the Pope, and command him to resign and cease to profane the Holy Chair, of which the Emperor was Guardian. Upon this, the Pope declared in a Council of 110 Italian Bishops, "That, by the Authority of God and St. Peter, he deposed Henry from the Imperial throne, and absolved all his subjects from their obedience." The Emperor protested against this Excommunication, and the Pope's usurpation over his crown; alledging the example of Charlemagne, and others, who had the power of confirming the Popes, which several of them, and particularly Gregory himself, had acknowledged to be the Emperor's right. But the German Prelates and Princes, who had engaged Henry in their cause, now deserting him, and threatening to dethrone him, he was forced to pass the Alps in the rigour of the winter, with his Empress, his Son, and one Gentleman only to attend him; and being almost famished with hunger, and starved with cold, this great Emperor, who had been celebrated for so many victories, was obliged to throw himself at the Pope's feet, after he, his Empress, and his son, had waited three days at his gate, in the habit of Penitents, bare-footed, with their heads uncovered, though it was then the middle of January, and without eating a morsel of bread: after which, and agreeing to the Pope's terms, he was absolved. Upon this, the Princes of Italy despising him as a coward, and the Pope as a Tyrant and Simoniac, conspired against them both. The Emperor, therefore, perceiving how much he had abased himself, and disappointed those Princes, who hoped for a Reformation of the Church, through his assistance, at last called them together, and having accused the Pope, as the cause of the ruin of the empire, he demanded their succour against him; by which step he regained their affections, and afterwards kept the Pope in a manner blocked up at home. The German rebels in the mean time, chose Rodolphus, Duke of Suabia, Emperor, and crowned him at Mentz, in the year 1077; upon which, Henry returned into Germany, and defeated the forces of Rodolphus, which so terrified the Pope, that he endeavoured to make an accommodation betwixt them. But the Rebels complaining, that he abandoned them in a cause, wherein he himself had first engaged them, he excommunicated Henry a second time, confirmed the election of Rodolphus, and sent him a crown, with this inscription upon it:

Petra dedit Petro, Petrus diadema Rodolpho.

fac-

factions of Guelfs and Ghibelines, and to those intestine discords which tore their country to pieces, after it was at last delivered from the scourge of Barbarians and foreign inundations.

Henry being thus excommunicated was forced by his own subjects to go to Italy, in the year 1080, where he made his peace with the Pope, by asking pardon upon his bare knees. Not long after, however, there happened another quarrel betwixt him and the Pope, and Henry was again excommunicated: at which he was so exasperated, that he sent his son, whose name also was Henry, with an army to Rome; where, with the assistance of the Romans, who hated the Pope, he besieged him in his castle: but receiving intelligence that Robert Guiscard was marching out of Puglia to the Pontif's relief, he did not wait for his arrival, but returned into Germany. The Romans, however, persisted in their contumacy to such a degree, that Rome was once more sacked by Guiscard, and reduced to that ruinous condition from which it had but lately emerged by the care and pains of so many Pontifs. And as a son of this Robert first founded and modelled the Kingdom of Naples, it may not be foreign to our purpose to give a particular account of his extraction and achievements.

Upon the discords that arose amongst the posterity of Charlemagne, which we have already slightly mentioned, the Normans, another northern people, took the opportunity of invading France, and got possession of that part of it, which from them is still called

Which wretched pun serves to shew the taste of those times, and the intolerable pride of the Roman Pontif.

After this, Henry having at last totally subdued his competitor, called a council at Tyrol, in which he deposed the Pope, and, passing the Alps, took Rome by storm, and besieged him in the castle of St. Angelo, from whence, however, he was delivered by the Duke of Apulia, and died soon after, leaving behind him a memory dear and sacred to the Roman Clergy, who inherited his pride; but detestable to the Emperors, and every good Citizen, who considers the effects of his insatiable ambition. See Voltaire's Gen. Hist. Vol. I. from p. 294 to p. 209. And Histoire d'Allemagne, par Monsieur de Prade.

Normandy*. One division of this people forced its way into Italy, at the time when it was so cruelly harrassed and over-run by the Berengarii, the Saracens, and the Huns; and getting footing in Romagna, during these troubles, they bravely maintained their ground. Tancred, one of the Norman chiefs, had several sons; amongst whom were William, called Ferabar, or Fier-a-bras, and Robert, surnamed Guiscard. After the disturbances in Italy were in some measure composed, and tranquillity restored, William became their prince. But the Saracens being in possession of Sicily, daily infested the coasts of Italy in such a manner, that William was obliged to enter into a confederacy with the Princes of Capua and Salerno, and with Milorcus, a Greek, (who was deputed Governor of Puglia and Calabria by the Grecian Emperor) in order to invade Sicily: and it was agreed, that both the booty and island itself should be equally divided amongst them, in case they should make a conquest of it. The enterprize was attended with success; for they drove the Saracens out of the country, and took possession of it themselves. But Milorcus having caused more forces to be privately transported out of Greece, seized upon the island in the name of the Emperor, and only divided the spoil with the rest: at which, William was not a little disgusted, but thinking it proper to dissemble his resentment till a more convenient opportunity, he departed out of Sicily with the Princes of Capua and Salerno. But as soon as they left him, to return to their respective homes, instead of going back again into Romagna, he made a sudden march with his army into Puglia, surpris'd Melfi, and soon reduced almost all Puglia and Calabria, in spite of the Emperor's forces; which Provinces were governed by his brother Robert, till the time of Nicolas the Second. And as he afterwards had many disputes with his Nephews about the inheritance of those States,

* Before that time called Neustria.

he intreated the Pope to use his authority to compose them; which his Holiness readily complied with, as he was very desirous to make Robert his friend by any means, that so he might support him against the power of the German Emperor, and the petulance of the Romans: and it afterwards happened, as we have just related, that upon the sollicitation of Gregory VII. he drove Henry away from Rome, and chastised the insolence of the Inhabitants.

Robert was succeeded by his two Sons, Roger and William, who not only annexed the city of Naples, and all the Country betwixt it and Rome, to their inheritance, but also subdued Sicily, of which Roger was made Lord. But William going some time afterwards to Constantinople, to marry the Emperor's daughter, Roger took the opportunity of invading his brother's dominions, which he soon made himself master of; and being elated with so great an acquisition, caused himself at first to be called *King of Italy*, but afterwards was contented with the title of *King of Puglia and Sicily*; being the first that gave the Kingdom that name and form of government, which it retains to this day; though it has happened since, that not only the reigning family, but the very people have been often changed. For, upon the failure of the Norman line, the Kingdom was transferred to the Germans; from them to the French; from the French to the Arragonese; and from them to the Flemings, who * still are in possession of it.

* The reader is here desired to remember, that this History was published in the year 1531. Since which time, the Kingdom of Naples has often again changed its Masters; particularly in 1707, when the Spaniards, who then had it, were driven from thence by the Imperialists; and at the Peace of Utrecht in 1713, Naples was confirmed to the Emperor, and Sicily allotted to the Duke of Savoy, with the title of King. The Spaniards invaded Sicily in 1718, but were forced to abandon it again, and then it was conferred on the Emperor Charles VI. who held it till the year 1735, when the Imperialists were driven out of this Island, and all their Italian dominions; and Don Carlos, the King of Spain's eldest Son, by the Princess of Parma, his second Wife, was advanced to the throne of the Two Sicilies, (Naples and Sicily) whither he was convoyed by a Squadron of British Men of War, under the command of Sir John Norris. It was con-

In the mean time, Urban the Second had succeeded to the Pontificate: but as he was a person very disagreeable to the Romans, and did not think himself secure in Italy, on account of the disturbances there, he removed, with all his Clergy, into France, where he first laid the plan of a very noble and generous undertaking. For having assembled a great concourse of People at * Antwerp, he made an eloquent and pathetic harangue against the Infidels, which inspired them with such an ardour, that they resolved upon an expedition into Asia against the Saracens: and this expedition was called a Crusade (as those of the same kind were likewise afterwards) because all that embarked in it bore a red Cross upon their armour and clothes. The chief commanders in this enterprize were Godfrey, Eustach, and Baldwin, Counts of Bouillon, and † Peter the Hermit, a man held in exceeding great veneration, both for his prudence and sanctity of life. Many Princes and Nations contributed to it with their purses, and numbers of private Gentlemen served as volunteers without any pay or stipend: such an influence had Religion at that time over the minds of men, animated by the example of their Commanders! This enterprize was at first very successful; for all Asia Minor, Syria, and part of Egypt, were conquered by the Christians: and during the course of this war, the Order of the *Knights of Jerusalem* was instituted, which still subsists, and being in possession of Rhodes. ‡, is the chief bulwark against the power of the Turks. The Order

firmed to him by a subsequent treaty, and still continues in his family, though the Queen of Hungary likewise claims a right to this Kingdom.

* Machiavel is mistaken in the name of the place; it was at Clermont in Auvergne, where Urban harangued the people in the market-place. See Voltaire's Gen. Hist. Vol. I. p. 263.

† A Pilgrim of Amiens, first known by the name of Coucoupietre, or, Cucupierte. Ibid.

‡ They were driven out of Rhodes by the Turks, in the time of Soliman II. and the Emperor Charles V. gave them the Isle of Malta, when Monsieur de l'Isle-Adam, uncle to Anne de Montmorency, Constable of France, was their Grand Master. And this Island has been their chief place of residence ever since.

of

of the *Knights Templars* was likewise founded in these times ; but their manners grew so dissolute that it was soon abolished. After these things, many events happened, in which several nations and divers particular men distinguished themselves at different times and upon various occasions. The Kings of England and France, the States of Pisa, Venice, and Genoa, were engaged in this expedition, and acquired great reputation, carrying on the war with variety of success, till the time of Saladin the Saracen, whose valour and good fortune, added to the discord that arose amongst the Christian Princes, at last robbed them of the glory they had gained, and drove them out of a country where they had so happily and honourably maintained their footing for the space of ninety years.

After the death of Urban, Pascal the Second was made Pope, and Henry the Fourth succeeded to the Empire ; who, coming to Rome, and pretending great respect for the Pope, found means to shut up both him and all his Clergy in prison : nor could he afterwards be prevailed upon to set him at liberty again, till he had extorted a licence from him to dispose of all the Churches in Germany as he pleased*.

* After the death of the Emperor Henry IV. his son Henry V. being desirous to be crowned by the hands of the Pope, according to the usual manner, Pascal refused to put the crown upon his head, except he would renounce his right to the investitures of Benefices. But the young Prince disdaining such a proposal, caused the Pope and his Clergy, and all the principal persons of the city of Rome to be seized, and kept them in prison two months ; at the end of which, the Pope made his submission and crowned him. It is said, that Pascal, when he gave part of the Host to Henry, which he had consecrated at Mass, spoke to him in this manner : " May it please your Majesty, in confirmation of a solid peace, and our mutual union, I give you the Body of our Lord Jesus Christ, who was born of the Virgin Mary, and died upon the Cross for us, as the Catholick Church believes." But the Cardinals condemning this concession in the Pope, he revoked it in a council. Hoffman says, that having taken one part of the Host, and given the other to the Emperor, he expressed himself thus : " Sicut pars hæc vivifici corporis divisa est, ita divisus sit a regno Christi domini nostri qui pactum hoc violare tentaverit ;" that is, " May he be excluded the Kingdom of Heaven, who goes about to violate this agreement." Sigon. lib. x. But the Emperor was hardly got into Germany, when the Pope raised the Saracens against him, by whom he was defeated, and forced to give up the matter of Investitures. This

About this time, the Countess Matilda died, and left all her possessions to the Church*. After the death of Pascal and Henry IV. many Popes and Emperors succeeded, till the Papacy fell to Alexander III. and the empire to Frederick Barbarossa, a Suabian.

The Popes, in that interval, had had many quarrels, both with the people of Rome and the Emperors, which grew to a still greater height in the time of Barbarossa. Frederick was an excellent soldier, but of so haughty a disposition, that he could not bear the thoughts of submitting to the Pope: yet he came to Rome to be crowned, and after that, returned peaceably into Germany. But this pacific temper did not continue long; for he speedily returned into Italy to reduce some towns in Lombardy that refused to obey him: at which juncture it happened, that the Cardinal of St. Clement, a Roman born, was set up against Alexander, and chosen Pope by some of the Cardinals. Upon which, Alexander complained of him to Frederick the Emperor, who then lay encamped

Pope excommunicated the Bishop of Florence, for saying Antichrist was then born. Platina. Baronius. Hen. Canisius.

* She was Daughter of Boniface, Marquis of Tuscany, and Beatrice, the Daughter of Conrade II. She waged war against the Emperor Henry IV. in behalf of Pope Gregory VII. who had gained such an ascendant over her, that by his persuasion, she made an absolute donation of her territories to the Holy See, reserving to herself only the usufruct during life, though Henry was her next heir, both as a relation and Lord paramount. She often led her armies in person against that Prince, and got great reputation by her courage and conduct. Her enemies accused her of being too familiar with Pope Gregory, who was her spiritual director. He was shut up with her in the fortress of Canosa, near Reggio, in the Apennine Mountains, all the while that Henry IV. with his Empress and Son, were doing penance at his gate, in the abject manner beforementioned. It is true, he was then sixty years old; but Matilda was a young, weak woman. The devout language which we find in his letters to the princess, compared with the extravagance of his ambition, might induce some to suspect, that he made use of Religion as a cloak to all his passions. However that might be, after she had lost Pope Gregory, she married the young Prince of Guelph, son of Guelph, the Duke of Bavaria. Then was seen the imprudence she had been guilty of in making the abovementioned donation: for she was at that time but forty-two years of age, and might still have had children, who must have engaged in a civil war to recover their inheritance. See Lambert, the Abbot of Usberg, as quoted by Baronius, in his Annals; and Voltaire's General History, Vol. I. p. 201, 205.

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before Crema, and received for answer, "that both of them must come personally before him, and when he had heard their respective pretensions, he should be better able to judge which of them was the true Pope." But Alexander being dissatisfied with this answer, and perceiving that the Emperor was inclined to favour the Antipope, immediately excommunicated him and fled for refuge to Philip King of France. Frederick, however, still prosecuting the war in Lombardy, took Milan and dismantled it; which occasioned the Cities of Verona, Padua, and Venice, to enter into a confederacy for their common defence against him.

In the mean time the Antipope died, and Frederick set up Guido of Cremona in his room. The Romans, therefore, taking advantage of the Pope's absence, and seeing the Emperor sufficiently employed in Lombardy, had not only resumed something of their ancient authority in Rome, during this interval, but likewise demanded obedience from other states which had been formerly subject to them. And because the *Tusculans refused to acknowledge their jurisdiction, they marched out in a confused and tumultuous sort of a manner against them: but as the latter were succoured by the Emperor, they defeated the Romans, and slew so many of them, that after that time, Rome was never so rich and populous again as it had been before.

This encouraged Pope Alexander to return to that City, where he thought he might now be safe enough on account of the enmity betwixt Frederick and the Romans, and because he knew his hands were full in Lombardy. But Frederick postponing every other

* Tusculum was a little territory not far from Rome, situated in that part which at present is called la Campagna di Roma. It was famous for Cicero's Villa, which is now in the possession of the Borghese family. It is the seat of a Bishop, who still retains the name of Tusulanus Episcopus. The town of Tusculum was destroyed in the time of Celestine III. because the inhabitants sided with the Imperialists, and Fiescati built upon its ruins about 560 years ago. There are a great number of palaces of pleasure in and about it.

consideration, marched with his army to besiege Rome, wherè Alexander did not think fit to wait for him, but retired into Puglia, of which William was become King by right of inheritance after the death of Roger. Frederick being driven away by the Plague, raised the siege and returned into Germany: and the Lombards who had confederated against him, in order to distress Pavia and Tortona, towns that adhered to the Emperor's party, built another city, which they designed to make their magazine, or place of arms, during that war, and called it Alexandria, in honour of the Pope and defiance of the Emperor. In the mean time, Guido the Antipope died, and John of Fermo was set up in his room, who, by the favour of the Imperial party, was suffered to reside at Montefiascone; whilst Alexander was gone to Tusculum at the invitation of that People, who thought his authority would protect them against the Romans. During his stay there, Ambassadors came to him from Henry, King of England, to clear their Master of the death of Thomas Becket, Archbishop of Canterbury; of which he had been publickly, but injuriously accused. To inquire into the truth of this matter, the Pope sent two Cardinals to England; who, though there was no sufficient proof of the King's guilt, yet on account of the infamy of the fact, and because his Majesty had not shewn the Archbishop due respect, as they pretended, enjoined him for a Penance, that he should call all the Barons of his Kingdom together, and make oath of his innocence in their presence: that he should immediately send two hundred soldiers to Jerusalem, to be paid by him, for twelve months, and follow them in person thither with as great a force as he could raise, before the expiration of three years: and farther, that he should not only be obliged to abrogate all acts that had been passed in his Kingdom to the prejudice of the Church and Ecclesiastical immunities, but give any of his subjects leave to appeal to Rome upon occasion, whensoever, and as often as they

they had a mind : all which conditions were accepted by Henry, and that great Prince submitted to a sentence which would be scorned and rejected by any private man at this time of day *. Nevertheless, whilst the authority of the Pope was so formidable to foreign Princes, he had not power enough to make himself obeyed at home ; nor could he prevail upon the Romans to let him reside in their City, though he promised them not to concern himself about any thing but what immediately concerned the interests of the Church. From whence it seems, as if authority that supports itself merely by appearances, is more dreaded at a distance, than by those that are upon the spot, and have an opportunity of looking more narrowly into the nature of it.

By this time Frederick had returned into Italy : but whilst he was making preparations to renew the war against the Pope, all his Clergy and Barons threatened to abandon him if he did not reconcile himself to the Church : so that he was forced to go and make his submission to the Pope at Venice, where they were reconciled †. But, by an article of this accommodation, his Holiness obliged the Emperor to give up all the authority that he had at Rome, and insisted upon

* Still more harmless and ridiculous was the penance or curse pronounced upon Sir William Tracey, who was said to be the most active of those that were concerned in this murder. He and all his posterity were sentenced "to have the wind always in their faces, whether they travelled by land or water. A woeful curse indeed, if it had been effectual ! From this scrap of a Legend arose the old foolish proverb,

————— " The Traceys
Have always the wind in their faces."

† The haughty Pope set his foot upon his neck, with this expression : " Super aspidem & basiliscum ambulabo," &c. " I will tread upon the lion and adder, the young lion and the dragon will I trample under my feet." Psal. xci. 13. The Emperor, replying, " That power was given to Peter only ;" he rejoined, " Et mihi & Petro ;" " It was given to me and Peter too." Afterwards in his troubles, Emanuel, Emperor of Constantinople, sent to offer him assistance, provided he would consent to the re-union of the Eastern and Western Empires ; to which the Pope answered, " That he could not consent to unite, what his predecessors had taken so much pains to divide." Baronius endeavours to prove these stories fabulous.

having his ally and confederate, William, King of Sicily and Puglia, included in the agreement. After which, Frederick, who was a warlike Prince and hated an inactive life, embarked in the expedition to Asia, to vent his spirit upon the Turks, when he saw he could not revenge himself upon the Pope. But when he had got as far as the banks of the Cidnus, a river in Cilicia, being tempted by the clearness of its streams, he could not resist the pleasure of bathing in them †, by which he contracted such a disorder, that he died of it. An accident that was of more service to the Mahometans, than all the Pope's excommunications had been to the Christians: for the latter only curbed his ambition, but this entirely extinguished it.

After the death of Frederick, the Pope had nothing to struggle with but the inveterate obstinacy of the Romans: and, after long disputes about the creation of Consuls, it was at last agreed, that, according to ancient custom, they should have the privilege of chusing them, but that they should not enter upon their office till they had sworn obedience to the Church. Upon this agreement, John the Antipope fled to Mont Albano, where he died soon after. In the mean time William, King of Naples, died also: and as he left no sons but Tancred, who was illegitimate, the Pope designed to have seized upon his Kingdom. The Barons, however, would not consent to that, but made Tancred their King. Celestine the Third succeeding to the Papacy, and being desirous to wrest that Kingdom out of the hands of Tancred, endeavoured to get Henry, who was son to Frederick, chosen Emperor, and also promised him the Kingdom of Naples, upon condition that he should re-

† It is worthy of notice, that when Alexander the Great came to this river, he also was so delighted with the clearness of the waters, that he threw himself into it, all covered with sweat and dust as he was: by which he was so benumbed, that it required the utmost skill of his physician to recover him. Qu. Cur. lib. iii. sect. 6. See the story at large there, as it is a very remarkable one.

store such lands as belonged to the Church. And to facilitate the matter, he took Constantia, an old maid (daughter to William the late King) out of a Nunnery, and gave him her to wife: and in this manner the Kingdom of Naples passed from the Normans, who had been the founders of it, to the Germans.

Henry the Emperor, having settled his affairs in Germany came into Italy with his wife Constantia, and a Son about four years old, whose name was Frederick, and without much difficulty took possession of that Kingdom; as Tancred was now dead and had left but one Son, named Roger, who was an infant. Not long after, Henry died in Sicily; and was succeeded in that kingdom by Frederick: and Otho, Duke of Saxony, was chosen Emperor by the influence of Innocent the Second. However, he had no sooner got the Imperial Crown upon his head, but he fell out with the Pope, contrary to the expectation of all men, seized upon Romagna, and was preparing to invade Sicily: upon which, being excommunicated by the Pope, he was deserted by every one, and Frederick King of Naples chosen Emperor in his stead. This Frederick came to Rome to be crowned there; but the Pope being jealous of his power, refused it, and endeavoured to thrust him out of Italy, as he had done Otho: at which, Frederick being much offended, went into Germany, raised an army, made war upon Otho, and at last overcame him.

In the mean time Innocent died, who, besides his other magnificent works, built the Hospital di Santo Spirito at Rome. He was succeeded by Honorius the Third: in whose Pontificate, the Orders of St. Dominick and St. Francis were instituted, about the year 1218. This Pope crowned Frederick, to whom John (descended from Baldwin, King of Jerusalem, who commanded the remainder of the Christians in Asia, and still retained that title) gave one of his daughters in marriage, and the title of that Kingdom in dower with her, which the Kings of Naples have borne ever since. Italy was then circumstanced in this

this manner. The Romans no longer appointed Consuls, but invested sometimes one, sometimes more of the Senators with the same authority. The confederacy still subsisted, into which the following cities of Lombardy had entered against Frederick Barbarossa, namely, Milan, Brescia, and Mantua, with most of those in Romagna, besides Verona, Vicenza, Padua, and Trevisi. The cities that took part with the Emperor, were Cremona, Bergamo, Parma, Reggio, Modena, and Trenta. The other cities and fortresses of Lombardy, Romania, and the Marca Trevigiana, sided sometimes with one party, and sometimes with the other, as it best suited their interest.

In the reign of Otho the Third, one Ezelino came to settle in Italy. This man's grandson, whose name was likewise Ezelino, becoming very rich and powerful, joined the party of Frederick, in opposition to the Pope: and it was by his instigation and assistance, that Frederick invaded Italy, took Verona and Mantua, dismantled Vicenza, seized upon Padua, defeated the army of the Confederates, and advanced towards Tuscany; during which time Ezelino made himself master of la Marca Trevigiana. But they could not take Ferrara, as it was defended by Azzone de Este, and some forces which the Pope had in Lombardy: in recompence for which service, as soon as the siege was raised, his Holiness gave that City in fee to the said Azzone, from whom those are descended that are Lords of it at this day*. After this, Frederick took up his head-quarters at Pisa, being desirous to make himself master of Tuscany: and by the distinction which he made betwixt his friends and those that opposed him, he raised such discords and animosities amongst them as afterwards

* This fief returned to the Church in the time of Henry IV. King of France, who restored it to Clement VIII. upon the death of Alphonso II. Duke of Ferrara, in 1598, without heirs male; though it was claimed by the Duke of Modena, a territory that was erected into a Dukedom by the Emperor Frederick III. 1452, in favour of Borso d'Este, whose family have been in possession of it ever since.

proved

proved the ruin of all Italy : for the two factions of Guelphs and Ghibelines increased every day, the former siding with the Church, the other with the Emperor, and were first called by those names at the City of Pistoia. When Frederick left Pisa, he made such terrible havock and devastation in the territories of the Church, that the Pope, having no other remedy, proclaimed a Crusade against him, as his predecessors had done against the Saracens : and Frederick, for fear of being left destitute, and suddenly deserted by his own forces, as Barbarossa and other former Emperors had been upon the like emergencies, took a large body of Saracens into his pay, and to attach them more firmly to him, and strengthen his opposition to the Pope in Italy, by troops that despised his maledictions, he gave them Nocera, that so when they saw they had a place of their own whither they could retreat upon occasion, they might serve him with more confidence and security.

Innocent the fourth was now made Pope ; who being afraid of Frederick, retired to Genoa, and from thence into France, where he assembled a Council at Lyons, at which Frederick designed to have been present himself, if he had not been prevented by a rebellion that broke out in Parma : and, not succeeding in his attempts to suppress it, he marched away into Tuscany, and from thence transported himself into Sicily, where he died not long after, leaving his own son Conrade in Suabia, and Manfred his natural son in Puglia, whom he had before made Duke of Benevento. But Conrade coming to take possession of the Kingdom, was seized with an illness at Naples and died there, leaving only one son behind him in Germany, whose name was Conradine. Manfred therefore in the first place, took the government of the Kingdom upon him, as guardian to Conradine, during his minority ; and afterwards giving out that the young Prince was dead, made himself King, and forced the Pope and the Neapolitans, who opposed it, to acknowledge him.

During

During these disturbances in that Kingdom, there likewise arose great commotions and dissensions in Lombardy, betwixt the Guelphs and the Ghibelines there. The Guelphs were headed by a Legate from the Pope; and the Ghibelines by Ezelino, who had got possession of almost all that part of Lombardy, which lies on the other side of the Po. And as the City of Padua had revolted whilst he was engaged in this war, he caused twelve thousand of the Paduans to be put to death, but died himself before the war was ended, in the thirtieth year of his age: after which, all the territories that had been in his hands recovered their liberty*. Manfred King of Naples, however, continued at enmity with the Church, as his predecessors had done, and kept Urban the fourth, who then filled the Pontifical chair, in such continual alarm, that he was obliged to set up another Crusade, and to retire to Perugia, till he could assemble his forces. But finding that few came in and very slowly, and that more powerful supplies were necessary to reduce him to reason, he applied to Lewis † King of France, for assistance, (whose brother, Charles of Anjou, he made King of Naples and Sicily) and exhorted him to come into Italy to take possession of that Kingdom. But the Pope died before the arrival of that Prince at Rome, and was succeeded by Clement the fourth; in whose time Charles came to Ostia with thirty gallies, having appointed the rest of his forces to march thither by land. During the stay that he made at Rome, the Romans, out of compliment, conferred the senatorial

* Paulus Jovius says, in his Elogies, he was one of the most barbarous Tyrants that ever lived, killing man, woman, or child, upon the least offence, and sometimes without any at all. The punishments and tortures he invented, were such as had never been heard of before. After he had exercised every kind of cruelty upon mankind, for the space of forty years, he was wounded and taken prisoner by the confederated Princes of Lombardy, in attempting to make himself master of Milan: and being carried to Soncino, he died mad there in 1269; so that he must have lived much longer than Machiavel says he did.

† Lewis IX. commonly called St. Lewis.

Dignity upon him, and the Pope confirmed him in his Kingdom, on condition that he should yearly pay the sum of fifty thousand florins to the Church: but at the same time published a Decree that neither Charles, nor any other that should succeed him in that Kingdom, should be capable of being Emperor. After which, Charles advanced against Manfred, whom he routed and killed near Benevento, and took possession of the Kingdom of Naples and Sicily. But Conradine, to whom that Kingdom of right belonged, by his father's will, having raised a good body of forces in Germany, marched into Italy against Charles, by whom he was engaged at Tagliacozzo, and not only defeated, but taken, and afterwards killed, as he was endeavouring to make his escape in disguise.

After this, Italy continued in peace till the Pontificate of Adrian the Fifth, who not being able to bear that Charles should continue at Rome, and rule every thing there, as he did, by virtue of his Senatorship, removed to Viterbo, and solicited Rodolphus the Emperor to march into Italy against him. In this manner, the Popes, sometimes in defence of Religion, sometimes to gratify their own private interest and ambition, were continually calling foreign Princes into Italy, to foment new wars: and no sooner had they exalted one of them, but they immediately repented of what they had done, and endeavoured to pull him down again: nor would they suffer that province, which yet they were not able to subdue themselves, to be quietly enjoyed by any body else. So that the Princes of it were in continual dread of them, especially as the Popes always got the better of them, either by force or fraud, if they were not out-schemed, as Boniface the eighth, and some others of them, were by the Emperors, under the mask of friendship.

Rodolphus being detained by a war, that he was engaged in with the King of Bohemia, was not at leisure to come into Italy, till after the death of Adrian, whose successor in the Papacy was Nicholas III. of the

the family of Urfini, a bold and ambitious man, and determined at all events to humble the power of Charles: for which purpose, he contrived, that Rodolphus the Emperor should complain of Charles for keeping a governor in Tuscany, who sided with, and supported the faction of, the Guelphs in that province, where they had been re-established by him after the death of Manfred. To oblige the Emperor therefore, Charles recalled that governor, and the Pope sent one of his Nephews, who was a Cardinal, to take possession of it for the Emperor: in return for which favour, the Emperor restored Romagna to the Church, which had been taken from it by his Predecessors; and the Pope made Bertoldo Urfini, Duke of Romagna. And now thinking himself strong enough to cope with Charles, he degraded him from his Senatorial dignity, and made a Decree, that for the future, no person of royal extraction should ever be a Senator of Rome. He likewise formed a secret design, in concert with Peter, King of Arragon, to deprive Charles of Sicily; which afterwards took effect in the time of his successor. He farther intended to have made two Kings, of his own family; one of Lombardy, the other of Tuscany; by whose power and assistance the Church might prevent any more Germans from coming into Italy, and defend itself against the French that were already settled in the Kingdom of Naples. But he died before these ends could be accomplished, and was the first Pope that openly avowed his ambition, and shewed that under a pretence of advancing the interests of the Church, he only designed to aggrandize his own family. And though no mention is made of the Pope's Nephews, or other relations before this time, yet succeeding history is full of them, and we must consider them henceforth as their sons: for as the Pontifs formerly endeavoured to leave them Princes, they would now leave them Popes, if they could, and make the Papacy hereditary. But the principalities which they have hitherto erected, have been of short duration: for

for as the Popes are commonly old men before their exaltation, and seldom live long after it, the states which they found have not sufficient time to establish themselves, and therefore are blown down by the first gust of wind, for want of strength and authority to support them.

This Pope was succeeded by Martin the Fourth, who being a Frenchman born, favoured the party of Charles in such a manner, that Charles sent an army to his assistance in Romagna, which had rebelled: but as he lay encamped before Forli, Guido Bonatti, an astrologer, who was then in the town, advised the Garrison to make a sally at a particular hour appointed by him, which succeeded so well, that all the French forces were either taken or killed. About this time, the designs that had been formed by Pope Nicholas, and Peter King of Arragon, were put in execution: in consequence of which, the Sicilians *

* Most writers agree, that Nicholas III. died of an apoplexy at Sutri, two years before this event happened. Platina, Du Chesne, Bzovius, who continued the Annals of Baronius down to his own time. Raynald. in Annal. Ludovic. Jacob. Bibliothec. Pontific. Voltaire says in his General History of Europe, Vol. I. p. 313. " It is the general opinion, that a Sicilian Gentleman, whose name was John of Procida, disguised in the habit of a Franciscan Friar, laid that famous conspiracy, by which every Frenchman in the island was to be massacred at the same hour in the evening of Easter Sunday 1282, upon ringing the bell for Vespers. It is certain, that this John of Procida had prepared the minds of the people in Sicily for a revolution; that he had been negotiating at Constantinople, and in the kingdom of Arragon; and that Peter, King of Arragon, Manfred's son in law, had entered into an alliance with the Grecian Emperor against Charles of Anjou: but it is not at all probable that the Sicilian Vespers (as that Massacre was afterwards called) was a premeditated conspiracy. If there had been any plot formed, it must have been put in execution chiefly in the kingdom of Naples; and yet not one Frenchman was killed there. Malaspina relates, that a Frenchman, whose Name was Droguet, was attempting to ravish a woman at Palermo, at the very time when the people were going to Vespers; the woman cried out; the people flocked to her assistance, and killed the Frenchman. The first emotion of private revenge awakened the general hatred, and the Sicilians, excited by John of Procida, cried out to extirpate the enemy: upon which, they put every Frenchman they found in Palermo to the sword. The fury, which possessed the breast of every native, produced the same effect throughout the whole Island. It is said, they ripped open the bellies of pregnant women, and plucked out the fetus as yet unformed; and that the very re-

massacred all the French in that Island, and Peter made himself master of it, under a pretence that it belonged to him, in right of his wife Constantia, as daughter of Manfred. Soon after, Charles died whilst he was carrying on a new war for the recovery of it, leaving his son Charles the Second, in Sicily, where he had been taken prisoner during the course of that war, but was set at liberty upon his parole, that he would return to his confinement there at the expiration of three years, if he did not, before that time, prevail upon the Pope to confirm the Kingdom of Sicily to the House of Arragon. Rodolphus the Emperor, instead of coming into Italy himself, to retrieve the reputation of the Imperial arms, sent a commissary thither, with full power to emancipate such cities as would buy their freedom: upon which many cities ransomed themselves, and changed their laws and form of government, when they had regained their liberty.

After this, Adolphus, Duke of Saxony, succeeded to the Empire, and Pietro del Murone (who assumed the name of Celestine) to the Papacy: but as he had been a Hermit, and was wholly given up to devotion, he abdicated the Pontificate at the end of six months, and Boniface VIII. was elected in his room. But Heaven ordaining that Italy should one day be delivered from the yoke, both of the French and the Germans, and left entirely in the hands of her own sons, graciously raised up the Colonna and Ursini, two great and very powerful families in Rome, to bridle the Popes, and keep them within

ligious themselves murdered their female penitents of the French nation. It is likewise affirmed, that only one Gentleman, a Provençal, whose name was Des Porcellets, escaped the general slaughter. And yet it is very certain, that the governor of Messina, with all his garrison, withdrew from the Island into the kingdom of Naples."

It would be no unpleasant amusement to compare those parts of Voltaire's General History that relate to the affairs of Italy, with this first book of the History of Florence, which is only to be considered as a summary account. He illuminates those dark times, which are the subject of it, with many striking remarks and observations, in his usual manner.

due

due bounds by their authority and near neighbourhood, and to prevent them, when freed from the terror of foreign enemies, from establishing themselves in the power they usurped. Boniface, therefore, who was soon sensible of this thorn in his side, applied himself with great zeal and diligence to suppress the Colonna, first excommunicating, and then proclaiming a Crusade against them, which indeed did them some injury, but was much more prejudicial to the Church: for those swords which had been drawn to maintain and defend the christian faith, and had done great and honourable service, soon lost their edge and became useless, when they were turned against Christians, only to satiate private interest and ambition: so that by degrees, the Popes were left weak and defenceless. Two of the Colonna, who were Cardinals, he degraded: and Sciarra, the head of that family, flying from his fury in disguise, was taken by Catalan Corsairs, and forced to row in their Gallies like a common slave; but being known at Marseilles, he was ransomed and sent away to Philip, King of France, whom Boniface had excommunicated and deprived of his Kingdom. Upon this, Philip considering that in all open wars with the Popes, he had constantly been a loser, and often in great danger of being utterly ruined, now resolved to proceed in another manner, and to have recourse to stratagem. In consequence of which, he pretended to submit, and entered into a treaty of reconciliation with the Pope: but whilst it was carrying on, he privately sent Sciarra into Italy, who arriving at Anagni (where the Pope then resided) gathered his friends together in the night, seized upon his Holiness's person, and made him prisoner. And though he was set at liberty again by the people of that town, yet such was his rage and indignation at this disgrace, that he died distracted soon after. This Boniface instituted the first Jubilee in the year 1300, and made a Decree that it should be celebrated every hundred years*.

* It is said of Boniface VIII. that he entered the Pontificate like a Fox, reigned like a Lion, and died like a Dog, as Celestine V. his pre-

In these times, the discords between the Guelph and Ghibeline factions produced great troubles in Italy; which being abandoned by the Emperors, many States recovered their liberties, whilst others, on the contrary, were seized upon, and usurped by different masters. Pope Benedict XI. restored the

decessor, had prophesied. He persuaded Celestine, that he would certainly be damned if he did not resign the Papacy to some person more capable of governing the church than himself. Upon which Celestine abdicated, and Benedict Caietano (as this Pontif was before called) having got himself elected Pope, immediately sent Celestine to prison, where he died. Platina says, that besides his own persuasions, he bribed a person to speak thus to him through a hole in the wall of his Oratory, by means of a hollow cane, "Celestine, Celestine, dimitte Papatum, si vis salvus fieri: negotium supra vires est," i. e. "Celestine, Celestine, resign the Papacy, if thou hast any regard for thy salvation; the burden is too heavy for thee:" which the simple good man, taking it for a voice from Heaven, immediately obeyed and abdicated.

He provoked Philip the Fair, of France, to such a degree, by his haughty and insolent behaviour, that he resolved to compel him by force to appear before a council which he designed to assemble at Lyons; and for that purpose, sent Sciarra Colonna into Italy, with William Nogaret his confidant, and one of his generals; who having treated with the Ghibelines, entered Anagni, where he then was, and took him. Hoffman says, that in a synod and parliament, called by Philip, he was accused of Simony, Murder, Usury, Atheism, Adultery, and underhand treaties with the Saracens. When he was taken by Nogaret, the French general, who threatened to carry him to Lyons, where he should be degraded by the council: he said, "he was not to be frightened at the threats of a Paterin." Upon which, the said general struck him on the face with his gauntlet, and taking him by the neck, forced him to Rome, where he died soon after, frantick, and gnawing his flesh off his hands with his teeth. Spanheim adds, that when his Bull arrived in France, in which he asserted, that he was supreme Lord in all temporal, as well as spiritual concerns, and that Philip held his kingdom of him; the same was publicly burnt by order of the Parliament of Paris, and by the assembly of the States of the Kingdom that same year, who vehemently protested against the Papal usurpations and encroachments in the reservation and collation of Benefices, taxing the Clergy, &c. and that the king wrote thus to him, in answer to his Letter: "Philippus Dei gratia Francorum Rex, Bonifacio se gerenti pro summo Pontifice, salutem modicam seu nullam. Sciat maxima tua Fatuitas, in Temporalibus nos alicui non subesse, Ecclesiarum & Præbendarum Collationem ad nos jure regio pertinere, &c. secus autem credentes fatuos & dementes reputamus." i. e. "Philip, by the Grace of God, King of France, to Boniface, the pretended Pope, little or no greeting. Be it known unto your Foolishness, that we are subject to none in Temporals, and that the Collation to Churches and Prebends belongs to us alone by our royal prerogative; and those who think otherwise, we account fools and madmen, &c." This Pope was a man of learning, and published many works, which are still extant.

House

House of Colonna to their former dignity, and not only absolved King Philip, but gave him his blessing. He was succeeded in the Papal Chair by Clement V. who being a Frenchman, removed his Court into France, in the year 1306*. In the mean time, Charles the Second, King of Naples, was dead, and had left the Kingdom to his son Robert. The Empire also was devolved to Henry of Luxembourg, who came to Rome to be crowned, though the Pope was not there. Upon his arrival, many commotions ensued in Lombardy: for all the banished persons, whether Guelphs or Ghibelines, were returned to their former habitations, and daily conspiring to suppress each other; which filled all that province with tumult and distraction, notwithstanding the emperor used his utmost endeavours to prevent it.

Removing therefore out of Lombardy, by way of Genoa, he came to Pisa, with a design to have driven King Robert out of Tuscany; but not succeeding in that, he went to Rome, where he staid but a few days: for the Ursini, with the assistance of King Robert, forced him to return to Pisa; where, in order to make war with greater security and convenience upon Tuscany, and to wrest the government of it out of Robert's hands, he caused it to be invaded on the other side by Frederick, King of Sicily. But

* At the coronation of this Pontif, in the Church of St. Justus at Lyons, November 14, 1305, where Philip the Fair, Charles of Valois his brother, and several other Princes assisted, a Gallery that was overloaded with spectators, broke down, and killed John II. Duke of Bretagne, Gaillard (the Pope's brother) and many others: the King and his brother likewise were much hurt; the tiara fell from Clement's head; and a jewel of great price was lost out of it; from whence the omen-dealers of those times, formed a sad presage, as it is said, of the misfortunes that befel Italy in his reign by the civil wars, occasioned by his removing the See to Avignon, where it remained seventy years; a period called by the Italians, "the Captivity of Babylon." Possévin. Genebrard.

Just such another presage was formed by some English Seers, when our King Charles the First's standard was blown down at Nottingham, and the head of his cane fell off at his trial.—Sad presages indeed, and sad presagers! yet these circumstances, trivial as they are, have not been thought unworthy of relation by some of our historians of the first rank.

in the midst of these designs, and at a time when he had the greatest hopes of success, he suddenly died, and was succeeded in the empire by Lewis of Bavaria. About this time, John the Twenty-second * was created Pope, in whose Pontificate the Emperor carried on a continual persecution against the Guelphs and the Church: but King Robert and the Florentines interposing in their defence, great wars ensued in Lombardy, under the conduct of the Visconti, against the Guelphs; and under that of Castruccio Castracani, of Lucca, against the Florentines in Tuscany. And as the family of the Visconti were the founders of the Dukedom of Milan, which was afterwards one of the five principal States in Italy, it may not be amiss perhaps to trace their original a little higher.

After the aforementioned confederacy amongst the cities of Lombardy, for their common defence against Frederick Barbarossa, Milan rising again out of its ruins, likewise entered into that league, to take revenge for the injuries it had sustained: which put a stop to the Emperor's career, and for a while supported the Pope's party in Lombardy. In the course of those wars, the family of the Torri grew very pow-

* After the death of Clement V. the See continued vacant above two years: for the Cardinals, assembled at Carpentras, could not agree in the choice of a new Pope. Philip the Long, therefore, Earl of Poitiers, and afterwards King of France, by order of his brother Lewis X. went to Lyons, to get the Chair filled if possible: for which purpose, after he had used all the art and address he was master of, with the Cardinals there, he at last shut them up in a convent of the Jacobines, and protested he would never let them out till they had chosen a Pope. At the end of forty days, they began to be so tired of their confinement, that they agreed to leave the choice to Cardinal James d'Osia, Bishop of Port, who immediately said, "Ego sum Papa;" "then I'll be your Pope;" to the general satisfaction of all the rest. He was a native of Cahors in Querci, and son of Arnaud d'Osia, a poor Shoemaker; but a man well learned for those times, especially in the Civil and Canon Law. It is said, he left twenty-eight millions of Ducats, and seventeen hundred thousand Florins of gold in the treasury of the Church, when he died. He published an Edict in 1322, wherein he declared all those obstinate Hereticks, who affirmed, "that Christ and his Disciples had nothing which they could call their own; and forbid all disputes upon that point in the schools." Naucleus. Du Chesne.

erful,

erful, increasing their reputation more and more every day, whilst the authority of the Emperors was of no great weight in those parts. But Frederick the Second coming into Italy, and the Ghibeline faction being reinforced by the assistance of Ezelino, began to gain ground in all the cities, and particularly at Milan, where the House of Visconti siding with that party, drove the Torri out of that city. . But they did not long continue in that condition; for by an agreement made betwixt the Emperor and the Pope, they were suffered to return thither: And afterwards, when the Pope was removed with his court into France, and Henry of Luxembourg came to Rome to be crowned, he was received into Milan by Maffeo Visconti and Guido della Torre, who at that time were the heads of those two families.

Notwithstanding this, Maffeo secretly designed to avail himself of the Emperor's presence to drive Guido out of the City once more, which he thought would be no difficult matter, as he was an enemy to the Imperial faction: for which purpose he took advantage of the murmurs and complaints of the People against the insolent behaviour of the Germans, privately encouraging and persuading them to take up arms and free themselves from the yoke of those Barbarians. After he had disposed things in a proper manner for the execution of his design, he caused a tumult to be raised by one of his confidants: upon which, the whole town was immediately in an uproar against the Germans. And no sooner was the tumult begun, but Maffeo, with his sons, servants, and partisans were in arms, and ran to the Emperor, assuring him it was raised by the Torri, who, not content to live in a private condition, fomented these insurrections, in order to wrest the city of Milan out of his hands, by which they thought to ingratiate themselves with the Guelphs, and so become Princes of it: exhorting him at the same time, however, to be of good courage, for they and their friends were both able and ready to defend him at all events, provided he

was not wanting to himself. The Emperor believing every thing to be true that Maffeo had insinuated, immediately joined his forces with those of the Visconti, and fell upon the Torri, who were dispersed up and down the city to compose the tumult: and having killed such of them as fell into their hands, they banished the rest and seized upon their estates. So that Maffeo Visconti having by these means made himself, as it were, Prince of Milan, was succeeded in the government of it by Galeazzo and Azzo; and they by Luchino and Giovanni, the latter of whom was afterwards Archbishop of that city. Luchino died first and left two sons, Bernabo and Galeazzo. Galeazzo dying not long after, left one son named Giovanni Galeazzo, commonly called the Count di Virtù, who, after the death of the Archbishop, treacherously murdered his uncle Bernabo, made himself sole Prince, and was the first that took upon him the title of Duke of Milan*. He left two sons, Philip and Giovanni Maria Angelo, the latter of whom was killed by the people of Milan: so that the government fell into the hands of Philip alone, and he dying without male issue, the Dukedom was transferred from the House of the Visconti to that of the Sforza's; the manner and occasion of which shall be more particularly related in its proper place. In the meantime we must resume the thread of our narration.

Lewis the Emperor came into Italy to encourage his party and to receive the Crown: and wanting a handle to extort money from the Milanese, whilst he was there, he pretended he would leave them to en-

* The archbishop was much such another monster as Ezelino, and the Count was very little better; yet he was called a Saint. Philip de Comines says, Mem. l. vii. p. 451. That when he was at Pavia, the Carthusians shewed him his body, at least his bones, deposited in a place near the chancel, and higher than the chief altar in their Convent, to which they went up by a ladder; and one of them calling him Saint, he asked him softly, why he gave him that title, since he could see the arms of several Cities painted round his tomb, that he had either usurped, or had no right to? In answer to which, the Friar whispered in his ear, "in this country we give the title of saint to all from whom we receive any benefit."

joy

joy their former liberties, and actually threw the Visconti into prison. But afterwards, at the mediation of Castruccio Castracani of Lucca, he released them, marched forwards to Rome, and made Pietro della Corvara Antipope, (on purpose to create fresh troubles and disturbances in Italy) by whose authority and the power of the Visconti, he thought he should be strong enough to humble his enemies both in Tuscany and Lombardy. But the death of Castruccio, which happened just at that time, put an end to his hopes, and gave a fatal turn to his affairs. For Pisa and Lucca immediately rebelled upon it, and the Pisans seizing upon the Antipope, sent him prisoner to the Pope in France: so that the Emperor, despairing of his affairs in Italy, soon quitted it and returned into Germany. He was hardly gone before John, King of Bohemia, came into Italy with an army, at the invitation of the Ghibelines of Brescia, and took possession both of that city and Bergamo. The Pope (how well soever he dissembled it) was not displeased at his coming, and therefore his Legate at Bologna, privately favoured him, looking upon him as a proper instrument to prevent the Emperor's return. These proceedings entirely changed the condition and circumstances of Italy: for the Florentines and King Robert, seeing that the Legate privately abetted the attempts of the Ghibeline faction, declared themselves enemies to all such as were favoured by the Legate and the King of Bohemia: and many Princes without regard to either faction, associated themselves with them, amongst whom were the families of Visconti and Scali*, Philip Gonzaga of Mantua, and those of Carrara and Este; for which the Pope excommunicated them all, and the King being terrified at this confederacy, went home again to

* These Scali were Princes of Verona, and the ancestors of Joseph and Julius Cæsar Scaliger, so well known to the world for their great erudition and many admirable works. Joseph had a patent from the French King, in which he is acknowledged the right heir to Julius, and Julius owned as Prince of Verona.

raise

raise more forces. But at his return into Italy with a larger army, he still found the enterprize so difficult that he abandoned it, and marched back into Bohemia, though much to the dissatisfaction of the Legate, leaving garrisons only in Reggio and Modena, and recommending Parma to the care of Marsilio and Pietrio de Rossi, two of the most powerful men in that city. As soon as he was gone, Bologna likewise entered into the league, and the confederates divided the four cities that still adhered to the Church amongst themselves: the Scali had Parma, the Gonzagi Reggio, the Esti Modena, and Lucca fell to the Florentines. But many differences ensued upon this partition, which, for the most part, were afterwards composed by the Venetians.

It may seem strange perhaps to some, that amongst all the other occurrences and revolutions which happened in Italy, I have not made any mention of the Venetians before, although their power and rank place them above any other republic or principality in that country. But to put an end to their wonder, and to shew my reasons for this omission, it is necessary to look a good way back; that so the origin, and foundation of that state may be the more clearly known to every one, and what were the motives that so long restrained them from interfering in the affairs of Italy.

Attila, King of the Huns, having laid siege to Aquileia, the inhabitants after an obstinate defence, being reduced to great distress, and despairing of relief, abandoned the town, and removed with as many of their effects as they could, to some uninhabited rocks at the extremity of the Adriatic. The Paduans also, seeing the fire so near them, and concluding, that after Aquileia was taken, the next visit would be to them, carried away their most valuable goods, together with their wives, children, and old men, to a place called * Rivo Alto upon the same

* That quarter of the city is still called Rialto, where there is one of the finest arches in Europe thrown over the grand Canal.

coast,

coast, leaving the young men, and such as were fit to bear arms, for the defence of the city. The inhabitants of Monfelice and the hills about it, being under the same apprehensions, likewise retired to other little islands in that sea. After Aquileia was taken, and Padua, Monfelice, Vicenza, and Verona, sacked and destroyed by Attila, the remainder of the Paduans and the most considerable of the rest settled in the marshes about Rivo Alto; and all the people round that Province which was anciently called Venetia †, being driven out of their country by the same calamities, joined themselves with them, forced by necessity to change their pleasant and fertile habitations for rough and barren rocks, void of all comfort and convenience. However, as their number was large, and their territories but strait, they soon made them not only habitable but delightful, and framing wholesome laws and ordinances amongst themselves, lived so happily and securely, whilst the rest of Italy was torn to pieces, that in a short time they became very powerful and respectable. For, besides the above mentioned inhabitants, many other people resorted to them from the cities of Lombardy, who were driven away from thence by the inhumanity of Clefi, King of the Lombards: by which they grew so strong, that when Pepin, King of France, at the solicitation of the Pope, undertook to drive the Lombards out of Italy, it was stipulated in the treaty betwixt him and the eastern Emperor, that the Duke of Benevento and the Venetians should not be subject either to one or the other, but suffered by both to enjoy their liberties. Besides, as necessity had fixed their habitation amongst the waters, and they had not lands sufficient to supply them with the conveniences of life, it forced them to have recourse to navigation for subsistence: by which they filled their city with such variety of merchandize from all parts of the world, that other people who had occasion for

† This country was formerly conquered, and so named, by a people who came from Venues, in Bretagne.

it,

it, repaired thither in great numbers to furnish themselves. For many years therefore, they had no thoughts of any further dominion than what might serve to facilitate and extend their commerce: for which purpose, they bought several Ports in Greece and Syria; and the French often making use of their shipping to transport their forces into Asia, gave them the Island of Candia in return. In this manner, by degrees, their name became formidable at sea, and so much respected at land, that in almost all disputes betwixt the neighbouring States, they were called in as arbitrators: as it happened in the differences that arose betwixt the Confederates about the towns that were to be divided amongst them; which being referred to the Venetians, Bergamo and Brescia were awarded to the Visconti. But growing more ambitious after a while, they first seized upon Padua, Vicenza, Trevisi, and then upon Verona, Bergamo, and Brescia, besides many other cities in Romagna and the Kingdom of Naples; by which they became so considerable, that not only the Italian Princes, but those on the other side the mountains grew jealous of their power, and entered into a league against them, which in one day took from them all that they had been many years in acquiring with infinite industry and expence. And though they have lately in our times recovered part of their former dominions; yet as they have not likewise regained their ancient power and reputation, they now lie at the mercy of others: which indeed is the case at present of all the Italian Princes,

The Pontifical chair was filled at this time by Benedict the Twelfth, who looked upon Italy as lost; and being apprehensive that Lewis the Emperor would become absolute master of it, he resolved to make all such his friends there as usurped any territories that formerly were subject to the Empire; imagining that the fear of being dispossessed of them by the Emperor, would make them ready to join him heartily in defending Italy. For this purpose, he pub-

published a Decree to confirm all the usurped titles and estates in Lombardy to those that were then in possession of them: but before this grant had time to operate, he died and was succeeded by Clement the Sixth. The Emperor therefore observing how liberally the Pope had disposed of the States that belonged to the Empire, that he might not be behind hand with him in such sort of generosity, likewise gave away all the States which had been usurped from the Church, to be held of the Empire by the present possessors. By which donation, Galeotto Malatesta and his brothers became Lords of Rimini, Pesaro, and Fano; Gentile da Varano, of Camerino; Guido da Polenta, of Ravenna; Sinibaldo Ordelaffi, of Forli and Cesena; Giovanni Manfredi, of Faenza; Ludovico Alidosi of Imola; and many more, of other places: so that of all the lands belonging to the Church, there were hardly any left without a new master: which reduced the Church to the low condition it was in till the days of Alexander the Sixth, who, in our times, drove the posterity of those intruders out of their possessions, to their utter ruin, and restored it to its former splendor and authority.

At the time of this donation, the Emperor was at Trent, and gave out, that he would come into Italy; which was the occasion of great commotions in Lombardy; where the Visconti made themselves masters of Parma. Not long after, Robert King of Naples died, and left only two grand-daughters, (the children of his son Charles, who died but a little while before) the eldest of which, Giovanna, or Joan, according to his will was to inherit the crown, on condition that she married Andrew his nephew, and son to the King of Hungary, which she did: but they did not live long together, for she put him to death, and married Lewis, Prince of Taranto, who was also her cousin. Upon which, Andrew's brother Lewis, King of Hungary, came into Italy, with an army, to revenge his death, and drove Giovanna and her husband out of their Kingdom.

About

About this time, a very memorable event happened at Rome. One * Niccolo di Lorenzo, Chancellor of the Capitol, turned the Senator's out of the city, and assuming the title of Tribune, made himself head of that Commonwealth, and reduced it to its ancient form of government, with so much reputation and appearance of justice, that not only the neighbouring States, but all Italy, sent Ambassadors to him: and several of the remoter Provinces seeing their old Metropolis exert itself in this manner, began to lift up their heads again, and some out of fear, others out of hope, endeavoured to shew it all manner of respect. But Niccolò, notwithstanding the extraordinary reputation he had acquired, was soon obliged to quit his new office; for as he found himself not equal to so great a weight, he privately retired without any compulsion, to shelter himself under the wings of Charles, King of Bohemia, who, by the Pope's mandate, had been elected Emperor, in opposition to Lewis of Bavaria. That Prince, however, instead of affording him an asylum as he expected, sent him prisoner to Rome, out of complaisance to the Pope, from whom he had received so great favours. Not long after, one Francisco Baroncegli, in imitation of Niccolò,

* His proper name was Niccolò Gabrini di Lorenzo, or Rienzi. There is a circumstantial and very remarkable narrative of this conspiracy, written in French, by the Fathers Brumoy and Cerceau, in 8vo. and published in English about seven or eight years ago: from the preface of which take the following extract: "To be told, that the son of a small Innkeeper and of a Washerwoman, raised himself to sovereign Power, must appear strange: that he did this without any regular gradation, and almost in an instant, must seem still stranger; that he achieved this without any patron, and almost without any assistance, has yet more of the marvellous: that he did it purely by dint of parts, and supported what was called, and in the end became really, tyranny, rather by eloquence than force, rises higher still: but when it is added, that being degraded, delivered up to the power against which he had rebelled, he should, by the bare exertion of the same talents, not only escape punishment, but induce that power to deliver him out of prison, and to replace him in the high station from which he had fallen, seems altogether incredible. The following sheets however, undeniably prove that all this actually happened, and much more: so that in effect, though a true history, it distances in point of wonder, even the boldest fictions in Romance."

possessed himself of the Tribuneship, and once more drove the senators out of the city: so that the Pope, as the readiest way to suppress him, set Niccolò at liberty, and not only sent him to Rome, but reinstated him in his former office: upon which, he resumed the government of the city, and caused Francisco to be put to death. But as the Colonna took offence at his manner of proceeding, he himself, not long after, underwent the same fate, and the Senators were restored to their ancient authority.

In the mean time, the King of Hungary having deposed Queen Giovanna, returned to his own Kingdom. But the Pope, who rather chose to have the Queen for a neighbour, than that King, so contrived matters, that the kingdom was restored to her, upon condition, that her husband Lewis should renounce the title of King, and be content with that of the *Prince of Taranto*. The year 1350 being come, his Holiness resolved that the Jubilee, instead of being held every hundredth year, as had been ordained by Pope Boniface the Eighth, should be celebrated every fiftieth; and having passed a decree for that purpose, the Romans, out of gratitude for so great a Benefaction, consented that he should send four Cardinals to reform their City, and make what Senators he thought fit*. After which he declared Lewis of Ta-

* The Jubilee is a festival year, celebrated with great solemnity by the Romish Church, when the Pope grants a plenary indulgence to all sinners that visit the Churches of St. Peter and St. Paul at Rome. It was first instituted, as has been already said, by Boniface VIII. about the year 1300, in favour of such as should come "ad limina Apostolorum;" and was to return only once in an hundred years, like the *Ludi Sæculares* of the antient Romans; at which time, the people were invited by a Crier, "to come and see a sight that no man living had ever seen, or should see again." The first celebration of it so enriched the city of Rome, that it was called the Golden Year; which induced Clement VI. to reduce the period to fifty years. Urban VI. appointed it to be held every thirty-five years, that being the age of our Saviour when he was crucified; and Sixtus IV. brought it down to every twenty-fifth. Boniface IX. granted the privilege of holding Jubilees to several Princes and Monasteries. The Monks of Canterbury had one every fifty years; when people flocked from all parts, to visit the tomb of Thomas Becket. They are now become more frequent; and the Pope grants them as often as the Church, or

ranto,

ranto, King of Naples again; and Queen Giovanna, in return for that favour, gave Avignon to the Church, which was a part of her patrimony.

By this time, Luchino Visconti being dead, Giovanni, Archbishop of Milan, remained sole Lord of that city; and making several wars upon Tuscany, and the neighbouring States, became very considerable. After his decease, the government devolved to his two nephews, Bernabo and Galeazzo: but Galeazzo dying soon after, left his son Giovanni Galeazzo to share the State with his uncle. Charles, King of Bohemia, was now made Emperor, and Innocent the Sixth, Pope; who, having sent Cardinal Egidius, a

himself, have occasion for them. There is usually one at the inauguration of every new Pontif.

To be entitled to the privileges of the Jubilee, the Bull enjoins fasting, alms, and prayers. It gives a priest full power to absolve in all cases, even in those that are otherwise reserved to the Pope, to commute for vows, &c. in which it differs from a plenary Indulgence. During the time of the Jubilee, all other Indulgences are suspended.

One of our Kings, Edward III. caused his birth-day to be observed in the manner of a Jubilee, when he became fifty years of age, but not before or after. He released all prisoners, pardoned all offences except treason, made good laws, and granted many privileges to the people.

There are particular Jubilees in certain cities, when several of their festivals happen on the same day: at Puy en Velay, for instance, when the feast of the Annunciation happens on Good Friday; and at Lyons, when St. John Baptist's day falls on the Festival of Corpus Christi. In 1644, the Jesuits celebrated a solemn Jubilee at Rome; that being the centenary, or hundredth year, from the institution of their Order; and the same Ceremony was observed in all their Convents throughout the world.

Jubileus or Jubilæus, is used amongst the Romanists to signify a Religious that has been fifty years in a monastery, or an Ecclesiastic, who has been in Orders fifty years. Such veterans are dispensed with in some places, from attending Matins, or a strict observation of any other of their rules. The word is also extended to any man that is an hundred years old, and to a possession of fifty. "Si ager non inveniatur in scriptione, inquiratur de senioribus, quantum temporis fuerit cum altero; & si sub certo Jubilæo manserit sine vituperatione, maneat in æternum"—say the Lawyers.

Petrarch, who was cotemporary with this Pope (Clement VI.) says, he was a very learned man, and makes particular mention of his extraordinary memory, which retained every thing with that exactness, that he had not so much as the power of forgetfulness: and what is still more remarkable, he says, this prodigious memory was acquired by a dangerous fall, the scars of which remained upon his head as long as he lived.

Spa-

Spaniard, into Italy, retrieved the reputation of the Church, by his virtue and good conduct, not only in Rome and Romagna, but all over Italy. He recovered Bologna, which had been usurped by the Archbishop of Milan; and forced the Romans to admit a foreign Senator every year, of the Pope's appointment. He made an honourable accommodation with the Visconti. He routed and took prisoner one John Aguto, or Augut, an Englishman, who was come into Tuscany with four thousand forces of that nation, to the assistance of the Ghibelines. After which, Urban the Fifth succeeded to the Pontificate, resolved to visit Italy and Rome itself, where Charles the Emperor came to meet him: and, after a stay of some months, Charles returned into Bohemia, and the Pope to Avignon.

Gregory the Twelfth * succeeded Urban, and Cardinal Egidius being now dead, Italy relapsed into its former distractions, which were chiefly occasioned by a confederacy against the Visconti. The Pope therefore sent a Legate into Italy with six thousand Bretons, whom he followed in person, and brought back his court with him to Rome, in the year 1376, after it had resided in France for the space of 71 years. When this Pontif died, Urban the Sixth was created Pope; and not long after, ten of the Cardinals complaining of an unfair Election, chose Clement the Seventh at Fondi. In the mean time the Genoese rebelled, after they had lived quietly many years under the government of the Visconti, and there were great wars betwixt them and the Venetians about the Island of Tenedos, in which all Italy by degrees became concerned: and in these wars the use of Cannon was

* Machjavel says Gregory XII. but it is a mistake; as indeed there are many in all the chronological tables of the Popes: some inserting the Antipopes, and others omitting them. There are great disputes also amongst the learned about the time of the choice and decease of several Pontifs. Those that have wrote the best upon this subject, are our two learned Countrymen, Dr. John Pearson, and Mr. Henry Dodwell, in their dissertations upon the Succession of the first Bishops of Rome, and in the *Annales Cypriani*, written by the former.

first * introduced, which had been lately invented by the Germans. The Genoese prevailed at first, and kept Venice blocked up for several months; but the Venetians got the better in the end, and made an honourable peace with them, by the mediation of the Pope.

In the year 1381 there was a schism in the Church (as we have said before) and Queen Giovanna took part with the Antipope. Upon which, Pope Urban set an invasion on foot against her, and sent Carlo Durazzo, a descendant of the royal house of Naples, with an army, into her Kingdom, who soon possessed himself of it, and drove her into France; which so provoked the King of that nation, that he sent Lewis of Anjou into Italy to reinstate the Queen, to force Urban out of Rome, and to set up the Antipope. But Lewis dying before all this could be accomplished, his army dispersed and returned into France; at which the Pontif took courage and went in person to Naples, where he threw nine Cardinals into prison for having sided with France and the Antipope. After this, he was affronted with the King for refusing to make one of his nephews Prince of Capua: but concealing his resentment, he desired he would give him leave to reside at Nocera for a while; which being granted, he presently fortified himself there, and began to concert measures for depriving him of the whole Kingdom. But the King taking the alarm, advanced against Nocera and laid siege to it; from whence the Pope, however, made his escape and got to Genoa, where he put the Cardinals to † death that were his prisoners, and then returning to Rome,

* Larrey makes brass cannon the invention of J. Owen; and says, the first that were known in England, were in 1535. Cannon, however, he owns were known long before; and observes, that there were five pieces in the English army at the battle of Cressy, in 1346, which were the first that had been seen in France. Mezeray also says, that King Edward the Third struck a terror into the French army, by five or six pieces of cannon, as it was the first time they had ever seen such dreadful engines.

† He caused them to be sewed up in bags, and thrown into the sea.

created

created twenty-eight new ones to strengthen his party. Carlo went into Hungary, was proclaimed King there, and died soon after, having left his wife at Naples, and two children whom he had by her, one named Ladislaus, the other Giovanna.

In the mean time, Giovanni Galeazzo Visconti had killed his uncle Bernabo, and seized upon the State of Milan; and not being content with having made himself sole master of all Lombardy, he formed a design upon Tuscany also: but just at a time when he flattered himself with the greatest hopes of succeeding in that enterprize, and of being afterwards crowned King of Italy, he died. Urban the Sixth was succeeded by Boniface the Ninth, Clement the Seventh, the Antipope likewise died at Avignon; and Benedict the Thirteenth was elected in his room.

All this while Italy was full of soldiers of different nations, as English, Germans, and Bretons; some of them, introduced by those Princes, who, upon several occasions, and at various times, had been invited thither, and others sent by the Popes when they resided at Avignon. With these foreign troops the Italian Princes had, for the most part, carried on their wars; till at last Ludovico da Conto, a native of Romagna, trained up a body of Italians, and called them St. George's Bands, whose valour and discipline much diminished the reputation of the foreigners, and retrieved that of their own countrymen in such a manner, that they were afterwards almost constantly employed by the Italian Princes in their wars. The Pope, upon some differences that arose betwixt him and the Romans, removed to Scesi and continued there till the Jubilee that happened in the year 1400: at which time, the Romans, to invite him back again for the benefit of their city, once more consented that he should have the annual nomination of a foreign Senator, and be allowed to fortify the Castle of St. Angelo. Upon this condition he returned; and, to enrich the Church, he ordained that every Benefice, upon a vacancy, should pay the first fruits,

or one years income, into the Ecclesiastical Chamber.

After the death of Giovanni Galeazzo, Duke of Milan, who left two sons, Giovanni-Maria-Angelo, and Philip, that State was divided into many factions: and in the troubles which ensued, the elder of them was killed, and Philip for some time kept prisoner in the castle of Pavia; from whence he at last made his escape by the favour and assistance of the Governor. Amongst others who seized upon cities that formerly belonged to his Father, was Guglielmo della Scala, who being banished had retired to Francisco da Carrara, Lord of Padua, by whose aid he recovered the State of Verona, though he did not long enjoy it; for the same Francisco caused him to be poisoned and assumed the government thereof himself. The people of Vicenza, therefore, who till then had lived quietly and securely under the protection of the Visconti, seeing the Lord of Padua now grown so powerful, put themselves under the wings of the Venetians, who, at their instigation, made war upon him and drove him first out of Verona, and afterwards out of Padua.

About this time died Pope Boniface, and was succeeded by Innocent VII. to whom the people of Rome presented an address for the restitution of their forts and liberties; which being refused, they called in Ladislaus, King of Naples, to their assistance. But as their differences were afterwards accommodated, the Pope returned to Rome, from whence he had retired to Viterbo, for fear of the people; at the latter of which places he created his nephew Ludovico, Count della Marca, and soon after died. Gregory XII. succeeded him, on condition that he should resign the Papacy whenever the Antipope could be prevailed upon to do the same. In consequence of this, at the exhortation of the Cardinals, to try whether it was possible to reunite the Church, Benedict the Antipope came to Porto Venieri, and Gregory to Lucca, where many expedients were

were proposed, but nothing concluded: upon which, the Cardinals on each side deserting them both, Benedict retired into Spain, and Gregory to Rimini. Baldassare Cossa, therefore, Cardinal and Legate of Bologna, encouraged the Cardinals to call a Council at Pisa, where they chose Alexander V. who immediately excommunicated King Ladislaus, disposed of his Kingdom to Lewis of Anjou, and, in confederacy with the Florentines, Genoese, Venetians, and Baldassare Cossa, the Legate, fell upon him and drove him out of Rome. But whilst this war was carrying on with great fury, Alexander died, and Cossa the Legate being made Pope in his stead, assumed the name of John XXIII. and soon removed to Rome from Bologna (where he had been elected), in order to meet Lewis of Anjou, who was come thither with an army of Provençals. After he had joined him, they marched against Ladislaus, engaged, and routed his army; but, through the default of their commanders, they could not pursue their Victory: so that Ladislaus soon rallied his forces and recovered Rome, driving the Pope back to Bologna, and Lewis into Provence. The Pope therefore, contriving new means to reduce the power of Ladislaus, caused Sigismund, King of Hungary, to be elected Emperor, invited him into Italy, and had an interview with him at Mantua, where it was agreed betwixt them that a general council should be assembled for re-uniting the Church; that so it might be the better able to oppose the attempts of its enemies.

There were now three different Popes at the same time, Gregory, Benedict, and John, which kept the Church very low, both in power and reputation. The place appointed for the meeting of the council was Constance, a city in Germany, much against the inclination of Pope John: and though the principal reason, which had induced the Pope to have recourse to a council, was removed by the death of Ladislaus, yet, as he had obliged himself to go to it, he could not well tell how to excuse his absence. However, in

a few months after his arrival at Constance, he was sensible of his error when it was too late, and endeavoured to have got privately away from thence; but being taken, he was imprisoned and forced to resign the Papacy. Gregory, one of the Antipopes, also renounced his pretensions, by an instrument drawn up for that purpose; but Benedict, the other, refused, and was condemned as an heretic. At last, finding himself utterly forsaken by all his Cardinals, he likewise resigned, and the council chose Otho, of the family of Colomni, Pope, who took the name of Martin V. by which the Church was re-united, after a schism that had lasted forty years, and several different Pontiffs had reigned at the same time*.

* Benedict, says Voltaire, who had shewn much courage before, and had fought both by sea and land, was very humble and resigned when his sentence was read to him, in prison at Manheim, where the Emperor kept him close confined three years, and caused him to be treated with such severity as rendered him more an object of compassion, than his crimes had exposed him to the public hatred.

The fathers of the Council did not meet at first in order to depose him; their principal view seemed to be the reformation of the Church. This was chiefly the design of Gerson and the other deputies of the university of Paris. Complaints had been publickly made for the space of two years against the Annats, the Exemptions, the reservations, and the impositions of the Popes upon the clergy, to enrich the court of Rome; in short, against all the vices with which the Church was at that time disfigured. But how did this reformation end? His successor declared, in the first place, that no exemptions should be granted without cognizance of the cause. 2. That the nature of the Benefices which had been united, should be enquired into. 3. That the revenues of vacant Benefices should be disposed of according to law. 4. He made an ineffectual provision against Simony. 5. He ordained that all such as had Benefices should be distinguished by the Tonsure. 6. He forbade the celebrating of Mass in a lay habit. These were the laws made by the most solemn assembly in the universe.—Gerson, with great difficulty, obtained the condemnation even of the following propositions: That there are cases in which the assassinating a person is a virtuous action; far more meritorious in a Knight than a Squire; and still much more so in a Prince than a Knight. This doctrine of assassination had been publickly maintained by a Cordelier, whose name was Jean Petit, upon the murder of his Prince's own brother. The council for a long time, evaded Gerson's petition; but at last, they were obliged to condemn this doctrine of murder, though without mentioning the Cordelier in particular.

John Huss, and Jerome of Prague, were both condemned to the flames by this Council, for maintaining the doctrines of Wicliff, who had taught, that we must not believe any thing that was im-

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Philip Visconti was then (as we have said) confined in the castle of Pavia. But Fantino Cane (who, during the troubles in Lombardy, had made himself master of Vercelli, Alexandria, Novara, and Tortona, and amassed great riches) dying without children, left his wife Beatrice heir to his possessions; enjoining his friends to use their utmost endeavours to get her married to this Philip; by which match he became so powerful that he recovered Milan and all the rest of Lombardy. But forgetting all obligations, as Princes usually do, he accused his wife Beatrice of adultery, and put her to death: and finding himself now very strong and potent, he began to think of making war upon Tuscany, in order to execute the designs that

possible and contradictory to reason: that no accident can subsist without a subject; in a word, that the substance of bread and wine remains in the Eucharist. He wanted likewise to abolish auricular confession, indulgences, and the ecclesiastical hierarchy. It is remarkable, that the former of these two unhappy victims came thither with the Emperor's safe-conduct. And the latter, who was his disciple and friend, and a man of much superior eloquence and understanding, (though at first he had signed a renunciation of his master's doctrine) having heard with what magnanimity he had encountered death, was ashamed to survive him; he therefore made a public retraction, and was burnt. Poggio, the Florentine, Secretary to Pope John XIII. and one of the first restorers of Letters, who was present at his interrogatories and execution, says, he never heard any thing that so nearly approached to the eloquence of the Greeks and Romans, as the speech which Jerome made to his judges. "He spoke, says he, like a Socrates, and walked to the kindled pile with as much cheerfulness as the other drank the cup of hemlock."

Out of their ashes arose a civil war; for the Bohemians, besides other reproaches, upbraided the Emperor with having violated the law of nations. And not long after, when Sigismund aspired to succeed his brother Wenceslaus, in the kingdom of Bohemia, he found that, though he was Emperor of Germany, and King of Hungary, the death of two private men had precluded his accession to the Bohemian throne. Their avengers were 40,000 men, whom the severity of the Council had exasperated to such a degree, that they killed every priest they met. Their General, John, surnamed Ziska, (which signifies blind of one eye) defeated Sigismund in several battles: and having lost his other eye at last in an engagement, he still continued to head his troops, giving directions to his officers, and assisting in their councils. He ordered them to make a drum of his skin after he was dead, which they did; and these very remains of Ziska inspired the Bohemians with such courage, and struck such a terror into the enemy, that it was sixteen years before Sigismund made himself master of Bohemia, and then with great difficulty. Vide Voltaire's Gen. Hist. Vol. I. part. ii. from page 259 to page 373.

had been formed by his father Giovanni Galeazzo. Ladislaus, King of Naples, at his death, besides his Kingdom, had also left his sister Giovanna a formidable army commanded by the best and most experienced Generals in Italy: the chief of whom was Sforza of Contignuola, a person of very great fame for his valour and conduct in those wars. She was no sabbener on the throne, but, to clear herself of the suspicion of being too intimate with one Pandolphello, whom she had brought up and preferred, she married Giacopo della Marcia, a Frenchman, of royal extraction, upon condition that he should content himself with being stiled Prince of Taranto, and leave the title and government of the Kingdom entirely to her*. But as soon as he arrived at Naples, the soldiery acknowledged him as their King; which occasioned great quarrels and contests betwixt him and the Queen, wherein sometimes one, and sometimes the other had the better. At last, however, the Queen established herself in the government, and became a bitter enemy to the Pope. Upon which, Sforza, to distress her and force her into a compliance with his own terms, immediately laid down his commission and refused to serve her any longer. So that being disarmed, as it were, all on a sudden, and having no other remedy, she applied for assistance in this extremity to Alphonso, King of Arragon and Sicily, whom she adopted for her son: and to command her forces, she took into her pay Braccio da Montone, a soldier of no less eminence and reputation than Sforza,

* This Giovanna, or Joan, or Jane II. (Queen of Naples) as she is called by different authors, married James of Bourbon, son of John Count de la Marche, to her second husband; who not being able to bear that she should continue her familiarities with Pandolpho Alopo, a handsome young Neapolitan whom she had made her chamberlain, ordered his head to be cut off, and not only deprived her of all share in the administration, but kept her in a manner locked up, and very seldom admitted her either into his company or bed: all which usage she dissembled with great artifice, till she found means at last to get the upperhand of him and drive him back again into France, where he ended his days in a monastery. Brantome. *Vies des Dames illustres.* p. 384. 388.

and

and hated by the Pope for having seized upon and usurped Perugia, and several other towns that belonged to the Church. After this, a peace was concluded betwixt her and the Pope: but Alphonso suspecting she would serve him as she had done her husband, secretly took measures to make himself master of all her fortresses, in which, however, he was prevented; for as she was a woman of great subtlety and suspected his intentions, she was before-hand with him, and took care to fortify herself strongly in the citadel of Naples. Jealousies increasing in this manner, they at last came to an open rupture; in the course of which, the Queen, by the assistance of Sforza, who had returned into her service, got the better of Alphonso, drove him out of Naples, entirely discarded him, and adopted Lewis of Anjou in his room; which gave rise to new wars betwixt Braccio, who was now of Alphonso's party, and Sforza, who was engaged for the Queen. In the process of those wars, Sforza was unfortunately drowned in passing the river Pescara: by which accident the Queen was once more disarmed in a manner, and would in all likelihood have been driven out of her Kingdom, if she had not been assisted by Philip Visconti, Duke of Milan, who forced Alphonso to return into Arragon. But Braccio not in the least discouraged at his being abandoned by Alphonso, still carried on the war against the Queen, and laid siege to Aquila: upon which, the Pope, looking upon Braccio's greatness as likely to be of prejudice to the Church, took Francisco, son of the late Sforza, into his pay; who marching with an army to the relief of Aquila, engaged Braccio, and not only routed his forces, but killed him. Of Braccio's party there only remained Otho his son, from whom the Pope took Perugia, but left him the government of Montone; but he also was killed not long after in Romagna, in the service of the Florentines: so that of all those who

* The capital of Abruzzo, a Province in the Kingdom of Naples, which borders on the Gulph of Venice.

had fought under the banners of Braccio, Niccolò Piccinino was now in the greatest reputation.

We have thus brought down our narrative in a summary manner, almost to the times we at first proposed; and as the remainder of that period contains nothing considerable, except the war that the Florentines and Venetians were engaged in with Philip, Duke of Milan, which shall be related when we come to speak more particularly of Florence; we shall proceed no farther in it than just to give a short sketch of Italy, as it then stood, with regard to its Princes and military Commanders. Amongst the principal States, Queen Giovanna the Second held the Kingdom of Naples. Some towns of Ancona, the Patrimony of St. Peter, and Romania, were subject to the Church, and some to its Vicars, or others, that had seized upon them; as Ferrara, Modena, and Reggio, to the family of Este; Faenza to the Manfredi; Imola to the Alidosi; Forli to the Ordelaffi: Rimini and Pefaro to the Malatesti; and Camerino to the House of Varano. Lombardy was divided betwixt Duke Philip and the Venetians; all the rest who had had any principality in that angle, being extinct, except the House of Gonzaga, which governed Mantua at that time. The greater part of Tuscany was under the Florentines: Lucca and Siena alone, lived under their own laws; the former governed by the Guinigi, the latter entirely free. The Genoese being sometimes free, sometimes under the dominion of the French, and sometimes of the Visconti, were of little account, and reckoned amongst the lowest and most inconsiderable States in Italy. And even those of higher rank did not attend to the management of their wars themselves, or carry them on with their own proper forces and commanders. Duke Philip confined himself chiefly to his apartment, and living a retired life, left all military affairs to be conducted by Commissaries. The Venetians, after they had began to get footing on the Continent, disregarded their fleet, which had made them so formidable at Sea;

Sea; and, like the rest of the Italian States, gave the command of their land forces to Foreigners. The Pope being a Spiritual Prince, and the Sovereign of Naples a woman, were not so proper to command in person, and therefore were forced to do that by necessity, which others did out of weakness and indiscretion. The Florentines lay under the same necessity; for their nobility being extinguished by continual discords, and their Republic governed by such as were bred up to a mercantile way of life, they were forced to submit to the guidance and conduct of others: so that the armies of all the Italian States, were in the hands either of petty Princes, or of Adventurers, and Soldiers of Fortune, who had no estate or dominions of their own; the former of whom accepted those commands, not out of any laudable ambition or desire of fame, but merely to secure themselves, and to live in greater affluence: and the latter having been bred up to the profession of arms from their youth, and consequently not able to turn their hands to any other employment, followed that way of life in hopes of gaining riches and reputation. The most eminent of these were, Carmignuola, Francisco Sforza, Niccolò Piccinino, (who had been educated under Braccio) Agnolo della Pergola, Lorenzo, and Micheletto Attenduli, Tartaglia, Giaccopaccio, Ceccolino da Perugia, Niccolò da Tolentino, Guido Torello, Antonio del Ponte ad Era, and several others; amongst whom may be reckoned those Lords that have been already mentioned: to whom we may add, the Barons of Rome, the Ursini, the Colonna, and many more Lords and Gentlemen of Naples and Lombardy, who depending altogether upon war for their subsistence, had formed a sort of combination, or private correspondence amongst themselves, and reduced it into a trade, or system, as it were; which was so dexterously managed by them, that when two States were at war, they were both almost sure to be losers at the end of it: by which means the art of war at last became so mean and contemptible, that any

any common Captain, who had had but the least spark of ancient valour, discipline, or experience, would have held those very Gentlemen in the highest derision, who were then so stupidly admired and idolized by all Italy. The exploits of these lazy inactive Princes, and their pitiful Commanders, will be the chief subject of the following History. But before I proceed any farther, I must, according to my promise, in the first place, deduce the Republic of Florence from its original, in order to give the Reader a clear view of its state and condition in those times, and shew by what means that city arrived at it, after the troubles and distractions in which Italy had been involved for the space of a thousand years.

END OF THE FIRST BOOK,

T H E
H I S T O R Y
O F
F L O R E N C E.

B O O K II.

A R G U M E N T.

The utility of Colonies. The original of Florence. Whence it took its name. The first division that happened in the City. The rise of the Guelph and Ghibeline factions. Their re-union, and the form of government established in Florence. The institution of the Anziani, the Captain of the People, and the Podestà. Their forces and generosity in time of war. Manfred, King of Naples, chief Patron of the Ghibelines. The Patriotism of Farinata Uberti. Charles of Anjou called into Italy by the Pope. A reform of the State in Florence. Fresh commotions. The government new modelled by the Guelphs. The twelve Buonhuomini and the Credenza appointed. Gregory X. Pope. Florence under Excommunication. Innocent V. succeeds Gregory. The jealousy of the Popes. Nicholas III. Pope. The Ghibelines return from banishment. Martin, a Frenchman, elected Pope. The Government reformed by the Citizens. The institution of three Priori to govern for two months, and to be chosen indifferently out of the Citizens. The Signiory. Discords betwixt the Nobility and the People. A Gonfaloniere di Giustizia, or Standard-bearer, appointed. The Nobility exhorted to peace.

peace. The same admonitions given to the People. Another reform in Florence in the year 1298. A great quarrel in the family of the Cancellieri; the occasion and consequences of it. They divide into two factions, distinguished by the names of Bianchi and Neri, i. e. Whites and Blacks. Their Chiefs and Partisans. Charles of Valois made Governor of Florence. New troubles occasioned by Corso Donati, fomented by the Medici and Giugni. A great fire in Florence, 1304. Corso Donati condemned as a rebel; his death. Fresh divisions. The tyranny and cruelty of Lando d'Agobbio. The success of Castruccio Castracani. A Council of the Signiory to last forty months. Election of the magistrates by Imborsation. Ramondo da Cardona, general of the Florentine army; his bad conduct, defeat, and death. The Duke of Athens, Deputy-governor of Florence. The Emperor, Lewis of Bavaria, called into Italy. The death of Castruccio and the Duke of Calabria. A new model of Government. The Florentines quiet at home. Their new buildings. Their tranquillity disturbed. A Captain of the guards appointed. Maffeo da Maradi prevents an engagement betwixt the factions in Florence, by his mediation. Lucca sold to the Florentines; and taken from them by the Pisans. The Duke of Athens made Governor of Florence. The speech of one of the Signiory to him. His answer. He is made Sovereign by the people. His violent manner of proceeding. Matteo di Morozzo discovers a plot to him. Three conspiracies on foot against him at the same time. An insurrection in Florence. The Duke is expelled. His character. Another reform. The Nobility turned out of their offices. The bold attempt of Andrea Strozzi. The Nobles endeavour to recover their authority. The people take arms and utterly suppress them.

AMONGST other wise and noble institutions of former Kingdoms and Republics, which are discontinued in our times, it was the custom to build new towns and cities upon every proper opportunity. And

And indeed nothing is more worthy of a great and good Prince, or a well regulated Common-wealth, nor more for the interest and advantage of a Province, than to establish such communities, where men may live together for greater convenience, either of cultivating the earth, or of mutually assisting and defending each other: and this they usually effected, by sending some of their own subjects to inhabit such countries as they had either conquered or found unpeopled. Such settlements were called Colonies, and served not only to beautify and meliorate the face of the country, by building new towns, but to render it more secure to the Conqueror, by filling the void places, and making a proper distribution of the people through every part of it. Thus, living with greater comfort and convenience, the inhabitants multiplied faster, and were more able to invade others, or defend themselves. But this custom being now laid aside, either by the supineness or bad policy of Princes and Republics, some Provinces are become exceeding weak, and others totally ruined. For this Order alone secures a Country and fills it with people. It secures it, because a Colony planted by a Prince in a Country newly conquered, is a sort of a garrison to check and keep the natives in obedience. Besides, without it, no Province could long continue properly inhabited, nor preserve a just distribution of the people: for as all parts of it cannot be equally fertile or healthful, men will naturally abandon the barren places, and are carried off by distempers in those that are unwholesome; so that except some way can be found to invite fresh settlers from the other quarters, to inhabit both the one and the other, that Province must soon be ruined; as the abandoning some places leaves them desolate, and crowding too large numbers into others, exhausts and impoverishes them. And since these inconveniencies are not to be remedied by nature alone, art and industry must be applied: for we see many countries that were at first unhealthful, much altered when they come to be inhabited

habited by a multitude of people, the earth being purified by tillage, and the air by their fires; which, without that assistance, nature only could never have effected. Of this, Venice is a remarkable instance: for though it was built in a fenny and unwholsome situation, the concourse of so many people at one time soon made it healthful. Pisa likewise, on account of the badness of its air, was very thinly inhabited, till the Geonese were driven out of their territories by the Saracens, and flocked thither in such numbers, that it soon became a populous and powerful city. But since the custom of sending out Colonies is now out of fashion, new conquests are not so easily maintained, void places not so soon filled, nor those that are too much crowded so readily disburthened. From whence it comes to pass, that many places in the world, and particularly in Italy, are now become desolate and unpeopled, in comparison of what they were in former ages; the true cause of which failure is, that Princes have now no appetite for true glory, and Commonwealths no longer observe the laudable customs and institutions they anciently used to do.

In former times, I say then, many new Cities were founded, and several that had been built before, much enlarged by Colonies. The city of Florence, to give a particular example, was begun by the inhabitants of Fiesole, and augmented by the people they were continually sending thither. It is certain, if Dante and Giovanni Villani are to be credited, that the Citizens of Fiesole, which is situated upon the top of a hill, marked out a plot of ground upon the plain that lies betwixt the skirts of that hill and the river Arno, for the conveniency of merchants; that so their goods might be conveyed thither with less difficulty, and their markets better frequented. These merchants, I suppose, first built warehouses in that place to stow their goods in, which, in course of time, became a settled habitation. But when the Romans had secured Italy against foreign invasions, by the destruction of Carthage, they began to multiply exceedingly: for
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men will not live any longer in want and distress than they are compelled to it, by absolute necessity: and though the terrors of war may force them for a while to take shelter in desert mountains, and inaccessible places; yet, when the danger is blown over, comfort and convenience allure them back again, and they naturally return to places that are more habitable and commodious. The security, therefore, which was established in Italy, by the reputation of the Roman arms, might possibly be the occasion that this place increased so fast from so small a beginning, that it soon came to be a town, which at first was called Villa Arnina.

After this, there arose civil wars in Rome betwixt Marius and Sylla, then betwixt Cæsar and Pompey, and lastly betwixt the assassins of Cæsar and those that undertook to revenge his death. Sylla was the first, and after him, the three Roman citizens who revenged the death of Cæsar and divided the Empire, that sent colonies to Fiesolè; all, or the greater part of which, settled in a plain not far from the town which was already begun: so that by this addition, the place became so full of buildings and inhabitants, and such provisions were made for a civil government, that it might well be reckoned amongst the cities of Italy. But whence it took the name of Florence is not so clearly known. Some will have it, that it was so called from Florino, one of the chiefs of the colony. Others say, it was not called Florentia, but Fluentia at first, from its being situated so near the stream of the Arno; and to support their assertion they produce the testimony of Pliny, who says †, “The Flumentines are seated upon the banks of the Arno.” But that seems to be an error, because Pliny is there speaking of the situation, not the name, of the Florentines; and the word Flumentini is most probably a corruption of the text, since Frontinus and Tacitus, two writers that were nearly cotemporary with Pliny, call the

† Nat. Hist. l. ili. c. 25.

town Florentia and the people Florentines: and it is certain, that in the time of Tiberius, they were governed by the same laws and authority that the rest of the cities in Italy were then subject to. Of which we see a proof in Tacitus †, who relates, that the Florentines sent deputies to petition the Emperor that he would not suffer their country to be ruined by turning the stream of the river Clanis upon it, as was designed: and it is absurd to suppose that city should have two names at the same time. It is my opinion, therefore, whatever might be the occasion of its original or denomination, that it was always called Florentia. It was founded under the Roman Empire, and began to be mentioned in History in the time of the first Emperors: and when the Empire was overrun by Barbarians, Totila, King of the Ostrogoths, took and demolished Florence. Two hundred years after which, it was rebuilt by Charlemagne, from whose time, till the year 1215, it followed the fortune of those that successively had the rule in Italy; for, during that period, it was governed first by the posterity of Charlemagne, afterwards by the Berengarii, and last of all by the German Emperors, as we have already shewn in our summary of the affairs of Italy.

In those days, the Florentines being under the dominion of foreigners, were not able either to extend their boundaries, or to perform any thing worthy of relation, except, that on St. Romulus's day, in the year 1010, which the Fiesolans observed as a solemn festival, they took and destroyed Fiesole, availing themselves either of the connivance of the Emperors, or the opportunity that was afforded them by the interregnum betwixt the death of one Emperor and the election of another. But afterwards, when the Popes assumed greater authority in Italy, and the power of the German Emperors was upon the wane, all the towns of that province began to govern themselves,

† Annal. lib. i. ad finem.

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and shewed but little regard to their Princes: so that in the year 1040, Italy was in a manner divided betwixt Henry the Third and the Church. Notwithstanding which, the Florentines always submitting to the Conqueror, and aiming at nothing further than their own preservation, kept themselves quiet and undivided till the year 1215. But as it is observed, that the later diseases make their approach, the more dangerous and mortal they commonly are to the human body: so the longer it was before Florence was seized by the paroxysms of faction, the more fatal they proved when it did happen. The cause of its first Division is very well known, as it has been already related by Dante and several other Writers: however, I shall give a short account of it.

The greatest and most powerful families in Florence at that time, were the Buondelmonti and the Uberti; and next to them, the Amadei and Donati. In the family of the Donati there was a very rich widow Lady, who had a daughter of remarkable beauty. This Lady had resolved with herself to marry her daughter to Messer Buondelmonte, a young Cavalier, who was then head of that family; but either out of negligence, or because she thought it was yet in good time, she had not communicated her design to any body: so that before she was aware, young Buondelmonte had engaged himself to a daughter of the House of Amadei, at which the old Lady was exceedingly disappointed and chagrined. But as she entertained some hopes that her daughter's beauty might still have power enough to break the match, seeing him come alone one day towards her house, she went to the door with her daughter to salute him as he passed by, and amongst other compliments told him, "She could not help sincerely rejoicing when she heard he was going to be married, though, indeed, she had till then kept her own daughter single (whom she presented to him) in hopes that she should have been his Bride." The young Gentleman, struck with her extraordinary beauty, and considering that

her family and fortune were not inferior to that of the Lady to whom he was contracted, grew so enamoured of her, that, without reflecting upon the engagement he was under, the baseness he should be guilty of in breaking it, or the consequences that might ensue, he immediately replied, "Madam, since you have reserved her for me, and it is not yet too late, I should be very ungrateful to reject such an offer;" and presently after was married to her. But, as soon as the wedding was made public, it so exasperated the Amadei and Uberti, who were nearly allied to the Donati, that after a consultation amongst themselves and several other relations, it was resolved, that the affront was too grievous to be put up, and could not be sufficiently attoned for, but by the death of young Buondelmonte; and though some desired them to consider the consequences, Moscha Lamberti replied, "those who considered every thing, would never conclude upon any thing," adding the old proverb, *Cosa fatta capa b *, "when a thing is once done, there is an end of it." The fact being thus determined upon, the execution of it was left to the said Moscha, Stiatto Uberti, Lambertuccio Amadei, and Oderigo Fifanti. Accordingly, on the morning of Easter-day, being posted in the houses of the Amadei, betwixt the old Bridge and St. Stephen's, as Messer Buondelmonte was passing the river on horseback, without fear or suspicion, (as if he thought the affront would have been as easily forgotten as the match had been broken) they set upon him at the foot of the Bridge, and killed him, close by a Statue of Mars, which then stood there. This murder divided the whole city, one part of it siding with the Buondelmonti, the other with the Uberti; and as both the families were very powerful in alliances, castles, and adherents, the quarrel continued many years before either of them could entirely get the better of the other: for though their animosities could not be utterly extinguished by a firm and lasting reconciliation, yet they were often palliated and com-

composed for a while by truces and cessation of hostilities; by which manner of proceeding, as new accidents and events happened, they were sometimes quiet, and sometimes at variance. In this state Florence continued till the reign of the Emperor Frederick the Second, who being likewise King of Naples, and desirous to strengthen himself against the Church, and establish his interest more securely in Tuscany, thought it no bad expedient to join the Uberti and their party, who, by his assistance, were enabled to drive the Buondelmonti out of Florence; and thus that city (as all the rest in Italy were before) became divided into the two Factions of * Guelphs and

* Machiavel says, in the first book of this History, that Pistoia was the first place where these names of distinction were used. But other authors say that the words Guelph and Ghibeline derive their original from a schism which disturbed the Church in the year 1130, occasioned by the competition betwixt the two Popes Innocent II. and Anaclete. The greater part of Christendom acknowledged Innocent, who was strenuously supported by the Western Emperor. Anaclete, the Antipope, had the countenance and assistance of Roger, Count of Naples and Sicily, a martial Prince, descended from the Normans, who had conquered that country. The pretence of this double election having kept a war on foot eight years together, in which Roger, for the most part, had the advantage, the Emperor Conrade III. himself marched into Italy, at the head of an army of Germans, leaving his son Prince Henry to follow him. Roger therefore, to oppose him with forces of his own nation, prevailed upon Guelph, Duke of Bavaria, to come to his assistance. During the course of this war, which began in the year 1139, it sometimes happened, that the Emperor's army was commanded by the said Prince Henry, who was brought up at the village of Ghibeline in Germany, the situation of which being exceeding pleasant made him particularly fond of it.— One day, when the armies on each side were drawn up, and ready to engage, the Bavarians, out of compliment to their general, cried out, a Guelph, a Guelph; and the Emperor's troops, on the other hand, shouted a Ghibeline, a Ghibeline. These words seeming barbarous to the Italians that were in Roger's army, they came to Guelph to know the meaning of them, who told them, that the Pope's party were meant by the word Guelph, and the Emperor's, by Ghibeline: from whence those names became so common in both armies, that the Qui vive, or challenge given by Centinels at their posts, was generally, who goes there? a Guelph, or a Ghibeline? and they were appropriated to the Italians, according to their respective sides. At first, indeed, they were used only to distinguish Anaclete's party from the Emperor's: but afterwards, Roger having vanquished Pope Innocent, and taken him prisoner, he obliged him, at the price of his liberty, to erect the countries of Naples and Sicily into Kingdoms: by which treaty, Roger being taken off from the interest of the Anti-

Ghibelins. It may not be amiss, therefore, to relate what families adhered to each party. Those that followed the Guelphs, were the Buondelmonti, Nerli, Rossi, Frescobaldi, Mozzi, Baldi, Pulci, Gherardini, Foraboschi, Bagnesi, Guidalotti, Sacchetti, Manieri, Lucardesi, Chiaramonti, Compiobesi, Cavalcanti, Giandonati, Gianfigliuzzi, Scali, Gualterotti, Impertuni, Bottichi, Tornaquinci, Vecchiotti, Tosinghi, Arrigucci, Agli, Sizzi, Adimari, Visdomini, Donati, Pazzi, Della Bella, Ardinghi, Teobaldi, and Cerchi. Those that took part with the Ghibelins were the Uberti, Mannelli, Ubriachi, Fifanti, Amadei, Infanganti, Malespini, Scolari, Guidi, Galli, Caprardi, Lamberti, Soldanieri, Cipriani, Toschi, Ameri, Palermi, Migliorelli, Pigli, Barucci, Cattani, Agolanti, Brunellelchi, Caponfachi, Elisei, Abbati, Tadaldini, Guiochi, and Galgai, to which noble families on each side, great numbers of the common people joined themselves; so that the whole city in a manner was divided betwixt these two parties.

The Guelphs being thus forced out of the city, retired into that part of the vale which lies higher up the river Arno, where most of their strong places and dependences lay, and defended them as well as they could, against the forces of their enemies. But when Frederick died, those few who stood neuter, having great interest and reputation amongst the people, thought it much better to reunite the city, if possible, than to ruin it by fomenting the Division: for which purpose, they at last prevailed upon the Guelphs to forgive the injuries and disgrace they had suffered, and to return; and upon the Ghibelins, to forget the cause of their former animosities, and to receive them. After they were reunited in this man-

ner, and engaging heartily with the Church, affixed the name of Guelph to the Pope's party, and confirmed that of Ghibeline to the faction of the Emperor.

These two factions were in the height of their emulation two hundred years after, that is to say, about the year 1320, which was very near the time that Castruccio Castracani was in his highest prosperity. Biondo. Sigonius.

ner, they judged it a proper time to take some measures for the recovery of their liberty, and to provide for their common defence, before the new Emperor grew strong enough to prevent it. With this view they divided the city into six parts, and chose twelve citizens, two to govern each ward, with the title of Anziani, but to be changed every year. To prevent any feuds or discontents that might arise from the determination of judiciary matters, they constituted two judges that were not Florentines, (one of whom was stiled, the Captain of the People, and the other the Podestà) to administer justice to the people, in all causes civil and criminal. And since Laws are but of little authority and short duration, where there is not sufficient power to support and enforce them, they raised twenty Bands or Companies in the city, and seventy-six more in the rest of their territories, in which all the youth were enlisted, and obliged to be ready armed under their respective colours, whenever they were required so to be by the Captain of the Anziani. And as their colours were different, so were their weapons; some of them using cross-bows, and others being armed with swords and targets. Their Ensigns or Standard-bearers were changed every year with great formality at Whitsuntide, and fresh officers appointed to command the whole. To add more dignity and respect to their army, and provide a sort of Head-colours to which every one might repair when he was driven out of the battle, to shelter himself, and make head afresh against the enemy, they ordered a large carriage, covered with red trappings, to be drawn along with it, by two oxen, upon which a red and white standard was displayed. And whenever their forces were to be drawn out, this Carriage was brought into the Mercato Nuovo, or New Market, and delivered to the Captains of the people with much ceremony. And for the greater solemnity in their military expeditions, they had a bell called Martinella, which was tolled for a month together without ceasing, before they

took the field, that the enemy might have time to provide for their defence: for such a spirit of generosity then prevailed amongst them, and with so much magnanimity did they behave, that though, now indeed, it is reputed laudable and good policy to attack an Enemy unprepared, it was looked upon in those days as base and treacherous. This Bell was always carried along with their armies when they marched; and by it, their signals for posting and relieving guards and centinels, and other warlike operations were regulated.

By such discipline in their civil and military affairs, the Florentines laid the foundation of their liberty; and it is hardly to be conceived, how much strength and authority they acquired in a very short time: for their city not only became the capital of Tuscany, but was reckoned amongst the principal in Italy; and indeed there is no degree of grandeur to which it might not have attained, if it had not been obstructed by frequent and almost continual discords and divisions. For the space of ten years they lived under this form of government; during which time, they forced the States of Pistoia, Arezzo, and Siena, to enter into a confederacy with them, and in their return with their army from the last city, they took Volterra, demolished several castles, and brought the inhabitants to Florence. In all these expeditions, the Guelphs had the chief direction and command, as they were much more popular and powerful than the Ghibelines, who had behaved themselves so imperiously in the reign of Frederick, when they had the upper hand, that they were become very odious to the people; and because the party of the Church was generally thought to favour their attempts to preserve their liberty, whilst that of the Emperor endeavoured to deprive them of it.

The Ghibelines, in the mean time, finding their authority so dwindled, were not a little discontented, and only waited for a proper opportunity to seize upon the government again. Seeing therefore, that
Man-

Manfred, the Son of Frederick, King of Naples, had established himself in the possession of that Kingdom, and sufficiently reduced the power of the Church, they thought the juncture not unfavourable for the execution of their designs, and entered into a private correspondence with him in hopes of his assistance: but for want of due secrecy in these practices, they were discovered by the Anziani, who thereupon summoned the Uberti to appear before them. But instead of obeying, they took up arms and fortified themselves in their houses: at which the people were so incensed that they likewise ran to arms, and by the help of the Guelphs obliged the whole party of the Ghibelines to quit Florence and transport themselves to Siena. There they sued for aid to Manfred, who granted it, and the Guelphs were defeated upon the banks of the River Arbia, with such slaughter (by the King's forces under the conduct of Farinata degli Uberti) that those who escaped from it, giving up their city for lost, fled directly to Lucca, and left Florence to provide for itself. Manfred had given the command of the auxiliaries which he sent to the Ghibelines, to Count Giordano, a soldier of no small reputation in those times. This Giordano, after his victory, immediately advanced with the Ghibelines to Florence, and not only forced the city to acknowledge Manfred for its sovereign, but deposed the Magistrates, and either entirely abrogated, or altered all laws and customs that might look like remains of their former liberty; which being executed with great rigour and insolence, enflamed the people to such a degree, that if they did not love the Ghibelines before, they now became their inveterate and implacable enemies; which aversion continually increasing, at last proved their utter destruction.

Giordano being obliged to return to Naples upon affairs of great consequence to that Kingdom, left Count Guido Novello, Lord of Casentino, at Florence, as deputy for the King there; who called a Coun-

Council of the Ghibelines at Empoli, in which it was unanimously resolved, that in order to maintain their power in Tuscany, it was necessary to demolish Florence entirely, as the people were such rigid Guelphs there, that it was the only city capable of supporting the declining party of the Church. There was not so much as one citizen or friend that had courage enough to oppose this cruel sentence upon so noble and magnificent a city, except Farinata Uberti, who openly and boldly protested against it, declaring that he had not undergone so much fatigue, nor exposed himself to so many dangers, but to live quietly afterwards at home; nor was he then in a humour to reject what he had so long and earnestly sought for, or to slight the favours which good Fortune at last had granted him: that on the contrary he was determined to exert himself against any one who should go about to prevent it, with as much zeal and vigour as he had done against the Guelphs; and that if either mean jealousy or cowardice should prompt them to endeavour the ruin of their city, they might attempt it if they pleased, but he hoped he should be able to defend it with the same valour that had driven out his former enemies.—Farinata was a man of great courage, an excellent soldier, head of the Ghibeline faction, and in so much esteem with Manfred himself, that his authority alone quashed the effects of that resolution, and put them upon considering of new ways and means to keep themselves in possession of the government.

The Guelphs, in this interval, who had taken refuge in Lucca, being desired to withdraw out of that city by the Lucchese, at the threats of the Count, retired to Bologna; from whence they were invited by their friends at Parma, to join them against the Ghibelines in those parts, and behaved so well there, that after they had conquered them, they had their possessions given them as a reward for their valour. So that having in some measure recovered their strength and reputation, and hearing that Pope Clement had called

called Charles of Anjou into Italy, to depose Manfred if possible, they sent Deputies to his Holiness with a tender of their service, which the Pope not only accepted, but sent them a standard which the Guelphs carried ever after in their wars, and is used by the Florentines at this time.

After this Manfred was not only defeated by Charles, but deprived of his Kingdom and slain * : and as the Guelphs of Florence had no small share in that action, their party grew daily bolder and more vigorous, and that of the Ghibelines still weaker and weaker. Upon which, Count Guido Novello, and those that were left in commission with him to govern Florence, resolved to try if it was possible by lenity and gentler treatment, to recover the affections of the people, whom they found they had exasperated to the last degree by their oppressive and violent manner of proceeding. But those favours, which, if

* This Manfred was a bastard son of the Emperor Frederick II. It is said, he smothered his father in his bed; and afterwards caused Conrade, son of the said Emperor, to be poisoned. Conrade left a son, whose name was Conradine, to whom Manfred made himself guardian. At last he possessed himself of the kingdom of Sicily, which he governed eleven years in constant troubles and divisions. He quarrelled with Pope Innocent IV. carried the war into his dominions, and routed his forces in December 1254, by the help of the Saracens of Lauria. Afterwards he took the country of Fondi from the Church, and was excommunicated by the Popes Urban IV. and Clement IV. the former of which Pontiffs called Charles of Anjou into Italy, and invested him with the Kingdoms of Naples and Sicily, in order to make war upon Manfred, as an enemy to the Church. It is reported, that he made an overture of peace to Charles; to which that Prince returned the following answer: *Ite & renunciate Sultano Lucerino* (so he called Manfred, with whom the Saracens of Lauria or Luceria had joined themselves) *me vel brevi ipsum in infernum detrusurum, vel ipsum me in paradysum collocaturum.* "Go and tell the Sultan of Luceria, that I will very soon either send him to hell, or he shall send me to Heaven." Accordingly they came to an engagement on the plain of Benevento, February 26, 1266; in which Manfred lost his life, and was found covered all over with blood and dirt. He was thrown into a ditch near the Bridge of Benevento, because he was excommunicated, and afterwards, as a modern author says, Pope Clement caused his body to be carried out of the Church-lands. Manfred had given his daughter Constantia in marriage to Peter III. of Arragon, in the year 1262; and upon this match, the Princes of that family founded their pretensions to the kingdom of Naples. Col-lenucio. Hist. Neap.

they

they had been properly applied, and before they were extorted by necessity, might possibly have had a good effect, were now conferred with so bad a grace, that instead of doing them any service, they only contributed to hasten their ruin. To cajole and ingratiate themselves with the people, they thought it would be sufficient if they gave them back some part of those privileges and that authority which they had robbed them of. For which purpose, they chose six and thirty citizens out of the people of Florence, and two gentlemen of higher rank from amongst their friends at Bologna, to whom they gave a commission to reform the State as they pleased. These Delegates, at their first meeting, divided the city into distinct Arts or Trades, over each of which they constituted a Magistrate, who was to administer justice to all that were in his department; and to every art a separate banner was assigned, under which they might assemble in arms whenever the safety of the public required it. At first these Arts or Companies were twelve, seven greater, and five less: but the less being afterwards augmented to fourteen, the whole number amounted to twenty-one, and continue so to be at present.

The reformers proceeding to make other alterations likewise for the common good, Count Guido, who thought himself obliged to make some provision for his soldiers, caused a tax to be laid upon the citizens for that purpose, but met with so much opposition in the matter, that he never durst use any compulsive means to collect it. So that perceiving all would be lost, if he did not take some measures to prevent it, he held a private consultation with the chiefs of the Ghibeline faction, in which it was resolved to take that back again from the people which he had so inconsiderately given them; and if it should be necessary, even by force of arms. Accordingly, when he thought he had made sufficient preparations for the execution of his design, he took an opportunity of raising a tumult whilst the thirty-six reformers were sitting;

sitting; at which they were so frightened that they retired to their houses. But the ensigns of the several arts being immediately displayed, the people repaired to them in arms, and understanding that Count Guido and his party were at St. John's, they made a stand near Trinity Church, and chose Giovanni Soldanieri for their leader. The Count, on the other hand, having notice where they had posted themselves, instantly advanced to attack them; and the people not declining an engagement, they met near a place that is now called la Loggia de' Tornaquinci, where the Count was worsted and most of his party slain. Daunted at this repulse, and apprehensive that the enemy would fall upon him again in the night and murder him, now he had so few forces to trust to, and those beaten and dismayed, he resolved to save himself by flight; and his fears were so violent that, even contrary to the persuasion of the heads of the Ghibeline party, he retired in all haste to Prato, with what men he had left. However, as soon as he found himself in a place of security and had recovered his spirits, he was sensible of his error; and being desirous to retrieve his reputation, he marched back early the next morning to Florence, in hopes of regaining that with honour which he had lost with so much ignominy. But he was disappointed in that design also; for though perhaps it might have been very difficult to drive him out of the city, the people found it no hard matter to keep him out when he was so: so that he was forced to draw off once more with infinite disgrace and chagrin to Casentino, and the Ghibelines retired to other towns that were of their party.

The people having thus got the upper hand, resolved to unite the city again if possible, and by the advice of those that wished well to the commonwealth, to recall all such citizens as had been forced to leave their homes, whether they were Guelfs or Ghibelines. In consequence of which, the Guelfs returned, six years after they had been banished, the late

late attempt of the Ghibelines was pardoned, and they were suffered to come back again. But they still continued very odious both to the Guelphs and the people; the former not being able to forgive the disgrace and hardships of their long exile, nor the latter to forget their insolence and tyranny when they had the government in their hands: so that their ancient animosities were not yet entirely extinguished either on one side or the other.

Whilst the affairs of Florence were in this situation, a rumour was spread, that Conradine, nephew to Manfred, was marching with an army out of Germany to invade the Kingdom of Naples: at which news, the Ghibelines began to conceive fresh hopes of recovering their former authority; and the Guelphs being no less solicitous to secure themselves against the attempts of their enemies, applied to King Charles for assistance, in case Conradine should actually come. This request being granted, his forces immediately began their march: upon which, the Guelphs grew so insolent, and the courage of the Ghibelines was damped to such a degree, that they fled out of the city two days before the arrival of those succours. After the departure of the Ghibelines, the Florentines new modelled their city, and chose twelve principal Magistrates, who were to continue in authority no longer than two months, not under the title of Anziani, but that of Buonhuomini. Next in power under them, they appointed a council of eighty Citizens, which they called the Credenza. After this, an hundred and eighty more were elected out of the people, thirty to serve every two months; who, together with the Credenza, and the twelve Buonhuomini, were called the General Council. Besides which, they instituted another council, consisting of an hundred and twenty members, equally chosen out of the Nobility, Citizens, and Commonalty, which was to confirm whatsoever had been resolved upon by the others, and to act jointly with them in disposing of the public honours and offices

fices of the commonwealth. Having in this manner fortified themselves against the machinations of the Ghibelines, by new laws, and creating magistrates only of the Guelph party, they divided the goods and estates of the Ghibelines into three parts; one of which was confiscated for public uses, another appropriated to the support of their Magistrates and other Officers, and the third distributed amongst the Guelphs, in consideration of the losses they had sustained. The Pope likewise, to secure Tuscany to the Guelph faction, made King Charles Imperial Vicar of that Province.

Whilst the Florentines thus maintained their honour and reputation abroad, by the valour of their arms, and at home by this new form of government, the Pope died, and the vacancy was not filled up till after a contest that lasted two years, at the end of which Gregory X. was chosen, who being in Syria at the time of his election, (where he had resided many years, without concerning himself in the intrigues of faction) and an enemy to discord of all kinds, did not shew the same partiality to the Guelphs that his predecessors had done. And therefore, when he arrived at Florence, in his way to France, thinking it the duty of a good pastor to use his endeavours to re-unite the city, and compose all differences, he prevailed upon the Florentines to receive commissioners from the Ghibelines, to negotiate the terms upon which they should return: but, notwithstanding an accommodation was concluded betwixt the two parties, the Ghibelines were so suspicious, that they would not come back again. The cause of this refusal was laid to the charge of the city, and enraged the Pope to such a degree, that he excommunicated it; under which censure it continued, as long as he lived; but after his death, when Innocent V. was elected, it was taken off. Innocent was succeeded by Nicholas III. of the house of Ursini: and as the Popes were always jealous of any considerable power in Italy (though raised by the favour of the Church)

and

and constantly endeavoured to depress it, great commotions and frequent changes ensued. For the dread of any one that was grown potent, occasioned the exaltation of another that was weaker than him, who growing powerful also by his advancement, became equally formidable, and was sure to be humbled in his turn, if possible. This was the occasion of the Kingdom of Naples being taken from Manfred, and given to Charles. And when Charles was afterwards thought too strong by this acquisition, his ruin was also conspired: for Nicholas III. moved by this consideration, so contrived matters, that Charles was removed from the government of Tuscany by the Emperor, and Latino, the Pope's Legate, sent thither in his room, by a commission from that Prince.

The government of Florence was fallen into great disorder and misrule at this time; for the Guelph nobility were grown so insolent, and stood in so little awe of the magistracy, that though many murders and other acts of violence were daily committed, yet the criminals generally escaped with impunity, through the favour of one or other of the Nobles. To restrain these enormities, the heads of the city thought it no bad expedient to recall those that were banished; which gave the Legate an opportunity of interposing his authority and good offices for the re-union of the city, and the return of the Ghibelines. This being happily effected, instead of twelve governors, they resolved to have fourteen, seven of each party, who should be nominated by the Pope, and remain in office no longer than one year. Under this form of government, the city continued for the space of two years; when Martin, a Frenchman, was created Pope, and restored all the power and authority to King Charles that had been taken from him by Pope Nicholas. Upon which, the rage of faction suddenly blazed out again in Tuscany: for the Florentines rose in arms against the Emperor's deputy, and put the city under a new regulation, to curb the ambition of the Ghibelines, and the insolence of the nobility.

In

In the year 1282, the companies of the Arts and Trades having for some time had magistrates and colours of their own, were become so respectable and powerful, that they got a law passed by their authority, in which it was ordained, that instead of fourteen citizens, three only should govern the commonwealth, and that for no longer than two months; who were to be chosen indifferently out of the nobility or commons, provided they were merchants, or professed any art or occupation: and these were called *Priori*. Afterwards, the chief magistracy was vested in six persons, one for each ward, under which regulation the city continued till the year 1342; when it was divided into Quarters, and the number of the *Priori* reduced to nine, which by some accident or other, during this period, had been sometimes augmented to twelve. This institution, in time, occasioned the ruin of the nobility, who, upon divers provocations, were excluded, and at last entirely suppressed by the people. The nobility, indeed, consented to it, because they were at that time divided amongst themselves: but by endeavouring to supplant each other, and aspiring to the sole government of the commonwealth, they quite lost all share in it. There was likewise a palace set apart for the constant residence of these magistrates, and the meeting of the council; whereas, before, they both used to assemble in some one or other of the churches. Besides which, they had serjeants, and other necessary officers, appointed to attend them there, to create greater reverence and respect in the people. And though at first they had only the title of *Priori*, they were afterwards distinguished by the name of *Signori* or *Signiory*.

The Florentines, after this, continued quiet at home for some time; during which, they made war upon the people of Arezzo, (for having expelled the Guelphs their city) and gained a considerable victory over them at Campaldino. And as the City now began to grow very rich, and full of inhabitants, it was

thought proper to build new walls, and extend the bounds of it, which they did, to its present circumference; for the former diameter reached only from the old Bridge to the church of St. Laurence.

War abroad, and peace at home, had now almost extinguished the two factions of Guelphs and Ghibelines in Florence; and there remained only some sparks of animosity betwixt the nobility and commonalty, which are incident to all Republicks; for one side being naturally jealous of any incroachment upon their liberty and legal rights, and the other ambitious to rule and controul the laws, it is not possible they should ever long agree together.

This humour did not shew itself in the nobility, however, whilst they were over-awed by the Ghibelines; but when the latter were depressed, it began to appear, and the people were daily injured and abused in such a manner, that neither the laws nor the magistracy had authority enough to relieve them; as every nobleman supported himself in his insolence by the number of his friends and relations, both against the power of the Signory, and the Captain of the people. The heads of the Arts therefore, to remedy so great an evil, provided that every Signiory, in the beginning of its office, should appoint a Gonfaloniere di Giustizia, or Standard-bearer of Justice, out of the people, with a thousand men, divided into twenty companies, under him; who were to be always ready with their standard and in arms, whenever they were ordered by the magistracy: and the first that filled this office, was Ubaldo Ruffoli, who drew out his companies, and demolished the houses of the Galleti, because one of that family had killed a fellow citizen in France. The Arts did not meet with much opposition in this establishment, on account of the jealousy and emulation that reigned amongst the nobility, who were not in the least aware that it was levelled at them, till they felt the smart of it; and then indeed, they were not a little awed by it for some time: but in a while they returned to the com-
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mission of their former outrages : for as some of them always found means to insinuate themselves into the Signiory, they had it in their power to prevent the Gonfalonier from executing his office. Besides, as witnesses were always required upon any accusation, the plaintiff could hardly ever find any one that durst give evidence against the nobility : so that in a short time, Florence was involved in its former distractions, and the people again exposed to violence and oppression ; as justice was grown dilatory, and sentence, though passed, seldom or never executed. The people therefore, not knowing what course to take in these circumstances, Giano della Bella, a strenuous Patriot, (though of a very noble family) encouraged the heads of the Arts once more to reform the City : and by his advice, it was enacted, that the Gonfalonier should always reside with the Signiory, and have four thousand armed men under his command. They likewise entirely excluded the Nobility out of that council, and made a Law, that all accessaries or abettors should be liable to the same punishment with those that were principals in any crime ; and further, that common Fame should be sufficient evidence to convict them. By these Laws, which were called, li Ordinamenti della Giustizia, the people gained great weight and authority : but Giano della Bella being looked upon by the Nobility as the author and contriver of them to bridle their power, became very odious, not only to them, but to the richest of the Commonalty *, who began to think his authority too great, as they plainly shewed on the first occasion that offered. For not long after, it happened that one of the Commons was killed in a fray, wherein several of

* It has been a common piece of policy in all Republics, to discountenance and even to depress such as are remarkably eminent for virtues of any kind whatsoever. A brave man is sure to be brow-beaten ; and if a person is a little more hospitable or charitable than his neighbours, he is in danger of the State inquisition, lest his virtues, or even the appearance of them, should make him popular, and enable him to change the form of government. Such is the envy and jealousy that are usually incident to Commonwealths.

the Nobility were engaged, and Corso Donati amongst the rest, to whose charge the murder was laid, as the most active and desperate of them. Upon which, he was taken into custody by the Captain of the people: but whether he was innocent of the fact, or the Captain was afraid of condemning him, or whatever else might be the reason, he was acquitted; which so enraged the people, that they presently took up arms, and ran to the house of Giano della Bella, entreating him to use his endeavours, that the Laws which he had been the author of, might be duly put in execution. Giano was desirous that Donati should be punished, and therefore, instead of exhorting the people to lay down their arms, as many thought he ought to have done, he advised them to complain to the Signiory, and demand justice of them. But the people, who were incensed to the last degree, thinking themselves abused by their Captain, and abandoned by Giano, did not address themselves to the Signiory, as they were directed; but ran furiously to the Captain's palace and plundered it. A manner of proceeding that was exceedingly resented by the whole city, and the blame of it being laid upon Giano, by such as meditated his ruin, some of his enemies, who afterwards happened to be in the Signiory, accused him to the Captain, as an encourager of violence and insurrection. Whilst his cause was depending, the people took arms, and assembled in great numbers before his house, offering to protect him against the Signiory and all his other enemies: but Giano not caring to trust to the favour of the populace, nor to commit his life to the determination of the magistrates, as he feared the malevolence of the one, no less than the fickleness of the other, resolved to secure himself against the jealousy of his enemies, and his country from the rage of his friends, by giving way to envy, and voluntarily banishing himself from a city, which he alone had so generously delivered from the tyranny of the Nobility, at the imminent hazard of his own life and fortune.

After

After his departure, the Nobility, in hopes of recovering their authority which they conceived they had lost by dissensions amongst themselves; agreed to unite, and sent two of their body to entreat the Signiory, (which they thought was in their interest) that they would be pleased, in some measure, to mitigate the asperity of the laws that had been made against them. But as soon as this petition came to be publicly known, the Commons apprehending the Signiory would comply with it, immediately rose in a tumultuous manner: so that ambition on one side, and jealousy on the other, at last occasioned an open rupture betwixt them. The Nobility were drawn up in three bodies, at St. John's, in the New Market, and the Piazza de Mozzi, and were commanded by Forese Adimari, Vanni de Mozzi and Geri Spini: the people likewise assembled under their colours in great numbers before the palace of the Signiory, (which at that time was not far from the Church of St. Procolo) and being suspicious of the Signiory, they appointed six other citizens to act in concert with them. In the mean time, whilst each party was preparing for an engagement, some, both of the Nobility and Commons, with certain ecclesiasticks that were in great esteem, interposed their good offices to accommodate matters betwixt them; representing to the Nobility, "that the loss of their authority, and the laws that were made to curb them, were entirely owing to their own arrogance and tyrannical government: that to take up arms in such a juncture, and have recourse to violence for the recovery of what they had forfeited by their dissensions and intolerable behaviour, would be to ruin their country and aggravate their present misfortunes: that they ought to consider the other party was much superior to them in numbers, riches, and popularity: that their Nobility, which they vainly imagined set them so far above others, was but an empty name; and would stand them in little stead when they came to blows with an enemy that had so many advantages over them."

them." On the other hand, they shewed the people, "how imprudent it would be in them to carry things to extremities, and drive their enemies to despair, since those that hope no good, fear no evil: that it ought to be remembered that it was the Nobility chiefly which had gained their city such reputation by their bravery in the late wars, and they ought not therefore, either in reason or justice, to be persecuted with such a degree of inveteracy: that though they had patiently submitted to be excluded from all share in the magistracy, yet it was an insupportable hardship that they should be at every body's mercy, and liable to be driven out of their country upon any little disgust by virtue of the new laws: that they would do well to moderate the rigour of them, (an assurance of which might possibly induce them on the other side to lay down their arms) and not be rashly hurried by too great a confidence in their numbers, to hazard the event of a battle; since experience had sufficiently shewn that a handful of desperate men had often prevailed over a force seemingly much superior to them." Various were the opinions of the people upon these remonstrances. Some were for coming immediately to a battle, as a thing that must one time or other of necessity happen, and that it would be better to do it now they were prepared, than to stay till their enemies had strengthened themselves more effectually: yet if there were any hopes that a mitigation of the laws would content them, they should be mitigated accordingly: but such was their pride and insolence, that it was much to be feared they would never alter their manner of behaviour, except they were compelled to it by downright force. Others that were more prudent and moderate, thought an alteration of the laws could not be attended with any very bad consequences to them; but that the issue of a battle, if unsuccessful, might prove fatal. This opinion prevailing, it was ordained, that no accusation should be admitted against a nobleman without sufficient evidence to support it: and

and though both parties laid down their arms upon these conditions, yet they retained their former jealousy of each other, and began to raise forces and fortify themselves as fast as they could. The people however thought fit to new model the government and reduce the number of the Signiory, (as they suspected some of that body were too favourably inclined to the Nobility) leaving the supreme authority chiefly in the hands of the Mancini, Magalotti, Altoviti, Peruzzi, and Cretani.

Having thus settled the state in the year 1298, they began to build a securer and more magnificent palace for the Signiory, with a piazza or large area before it, in the place where the houses of the Uberti formerly stood. About the same time, the foundation of the public prisons was also laid; all which edifices were finished in a few years: so that the city was never in a greater splendor nor more happy than at that time; as it abounded in people, riches, and reputation: for there were thirty thousand Citizens at home fit to bear arms, seventy thousand more in their territories, and all the inhabitants of Tuscany, partly as friends, partly as subjects, were at its devotion. And though there were some little sparks of jealousy and envy still remaining betwixt the Nobility and the people, yet they did not openly break out, or produce any bad effect, but every one lived quietly and peaceably with his neighbour: and had not this tranquillity at last been disturbed by fresh discords at home, it would have been in no danger from any other enemy; as it was then in so flourishing a condition, that it neither feared the attempts of the exiles, nor the power of the Emperor, and could have brought a body of forces into the field able to face those of all the other states of Italy put together. The mischief, however, which foreign enemies were not able to do them, whilst they continued thus united, was unhappily effected by new divisions amongst themselves.

There were two families in Florence, the Cerchi and Donati, both very considerable for their riches,

nobility, and dependants; and as they were near neighbours both in the city and country, there happened several little disgusts betwixt them; yet not of such consequence as to produce an open rupture: and perhaps they might have entirely subsided without disturbing the peace of the public, if they had not been revived by a strange and unexpected accident.— The Cancellieri being one of the chief families in Pistoia, it happened that Lori the son of Guglielmo, and Geri the son of Bertaccio, both of that family, being at play together, at last fell into a dispute, and from words proceeded to a rencounter, in which Geri was slightly wounded by the other. But when Guglielmo heard of the quarrel, it gave him so much uneasiness that he used his utmost endeavours to reconcile them; and insisted that his son should go to Geri's father and ask pardon, or at least make an apology for what had happened. This generous submission, however, only served to widen the breach: for when Lori went to wait upon his kinsman, according to his father's desire, Bertaccio said, "he did not think that was sufficient satisfaction," but ordered his servants (as an aggravation to the indignity) to lay hold on him and carry him into a stable, where they cut off his right hand upon the manger, with this taunt, "You may now go back to your father, and tell him, that excuses won't do; steel is the only remedy in such cases." The barbarity of the fact enraged Guglielmo and his friends to such a degree, that they immediately took arms to revenge it: and Bertaccio and his dependants doing the same; not only all that family, but the whole city of Pistoia was engaged in the quarrel, and divided into two parties. These Cancellieri descended from one of the same name who had two wives, one of whom was called Bianca, or Blanche; from whence that party that adhered to her posterity took the name of * Bianca; and the other, in opposition, distinguished itself by that of

* Bianca signifies white, and Nera black.

Nera,

Nera. Many skirmishes happened betwixt them, in which numbers of people lost their lives, and some families were entirely ruined: and as no expedient could be found to reconcile them (though both sides were heartily sick of the quarrel) they determined to come to Florence, in hopes either of putting an end to it there, by the meditation of their common friends, or if that could not be effected, to strengthen their respective parties by drawing other families into them. The Neri having an intimate friendship with the Donati, were espoused by Corso, the head of that family: and the Bianchi, to balance that acquisition of strength in their adversaries, had recourse to Veri, the head of the Cerchi, for their assistance; a man of no less power than Corso, nor inferior to him in any other respect whatsoever.

These sparks of discord, thus blown from Pistoia to Florence, soon revived the former animosities betwixt the Cerchi and Donati, which began to blaze out again with such fury, that the Signiory and others of the principal citizens were under no small apprehension that the whole city would at last become engaged in the quarrel, and hourly expected the two parties would openly attack each other. They applied therefore to the Pope, and entreated him to make use of his authority to compose those differences, which it was not in their power to do: upon which sollicitation, his Holiness sent for Veri to Rome, and earnestly exhorted him to be reconciled to the Donati. But Veri pretending to be surprized, said "there was no quarrel of any kind betwixt them that he knew of, and consequently there could not be any occasion to exhort him to a reconciliation." But not long after his return from Rome, their feuds increased to such a height, that there only wanted an opportunity (which soon after happened) to make them burst out into action. In the month of May several holidays are publickly celebrated in Florence; on one of which, some young gentlemen of the Donati family with their friends, all on horse-back, stopped near Tri-

Trinity Church to look at some women that were dancing: presently after, as ill fortune would have it, several of the Cerchi also arrived at the same place, with many of their acquaintance; and being desirous to gratify their curiosity in like manner, they spurred on their horses, not knowing the Donati, who were foremost in the crowd, and jostled in amongst them. The Donati therefore looking upon this as an affront, immediately drew their swords; and the Cerchi doing the same, a skirmish ensued, in which many were wounded on both sides.

This accident was the occasion of great mischief: for the whole City, as well Commons as Nobility, divided upon it; some taking part with the Bianchi, and others with the Neri. The heads of the Bianca party were the Cerchi, who were joined by the Adimari, the Abbati, part of the Tolinghi, Bardi, Rossi, Frescobaldi, Nerli, Mannelli, all the Mozzi, Scali, Gherardini, Cavalcanti, Malespini, Bostichi, Giandonati, Vecchietti, and Ariguzzi, who were followed by many considerable families of the Commoners and all the Ghibeline faction in Florence: so that in regard to their numbers, they seemed to have a great superiority. The other side was headed by the Donati, and supported by all those of the above mentioned families who did not follow the Bianchi, together with all the Pazzi, Visdomini, Manjeri, Bagnesi, Tornaquinci, Spini, Buondelmonti, Gianfigliuzzi, and Brunelleschi. Nor did this contagion confine itself to the city alone, but infected all the country round in such a manner, that the Captains of the Arts, and all those that favoured the Guelphs and were friends to the Commonwealth, began to be very much afraid this new combustion would throw the city once more into the hands of the Ghibelines, to its utter ruin. Upon which they sent again to the Pope, beseeching him to provide some remedy for these distractions, except he had a mind that their city, which at all times had been the Bulwark of the Church, should either be totally destroyed, or at least be-

become subject to the Ghibelines. In compliance with their request, the Pope dispatched Matteo d' Arqua Sparta, a Portuguese Cardinal, as his Legate to Florence; who, finding the party of the Bianchi so refractory and confident in their numbers that they refused to listen to any proposals of peace, left Florence in a rage, and put it under an interdict: so that it was in greater confusion after his departure than before he came thither.

Whilst the two parties were in this ferment, and ripe for an insurrection, it happened that several of the Cerchi and Donati met together at a funeral, where some angry words passed betwixt them, and from words they came to blows, though no great harm was done at that time on either side. But after they had returned to their houses, the Cerchi resolved to attack the Donati, and assembled all their friends for that purpose: in which assault, however, they were valiantly repulsed by Corso, and many of them wounded. Upon this, the whole city took up arms, neither the power of the magistracy, nor the authority of the laws being able to restrain the fury of the multitude. The wisest and best of the Citizens were in great terror: and the Donati being the weaker party, not a little doubtful of their safety. It was agreed therefore, at a meeting betwixt Corso, the heads of the Neri, and the Captains of the Arts, that in order to secure themselves, it was necessary the Pope should be solicited to send some person of royal extraction to reform the city; imagining this would be the most effectual way to get the better of their enemies. This meeting, and the result of it, was notified to the Signiory by the other party, who represented it as a conspiracy against their liberty. So that both sides being now in arms again, the Signiory by the advice of Dante (who at that time was one of them) boldly drew out their companies, and being joined by great numbers out of the country, soon forced the chiefs of each party to lay down their arms: after which, they banished Corso Donati and many of the Neri.

And

And to shew that they acted with impartiality, they likewise banished several of the Bianchi, who not long after were suffered to return upon one plausible pretence or other. Corso and his associates were also indulged in the same manner: and taking it for granted that the Pope was their friend, they went directly to Rome, in hopes of being able to persuade him to that in a personal conference, for which they had lately petitioned his Holiness in their letters.

Charles of Valois, brother to the King of France, happened to be then at the Court of Rome, being invited into Italy by the King of Naples to make a descent upon Sicily. The Pope therefore thought fit (as he was so much importuned by the Florentines) to send this Prince to stay at Florence till the season of the year was more proper for navigation. In consequence of which deputation he went to that city: and though the Bianchi, who then had the upper hand there, looked upon him with an evil eye, yet as he was Patron of the Guelphs and sent by the Pope, they durst not oppose his coming: on the contrary, to make him their friend, they gave him full power to regulate the city as he thought best. He was no sooner vested with his authority but he caused all his friends and partizans to arm themselves; which made the people so jealous that he intended to deprive them of their liberty, that they also took arms, and every man was ready to oppose him if he should make any such attempt. The Cerchi and the heads of the Bianchi having had the chief government of the city some time in their hands, and behaved with great arrogance, were become generally odious; which encouraged Corso and others of the Neri who had fled, to return to Florence, upon an assurance that Charles and the Captains of the Arts were their friends and would support them. Accordingly whilst the city was thus alarmed with the apprehensions of Charles's designs, Corso, with all his associates, and many other of their followers made their entry into it without any sort of resistance: and though Vespi de Cerchi was

was called upon to oppose them, he declined it, and said, "the people of Florence might even chastise them themselves if they pleased, as they were likely to be the greatest sufferers by them." But that insinuation had no effect; for instead of chastising them, they received them with open arms, whilst Veri was forced to fly for his safety. For Corso having forced his entrance at the Porta Pinti, drew up and made a stand over against St. Pietro Maggiore, not far from his own house; and being joined by a great number of his friends, and others that had assembled there in hopes of a change of government, he in the first place released all prisoners, upon what account, and by whomsoever they had been committed: after which he divested the Signiory of their authority, and chose new magistrates (all of the party of the Neri) out of the people to supply their places. He then plundered the houses of the chiefs of the Bianchi, for five days together; during which time, the Cerchi and the heads of that Faction seeing the people for the most part their enemy, and Charles by no means their friend, fled out of the city into such strong places as they were possessed of: and though they would not listen to the exhortations of the Pope before, they were now forced to implore his assistance; representing to his Holiness that the arrival of Charles there had been so far from uniting the city, that it had thrown it into still greater distraction. The Pope therefore again sent his Legate Acqua Sparta to Florence, who not only made an accommodation betwixt the Cerchi and Donati, but fortified it by several intermarriages in those families. Nevertheless, when he insisted that the Bianchi should share in the chief offices of the commonwealth, and that was refused by the Neri, who were then in full possession of them, he left the city with as much dissatisfaction as he had done before, and excommunicated it a second time for its contumacy. The Neri, on the other hand, seeing their old enemies in their bosom again, were not a little afraid they would use all means to ruin them,

them, in order to recover their former authority. Thus both parties were still discontented; and as if these animosities were not sufficient to enflame the city, fresh occasions of discord continually happened.

As Niccolò de Cerchi was going one day with several of his friends to his seat in the country, he was assaulted by Simone, the son of Corso Donati, at the Ponte ad Africo. The skirmish was sharp and bloody; for Niccolò was killed upon the spot, and Simone so desperately wounded that he died the same night. This accident threw the whole city into an uproar again; and though indeed it was altogether owing to the Neri, yet they were screened by the magistracy: and before judgment could be obtained, a conspiracy was said to be discovered betwixt the Bianchi and Pietro Ferrante (a nobleman that attended Charles of Valois) with whom they had been tampering to persuade his master to reinstate them in the government. The plot was detected by some letters from the Cerchi to Pietro; though it was the common opinion they were forged by the Donati, to wipe off the odium they had incurred by the murder of Niccolò Cerchi. However, all the family of the Cerchi, with many of their followers of the Bianca party (and amongst the rest Dante the poet) were immediately sent into banishment, their estates confiscated, and their houses demolished: after which their party, with many of the Ghibelines who had joined them, were dispersed and scattered up and down in different places, where they waited in hopes that some new commotion might afford them an opportunity of repairing their losses. And Charles having executed the design of his errand to Florence, left that city and went back to Rome, that he might prosecute his expedition into Sicily; in which he proceeded with no less imprudence and ill success than he had done in the affairs of Florence: so that after he had lost many of his men, he returned with infinite disgrace and contempt into France.

After

After the departure of Charles, Florence continued tolerably quiet for some time; though Corso Donati was still dissatisfied that he did not enjoy such a degree of authority in it as he thought due to his merits, since the government was now in the hands of the people, and conducted by those that were much inferior to him in all respects. Exasperated at this neglect, he meditated revenge: but to varnish over his designs with a fair pretext, he accused several citizens who had been intrusted with the public money, of embezzling it, and applying it to their own private uses: for which, he said, they ought to be called to account and punished. This scandal was likewise industriously propagated by several others who had the same views; and many were ignorant and credulous enough to believe that what Corso did, was out of pure concern and affection for his country*. But the persons thus calumniated being in favour with the people, stood upon their justification: and these disputes, after much litigation and many processses, at last grew to such a height that it became absolutely necessary to take up arms. On one side, were Corso and Lottieri, Bishop of Florence, with many of the Nobility, and some of the Commons; on the other, were the Signiory and the greater part of the people: so that there was nothing to be seen but frays and skirmishes in every part of the city. The Signiory therefore perceiving themselves in great danger, sent to Lucca for aid, and immediately all the people of

* The surest way of gaining the commonalty in democratical governments, is to rail violently at the administration; and when other topics of defamation are wanting to ambitious and discontented men, the charge of peculation and embezzlement of the public money is always at hand, which, though a very stale cry, is constantly listened to with great eagerness by the people, (whether true or false) whose clamours and resentment it is calculated to excite; as it easily falls in with the complaints of *hard times, heavy taxes, &c.* which are usual in every age, and under every government. The authors indeed sometimes find their account in it, under a weak administration; but the people are seldom or never the better for it under any, nor is it intended they should be. But it seems strange, that they should be so often gullied into disaffection and sedition by so trite an artifice, and the vain hopes of restitution.

that

that city came to their assistance: by which means, things were accommodated for a time, the tumults composed, and the people satisfied with continuing in possession of their liberty and government, without inflicting any punishment upon the author of this disturbance.

The Pope had been informed of these broils at Florence, and sent his Legate Niccolò da Prato thither to quiet them if possible; who, being a prelate of great experience, address, and reputation, soon gained such an influence over the people, that they gave him a commission to new-model the city as he pleased. And as he rather inclined to favour the Ghibeline faction, he proposed to recall all those of that party who had been banished: but thought it necessary, in the first place, to ingratiate himself still further with the people, by restoring their ancient Companies, which added much to their strength, and diminished that of the Nobility. When he thought he had thus sufficiently engaged their affections, he determined to bring back the exiles, and tried several means to effect it: but was so far from succeeding, that he became obnoxious to the Governors, and was forced out of the city, which he left in the utmost confusion, and was provoked to such a degree at the treatment he had met with, that he put it under an interdict at his departure.

Two factions not being sufficient, the city was now divided and subdivided into several, as those of the People and Nobility, the Guelphs and the Ghibelines, the Bianchi and the Neri; and some who wished for the return of the exiles, being disappointed in their hopes now the Legate was gone, grew clamorous and outrageous: so that the whole city was in an uproar, and many skirmishes ensued. Those that were most active in raising this clamour, were the Medici and Giugni, who had openly sided with the Legate in favour of the exiles.

In the midst of those rencounters, which daily happened in all parts of the town, a fire broke out, to add

to their confusion, which spread from the Orto di San Michele (where it first began) to the houses of the Abbati, and from thence to those of the Caponfacchi, which were all burnt down to the ground, together with the houses of the Macci, Amieri, Toschi, Cipriani, Lamberti, Cavalcanti, and all the new Market: from whence the flames spread to Porta di Santa Maria, which was entirely consumed; and being driven by the wind towards the old Bridge, they likewise demolished the houses of the Gherardini, Pulci, Amadei, Lucardesi, and so many others, that the number amounted to above thirteen hundred.

Many were of opinion that this misfortune was the effect of accident, and that some houses took fire by chance, whilst the owners of them were engaged in a skirmish which happened at that time. Others affirm, that it was owing to the villany of Neri Abbati, Prior of St. Pietro Scheraggio, a dissolute and abandoned fellow, who, seeing every body so busily employed, took that opportunity of doing a mischief for which there could be no remedy; and that it might succeed the better, and make him less suspected, he also set fire to the houses of his own friends, where he had a convenience of doing it.

It was in July 1304, when Florence was visited in this lamentable manner with fire and sword. At which time, Corso Donati was the only person of any distinction that did not take up arms in those tumults: for he thought that when all sides grew tired of fighting, and inclined to a reconciliation, he was the more likely, upon that account, to be called in as an arbitrator to decide their differences. Accordingly, they soon after laid down their arms, though more out of weariness of their miseries, and that they might have time to take breath, than from any real desire of being re-united, and living in peace: for upon the whole, it was only stipulated, that the Exiles should not be suffered to return; which was agreed to by those that favoured them, merely because they proved to be the weaker side.

The Legate, at his return to Rome, being informed of these new disturbances at Florence, told the Pope, that if he had any desire of composing them, it would be the best way, in his opinion, to send for twelve of the principal malecontents of that City, and to detain them at Rome for some time: for when the fomenters of those evils were removed, it would be an easy matter to extinguish them. This advice was so well approved of by the Pope, that he cited the above-mentioned number of those citizens to appear before him, (amongst whom was Corso Donati) who readily obeyed the summons. But as soon as they were set out upon their journey, the Legate found means to acquaint the Exiles, that if ever they hoped to return to Florence, that was their time, as the City was then clear of the only men that had authority enough to oppose their entrance. Upon this encouragement, the Citizens that had been banished, drawing together what forces they could, immediately marched towards Florence, and not only entered the city in that part where the new walls were not yet thoroughly finished, but advanced as far as the Piazza di St. Giovanni. It is certainly worthy of notice, that those very citizens, who but a little before had exerted themselves in the most strenuous manner for their return, when they petitioned in an humble and submissive manner to be re-admitted, were the first that took up arms against them, now they saw them approach in a hostile manner, and joined with the people to drive them back again, as they effectually did; for such was the spirit of patriotism amongst them in those days, that they cheerfully gave up all private interests and friendships for the sake of the publick good. Their miscarriage in this attempt, may chiefly be imputed to leaving part of their forces at Lastra, and not waiting for Tolosetto Uberti, who was advancing with three hundred horse from Pistoia to their assistance; as they imagined expedition was of much greater importance than numbers at that time: and indeed, it is certain, that in such cases, a fair opportunity is often lost by de-

delay; but at the same time we must consider, that precipitate enterprizes are seldom supported by a proper force.

After the Exiles were thus repulsed, the Citizens relapsed into their former distractions: and in order to deprive the Cavalcanti of the authority which they had assumed, they seized upon the Castle of Le Stinche, in the Val de Greve, which had been in possession of that family for a great number of years: and as those who were then in this Castle, were the first that were committed to the public prison which had been lately built, that edifice from thence took the name of Le Stinche, which it still retains. The next step that the governors of the commonwealth took, was to re-establish the Companies of the People, and to restore the Colours under which the Arts had formerly been used to assemble: the Captains, the Gonfaloniers, or Standard-bearers of the Companies, and the Officers of Justice, were called together, and ordered not only to assist the Signiory in times of peace with their counsel, but to support and defend them by dint of arms in all exigencies and commotions. To assist the two Judges who had been constituted in the beginning of their state, they appointed an officer, called *il Essecutore*, or Sheriff, who was to act in conjunction with the Gonfaloniers, and to see their orders carried into execution, whenever the Nobility should be guilty of any enormity or act of oppression.

But the Pope dying in the mean time, Corso and the other eleven Citizens, returned to Florence, where they might all have lived in peace, if the restless ambition of Corso had not occasioned fresh troubles. In order to make himself popular, he constantly opposed the Nobility in all their schemes, and which way soever he observed the people to incline, he turned all his authority to support them in it, and gain their affections: so that in all contests and divisions, or when they had any extraordinary point to carry, they always resorted to him, and put themselves under his directions. This created him much hatred and envy

amongst the most considerable Citizens, which at last increased to such a degree, that the faction of the Neri divided and quarrelled amongst themselves, when they saw Corso avail himself in such a manner of the affections of the people, and join with the enemies of the public to promote his own private views: yet such was the awe they stood in of his person and authority, that every one was afraid of him. However, as the most likely way to alienate the affections of the people from him, they gave out, that he secretly designed to seize upon the government, and make himself King; which it was no difficult matter to make them believe, from his magnificent, and indeed profuse, manner of living, which far exceeded those bounds of moderation that ought not to be transgressed by any private Citizen or Subject, and was calculated, they said, to serve some dangerous purpose. And this suspicion was not a little corroborated, when they saw him, soon after, married to a daughter of Uguccone della Faggiuola, head of the Bianchi and Ghibelines, and a man of very great interest and power in Tuscany.

As soon as this alliance came to the knowledge of his enemies, they grew so bold upon it, that they took up arms against him; and the greater part of the people, instead of appearing in his defence, forsook him and joined his adversaries; the chief of whom were Rosso della Tosa, Pazziano de Pazzi, Geri Spini, and Berto Brunelleschi. These and their friends, with a great multitude of armed men, assembled at the steps of the Palace of the Signiory, by whose command an accusation was preferred against Corso to Pietro Branca, captain of the people, as a person, who, by the assistance of Uguccone, aspired to make himself absolute. Upon which impeachment, being cited to appear before him, he refused to obey the summons; and was therefore declared a contumacious rebel, in less than two hours after he had been accused. This sentence being pronounced, the Signiory, with the Companies of the people under

der their several colours, went directly to apprehend him. Corso, on the other hand, not in the least dismayed; either at the rigour of the sentence, the authority of the Signiory, the number of his enemies, or the inconstancy of his friends, many of whom had now deserted him, immediately began to fortify his house, in hopes of being able to defend himself there, till Ugucione (to whom he had sent word of the desperate circumstances he was in) could come to his relief. The avenues to his house were barricaded and guarded by those of his party that still adhered to him, in such a manner, that though the assailants were numerous, they could not force their way through them. Many were killed and wounded on both sides in this action, which was very sharp: at last, the people finding they could not enter that way, got into the neighbouring houses, and unexpectedly broke through the walls of them into his. Corso seeing himself thus surrounded on a sudden by his enemies, and that there was no hope of succour from Ugucione, nor any other refuge left, resolved to try if it was possible to make his escape.

Advancing, therefore, with Gherardo Bondini, and some others of his most resolute and faithful friends, he made so furious an attack upon the enemy, that he broke through them, and fled out of the Porta alla Cruce. However, as they were closely pursued, Gherardo was killed by Boccaccio Caviciulli, upon the Ponte ad Africo, and Corso taken prisoner at Rovizzano, by some Catalan horse that were in the pay of the Signiory. But as he could not endure the thoughts of being insulted, and perhaps torn to pieces by a victorious enemy, he threw himself from his horse to the ground, as they were bringing him back to Florence, where he was slain by one of the guards: his body was afterwards picked up by the monks of St. Salvì, and interred without any solemnity, or sepulchral honours. Such was the unfortunate end of Corso Donati, to whom his country, and the Neri, owed much, both of their good and bad fortune:

without doubt, if he had not been of so restless a disposition, his memory would have been held in greater honour. However, his name deserves to be ranked amongst those of the most eminent men that our city has ever produced; though indeed, it cannot be denied, that the turbulency of his spirit made both his country and party forget their obligations to him, and at last, was not only the cause of his own death, but brought many evils upon them. Uguccione had advanced as far as Remoli, in his way to Florence, with supplies to relieve his son-in-law; but being informed there, that he was fallen into the hands of the people, and imagining that all succour would then be too late, he thought it the most prudent way to turn back again, as he might otherwise very likely prejudice himself, without being able to do him any service.

After the death of Corso, which happened in the year 1308, all tumults ceased, and every body lived quietly, till news arrived that Henry the Emperor, was come into Italy with all the Florentine Exiles in his army, whom he had promised to reinstate in their country. The Magistrates, therefore, in order to distress him, and lessen the number of their enemies, granted a free pardon to all such as had been rebels, and invited them to return; excepting some particular persons expressly mentioned. Those that were excluded, were mostly of the Ghibeline faction, and certain of the Bianchi; amongst whom, were Dante Alighieri, the Sons of Veri de Cerchi, and of Giano della Bella. They likewise sent to solicit the assistance of Robert, King of Naples, but not being able to obtain it as allies, they gave him the government of their City for five years, upon condition that he would defend and protect them as his subjects. The Emperor, in his passage, arrived at Pisa, and from thence came to Rome, where he was crowned, in the year 1312; and being determined to humble the Florentines, he marched by the way of Perugia and Arezzo to Florence, and sat down with his army at the Monastery

nastery of St. Salvi, about a mile from the city, where he continued fifty days without gaining any advantage. At last, when he found that enterprize not likely to succeed as he expected, he returned to Pisa, and entered into a confederacy with Frederick, King of Sicily, in order to make an attempt upon Naples. For which purpose, he marched that way with his army; but at a time when he thought himself sure of success, and Robert was so frightened that he gave up his kingdom for lost, the Emperor died at Buonconvento.

It happened not long after, that Ugucione della Faggiuola first made himself master of Pisa, and then of Lucca, by the assistance of the Ghibelines; from whence he committed great depredations upon the neighbouring states. The Florentines, therefore, to free themselves from the terror occasioned by his incursions into their territories, invited Peter, King Robert's brother, to come and take upon him the command of their forces. Ugucione, on the other hand, neglected no opportunity, in the mean time, of adding to the power he had already acquired, and partly by force, partly by artifice, had made himself master of several castles in the Vales of Arno and Nievole: from whence he proceeded to lay siege to Monte Catini, where the Florentines resolved to use their utmost endeavours to stop his career, and extinguish a flame that otherwise might possibly devour their whole country. For this purpose, having raised a very powerful army, they marched into the Vale of Nievole, where they gave battle to Ugucione, and were utterly defeated, after a bloody engagement, in which they lost above two thousand men, besides their General Peter, the King's brother, whose body could never be found. The victory, however, was not attended with any great rejoicings on the side of Ugucione, as one of his sons, and many other officers of distinction, were killed in it.

After this overthrow, the Florentines immediately began to fortify the towns round about them, and

applied to King Robert for another General; upon which, he sent them the Count di Andria, commonly called Count Novello, whose bad conduct, added to the impatient temper of the Florentines (which is soon tired of any form of government, and ready to fall into factions upon every accident) occasioned the city to divide again, notwithstanding the war they were engaged in with Ugucione; and some declared for King Robert, and some against him. The chief of his enemies were Simone della Tosa, the Magalloti, and some other popular families who had the greatest power in the government. These persons sent first into France, and then into Germany, to raise men and invite officers, in order to rid themselves of their new Governor; but unfortunately they could not procure either. As however they were determined to carry their point, and as neither Germany nor France would supply them with a Governor, they chose one from the neighbourhood; and having taken arms and drove the Count out of the city, they sent for one Lando of Agobio, and made him their Effecutore, or rather Executioner, with full power over all the Citizens. Lando, being naturally cruel and rapacious, went about the city with a gang of armed men at his heels, hanging up first one man and then another, as those that had sent for him gave him directions, and at last grew so insolent, that he coined bad money with the Florentine stamp, which no body had courage enough to oppose: to such a height of power had he arrived by the dissension of the citizens! Miserable indeed, and much to be lamented was the condition of the city at that time, which neither the bitter remembrance of the evils produced by their former divisions, nor the dread of a foreign enemy at their gates, nor the authority of a King, was sufficient to keep united; though their possessions were at the same time daily ravaged and plundered, abroad by Ugucione, and at home by Lando.

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The Nobility, most of the considerable Commoners, and all the Guelphs, took the King's side, and hated Lando and those that supported him: but as their enemies had the power in their hands, they could not declare themselves publicly without extreme danger. However, that they might not seem wanting in any endeavours to free themselves from so ignominious a yoke, they wrote privately to King Robert, and entreated him to appoint Count Guido da Buttifolle his Lieutenant at Florence, which he readily complied with: and the other party (though they had the Signiory on their side) durst not venture to oppose a man of so established a reputation. But the Count soon found he had very little authority in the city, as the Magistracy and the Gonfaloniers of the several companies openly favoured Lando and his friends.

During these troubles in Florence, the daughter of Albert, King of Bohemia, passed through that city (to meet her husband Charles, the son of King Robert) where she was received by the King's friends with great honour; and, upon their complaints of the miserable condition of the city, and the tyranny of Lando and his party, she used her good offices so effectually, and obtained them so many grants and favours from the King before she left them, that the Citizens were at last reconciled and re-united, Lando deprived of his authority, and sent back again to Agobbio, fatiated with blood and rapine. After his departure, there ensued another reform in the State, by which, the government of the city was continued to the King for three years longer: and as the seven that were then in the Signiory were all of Lando's party, six others were added to them of the King's and they continued thirteen for some time; but were afterwards reduced to seven again, their former number. About this time, Ugucione was driven out of Lucca and Pisa, and succeeded in the government of those two cities by Castruccio Castracani, a Lucchese; who being a spirited young man and fortunate in all his

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his undertakings, very soon became the head of the Ghibeline faction in Tuscany. The Florentines therefore laying aside their private discords, were chiefly employed for several years in endeavouring to obstruct the growth of Castruccio's power; and afterwards, when they found that to no purpose, in taking proper measures to defend themselves against him. And that the Signiory might proceed with maturer deliberation, and execute with greater authority, they chose twelve Citizens whom they called Buonhuomini, without whose advice and consent, the Signiory were not to pass any act of importance.

In the mean time the dominion of king Robert expired, and the government once more reverted to the Citizens, who again set up the same form of magistracy that had been formerly instituted, and continued united whilst they were in so much fear of Castruccio; who, after many enterprizes against the Governors of Lunigiana, at last sat down before Prato. The Florentines alarmed at this news, resolved to relieve it, and for that purpose, having shut up their shops, they marched towards that place with twenty thousand foot, and fifteen hundred horse, but in a tumultuous and disorderly manner. And to lessen the force of Castruccio and add to their own, a Proclamation was issued by the Signiory, that every exile of the Guelph party, who came in to the relief of Prato, should afterwards have liberty to return home: which had so good an effect, that they were joined by above four thousand of them, and their army became so formidable by this reinforcement that they marched with all expedition to Prato. But Castruccio being afraid of so great a force, and not caring to run the hazard of a battle, retreated to Lucca.

Upon this retreat, there arose great disputes in the camp of the Florentines, betwixt the Nobility and the people. The people would have pursued him and forced him to an engagement, in hopes that a victory would have totally ruined him: but the Nobility thought it more prudent to return; alledging, they had

had already sufficiently exposed their own city for the relief of Prato, which in such a case of necessity was unavoidable : but, now there was no manner of occasion, little to be gained, and much to be lost, it would be madness to tempt fortune. After long debates, without coming to any resolution, the matter was referred to the Signiory, which, consisting of Commoners as well as Nobility, fell into the same difference of opinions : and this coming to be known in the city, a vast number of the people assembled in the Piazza, and threatened the Nobility to such a degree that they were terrified and gave way to them. But as it was so late before they came to such a resolution, and even then against the inclination of many, the enemy had sufficient time to retire in safety to Lucca : at which the people were so exasperated against the Nobility, that the Signiory refused to perform the promise they had made, by their desire, to the exiles that came in upon the proclamation. The exiles hearing of this, resolved on their part to force their way into the city if possible, and accordingly presented themselves at the gates, to be admitted before the rest of the army came up : but this attempt being foreseen and expected, did not succeed, for they were driven back again by those that were left in the town. They endeavoured therefore to obtain by treaty what they could not by force, and sent eight deputies to remind the Signiory of their promise, and the dangers they had exposed themselves to in consequence of it, and that they relied upon their good faith for the stipulated recompence of their services. The Nobility, therefore, having joined in that promise with the Signiory, and given their word that they would see it performed, thought themselves obliged in honour to use all their interest in favour of the exiles, which they did : but the Commons being enraged that the enterprize against Castruccio had not been prosecuted as they thought it ought to have been, would not concur with them ; which afterwards brought not only great disgrace, but also much trouble

ble upon the city. For many of the Nobility being disgusted at this denial, resolved to have recourse to other expedients, and promised the Guelphs, that if they would appear in arms before the city, they would also raise an insurrection within it to assist them. But this design being discovered the day before it was to have been put in execution, when the exiles came up they found the Citizens ready armed, and in such order, not only to repel them, but to suppress any rising within the walls, that no body durst offer to move: so that they gave up the enterprize and drew off again without making any further effort at that time. After their departure, it was thought fit that those persons should be punished who had invited them thither: nevertheless, though every one knew who the delinquents were, yet no body durst so much as point them out, much less accuse them. But that the truth might be told without reserve, it was ordered, that any members of the general council should be allowed to write down their names upon a piece of paper and deliver it privately to the Captain of the people: which being done, the persons accused were, Amerigo Donati, Tegghiaio Frescobaldi, and Lotteringo Gherardini, whose judges being more favourable than perhaps their crimes deserved, they were only fined a certain sum of money and discharged.

From the tumults which happened in Florence upon the approach of the exiles, it plainly appeared, that one Captain only in every Company of the people was not sufficient: it was ordered therefore, that each Company for the future should have three or four, and that every Gonfalonier should have two or three other Ensigns under him called Pennonneri, that so upon any emergency, when the whole Company could not be drawn out, some part of it might be employed under one of those officers: And as it generally happens in all commonwealths, that after any revolution or remarkable crisis, some or other of the old laws are abrogated and new ones made in their room; so though the Signiory at first was changed every two months,

months, yet the magistrates that were then in office, having great power, took upon themselves to constitute a Signory out of all the most considerable Citizens, to continue forty months, whose names were to be put into a Bag or Purse, and a certain number of them drawn out by lot at the end of every second month. This method of election at first was called *Imborfazione* and afterwards *Squittino*. But, as many of the citizens began to suspect their names were not in the Purse, there was a fresh *Imborfation* before the forty months expired. From hence arose the use of the Purse in creating all their Magistrates both at home and abroad, which continued for a considerable time: whereas before, when the old Magistrates went out of office, new ones were always chosen by the council. And as this was not to be renewed till after a term of above three years, it was thought they had in a great measure extinguished the causes of all such disgusts and tumults as used to happen from the frequent return of Elections and the number of Competitors for the Magistracy: such was the remedy which for want of a better, they were forced to provide against those evils, not being aware how little advantage and how many mischiefs were likely to flow from it.

In the year 1325, *Castruccio* having seized upon *Pistoia*, was become so formidable, that the Florentines beginning to stand in great awe of him, resolved to attack him before he had established himself in his new dominion, and if possible, to wrest it out of his hands again. In consequence of which, they assembled twenty thousand foot and three thousand horse (most of whom were Florentines and the rest allies) and encamped before *Alto Pascio*; by the reduction of which they hoped to prevent any relief from being thrown into *Pistoia*. In this enterprize they succeeded, and from thence advanced towards *Lucca*, spoiling and ravaging the whole country: but by the ill conduct and treachery of *Ramondo da Cardona*, their commander in chief, they reaped but little advantage from this progress. For as he saw the

the Florentines had been so liberal in disposing of themselves, that they had sometimes conferred their government upon Kings, sometimes upon Legates, and sometimes upon persons of much inferior quality, he thought if he could reduce them to any extremity, they perhaps would make him their Prince. For this purpose, he was very importunate with them to give him the same command in the city that he had over their army; as he pretended he could not otherwise either require or expect that necessary obedience which was due to a General. But finding the Florentines did not care to comply with this demand, he trifled away his time in doing nothing, whilst Castruccio omitted no opportunity of taking the advantage that his indolence afforded him. For the latter having reinforced himself with supplies from the Vitconti and other Princes of Lombardy, Ramondo, who before might have gained a victory, if he had not betrayed his masters, now behaved in so unfoldier like a manner that he could not even make his escape from the enemy; but whilst he was retreating from them by very short and slow marches, he was overtaken and attacked by Castruccio near Alto Pascio, where, after an obstinate engagement, in which his forces were utterly routed, and great numbers of the Citizens either killed or taken prisoners, he himself also lost his life, receiving that punishment from the hands of fortune, which his perfidy and ambition had merited from the Florentines.

The havock which Castruccio made in the territories of Florence after this victory, the depredations, imprisonments, burnings, and every other kind of devastation, are not to be described: for as he had nobody to make head against him for several months, he over-ran the whole country, and did what he pleased, whilst the Florentines thought it no small matter to save their city after such a defeat. Nevertheless, they were not reduced to so low an ebb, but they raised large sums of money, assembled forces, and sent to their allies for assistance: but no
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provisions were sufficient to stop the progress of such an enemy. They were forced therefore, to make an offer of their government to Charles Duke of Calabria and son to King Robert, upon condition that he would undertake to defend them; for as that family had been used to rule over them, they chose rather to shelter themselves under him as their Prince, than to trust to him as an ally. But Charles himself being engaged in the wars of Sicily, sent Gualtier (a Frenchman, and Duke of Athens) as his Lieutenant, to take possession of the government, who new modelled the Magistracy as he thought fit. His behaviour, however, was so modest and temperate, and so contrary to his true natural disposition, (as shall be shewn hereafter) that he gained the affections of every one.

After the wars in Sicily were over, Charles came in person to Florence, with a thousand horse, and made his entry in July 1326. His arrival gave some check to Castruccio, and prevented him from roving about the country and plundering it without controul, as he had done before. But, if the citizens saved any thing abroad, it was lost again at home; and when their enemies were thus curbed, they became a prey to the insolence and oppression of their friends: for as the Signiory were entirely under the influence of the Duke, he exacted four hundred thousand florins from the city in the space of one year, though it was expressly stipulated in the agreement made with him, that he should not raise above two hundred thousand in the whole: besides which, either Charles, or his Father, were continually laying some heavy tax or other upon the Citizens.

These miseries were still increased by new jealousies and fresh enemies. For the Ghibelines of Lombardy were so alarmed at the arrival of Charles in Tuscany, that Galeazzo Visconti, and other Princes of that province, by dint of money and fair promises, prevailed upon Lewis of Bavaria, (who had been elected Emperor, contrary to the Pope's inclination) to march into Italy with an army. In consequence of which, he came
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into Lombardy, and from thence advancing into Tuscany, made himself master of Pisa, by the assistance of Castruccio; and having received a considerable supply of money, he marched on towards Rome. Upon which, Charles began to think the kingdom of Naples in no small danger; and leaving Philippo Saginetto his Lieutenant at Florence, he returned thither in all haste with the forces that he had brought along with him. After his departure, Castruccio seized upon Pisa, and the Florentines having got possession of Pistoia by treaty, he marched immediately to recover it, and carried on the siege with so much vigour and resolution, that though the Florentines made many attempts to relieve it, sometimes by attacking his army, sometimes by making incursions into his other territories, yet, all their endeavours were ineffectual: for so firmly determined was he to chastise Pistoia, and keep the Florentines under, that the Pistoians were forced to surrender and receive him once more for their Lord; by which he acquired great reputation; but soon after fell sick and died in the midst of his victories, as he was returning to Lucca. And as it generally happens, that either fortunate or unfortunate accidents are attended by others of the same kind, Charles, Duke of Calabria, and Lord of Florence, died at Naples much about the same time. So that the Florentines were suddenly and unexpectedly delivered from the oppression of one, and the dread of the other; and having once more recovered their liberty, began to reform the commonwealth again, abrogating the Laws and Ordinances of all former councils, and creating two new ones in their room, one of which consisted of three hundred of the Commons, the other of two hundred and fifty, of both Commoners and Nobility; the former was called the *Council of the People*, the latter, *the Common Council*.

The Emperor, upon his arrival at Rome, set up an Antipope, did many things to the prejudice of the Church, and attempted several others, which he was
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not able to effect *: upon which, he left Rome with no little dishonour; and went to Pisa, where eight hundred German horse, either for want of pay, or because they were dissatisfied with his conduct, immediately mutinied and fortified themselves at Montecchiaro upon the Ceruglio. These forces, after he was gone from Pisa, towards Lombardy, made themselves masters of Lucca, and drove out Francisco Castracani, whom the Emperor had deputed to govern it; and being desirous to make the best of it, they offered it to the Florentines for twenty thousand florins, which they refused to give, by the advice of Simone della Tosa. Happy had it been for their city, if the Florentines had persevered in that resolution: but as they soon after changed their mind, it was of very great prejudice to them; for though they refused it when they might have had the peaceable possession of it at so cheap a rate, they were afterwards obliged to pay a much larger sum for it, and could not keep it when they had done; which gave occasion to many subsequent disturbances and changes of government in Florence.

The purchase of Lucca being thus rejected by the Florentines, it was bought by Gherardino Spinoli, a

* The Pope had excommunicated him in 1328, and declared him to have forfeited the empire. Lewis, on the other hand, employed several pens to write against the Pope, whom he stiled James of Cahors. And not contenting himself with this, he entered Italy the next year, and set up a certain Franciscan, called Pietro Ramuccio de Corberia, as Antipope; by the name of Nicholas V. who crowned Lewis, and declared John XXII. an Heretic, and that he had forfeited the Papacy. This violent manner of proceeding offended the Emperor's friends to such a degree, that they deserted him; so that he afterwards desired to be reconciled to Benedict XII. in 1336, and to Clement VI. in 1344. But being unwilling to submit to the conditions that were offered him, viz. That he should surrender the empire and all his estates to the Church, and hold them only at the good will of the Pope, he was declared "obstinate and contumacious." And at the solicitation of Clement VI. and Philip of Valois, King of France, (whom Lewis had provoked, by siding with Edward III. King of England against him) the Electors chose in his room, Charles of Luxembourg, who was the fourth Emperor of that name. This was in 1346. Lewis died the next year of poison, or as others say, by a fall from his horse, at the age of sixty-three. Bzov. Annal.

Genoese, for thirty thousand Florins. But as it is the nature of mankind to be cool and indifferent about such things as are proffered them, and eager in their desires to obtain what is difficult, or out of their reach; so when the Florentines heard that city was sold for such a trifle, they were exceedingly dissatisfied that they had it not themselves, and angry at those who had dissuaded them from buying it: however, as it was now too late, they resolved to take it by force; and for that purpose, sent their army to make an incursion into the territories of the Lucchese. In the mean time, the Emperor had quitted Italy; and the Antipope, by order of the Pisans, was sent prisoner into France.

After the death of Castruccio, which happened in the year 1328, the Florentines continued quiet at home, till 1340, and intent only upon their affairs abroad: during which time, they were engaged in several wars, especially in Lombardy, upon the coming of John, King of Bohemia*, into that province; and in Tuscany, on the account of Lucca. They likewise raised several new and beautiful edifices in their city, particularly the Tower of St. Reparata, after a plan given them by Giotto †, the most cele-

* He was a Prince of great courage, and distinguished himself as such in these wars, before which he had taken upon himself the title of King of Poland, and waged war against the possessor of the crown there. He lost one of his eyes in battle, and going to Montpellier to try if he could find any relief from the physicians there, a Jewish Doctor, whom he employed, treated him in so unskilful a manner, that he deprived him of the other. Upon this occasion, the King of Poland, as it is reported, sent him word, that he desired they two only might decide their quarrels in a private room, with each a ponyard in his hand. But King John returned for answer, "that he must first pull out both his eyes to make the duel equal." His blindness did not prevent him from going to war in person. He went into France with succours to the aid of Philip of Valois, and was not only present, but fought bravely at the battle of Cressy, which the French lost, August 26, 1346. He caused his horse to be fastened by the bridle to one of the best horsemen he had, and then rushed furiously into the thick of the enemy, sword in hand, where he was at last killed, as might be well expected. Charles IV. his son, King of Bohemia and Emperor, gives a fuller account of all these things in the Memoirs of his father's Life.

† This Giotto was scholar to Ciambue, and born near Florence, in the year 1276. He was a good Sculptor and Architect, as well as a bet-

brated painter and architect of those times: and in the year 1333, after an inundation of the Arno, in which the water rose twelve yards perpendicular in some parts of Florence, carried away several bridges, and demolished many houses, they repaired all with great diligence and expence. But in the year 1340, new disturbances arose.

The governors of the City had two ways of maintaining and increasing their authority. One was, by managing the Imborsations in such a manner, as always to secure the Signiory either to themselves or their creatures; the other, by getting Rettori, or Judges chosen, who they knew would be favourable to them in their sentences and determinations. The latter of which expedients, they thought of such importance, that, not content with two Judges, as they had been formerly, they sometimes constituted a third, whom they called Captain of the Guards; with which office, they had now vested Jacomo Gabrieli d'Agobbio, and given him an absolute power over the Citizens. This Jacomo, under the direction of the governors, behaved with the most shameless insolence and partiality, daily injuring or affronting some body or other, particularly Pietro de Bardi, and Bardo Frescobaldi; who being nobly born, and men of high spirit, were provoked to such a degree, that a stranger should be introduced into the city by a few of their fellow-citizens that had the power in their hands, on purpose to insult and abuse all the rest, that they entered into a conspiracy with many other noble families, and some of the Commoners, that were disgusted at so tyrannical a government, to revenge themselves, both upon him and those that had

a better Painter, than his Master: for he began to shake off the stiffness of the Greek manner, endeavouring to give a freer air to his Heads, with more of nature in his colouring, and easier attitudes to his figures. His best piece is still in one of the Churches at Florence, representing the Death of the Virgin Mary, with the Apostles round about her. The attitudes of which Story, Michael Angelo used to say, could not be better designed. See Fresnoy's Art of Painting, p. 254.

been the occasion of his coming thither. For this purpose, it was agreed amongst the conspirators, that every one of them should get together as many armed men as he could in his house; and that on the morning after the Festival of All Saints, when the people were gone to Church to pray for the souls of their departed friends †, they should take up arms, kill the Captain and principal Governors, and make new laws and magistrates to reform the State. But as it generally happens, that when desperate resolutions come to be maturely considered, many dangers and impediments occur, which damp the ardour of the Conspirators; so plots that are not speedily executed, are for the most part unsuccessful, as this was. For Andrea de Bardi, one of the accomplices, weighing the matter coolly, and being more effectually moved by the terror of punishment than the desire of revenge, discovered the whole to his kinsman Jacomo Alberti, who immediately communicated it to the Magistracy. And as the day appointed for their rising was very near at hand, many of the Citizens assembled in the Palace; and judging it dangerous to wait any longer, they advised the Signiory to have the Alarm-Bell rung, and the Companies called together. Taldo Valori was chief Gonfalonier at that time, and Francisco Salviati one of the Signiory: and as they were allied to the Bardi, they opposed that measure, and said it would be a dangerous thing to arm the people upon every trifling accident, because it was never known that power given to the multitude, without sufficient authority to restrain them, had produced any good effect; and that it was a much easier matter to raise a tumult than to compose one: they thought it would be more prudent, therefore, to enquire into the truth of the matter, and if they found sufficient reason, to punish

† This event therefore happened on the 2d of November, 1340, which is commonly called All Souls Day, as the Romish Church sets it apart *in commemorationem omnium fidelium defunctorum*, or, "Prayers for all those that have departed this life in the true faith."

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the offenders by due course of law, than to run tumultuously into arms, only upon a bare report, and proceed in such a manner, as perhaps might be the utter ruin of their city. But these arguments were all to no purpose: for the Signiory were so threatened and insulted by the other Citizens, that they were forced to cause the Bell to be rung; at the sound of which, all the people took arms and ran directly to the Piazza before the Palace. On the other hand, the Bardi and Frescobaldi, perceiving they were betrayed, and being resolved either to conquer or die honourably, likewise took arms, in hopes that they should be able to defend themselves in that part of the City, which lies on the other side of the River, where most of their houses stood. For which purpose, they fortified the Bridges over it, and there made head against the enemy, in expectation that many of the Nobility and others of their friends would come out of the Country to their assistance. But this was prevented, by the people that lived in the same part of the city with them, who took up arms for the Signiory: so that when they found they were likely to be attacked by them also, they abandoned the Bridges, and retired into the street where the Bardi lived, as stronger than any of the rest, and there made a brave defence.

In the mean time, Giacomo d'Agobbio, well knowing this Conspiracy was chiefly bent against him, thought his life in great danger, and was frighted to such a degree, that he ran trembling to secure himself in the midst of the armed men who were assembled before the Palace of the Signiory: but the other Judges who had not been guilty of the same injustice and oppression, were more courageous, especially Maffeo da Maradi, the Podesta, who went to the place where they were fighting, and crossing the Bridge Rubaconte, undauntedly thrust himself into the thickest of the skirmish, and made a noble Parley. Upon which, out of reverence to his

his courage, and many other good qualities,

down their arms, and stood patiently to hear him, whilst in a modest and pathetic harangue, he blamed the Bardi for their manner of proceeding, shewed them the danger they were in from the fury of the people if they did not desist, gave them hopes that their cause should be favourably heard, and promised that he himself would not only intercede for their pardon, but see that they should have all reasonable satisfaction and redress for their grievances: after which he went to the Signiory and exhorted them not to attempt a Victory, in which so many of their fellow-citizens must inevitably perish, nor to pass any sentence upon them unheard. In short, his mediation had such an effect, that the Bardi and Frescobaldi, with many of their friends, being allowed by the Signiory to leave the city, retired to their castles in the Country without any impediment or molestation.

After they were gone and the people disarmed, the Signiory proceeded against such only of the Families of the Bardi and Frescobaldi as had actually been in arms: and to lessen their power, they bought the Castles of Mangona and Vernia of the Bardi, and made a law that no Citizen for the future should possess any Castle within twenty miles of Florence. Not many months after, Stiatto Frescobaldi was beheaded, and several others of that family proclaimed Rebels. However, it did not sufficiently satiate the revenge of those in the administration, to have conquered and suppressed those families: but, like almost all other men (whose insolence commonly increases with their power) they grew more imperious and arbitrary as they grew stronger: for though they had only one Captain of the Guards to tyrannize over the city before, they now appointed another, to reside in the Country, and vested him with very great authority: so that any one who was in the least obnoxious to the government, could not live quietly either within the city or without it. The Nobility in particular were daily abused and insulted by them in such a manner,
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that they only waited for an opportunity to revenge themselves at any rate: and as one soon after happened, they did not fail to take the advantage of it.

During the many troubles that had happened in Tuscany and Lombardy, the city of Lucca was fallen under the Dominion of Mastino dell Scala Lord of Verona, who, though he was under an engagement to give it up to the Florentines, did not think fit to perform it: for as he was also Lord of Parma, and imagined he was strong enough to maintain himself in possession, he made little account of that promise. The Florentines, to revenge this breach of faith, joined the Venetians, and made so vigorous a war upon him, that he was in great danger of losing all his territories: but they got little by it in the end, except the satisfaction of having distressed their enemy. For the Venetians, according to the custom of all States that enter into any league or alliance with others, that are weaker than themselves, having seized upon Trevisi and Vicenza, made a separate peace, without any regard to the interest of their Confederates. Soon after, the Visconti, Lords of Milan, took Parma from Mastino, who finding himself no longer able to keep Lucca after such a diminution of his strength, resolved to sell it. The Florentines and Pisans were competitors in the purchase; but whilst they were bartering for it, the Pisans seeing they should be out-bid, as they were not so rich as the others, had recourse to arms, and, joining with the Visconti, laid siege to the town. The Florentines, however, were not at all discouraged at this, but proceeded in their bargain, and having agreed upon the price, paid down part of the money to Mastino, and gave him Hostages for the rest: in consequence of which, Naddo Rucellai, Giovanni Bernardino de Medici, and Rosso the son of Ricciardo de Ricci, were sent to take possession; who forcing their way into the town through the Pisan Camp, were received by Mastino, and had it delivered into their hands. The Pisans, nevertheless, continued the siege, and endeavoured

voured by all possible means to make themselves masters of the place : and the Florentines, on the other hand, were no less solicitous to relieve it : but after a long struggle they were at last driven out of it, with much dishonour and the loss of all their purchase-money. This disaster (as it usually happens in the like cases) threw the people of Florence into such a rage against their Governors, that they publicly insulted and upbraided them with their ill conduct and administration, in all places and upon every opportunity.

In the beginning of the war, the management of it had been committed to twenty Citizens, who appointed Malatesta da Rimini Commander in Chief of their forces in that Expedition : but as he executed that charge with little courage and less discretion, they solicited Robert, King of Naples, for supplies ; which he accordingly sent them under the command of Gualtier, Duke of Athens, who, as the evil destiny of the city would have it, arrived there just at the time when the enterprize against Lucca had miscarried. Upon his coming, the twenty superintendants of the war, seeing the people enraged to the highest degree, thought either to sooth them with fresh hopes, and take away all further occasion of obloquy, or to bridle them effectually by chusing a new General : and as they were still in great fear of the multitude, they first made the Duke of Athens Conservator of the Peace, and then their Commander in Chief, that he might have both authority and power sufficient to defend them. But as many of the Nobility had been formerly acquainted with Gualtier (when he was Governor of Florence, for Charles, Duke of Calabria) and were still highly discontented for the reasons above-mentioned, they resolved, now they had so fair an opportunity, to take their revenge, even though it should occasion the destruction of the city ; imagining there was no other way left to get the better of the people, who had so long domineered over them, but to reduce them into subjection to a
Prince,

Prince, who being well acquainted with the worth and generosity of the Nobility and the insolence of the Commons, might treat both parties according to their deserts: besides which considerations, they presumed he would shew them no little favour, if he should obtain the supreme Government of the city, chiefly by their assistance and co-operation. To facilitate these designs, they had many private meetings, at which they earnestly persuaded him to take the government wholly into his hands, and promised to support him with all their interest and power. Several of the most considerable Commoners likewise joined them, particularly the families of the Peruzzi, Acciaiuoli, Antellesi, and Buonaccorsi, who had contracted great debts, and not being able to pay them out of their own estates, were desirous of getting those of other people into their hands; and to free themselves from the importunity of their Creditors, were ready to enslave their Country. Such encouragement and so fair an opportunity, inflamed the Duke, who was naturally ambitious, with a still greater thirst of power: and to ingratiate himself with the lower sort of the people by acting like a just and upright Magistrate, he ordered a process to be commenced against those that had been entrusted with the management of the late war against the Lucchese: in consequence of which, Giovanni de Medici, Naddo Rucellai, and Guglielmo Altoviti were put to death, and several others banished, and many obliged to pay large sums of money for their pardon. This severe manner of proceeding alarmed the middle sort of Citizens, though it was very grateful to the Nobility and common people, as the latter generally take pleasure in executions, and the former were not a little rejoiced at the fall of those by whom they had been so grievously oppressed. So that whenever the Duke passed through the streets, they resounded with acclamations and praises of his justice and resolution, whilst every one exhorted him to persevere in his endeavours

deavours to detect the guilty and bring them to condign punishment.

Upon this change, the authority of the Twenty began to decline, and the awe and reputation of the Duke to increase so fast, that every Citizen, to shew himself well affected to him, had the Neapolitan arms painted over his door; nor was any thing wanting but the mere title, to make him a Prince. And being now strong enough, as he imagined, to attempt any thing with security, he gave the Signiory to understand, "That he thought it necessary for the good of the city, that the supreme power should be vested in him; and therefore, as it was a thing agreeable to all the rest of the Citizens, he required them to resign their authority."

The Signiory, notwithstanding they had long foreseen the ruin of their city, were not a little embarrassed at this demand; and though they were sensible of the danger they were in, yet that they might not seem wanting in any act of duty to their country, they boldly refused to comply with it. Upon which, the Duke, (who out of an affectation of Religion and Humility, had taken up his quarters at the monastery of Santa Croce) in order to give the finishing stroke to his wicked designs, immediately issued out a Proclamation, wherein he commanded all the people to appear before him the next morning in the piazza belonging to that Convent. At this proclamation, the Signiory were still more alarmed than they had been at his first message; and having called together such of the Citizens as they thought most zealous for the liberty of their country, it was resolved, since the power of the Duke was so great, and there was no other remedy left, to apply to him in an humble and supplicatory manner; and try whether they could prevail upon him by entreaties, now force was insufficient, to desist from this attempt; or if that could not be effected, at least to govern them with more gentleness and moderation. For this purpose, they deputed some of their Members to
wait

wait upon him; one of whom addressed him in the following manner:

“ My Lord,

“ We are come hither to express our surprize, in the first place, at your Demand, and in the next, at your Proclamation to assemble the people; presuming it is your intention to extort that from us by violence, which, upon private application, we could not in duty comply with. It is not our design to oppose force by force, but rather to represent to you the heaviness of that burden which you are so desirous to take upon your own shoulders, and the dangers that are likely to attend it; that so you may hereafter remember and distinguish betwixt our advice and that which is given you by others, not out of any regard to your person or interest, but to satiate their own revenge and ambition. You are endeavouring to enslave our city, which has ever been free; for the Government of it, which formerly has sometimes been conferred on the Kings of Naples, or some other of their House, was rather in consequence of an alliance or association, than of a forced subjection. Have you considered how dear and important the love of Liberty must be to such a Commonwealth as ours? A principle that no force can ever subdue, no length of time can ever wear away, nor any other consideration over-balance. Recollect, Sir, I beseech you, how great a force will be necessary to keep so powerful a city in subjection. All the foreign Mercenaries you can hire will not be sufficient, and the Citizens you cannot confide in: for those who at present seem to be your friends, and at whose instigation you have taken this resolution, will be the first to conspire your ruin, in order to usurp the government themselves, when they have wreaked their malice upon their fellow-citizens, by your means and assistance. The populace, which you chiefly trust to, will turn against you upon any little disgust; so that in a short time, you may expect to see the whole city

in arms, which will infallibly prove the destruction both of you and itself: for those Princes only can be secure in their government, who have but few enemies, and such as are easy to be taken off either by banishment or death: but against a universal disaffection, there can be no security; as it will be impossible to guess with any certainty, from what hand the stroke may come; and whosoever he is, that has reason to fear every man, cannot be safe against any one. For if he cuts off some, he is sure to expose himself to still greater dangers, by enflaming the hatred of those that are left, and making them more implacable and ripe for revenge. That time is not able to eradicate the love of Liberty, is sufficiently evident; since it has often happened in States where the citizens themselves were not free, that many have exerted their most strenuous endeavours to be so, merely upon the report of the blessings of Liberty, which they have received from their fathers; and when they succeeded, and tasted the sweets of freedom, have despised all difficulties and dangers to maintain it. And indeed, if they had never heard of any such thing from their ancestors, the daily sight of the public palaces, the courts of justice, the colours of their militia, and other monuments of former Liberty, would naturally have inspired them with a love of it. What exploits or degree of merit, therefore, on your side, though ever so considerable and endearing, can possibly be a sufficient recompence for the loss of our Liberty, or what do you think can ever make us forget the happiness we once enjoyed? If you was to add all Tuscany to this State, and return to the city daily crowned with fresh victories over our enemies, the Honour would be yours and not ours, and the citizens would gain fellow-slaves rather than subjects, which would only serve to aggravate their misery. And though you should be religious, or affable, or just, or bountiful to the last degree, believe me, all would not be sufficient to gain the affections of the
peo-

people; if you think otherwise, you only deceive yourself; for to men that have once lived free, the lightest chain will seem heavy, and the least restraint intolerable. In a State, which has been reduced to subjection by force, it is not possible that the citizens should live contentedly, even under a good prince; and it must necessarily happen, if he does not conform himself to their desires, that either one party or the other will soon be ruined. We leave you to judge, therefore, whether it will be better for you to endeavour to usurp an absolute dominion over this city, and to hold it by downright force of arms, (for which the possession of all the forts and guards within, and all the friends that could be raised abroad, have often been found insufficient) or to be content with the authority and power we have already given you. We would recommend the latter of these two measures to you, because that Dominion only can be of long continuance, which is voluntarily conferred; and advise you not to suffer yourself to be blindly led by ambition, to the brink of a precipice, where you can neither retreat nor advance, and from whence you will inevitably be thrown down and overwhelmed in the ruins of the Commonwealth."

These expostulations made but little impression upon the Duke, who said, "That it was so far from being his design to take away their liberty, that he came thither on purpose to restore it: that Citizens divided amongst themselves were no better than slaves, whilst those that were united might properly be called free: that if he could extinguish private ambition and intestine discord in Florence, by his manner of governing, surely he might be said to re-establish their freedom, and not to deprive them of it: that he did not assume the government out of any ambition of his own, but accepted it at the entreaties of many of their fellow-citizens, and therefore they would do well to concur with them in the choice they had made of him. That as to the dangers he was likely to expose himself to in this undertaking, he did not

not

not regard them ; as it would be mean and pusillanimous to decline an opportunity of doing good, for fear of any evil that might ensue ; and that none but cowards would lay aside a glorious enterprise, merely upon the uncertainty of success. That he hoped to behave himself in such a manner, as would soon oblige them to acknowledge they had feared him too much, and trusted him too little." The Signiory finding by this answer, that no good was to be done, were forced to consent, that the people should assemble the next morning in the Piazza before their palace, and the government be transferred, by their authority, to the Duke, for the space of one year, upon the same conditions that it had been formerly committed into the hands of the Duke of Calabria.

On the eighth of September, 1342, the Duke, attended by Giovanni della Tosa, with all his friends, and many other citizens, came into the Piazza : and taking the Signiory with him, mounted the * Ringhiera, or landing-place, at the top of the steps before the Palace Gate, where he caused the Agreement betwixt him and the Signiory to be publickly read ; and when the person who read it came to that Article, where the government was said to be given him for a year, the people shouted out, *for life, for life*. Upon which, Francisco Rusticegli, one of the Signiory, rose up to have spoken, and endeavoured to compose the tumult ; but he was interrupted, and could not be heard. So that the Duke was made their Sovereign Lord by the consent of the people, not for a year only, but for ever ; and afterwards carried about the Piazza in a chair, amidst the acclamations of the multitude. It is a custom amongst the Florentines, that whoever is appointed captain of the Palace Guard, is to shut himself close up in it, in the absence

* As it was usual to address the people upon publick occasions from this and other such eminences, the word *Ringhiera* came at last to signify a Rostrum, Pulpit, or reading Desk. From hence, I suppose, comes the Italian Verb *aringar*, the French *haranguer*, and the English *to harangue*.

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of the Signiory. This charge happened at that time to be in the hands of Rinieri Giotto, who being corrupted by the Duke's friends, admitted him into the palace without making any resistance, to the great offence and dishonour of the Signiory, who returned to their own houses, and left it to be plundered by the Duke's servants, after they had torn the Standard of the City to pieces, and planted their master's there in its stead: at which, all the good Citizens were infinitely grieved and mortified, whilst those that either out of malice or stupidity had consented to this election, did not a little rejoice.

The Duke was no sooner in possession of the Government, but in order to take away the authority of those who had been the most zealous advocates for their liberties, he forbade the Signiory to assemble any more at the Palace, and assigned them a private house to meet in. He took away the colours from the Gonfaloniers of the several Companies; he repealed the old Laws against the Nobility, he discharged all Prisoners, recalled the Bardi and Frescobaldi from banishment, prohibited the wearing of swords or other arms, and to secure himself against his enemies within the City, he made as many friends as he could in the adjacent territories: for which purpose, he shewed great favour to the people of Arezzo, and all others that were in any wise dependent upon the city of Florence. He concluded a peace with the Pisans, though he had been vested with absolute power on purpose to carry on the war against them with greater vigour. He took away the securities and assignments from the Merchants, who had lent money to the State, in the war with the Lucchese, and not only increased the former taxes, but exacted new ones from the people. He entirely dissolved the authority of the Signiory, and set up three new Rettori or Judges, Baglione da Perugia, Guglielmo da Scesi, and Cerettieri Visdomini, who were his council upon all occasions. The imposts he laid upon the Citizens were very grievous, his judicial proceedings partial and unjust, and that
humi-

humility and shew of Religion which he had put on at first, were now succeeded by such an intolerable degree of haughtiness and cruelty, that many of the Nobility, and most considerable Commoners, were condemned and put to death, after they had been tortured in a new and unheard-of manner. His tyranny was no less insupportable in the Country than in the City: for after a while, he appointed six more Judges, to plunder and oppress the other towns. He was jealous of the Nobility, though he lay under great obligations to some of them, and had recalled others from exile; as he thought they were too generous and high-spirited to bear with his insolent manner of governing. Upon which account, he began to pay his court to the people, by whose favour, and the assistance of foreign forces, he hoped he should be able to support himself in his tyrannical usurpation.

In the month of May, at which time the Florentines usually celebrate many Holidays, he caused the inferior sort of people to be divided into several Companies, to which he gave pay, and honoured them with colours and splendid titles: upon which, there was nothing but feasting and rejoicings to be seen in every part of the city, one half of the inhabitants being employed in visiting, and the other in receiving, and entertaining them. And when the news of his great power and authority began to be spread abroad, many of the French nation resorted to his court, to whom he gave preferments, and shewed more favour than to any others, as persons whom he thought he might thoroughly confide in: so that Florence in a short time became subject not only to French men, but to the French customs and dress, every one of both sexes endeavouring to imitate their fashions, without any regard to modesty, or even common decency. But what seemed more intolerable was, the violence that was offered by him and his followers, to all sorts of women, from the lowest to the highest. The citizens therefore were provoked beyond all patience, to see the majesty of their government thus trampled

trampled upon, their ordinances abolished, their Laws annulled, all honest conversation corrupted, and modesty every where despised and insulted: for those who had not been accustomed to regal pomp, could not, without infinite concern, behold the Duke parading the City, surrounded by guards, both on foot and on horseback. But as there was no remedy, they were forced to court and honour him in appearance, whilst they mortally hated him in their hearts: and they were not a little terrified at the frequent executions, and continual impositions, with which he weakened and impoverished the City. Nor was the Duke himself ignorant of the general odium he had incurred, or without fears of his own, upon that account; tho' he affected to appear, as if he thought himself extremely beloved.

It happened, that Matteo de Morozzi, either to gain the Duke's favour, or to exculpate himself, discovered a certain plot against him, in which the family of the Medici, and some others, were concerned: but the Duke was so far from making an enquiry into it, that he ordered the Informer to be put to death*: by which manner of proceeding, he deterred every one from giving him any sort of information that was necessary for his safety, and gave great encouragement to such as conspired his destruction,

* This was acting in a manner very different from most Tyrants, and indeed from many wise States and Princes, who have always thought it necessary to encourage Informers, at least to a certain degree, upon this maxim, that if men are falsely accused, they will be acquitted when they are brought to a fair trial; and those who are guilty, cannot be punished if they are not first accused. Tully, in his oration *pro Sextio Roscio*, says, that though the Dogs that were kept in the Capitol could not distinguish thieves from honest men, yet their barking at every body that came thither in the night, was of use, as it served to alarm the people, and put them upon their guard. Thus it is the interest of the State to encourage accusers, in order to deter those who might otherwise disturb the public tranquillity. Antoninus Pius, however, would neither listen to Informers, nor suffer such to be punished as had been actually concerned in conspiracies against him: and when the Senate was very urgent with him, to make an enquiry into their proceedings, he answered, "he did not chuse to have it known, that there was any body who did not love him." Victor. in Vit. Anton. Pii.

He likewise caused the tongue of Bettoni Cini to be cut out, with such circumstances of cruelty, that he died of it; and for no other reason, but because he had complained of the heavy taxes that he had laid upon the city: an act of barbarity which exceedingly increased the rage and disdain of the Citizens, who having been used both to say and to do every thing with the greatest freedom, could not bear to have their hands tied up, and their mouths stopped in this manner.

These outrages were sufficient to rouse not only the Florentines, (who neither know how to value their liberty nor endure slavery) but even the most abject nation upon earth, to attempt the recovery of their freedom. Many of the Citizens therefore, of all ranks, were determined either to shake off the yoke, or to die gloriously in the cause of Liberty: so that there were three Conspiracies on foot against him, at the same time, amongst three different sorts of people, the Nobility, the Commons, and the Artificers and Tradesmen. For besides the motives arising from a general oppression, each party had its particular reasons. The Commons had been deprived of the government, the Nobility were not restored to it, and the Tradesmen had lost all their business. Agnolo Acciaivoli, who was then Archbishop of Florence, at first had highly extolled the actions and good qualities of the Duke in some of his Sermons to the people, and wonderfully conciliated their affections to him: but when he saw him in full possession of the Government, and exercising his power in that arbitrary and despotic manner, he began to think he had abused his fellow Citizens; and to make them some amends, resolved to put himself at the head of the first and most powerful conspiracy, in which he engaged with the Bardi, Rossi, Frescobaldi, Scali, Altoviti, Magalotti, Strozzi, and Mancini. The principal conductors of the second conspiracy were Manno and Corso Donati, and under them the Pazzi, Cavicciulli, Cerchi and Albizi. Of the third, Antonio
Adi-

Adimari was the Head, and joined by the families of the Medici, Bordini, Rucellai, and Aldobrandini. Their design was to have killed him in the house of the Albizi, whither it was imagined he would come on Midsummer-day to see the Horse-races; but, as it happened, he did not go thither on that day, and their design was disappointed. The next proposal was, to assassinate him in the street: but that was thought too difficult, because he always went well armed and attended: and as he seldom took the same round twice together, they could not certainly tell where it would be most proper to lie in wait for him. Some were of opinion it would be the best way to dispatch him in the Council: but then it was considered that even after he was dead, they must of necessity be left to the discretion of his Guards.

Whilst these things were in debate amongst the conspirators, Antonio Adimari communicated the affair to some of his friends at Siena in hopes of their assistance, told them the names of the principal persons that were engaged in it, and assured them the whole city was disposed to shake off their yoke: upon which, one of the Sieneſe imparted the matter to Francisco Brunelleschi, not with any design to have betrayed the conspiracy, but because he took it for granted that he was privy to it; and Francisco, either out of fear or malice to some that were concerned, discovered the whole to the Duke, who immediately ordered Paolo da Mazzecca and Simone da Montezappoli to be apprehended. These two being examined made a full confession, and acquainted the Duke with the number and quality of the conspirators, at which he was not a little frightened: however, after he had consulted his friends, he thought fit rather to summon the rest to appear before him, than to lay violent hands upon them; because if they fled, the danger would be over without any further disturbance. In consequence of this resolution, he in the first place sent for Adimari, who relying upon the number and support of his accomplices, boldly made

his appearance and was sent to prison. After this step, he was advised by Francisco Brunelleschi and Ugucione Buondelmonte to go to the houses of the others with his guards, and to seize upon them there and put them to death: but considering how many enemies he had in the town, he thought he had not strength sufficient to do that, and therefore took another resolution, which if it had succeeded, would have freed him from the most powerful of his enemies, and made him strong enough to over-awe the rest.

It had been his custom to call the Citizens together and desire their opinions and advice upon any emergency; and now having assembled as many forces as he could, he drew out a list of three hundred Citizens and gave it to his serjeants to summon every one of them, on a pretence that he wanted to consult with them; designing when they were met, either to kill or imprison them all. But the confinement of Adimari, and the gathering together such a number of armed men, which could not be done without some bustle, made many of them, especially the Conspirators, so suspicious, that the most resolute amongst them positively refused to obey the summons. After the list had been read by them all, they had a meeting, in which they encouraged each other to take up arms and die like men with their swords in their hands, rather than suffer themselves to be driven like sheep to the slaughter: so that in less than an hour all those that were concerned in the different Conspiracies, having communicated their designs to each other, resolved to raise a tumult the next day (which was the 26th of July 1342) in the old Market-place, upon which they were all to take arms and excite the people to rise and attempt the recovery of their liberty. The next day therefore, when the Bell rung for Nones *, they all rose, as had been agreed on, and

* The original is, *al suono di nona*. The Italians begin their account of hours from sun set, and end it at sun set again, which in-

at the cry of *Liberty, Liberty*, the people likewise ran to arms in their several Quarters, under the Colours of the City, which had been secretly delivered to them before hand by the Conspirators for that purpose. All the heads of families, both of the Nobility and Commonalty, met together and took an Oath to stand by each other in their own defence and the destruction of the Duke, except some of the Buondelmonti and Cavalcanti, and those four families of the Commoners that had been the chief instruments in conferring the sovereignty upon him, who ran armed to the Piazza of the Palace with a parcel of Butchers and others of the dregs of the people at their heels to defend the Duke.

In the mean time the Duke, not a little alarmed at these proceedings, was very busy in fortifying the Palace; and those of his Guards that lodged in other parts of the city, mounted their horses and rode towards the Piazza; but in their way thither they were attacked several times and many of them killed. However, as about three hundred Horse had assembled there to support him, he was in doubt whether he should sally out and face his enemies, or defend himself in the Palace. On the other hand, the Medici, Cavicciulli, Rucellai, and other families who had suffered most by him, were apprehensive that if he should make a sally, many who had taken arms against him would declare themselves his friends: and therefore being resolved to prevent him from sallying out and gaining more strength, they drew up and attacked his forces that were assembled in the Piazza. Upon this, the families which appeared at first in the Duke's defence, seeing themselves so vi-

cludes a space of twenty four hours. And as the sun sets with them about nine o'clock at that season of the Year, their ninth hour must be about six the next morning, as we reckon time.—*Il suono di nona*, is also often used by Italian writers, for ringing the bell for Nones about mid day, which is one of their stated hours of prayer. The latter seems to be meant here, as the tumult was to be begun in the Market-place, which at that time of the day might be supposed to be fullest of people.

gorously assaulted, immediately changed their side, and deserting him in his distress, all joined their fellow-citizens, except Ugucione Buondelmonte, who withdrew into the Palace, and Gianozzo Cavalcanti who retreated with some of his party into the New Market, where he got upon a table and made an harangue to the people, in which he earnestly exhorted those whom he found in arms there to hasten to the Duke's assistance. And to intimidate them, he magnified his strength, and told them, that every man of them would be put to death if they persisted in their rebellion against their Prince. But as nobody either seemed to regard him or thought it worth their while to chastise him for his insolence, after he had taken much pains to no purpose, he resolved not to hazard his person any longer, and sneaked away to his own house. The dispute was very sharp in the mean time betwixt the people and the Duke's party in the Piazza, and though the latter were reinforced from the Palace, they were worsted, part of them surrendering to the enemy, others quitting their horses and escaping on foot into the Palace. Whilst they were thus engaged in the Piazza, Corso and Amerigo Donati with some others of the people broke open the Prisons, burnt the records of the Judges Courts and publick Chamber, plundered the houses of the Magistrates and killed all the Duke's creatures they could meet with. The Duke on the other hand, seeing the Piazza was lost, that the whole city was become his enemy, and no hopes of relief left, resolved to try if he could regain the affections of the people by some acts of grace and indulgence. For which purpose he knighted Antonio Adimari in the first place, though much against his own inclination, and with very little satisfaction to the other: he then sent for all the rest whom he had imprisoned, and set them at liberty with promises of his future friendship and favour: he likewise caused his own standard to be taken down, and that of the people to be set up again at the Palace: all which things being done in a very ungracious

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manner, and out of mere necessity, had but little effect. So that he still continued blocked up in the Palace to his great mortification; when he saw that by grasping at too much power he was likely to lose all, and either to be famished or massacred in a few days.

After this success, the Citizens assembled in St. Reparata's in order to reform the Government, and appointed fourteen persons, one half of them of the Nobility and the other of the Commoners, who in conjunction with the Archbishop should have full power to new-model the State as they pleased. They also committed the authority of the Podesta to six Magistrates, who were to administer justice till the arrival of the person whom they should make choice of to fill that Office. There were many people in Florence at that time, who had come thither to the assistance of the Citizens; and amongst the rest, six Deputies from Siena, men of great esteem in their own Country, who endeavoured to bring about some accommodation betwixt the people and the Duke. But the people absolutely refused to listen to any overtures of that kind, except Guglielmo da Scesi, together with his son and Cerettieri Visdomini, were delivered up to them, which the Duke would not consent to by any means, till the threats of those that were blocked up with him in the Palace obliged him to comply. Greater certainly and more cruel is the resentment of the People when they have recovered their liberty, than when they are acting in defence of it. Guglielmo and his Son were brought out and given up to thousands of their enemies; and though the Son was not quite eighteen years of age, yet neither his youth, nor innocence, nor the gracefulness of his person were sufficient to protect him from the rage of the multitude. Many who could not get near enough to reach them whilst they were alive, thrust their swords into them after they were dead: and not content with this, they tore their carcasses to pieces with their nails and teeth: that so all their senses might be glutted with revenge; and after they had feasted

their ears with their groans, their eyes with their wounds, and their touch with tearing the flesh off their bones; as if all this was not enough, the taste likewise might have its share and be gratified. This savage Barbarity, how fatal soever to those two, was the preservation of Cerettieri; for the people having spent their fury upon these unfortunate men, entirely forgot him, and he was privately conveyed in the night by some of his friends and relations out of the Palace into a place of security.

When the people were thus satiated with blood, the Duke and his friends were suffered to withdraw with their effects unmolested out of Florence, on condition that he would renounce all claim and pretensions to any authority over the city, and ratify his renunciation when he got to Casentino, a place out of the Florentine Dominions; in pursuance of which agreement, he left Florence on the sixth of August, escorted by many of the Citizens, and upon his arrival at Casentino, confirmed his renunciation, though with much reluctance; and indeed it is very likely he would not have done it at all, if Conte Simone had not threatened to carry him back again to Florence*. This Prince, as his actions have fully shewn, was of a sanguinary and avaricious disposition, difficult of access, and haughty in his answers. As he did not regard the affections of the people, whom he hoped to enslave, he rather chose to be feared than loved. Nor was his person less disagreeable* than his behaviour was odious. For he was very low of stature,

* Livy relates, l. xxiv. c. 22. that Dionysius the tyrant used to say, "That rather than return to a private condition on horseback, he would be dragged to it by the feet." It is no wonder, indeed, that tyrants resign their power with reluctance; for when they have done so, how can they refund the sums of which they have plundered their country? How can they indemnify those whom they have imprisoned? How can they restore life to the persons they have put to death? Who will defend them against the general resentment of the people? Periander said, "it was dangerous for a tyrant to abdicate even of his own accord." Yet Sylla did it, and died a natural death, after he had shed the blood of 100,000 private men, 90 Senators, 15 of consular dignity, and above 2000 Gentlemen.

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of a swarthy complexion, with a long thin beard: so that he was every way despicable and worthy of general contempt: and the enormities of his administration in the course of about ten months, deprived him of that Dominion which he had acquired by the contrivance and co-operation of bad Citizens.

This revolution in the city encouraged all the rest of the towns under the jurisdiction of the Florentines to take up arms for their liberties; so that in a short time, Arezzo, Castiglione, Pistoia, Volterra, Colle and St. Gimignano revolted; and the whole territory of Florence, after the example of its Metropolis, shook off its yoke and became entirely free: in this manner, the Florentines, by the steps they took to recover their own liberty, at the same time taught their Vassals to do the like.

After the Duke was thus deposed, the Council of fourteen and the Archbishop consulting together, thought it would be better to attach their former subjects to them by pacific measures, than to widen the breach by hostilities; and pretending to be no less pleased with their liberty than their own, they sent Deputies to Arezzo to renounce the Sovereignty which they before had over it, and to enter into an alliance with the Citizens: that so, though they could not for the future command them as subjects, they might upon occasion make use of their assistance as friends. This prudent resolution had a very good effect; for all the rest of the towns, except Arezzo, returned to their former obedience in a few months, and Arezzo itself followed their example not many years after. Thus experience shews that some ends are obtained with less danger and expence by coolness and indifference, than by pursuing them with passion and impetuosity.

When affairs abroad were composed in this manner, they began to settle the form of their government at home; and after some disputes betwixt the Nobility and the People, it was agreed that one third of the Signiory, and one half of the other Magistrates

strates and other Officers of State should consist of the Nobility. The city, as we have said before, was divided into six parts, each of which chose one of the Signiory; and though it sometimes happened that their number was increased to twelve or thirteen, yet they were afterwards reduced again to six. But as these six parts were not duly proportioned, and they designed to give more power and authority to the Nobility, it was necessary to make a new regulation in this point, and to increase the number of the Signiory. They divided the city therefore into quarters, and chose three of the Signiory out of each. The Gonfalonier della Giustizia, and those of the several Companies were laid aside; and instead of the twelve Buonhuomini, they created eight Counsellors, four of each quality. The commonwealth being settled upon this bottom, might have continued quiet and happy, if the Nobility could have been content to confine themselves within the bounds of that moderation which is requisite in all republican governments. But their behaviour was quite contrary: for as they had always disdained the thoughts of equality, even when they lived a private life, so now they were in the magistracy they thought to domineer over the whole city, and every day produced fresh instances of their pride and arrogance; which exceedingly galled the people when they saw they had deposed one Tyrant, only to make room for a thousand †.

Things being thus circumstanced, the insolence of one side, and the indignation and impatience of the other, at last increased to such a height, that the Heads of the people complained to the Archbishop of the enormities of the Nobility and the haughtiness with which they were treated by them; beseeching him to use his endeavours to bring it about that they might be confined to a certain share in the other offices, and leave the Signiory to be filled by Commoners

† It often happens, says an ingenious writer, that more disorders are occasioned by conspiracies, which put an end to tyranny, than there would have been by suffering it.

only.

only. The Archbishop was naturally a good man, but of a fickle inconstant disposition and easily moved to change his side: So that his acquaintance at first prevailed upon him to appear in favour of the Duke of Athens, and afterwards, at the persuasion of other Citizens, he conspired against him: in the late Reformation he exerted himself for the Nobility, and now he was induced, by the sollicitation of the people, to turn his back upon them; and imagining he should find other people as easy to be wrought upon as himself, he made no doubt of bringing the Nobility to comply with those proposals. For this purpose, he called together the *Fourteen*, who were yet in authority, and made use of the mildest and most plausible arguments to prevail upon them to give up the Signiory to the People, if they had any regard to the peace of the city, or their own safety and preservation. But these admonitions had a very different effect upon the Nobility, from what he expected: for Ridolpho de Bardi taking him up very sharply, upbraided him with levity and perfidy in first coming over to the Duke, and then deserting him in his distress; and concluded with saying, "that as they had acquired the honours they enjoyed with the peril of their lives, they would maintain them in the same manner": after which, he and his friends abruptly withdrew, and leaving the Archbishop, went directly to inform all the rest of the Nobility of what had passed. Those of the Commoners that were of the *Fourteen*, likewise acquainted their party with these proceedings: and whilst the Nobility were raising what force they could, for the defence of their friends that were in the Signiory, the Commons also, not caring to wait till they were grown too strong, instantly took arms and ran to the Palace, where they furiously called upon the Nobles to resign all share in the administration. The tumult being very great, the Signiory were deserted: for the Nobility seeing all the people in arms, durst not appear, but kept close at home. Upon which, the Commoners that were

were of the Signiory, endeavoured to pacify the Multitude, by protesting, that their Associates were good and worthy men: but not succeeding in that attempt, in order to protect them from further danger, they sent them to their own houses, whither they got with much difficulty. After the Nobles in the Signiory were thus deprived of their authority, the four Counsellors of their order were also turned out of their offices, and the remaining number increased to twelve, which consisted of Commoners only: besides which, the eight that remained in the Signiory, not only made a new Gonfalonier di Giustizia and sixteen other Gonfaloniers over the Companies of the people, but modelled all the Councils in such a manner, that the government was now entirely in the hands of the people.

During these transactions, there happened a great dearth in Florence: so that there were very grievous discontents both amongst the Nobility and common people; the former repining at the loss of their authority, and the latter murmuring for want of bread. These clamours encouraged Andrea Strozzi to make an attempt upon the liberties of the city. For as he sold his corn at a cheaper rate than others, it drew such numbers to his House, that he boldly mounted his horse one morning, and putting himself at the head of them, called upon all the rest of the people to take up arms: by which means he had got together above four thousand men in less than an hour, and conducting them to the palace of the Signiory, demanded the doors of it to be thrown open to him. But the Signiory, partly by threats, and partly by force of arms, happily disengaged themselves from them; and afterwards terrified them by issuing out one Proclamation after another, that the multitude dissolved by little and little, and every man returned to his own house, leaving Andrea alone to shift for himself as well as he could; so that it was with no little difficulty that he escaped the hands of the magistrates. The attempt was bold indeed, and though
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it did not succeed, (as such rash enterprizes seldom do) yet it gave the Nobility fresh hopes of recovering their power, now they saw the inferior sort of people so incensed against the Commons. Not to neglect so fair an opportunity therefore, they resolved to take arms, and make use of all manner of allies to regain that by force, which they conceived had been taken from them with so much injustice. And to insure success, they provided themselves with arms, fortified their houses, and sent to their friends in Lombardy for supplies.

The Commons and the Signiory on the other hand were no less busy in arming themselves, and sent to the Siense and Perugians to desire their assistance: so that when the auxiliaries on each side arrived, the whole city was soon in arms. The Nobility drew up in three divisions, on this side the Arno, at the houses of the Cavicciulli near St. John's, at those of the Pazzi and Donati near St. Pietro Maggiore, and at those of the Cavalcanti in the New Market: whilst such of them as lived on the other side of the River, fortified the Bridges and Streets that were near their houses. The Nerli took possession of the Ponte alla Carraia; the Frescobaldi and Mannelli, of that of St. Trinita; the Rossi and the Bardi, of the old Bridge and the Rubaconte. The Commons in the mean time, having assembled under the Gonfalone, or Standard della Giustizia, and the colours of their respective companies, resolved to attack the enemy without further delay. Accordingly the Medici and Rondinelli immediately fell upon the Cavicciulli in the avenue that led from St. John's Piazza to the place where their houses stood. The action continued very hot and bloody for the space of three hours, during which, they had great stones tumbled down upon their heads from the tops of the houses, and were terribly galled with cross bows below: but as the number of the enemy continually increased, the Cavicciulli seeing themselves over-powered at last, and destitute of all relief, were forced to surrender
to

to the people, who spared their houses and effects, and were content with taking away their arms only, and distributing them, disarmed as they were, amongst the houses of the Commoners that were their friends or relations. When the Cavicciulli were thus defeated, the Pazzi and Donati, who had not so much strength, were soon reduced; so that the Cavalcanti only remained entire on this side of the River, who were more considerable both in respect of their numbers and the strength of their situation. But as they saw all the companies now advancing against them, and their associates had been worsted by three of them only, they submitted without making much resistance. Three parts of the city out of four were now in the hands of the people; but that which still continued in the possession of the Nobility, was more inaccessible and difficult to be stormed than any of the rest, not only on account of the numbers that defended it, but because it was so secured by the River, that it was necessary to be masters of the Bridges in the first place, which, as we have already said, were very well fortified. A vigorous attack, however, was made upon the old Bridge, which was no less resolutely sustained; and as the turrets were garrisoned, the avenues blocked up, and the barricadoes guarded by the stoutest of their men, the people were repulsed with considerable loss. When they found therefore that all further attempts would be in vain at that pass, they resolved, if it was possible, to force their way over the Ponte Rubaconte: but meeting with the same obstructions there, they left four companies to watch the motions of the enemy at those two Bridges, and marched with the rest to the Ponte alla Carraia. The Nerli had the defence of that pass, and though they behaved with great valour, yet they could not possibly maintain it; not only because there were no turrets there, but because the Capponi and other neighbouring families of the Commoners attack'd them at the same time in the rear; so that, being over-powered by numbers, they

they were forced to abandon their barricadoes, and give way to the fury of the assailants, who, having been joined by all the families of the Commoners on the other side of the River, then proceeded to attack the Rossi and Frescobaldi, and soon drove them from their posts. The only party that remained unconquered were the Bardi, who defended themselves in so courageous and obstinate a manner, that neither the defeat of their associates, nor the whole force of the people combined against them alone, nor the impossibility of any relief, could dismay them: and they rather chose to see their houses plundered and burnt down to the ground before their faces, and to die bravely with their arms in their hands, than tamely submit to the mercy of their enemy. With this resolution, they stood by each other so firmly, that though they were several times attacked both at the old Bridge and the Rubaconte, they as often repulsed the people at each place with great slaughter. There was an old obscure lane that led from the Via Romana, by the houses of the Pitti, to the wall upon St. George's Hill; through this lane, the people sent six companies, with orders to attack the back parts of the houses where the Bardi had fortified themselves: at which they were so disheartened, that the people, in a very short time, got the better of them. For as soon as they heard their houses were assaulted in that manner, those that guarded the Barricadoes at the Bridges, immediately quitted their Posts and ran to defend them: so that they were presently forced, and the Bardi being utterly routed and dispersed, took shelter in the houses of the Quaratesi, Panzanesi, and Mozzi. Upon which, the people, especially the inferior sort of them, naturally rapacious and greedy of spoil, began to plunder their houses, which they afterwards burnt down to the ground, and committed such other outrages as the bitterest enemy to the city of Florence would have been ashamed of.

The Nobility being in this manner entirely subdued, the people took upon them to reform the State;
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and as there were three degrees of them, it was ordained that the highest rank should have the nomination of two of the Signiory, the middle sort of three, and the lowest of three more: and that the Gonfalonier della Giustizia should be chosen by turns out of all three. Besides which, the old Laws were revived and put in execution against the Nobility; and to reduce them still more effectually, many of them were incorporated with the other classes. By these means they were brought so low, that they became abject and pusillanimous, and never durst rise any more against the people: so that being deprived of their arms and honours, their spirit and generosity likewise seemed to be extinguished. After this depression of the Nobles, the city continued in tranquillity till the year 1353, during which interval the great Plague happened, so eloquently described by Giovanni Boccaccio *, of which above ninety-six thousand people died in Florence. The first war with the Visconti likewise happened in this period, occasioned by the ambition of the Archbishop, who at that time was Prince of Milan; which war was no sooner ended, but new factions sprung up in the City; for though the Nobility were ruined, yet Fortune found other means to raise fresh troubles and dissensions.

* That author has taken great pains indeed, to describe this calamity in the most affecting manner, at the beginning of his Decamerone; and it is finely wrought up.

END OF THE SECOND BOOK.

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B O O K III.

A R G U M E N T .

Animosities betwixt the Nobility and People, the chief cause of disturbances in a city. The emulation betwixt the middle sort of People and the Plebeians. Several are admonished and rendered incapable of the Magistracy. The Speech of a Citizen to the Signiory. A reformation in Florence. Pope Gregory XI. resides at Avignon, and governs Italy by Legates. Eight Citizens appointed to act as secretaries at war. A conspiracy of the Guelphs defeated. The speech of Sylvestro de Medici. The Balia, a temporary council, instituted. Another reformation. The speech of Luigi Guicciardini to the Magistrates and Syndics of the Arts, when he was Gonfalonier di Giustizia. New disturbances arise from the discontents of the Plebeians. The Speech of a Plebeian. The Plebeians rise in arms. Their Demands. Michael di Lando, a wool-comber, puts himself at the head of them, and seizes upon the government. His character. He quells the Plebeians. The popular and Plebeian factions. Apprehension of a conspiracy. Many executions in Florence. Remarkable story of Pietro degli Albizi. Another model of government. The Plebeians are deprived of all share

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in it. Michael di Lando is banished. Lewis of Anjou comes into Italy, with an army, to drive Carlo Durazzo out of the kingdom of Naples, and re-establish Queen Giovanna there. The Florentines are afraid of him. His death. Carlo Durazzo is made King of Hungary, and dies there soon after. Benedetto degli Alberti is banished. The speech of Veri de Medici to the Signiory. Donato Acciaiuoli banished. A conspiracy defeated. The Duke of Milan conspires with the Exiles against Florence. The Plot is discovered. Several Families proclaimed Rebels and banished. The death of Ladislaus, King of Naples.

THE bitter animosities which generally happen between the people and Nobility from an ambition in the one to command, and a reluctance in the other to obey, are the natural sources of those calamities that are incident to Commonwealths; for all other evils that usually disturb their peace are both occasioned and fomented by this contrariety of dispositions. It was this that kept Rome, so long divided. This also (if we may be allowed to compare a small Republic with one that was so much more considerable) gave birth to the factions which sprung up in Florence; though indeed it produced very different effects at last in the two cities. For the disputes that first arose between the Nobility and people of Rome, were determined by reason and expostulation; but those at Florence by the sword. In Rome that was effected by the Laws, which in Florence could hardly be done by the banishment and death of numbers of their citizens. The quarrels of the Romans still added to their spirit and military virtue; whilst those of the Florentines utterly extinguished them. The former destroyed that equality which was at first established, and introduced a prodigious disparity amongst the Citizens: the latter, on the contrary, abolished all superiority or difference of rank, and put every man upon the same level. This diversity of effects must certainly have proceeded from

from a difference of views. The people of Rome desired no more than to share with the Nobility in the administration of the Commonwealth; but the people of Florence were not only desirous to have the government of the State to themselves, but used violent measures, and took up arms to exclude their Nobles from any part in it. And as the terms of the Roman people were more moderate, their demands seemed not unreasonable to the Nobility, who, therefore, complied with them; so that after some little bickerings, and without coming to an open rupture, a Law was made, by which the people were satisfied, and the Nobles continued in their honours and offices. On the other hand, the demands of the Florentine people were so extravagant and injurious, that the Nobility took up arms to support their privileges, and their quarrels grew to such a height, that numbers were either banished, or slain, before they could be ended; and the Laws afterwards made, were calculated rather for the private advantage of the victors than the good of the publick.

Hence it came to pass, that the success of the people of Rome made that State more potent and considerable: for as they were equally admitted to govern the Commonwealth, and to command their armies and provinces with the Nobility, they became inspired with the same virtue and magnanimity; and as they grew more public spirited, their power also increased. But in Florence, when the people had subdued the Nobility, they divested them of all manner of authority, and left them no possibility of recovering any part of it, except they would entirely conform to their customs and way of living, and not only submit to appear, but to be Commoners like themselves. And this was the reason that induced them to change their arms, and vary their titles, and the names of their families, which was so frequent in those times amongst the Nobility, in order to insinuate themselves into the affections of the people: so that the military spirit and greatness of soul, for

which the Nobility had been held in such veneration, was utterly extinguished, and not by any means to be raised in the people where there were no seeds of it; by which means Florence became every day more abject and pusillanimous. And whereas Rome at last grew so powerful and wanton by the effects of its virtue, that it could not be governed any otherwise than by one Prince; Florence was reduced so low, that a wise Legislator might easily have new modelled it, and given it what form he pleased; which must be obvious to any one that has read the first and second books of this history. As I have therefore already given an account of the original of Florence, the foundation and establishment of its liberty, the occasion of its dissensions, the tyranny of the Duke of Athens, and how the factions betwixt the Nobility and the Commons ended in the utter ruin of the former, I shall now proceed to relate the Contests that happened betwixt the Commons and the Plebeians, and the several events which they produced.

The power of the Nobility being suppressed, and the war with the Archbishop at an end, there seemed to be no seeds of future dissensions left in Florence. But the evil destiny of our City, and want of good conduct, occasioned a new emulation betwixt the families of the Albizi and the Ricci, which produced as fatal divisions as those betwixt the Buondelmonti and Uberti, and the other betwixt the Cerchi and Donati had done before. The Popes then resided in France, and the Emperors in Germany: but upon various occasions, and at different times, had sent great numbers of English, French, and German forces into Italy, to keep up their interest and reputation there. But when the wars were over, and they were disbanded, they all united under one common Standard, as Soldiers of Fortune, and levied contributions sometimes upon one Prince, and sometimes upon another. In the year 1353, a body of these Freebooters advancing into Tuscany, under the command of Monsieur Real, a Provençal, threw the whole

whole country into such consternation, that not only the Governors of Florence raised forces on the public account, but several private Citizens, especially the Albizi and Ricci, fortified themselves for their own defence. Betwixt these two families, there was a mortal hatred, each conspiring the destruction of the other, in order to engross the sole management of the Commonwealth with less difficulty. However, they had not as yet taken up arms, or proceeded to open violence on either side, but only thwarted each other in council, and the execution of their offices. In the mean time, whilst the whole city was ready armed and ripe for mischief, there unluckily happened a private quarrel in the Old Market Place; to which all the neighbours ran (as usual on such occasions) and upon enquiring into the cause of it, some gave out, that the Ricci were going to attack the Albizi, and others that the Albizi were preparing to fall upon the Ricci; which different stories being immediately carried to both parties, occasioned such an uproar and division throughout the whole city, that the Magistrates found it a very difficult matter to keep the two families and their friends from coming to a fray in good earnest; though neither side had intended any such thing as was maliciously reported. This disturbance, though small at first, and accidental, served to enflame their former animosities, and determined both sides to be upon their guard, and strengthen their parties. And since the Citizens were reduced to such a degree of equality by the suppression of the Nobility, that the Magistrates were held in greater reverence than ever they had been before, each family resolved to avail themselves rather of public and ordinary means, than of private violence.

We have already shewn that the Guelphs alone were invested with the Magistracy, and had great power given them over the Ghibeline party after the victory gained by Charles the First: but this distinction was so far abolished by time and various other

contingencies and new divisions, that many who were descended from the Ghibelines, had now got into authority and exercised some of the highest offices in common with the Guelphs. Ugucione de Ricci, therefore, who at that time was the head of his family, used his utmost endeavours to have the laws against the Ghibelines revived; which faction, it was supposed by many, the Albizi inclined to favour, as they originally came, though many years before, from Arezzo to settle in Florence. So that Ugucione hoped to render that family incapable of enjoying any honours in the Commonwealth by virtue of those laws; since it was enacted by them, that no person whatsoever that was of Ghibeline extraction, should presume to exercise the office of a Magistrate on pain of death. This design was discovered by Pietro, the son of Philipppo Albizi, who resolved to connive at it; rightly judging, that if he made any opposition, it would be in a manner declaring himself a Ghibeline. These laws, however, though renewed to favour the interest and ambition of the Ricci, did not in the least diminish the reputation of the Albizi, but rather increased it, and were the occasion of many evils that afterwards happened; for indeed no laws can be made so prejudicial to a Commonwealth as those of retrospection, and such as look too far back into past times. Pietro therefore, having rather promoted than opposed those laws; made use of the very means to advance himself, which his enemies had contrived to ruin him: for undertaking to see them put in execution, he daily acquired fresh authority, and became the chief favourite of this new faction of the Guelphs. And as there was no certain definition of a Ghibeline laid down in those laws, nor any particular Magistrate deputed to inform against them (which rendered the laws of little effect) he got it enacted, that the Captains of the people should have power to make an inquisition into that matter, and to admonish such as were discovered to be Ghibelines, not to exercise the
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function of Magistrates; which admonition if they did not obey, they were to be put to death; and from hence all those that were afterwards incapacitated to fill the Magistracy, were called *Ammoniti*, or persons admonished. But in a while the Captains grew so partial and insolent, that without any regard to principle or sufficient cause, they admonished whomsoever they thought fit, accordingly as they were led by passion or private interest: so that betwixt the year 1357, in which this law took place, and the year 1371, above two hundred of the Citizens were admonished.

By these means the Captains and the faction of the Guelphs were grown very considerable, especially the Heads of it, Pietro degli Albizi, Lapo da Castiglionchio, and Carlo Strozzi, who were much courted by every one for fear of being admonished. And though this injurious manner of proceeding gave great disgust to many, yet it was more intolerable to the Ricci than any body else, who had been the authors of these measures, which contrary to their intentions had so much increased the power of their enemies and were likely to prove the ruin of the Commonwealth. Uguccone therefore, being one of the Signiory, in order to mitigate the smart of this scourge which he and his partisans had made for their own backs, caused a new law to be passed, that three more Captains should be added to the former six, two of whom were to be chosen out of the lower sort of Mechanicks; and that those who were admonished as Ghibelines, should be certified to be so by twenty-four Citizens of the Guelph party, deputed on purpose to examine into the proofs of it. These laws for some time were such a check upon the arbitrary proceedings of the Captains, that their admonitions lost much of their terror, and were in a great measure laid aside. The jealousies however betwixt the Ricci and Albizi were not yet subsided, and they still continued to oppose each other in all councils, enterprises, and other public affairs with the utmost degree of virulence. These discords lasted from the

year 1366 till 1371, by which time the Guelphs had fully recovered their former authority.

There was a gentleman of the family of Buondelmonti, whose name was Benchi, who for his merit in the wars against the Pisans, was thought worthy of being admitted into the rank of Commoners, and thereby became qualified to be of the Signiory. But when he expected that honour, a law was made, that no person of noble extraction, though become a Commoner, should be capable of enjoying any share in the Magistracy. At this law, Benchi was so highly provoked, that he joined with Pietro degli Albizi; and after a consultation betwixt them, they resolved to depress the lower sort of people by admonitions, and take the government into their own hands. And indeed by his interest with the ancient Nobility, and Pietro's amongst the principal Commoners, the faction of the Guelphs grew still more and more considerable: for they had so ordered matters by their new models and regulations, that the Captains and the twenty-four being wholly at their devotion, they began to avail themselves of admonitions again, with more boldness than ever they had done before; and the family of the Albizi being at the head of that faction, became exceeding powerful. The Ricci and their friends, on the other hand, spared no pains to obstruct these designs: so that every one living in great fear and apprehension of some fatal consequence, several of the Citizens, who were most zealous for the good of their Country, assembled in the Church of St. Pietro Scheraggio, and having considered the dangerous situation of affairs, they went to wait upon the Signiory at their Palace, where one of the most eminent of their body addressed himself to them in the following manner.

“ Many of us have been in doubt, magnificent Signiors, whether our assembling without due authority, though upon a public occasion, might not be censured as too forward and presumptuous in private men. But when we considered that numbers
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of other Citizens have daily cabals in secret places, without any regard to the laws, and confer together, not for the good of the public, but how they may best promote their own self-interested and ambitious designs, we presumed, since these men have dared to do so (only to conspire the ruin of the Commonwealth) without incurring your displeasure, that we who had no other design than to concert measures for its peace and preservation, should not have any occasion to stand in fear of reprehension. In which case, we shall not give ourselves the least trouble about the opinion of others, since they are so indifferent concerning what we think of them. The gratitude we owe to our Country at first induced us to assemble, and now to present ourselves before you, magnificent Signiors, to complain of those evils which (though very great indeed already) are daily increasing upon us; and at the same time, to offer you any assistance to remedy them that is in our power. For how difficult soever the undertaking may appear, we don't despair of success, provided you lay aside all private friendship and connection, and support your authority by that of the public. The common disease of the other cities in Italy has at last invaded ours, and is continually eating deeper and deeper into its vitals. For after this province had shaken off the yoke of the Emperors, all its towns, for want of due restraint, ran into extremes, and from liberty degenerated into downright licentiousness, making such laws and instituting such governments as were rather calculated to foment and support factions, than maintain freedom. From this source are derived all the defects and disorders that we labour under. No friendship or union is to be found amongst the Citizens, except betwixt such as are accomplices in some wicked design either against their neighbours or their Country. All religion and fear of God are utterly extinguished. Promises and oaths are no further binding than they serve to promote some private advantage, and taken, not with any design to observe them,

them, but as necessary means to facilitate the perpetration of villainies, which are even honoured and applauded as good conduct and policy if they meet with success. From hence it comes to pass, that the most wicked and abandoned wretches are admired as able enterprising men; whilst the innocent and conscientious are laughed at and despised as fools. And certainly there is no sort of corruption that may not be found in the cities of Italy, nor any people in the world so thoroughly disposed to receive the infection as those of Florence. The young men are indolent and effeminate; the old, lascivious and contemptible. Without regard to age or sex, every place is full of the most licentious brutality, for which, the laws themselves, though good and wholesome, are yet so partially executed that they do not afford any remedy. This is the real cause of that selfish spirit which now so generally prevails, and of that ambition, not for true glory, but for Places which dishonour the possessors. Hence proceed these fatal animosities, these seeds of envy, revenge and faction, with their usual attendants, executions, banishments, depression of good men and the exaltation of the wicked. For the good, confiding in their virtue and uprightness, have not recourse to any base means, like wicked men, to advance; or even so much as defend themselves: so that they generally fall miserable victims to the cruelty and oppression of tyrants, and die in poverty and disgrace. Such dreadful and pitiable examples, both give rise and strength to parties; for the Evil will naturally form one side, either out of avarice or ambition; and the Good another, out of fear and necessity: and what is still more dangerous, the authors and ringleaders of them varnish over their pernicious designs with some sacred title: for being in reality enemies to all liberty, they more effectually destroy it, by pretending to defend the rights, sometimes of the Nobility, sometimes of the Commons; since the fruit which they expect from a victory, is not the glory of having delivered their Country, but the satisfaction

tisfaction of having conquered the opposite party and secured the government of the State to themselves. And when they have once obtained that, there is no sort of cruelty, injustice, or rapine that they are not guilty of. From thence forward, laws are enacted, not for the common good but for private ends: from that time both war and peace are made and alliances concluded, not for the honour of the public, but to gratify the humours of particular men. And if the other cities of Italy are full of these disorders, certainly ours overflows: our laws, our statutes, and civil ordinances are made to indulge the caprice, or serve the ambition of the conqueror, not to promote the true interest of a free people; so that one faction is no sooner extinguished but another is lighted up. A city that endeavours to support itself by parties instead of laws, can never be at peace: for when one prevails and is left without opposition, it necessarily divides again; the people not being able to defend themselves by the ordinary laws which were at first made for their preservation. The truth of this is sufficiently confirmed both by the ancient and modern dissensions, that have happened in our own city. When the Ghibelines were depressed, every one thought the Guelphs would then have lived in peace and security: and yet it was not long before they divided into the factions of the Neri and Bianchi. When the Bianchi were reduced, new commotions arose, sometimes in favour of the exiles, sometimes betwixt the Nobility and the people: and to give that away to others which we either could not or would not possess quietly ourselves, we first committed our liberties into the hands of King Robert, then of his Brother, next of his Son, and last of all to the mercy of the Duke of Athens, never settling or reposing under any government; as people that could neither be satisfied with being free, nor submit to live in slavery. Nay so much was our State inclined to division, that rather than acquiesce under the government of a King, it meanly prostituted itself to the
tyranny

tyranny of a vile and pitiful Agobbian. The Duke of Athens indeed ought not to be mentioned, for the honour of this city: the remembrance however of his insolence and oppression might have taught us to behave more wisely for the future. Yet no sooner was he expelled but we took up arms again, and fought against each other with more rancour and inveteracy than ever we had done before, till at last the ancient Nobility were entirely subdued and lay at the mercy of the people: and it was then the general opinion there would be no more factions or troubles in Florence, since those were humbled whose insupportable pride and ambition had been the chief occasion of them. But we now see by experience, how little confidence is to be put in the judgment of man: for that pride and ambition which was thought to be utterly extinguished by the fall of the Nobility, now springs up again amongst the people, who begin to be equally impatient for authority, and aspire with the same vehemence to the first offices in the Commonwealth; and having no other way to obtain their end, but by domestick dissensions, they revive the antiquated distinctions of Guelphs and Ghibelines, which it would have been happy for this city never to have known *. And that nothing may be stable and permanent, in this world, it seems the will of Heaven that certain families should spring up in all Commonwealths to be the pest and ruin of them.

* Schach Abas, who sat on the throne of Persia, from 1585 to 1629, and is called one of the greatest Princes that Kingdom ever had, (though his reign was in many respects very cruel and tyrannical) advised his successor to sow division amongst his subjects, if he hoped to live in peace; that so by putting himself sometimes at the head of one party, and sometimes of another, he might balance them as he pleased, and reign in security. Divide & impera. A horrible maxim, indeed! but he had practised it himself, and by various arts and means, rather worthy of a tyrant or an enemy, than the father of his people, raised two factions in every city of his kingdom, which continued till the last great revolution there, for which those divisions had paved the way. *Histoire de la Revol. de Perse*, p. 84, 85. The same fatal system of politics has been adopted in many other countries, but with little peace to the sovereign, and infinite distraction amongst the subjects.

Of

Of which, our own city can produce more instances perhaps than any other; since it owes its miseries and distractions not merely to one or two, but to several of those families: as first to the Buondelmonti and Uberti, next to the Donati and Cerchi, and now, to our shame be it spoken, to the Ricci and Albizi. We have not enumerated our many past divisions, nor raked so deep into our corruption, in order to terrify or discourage you, but to point out their causes, and by putting you in mind of them, to shew that we have not forgot them ourselves; and at the same time to conjure you not to let such examples make you despair of providing any remedy for the present. For at that time, the power of those ancient families was so great, and their interest with other Princes, so considerable, that neither the laws nor the authority of the Civil Magistrate were able to controul them: but at this day, when the Emperor has no power, nor the Pope any influence here, and all Italy, particularly this City, is reduced to such a state of equality, as to be able to govern itself, where is the difficulty? what impediment remains, why this Commonwealth, above all others, and in spite of former examples to the contrary, may not only be united, but reformed and improved by new Laws and Constitutions, provided your Lordships will be pleased to make them: to which good work we earnestly exhort you, not out of any private pique or resentment, but compassion to our country. We acknowledge the task to be very difficult, but hope you will, for the present at least, put a stop to that madness, that virulent contagion which threatens us with utter ruin. You must not impute the factions of our ancestors to the nature of the men, but to the iniquity of the times, which being now altered, afford this city fair hopes of better fortune; and our disorders may be corrected by the institution of wholesome Laws, by a prudent restraint of ambition, by prohibiting such customs as tend to nourish and propagate faction, and by substituting others
that

that may conduce to maintain liberty and good civil government. And it would be much more gracious and acceptable, if you would now do that voluntarily, and under the favour of the Laws, which otherwise you will either provoke the people to do themselves, or compel you to do by violence."

The expediency of this advice had great weight with the Signiory, especially as it was very conformable to their own sentiments; and therefore, in compliance with the exhortations and authority of those that gave it, they commissioned fifty-six citizens to provide for the safety of the Commonwealth*. But as most people are fitter to preserve good order than to restore it when lost, these Citizens took more pains to extinguish the present factions, than to provide against new ones, which was the reason that they succeeded in neither: for they not only did not take away the occasion of fresh ones, but made one of those that were then subsisting, so much more powerful than the other, that the Commonwealth was in great danger. They deprived three of the family of the Albizi, and as many of the Ricci, of all share in the Magistracy for three years, except in such branches of it, as were particularly appropriated to the Guelph party; of which number Pietro degli Albizi, and Ugucione de' Ricci were two. They prohibited all Citizens from coming into the palace at any time when the Signiory were not sitting. They decreed, that in case of battery, or disturbance in the possession of his estate, any man should have liberty granted him, upon petitioning the Council, to accuse the aggressor, and make him answer to the charge before the heads of it, who should have the power of compelling him to submit to their sentence, if guilty. These provisions bore much harder upon the Ricci than the Albizi: for though they were equally stigmatized by them, yet the Ricci were the greater suf-

* After the manner of the old Romans, who used to give a charge to their Magistrates in times of danger, to take care, "ne quid detrimenti capiat Respublica."

ferers.

ferers. Pietro, indeed, was excluded from the palace of the Signiory, but he had free admittance into that of the Guelphs, where his authority was very great; and though he and his associates were forward enough in their admonitions before, they became much forwarder after this mark of disgrace; and new accidents occurred, which still more and more enflamed their resentment.

Gregory XI. was Pope at that time, and residing at Avignon, as his late Predecessors had done, he governed Italy by Legates, who being haughty and rapacious, had grievously oppressed several of the cities. One of these Legates being then at Bologna, took the advantage of a scarcity, which happened at that time in Florence, and resolved to make himself master of Tuscany. For which purpose, he not only refused to supply the Florentines with provisions, but invaded their territories with a great army, very early in the spring, in order to spoil their next harvest; hoping by that means to make an easy conquest, when they were in a manner both famished and disarmed; and, probably, his design would have succeeded, if the forces he employed had not been mercenary and corrupt: for the Florentines having no other remedy, had recourse to bribery, and gave his army an hundred and thirty thousand Florins to desist from their enterprize.

It is in the power of any man to begin a war, but not to end one, when he pleases. The commencement of this was owing to the ambition of the Legate, and the prosecution of it to the resentment of the Florentines, who immediately entered into a confederacy with Bernabo Galeazzo, and all the other states that were at variance with the Church: after which, they appointed eight Citizens for the management of it, whom they invested with an absolute power of proceeding, and disbursing money without controul or account. This war against the Pope, notwithstanding Ugucione was dead, gave fresh courage to those that had followed the party of the Ricci, who, in op-
position

position to the Albizi, had, upon all occasions, favoured Bernabo, and appeared against the Church; and especially because all the Eight were enemies to the Guelphs. Upon which, Pietro degli Albizi, Lapoda Castiglionchio, Carlo Strozzi, and some others, united themselves more firmly together, to make head against their enemies: so that whilst the Eight were busily employed in their department, and the others in admonitions, the war was carried on for three years, and did not end till the death of the Pope. It was prosecuted, however, with such vigour, and general satisfaction, that the Eight were not only continued in their office from year to year, as long as it lasted, but got the title of Santi; notwithstanding they had despised the censures of the Pope, made free with the treasure and revenues of their Churches, and forced the Clergy to perform the duties of their function. So much did the Citizens at that time prefer the good of their Country to all other concerns; and so zealous were they to convince the Church, that as they had power to defend it whilst they were its friends, so they were able to distress it now they were its enemies; having actually raised a rebellion quite through the States of Romagna, La Marca, and Perugia. But whilst they made so vigorous a war upon the Pope, they could not defend themselves against the captains and their adherents. The envy and indignation with which the Guelphs looked upon the Eight, made them grow so bold and insolent, that they often affronted and abused them, as well as the rest of the principal Citizens. The Captains were no less arrogant; they were even more dreaded than the Signiory, and men went with greater awe and reverence to their houses than to the palace; so that all the Ambassadors that came to Florence, were instructed to address themselves to the Captains.

After the death of Pope Gregory, the city had no war abroad, but was in great confusion at home: for on one hand, the Guelphs were become so audacious, that they were no longer supportable; and on the
other,

other, there was no visible way to suppress them: it was necessary therefore, to take up arms; and leave the event to Fortune. On the side of the Guelphs, were all the ancient Nobility, and the greater part of the more powerful Citizens; of whom as we have said, Lapo, Pietro, and Carlo, were the chief. On the other, were all the inferior sort of people, headed by the Eight, and joined by Georgio Scali, Tomaso Strozzi, the Ricci, the Alberti, and the Medici: the rest of the multitude, as it almost always happens in such cases, joined with the discontented party. The power of their adversaries seemed very considerable to the heads of the Guelphs, and their danger great, if at any time a Signiory that was not on their side should attempt to depress them. Thinking it prudent, therefore, to guard against such an event, they had a meeting, and having particularly inquired into the state and condition of the city, they found the number of persons who had been admonished, was so great, that they had disoblged most of the Citizens, and made them their enemies. In these circumstances, they thought there was no other remedy, now they had deprived them of their honours, but to banish them out of the City also, to seize upon the Palace of the Signiory, and to put the government of the State wholly into the hands of their own Creatures, according to the example of the Guelphs their predecessors, whose quiet and security was entirely owing to the total expulsion of their enemies. This proposal was agreed to without any opposition; but they differed about the time of putting it in execution.

It was then the month of April, in the year 1378, when Lapo judging it unsafe to defer the matter any longer, represented to them that delays were always dangerous, but more particularly in their situation, considering that Sylvestro de Medici, who was an open and declared enemy to their party, might be chosen Gonfalonier in the next Signiory. Pietro degli Albizi was of a different opinion, and thought it better to

wait a little longer, as some forces would be necessary to support them, which could not be got together privately; and to raise them publickly would be to run themselves into manifest danger. His advice therefore was, that they should have patience till midsummer day, which being one of their greatest festivals, and at a time when vast numbers of people resort to the city, they might introduce what forces they pleased into it without danger of being discovered. And to obviate their apprehension of Sylvestro, he proposed to have him admonished; and if that would not answer the purpose, to manage it so in the ensuing imbursement for magistrates, since the purses were now empty, that either his name or that of some other Candidate in his ward should be drawn, which would disqualify him for filling the Office of Gonfalonier. This opinion was approved, and they resolved to defer their undertaking, though Lapo came very unwillingly into it; alledging, that no opportunity could ever be complete in every circumstance, and that those who waited for such a one must either never attempt any thing of moment, or be disappointed in it if they did. However, they proceeded to admonish Sylvestro, but they did not succeed in their design of excluding him; for the Eight being aware of the trick they intended to put upon him, continued to defer the imbursement: so that Sylvestro, the Son of Alamanno de Medici, was appointed Gonfalonier. As he was born of one of the most considerable families of the Commoners, he could not bear to see the people oppressed by a few grandees: resolving therefore to put an end to their insolence, and finding himself favoured by the people and supported by several of the principal Citizens, he communicated his design to Benedetto Alberti, Tomaso Strozzi, and Georgio Scali, who all concurred with him and promised him their assistance in it. In consequence of this, they secretly prepared a Decree by which the laws against the Nobility were to be revived, the authority of the Captains re-

trenched,

trenched, and those who had been admonished, admitted into the Magistracy. And as it seemed the best way both to propose and have it passed at one time, if possible, since it was first to be presented to the Colleges, and afterwards considered in the Councils, Sylvestro being president (and consequently in a manner Prince of the city for a time) caused both a College and a Council to be called the same morning; and coming first to the College, in which he had but few friends, he proposed the Decree to them which he had prepared: but it was thrown out as an innovation, and he could not get it passed. Seeing himself defeated therefore in the first step to obtain it, he pretended to go out upon some necessary occasion, and went away to the Council without being perceived; where, having placed himself in such a manner that he might both be seen and heard by the whole assembly, he told them, "That he thought he had been appointed Gonfalonier, not to take cognizance of private causes, which had their proper judges, but to superintend the State, to correct the insolence of the great, and to moderate or alter those laws, which manifestly tended to the ruin of the Commonwealth. That he had spared no pains in either, and made the best provision that was possible: but that the malice and perverseness of some men was so great, and had raised such an opposition to his good designs, that he found himself incapable of doing the least service to the publick, and them so far from being inclined to deliberate upon any thing he proposed, that they would not so much as hear of it. That as he plainly saw it was not in his power to be of any further use to his Country, he knew not for what reason he should continue any longer in an office which he either did not really deserve, or was thought unworthy of by others. Upon which account, he would retire to privacy, and leave the people to chuse another person who might either have more virtue or better fortune than himself." After which,

he got up and left the Council, as if he would go directly to his own house.

Upon this, such of the Council as were in the secret, and others that wished for a change, raised a tumult, to which the Signiory and Colleges immediately repaired; and seeing their Gontalonier retiring, they obliged him, partly by their authority and partly by their intreaties, to return to the Council, which was in great confusion. Many of the principal Citizens were threatened and treated with the utmost insolence: amongst the rest Carlo Strozzi was collared by an artificer, and would certainly have been knocked on the head, if some of the by-standers had not rescued him with much difficulty. But the person that made the greatest disturbance was Benedetto degli Alberti, who got into one of the windows of the Palace, and called out to the people to arm: upon which, the Piazza was instantly full of armed men, and the Colleges were obliged to do that by fear, which they would not come into when they were petitioned. In the mean time, the Captains of the parties had assembled as many of the Citizens as they could in their Palace, to consult what course was to be taken in order to prevent the passing of this Decree: but when they saw so great a tumult, and were informed what had happened in the Council, they all thought proper to return to their own houses.

But whosoever he may be, that intends to make any alteration in a Commonwealth, and to effect it by railing the multitude, will find himself deceived if he thinks he can stop where he will, and conduct it as he pleases. The design of Sylvestro in promoting that law was only to have quieted and secured the city; but the thing took a very different turn*: for

* When circumstances of time will not admit of alterations, tho' necessary, it is much better to let things remain as they are, than to attempt a reformation; since the remedy perhaps may prove worse than the disease. It is prudent in this case, to imitate the practice of physicians, with regard to certain patients, whom they will not allow

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the people were in such a ferment, that the shops were shut up, the houses barricadoed, and many removed their goods for security into the Churches and Convents; every one apprehending some fatal consequence. All the Companies of the Arts assembled, and each of them appointed a Syndic: the Signiory called the Colleges together, and were a whole day in consultation with the Syndics how to provide some means for composing these disorders to the satisfaction of all parties; but as there was great variety of opinions amongst them, nothing was concluded. The next day the Arts drew out their several Companies; which the Signiory being informed of, and apprehending what might happen, called the Council together to consider of a proper remedy: but as soon as it was assembled the tumult increased, and the standards of the Arts, with a considerable number of men under arms, immediately took possession of the Piazza. In order therefore, to give the Arts and the rest of the people some hopes of satisfaction, and to prevent further mischief, the Council gave a full power (which the Florentines call *Balia*) to the Signiory, Colleges, the Eight, the Captains of the Parties, and the Syndics of the Arts, to reform the State in such a manner as they should think most advantageous for the public. But whilst they were employed in this, some of the inferior Companies of the Arts, at the instigation of certain persons who wanted to revenge the late injuries which they had received from the Guelphs, detached themselves from the rest, and went to the house of Lapo da Castiglionchio, which they plundered and burnt. Lapo himself, when he saw the Signiory at the head of this attack upon the Guelphs, and the people all in arms, having no other remedy but either to abscond or fly,

to take physick; because it would inevitably stir up many ill humours in their bodies, which are less dangerous in a state of coagulation than of agitation. "*Expediebar, quasi ægræ faucibus, Republicæ requiescere quomodo cunque, ne vulnera curatione ipsâ rescinderentur.*" Says Florus, l. iii. c. 23.

first of all took sanctuary in the Church of Santa Croce, and afterwards fled to Casentino, in the habit of a Monk, where he was often heard to condemn Pietro degli Albizi for having put off their design till St. John's day, and himself for having concurred in it. But Pietro and Carlo Strozzi, upon the first rumour of the tumult, only concealed themselves, in hopes that their friends and relations would have interest enough to secure their stay in Florence when it was over.

The house of Lapo being thus burnt and rifled, several others underwent the same fate, either out of public hatred or private malice; (as mischief is generally soon propagated when once begun) and to go through with their work the more completely, they broke open the Jails, and set the prisoners at liberty: after which, they plundered the Monastery of St. Agnoli, and the Convent di Santo Spirito, into which several of the Citizens had conveyed their most valuable effects. Nor would the public chamber have escaped their fury, if they had not been restrained by the presence and authority of one of the Signiory, who being mounted on horseback, and attended by a body of armed men, opposed himself to the rage of the multitude in the most effectual manner he could. This commotion being thus in some measure quieted, partly by the authority of the Signiory, and partly by the approach of night, the Balia proceeded the next morning to requalify the Ammoniti, though with an injunction not to exercise any function in the Magistracy during the next three years. They repealed such laws as had been made by the Guelphs to the prejudice of the other Citizens, and proclaimed Lapo da Castiglionchio and his associates Rebels, with many others that had incurred the hatred of the public: after which, the names of the new Signiory were published, and Luigi Guicciardini declared their Gonfalonier. As they were all esteemed men of pacific dispositions, and desirous of public tranquillity, great hopes were conceived that there would be no
more

more tumults. However, the shops were not opened, the Citizens still continued armed, and strong guards were placed in all parts of the city: so that the Signiors were not publickly invested with the Magistracy, or with the usual pomp; but privately in the Palace, and without any ceremony. They rightly concluded, that the best and most necessary service they could do the public in the beginning of their office, would be to compose the city; for which purpose, they commanded the people to lay down their arms, the shops to be opened, and every one that had been called out of the Country to the assistance of any Citizen, immediately to depart. They planted guards in the several streets; so that if those that were admonished could have been content, the whole city was in a fair way of being quieted. But as they thought it hard to wait three years longer before they could enjoy any share in the Magistracy, the Arts having assembled again to obtain them satisfaction in that point, demanded of the Signiory that for the good and quiet of the city, it should be decreed that no Citizen for the future should be admonished as a Ghibeline, who had ever been one of the Signiory or the College, or the Captains of the companies, or the Consuls, or Syndics of any of the arts: and further, that a new imborfation should be made of the Guelph party and the old one burnt. These demands were readily granted both by the Signiory and the Councils, in hopes of preventing any further tumult. But as it seldom happens that men who covet the property of others and long for revenge, are satisfied with a bare restitution of their own, some who expected to advance their fortunes by exciting commotions, endeavoured to persuade the Artificers that they could never be safe, except many of their enemies were either banished or cut off: which suggestions being represented to the Signiory, they summoned the Magistrates of the Arts and their Syndics to attend them; and when they were assembled,

Luigi Guicciardini, their Gorfa'lonier, addressed himself to them in the following manner :

“ If these Gentlemen as well as myself had not long ago been acquainted with the temper and genius of this city, and observed that its foreign wars were no sooner ended, but dissensions began at home, we should have been more alarmed and more incensed at the tumults which have lately happened : but as things that are familiar to us become less affecting, we have borne them with some degree of patience ; especially as we were conscious to ourselves that the causes of them could not be imputed to any misconduct on our part, and had reason to hope that they, like all former commotions, would sometime or other have an end, upon our complying with so many and such extravagant demands. But finding you are so far from being satisfied, as you ought to be, that you are contriving fresh mischiefs against your fellow Citizens, and endeavouring to procure their banishment, we confess we are highly displeas'd at the malice and baseness of your proceedings. We can assure you, with great truth, that if we had apprehended the city would have been in the least danger, during the time of our Magistracy, either by siding with or against you, we would have declined that honour by a voluntarily exile. But presuming we had people to deal with, who had some degree of humanity, and love of their Country still left, we cheerfully accepted it in hopes of getting the better of your Ambition at last by our lenity, and readiness to oblige you. We have the misfortune however, to see that the more we grant, the more shameless and arrogant are your demands. And if we are obliged to tell you so, it is not with any design to increase your discontents, but to convince you of your error : others perhaps may flatter you, but we shall always think it our duty to tell you plainly, and without disguise, what we think is for your good. What is there, in the name of God, that you can reasonably ask more of us ? you desired to have the Captains of the

the parties deprived of their authority: they have been deprived. You insisted that the old Imborsation should be burnt, and a new one made; we consented. You wanted to have those reinstated in the Magistracy that had been admonished: it has been granted. At your intercession, we pardoned such as had been guilty of burning houses and robbing Churches, and banished many of our principal Citizens at your instigation. To gratify you, the grantees are bridled with new laws, and every thing done that might give you content. Where then can we expect your demands will stop; or how long will you thus abuse your liberty? don't you perceive, that whilst we submit with patience, you shew no moderation in your Victory? whither will your dissensions at last hurry this poor city? can you ever forget how Castruccio, a private Citizen of Lucca, availed himself of such Divisions to distress it? and how the Duke of Athens, from an inferior Commander in your service, made himself your Lord and Sovereign? on the contrary, when ye were united, neither the Archbishop of Milan, nor the Pope himself, was able to cope with you; but, after a war that lasted many years, were forced to sheath their swords with dishonour. Why then will ye suffer your own discords (when ye have no other enemies) to bring a city into slavery, which so many powerful princes could never reduce? for what else can ye expect from your divisions, what from the goods ye have already taken, or may hereafter take from your fellow Citizens, but servitude and poverty? the persons you plunder, are those whose fortunes and abilities are the defence of the State, and if they fail, how must it be supported? whatever is got that way, cannot last long; and then ye have nothing to look for but remediless famine and distress. We therefore command you, and, as far as our dignity will allow of it, we for once intreat you to live quietly, and be content with such regulations as we have established; and if any thing seems wanting to give you
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you satisfaction, that you would make it known with modesty, and not insist upon it with clamour and tumult: for if your requests are reasonable, you may assure yourselves, they shall always be complied with, and no handle left for wicked and designing men to plot the destruction of your Country, and consequently of yourselves, under the shelter of your own wings."

The reasonableness of these expostulations made such an impression upon the audience, that they humbly desired the Gonfalonier to accept their thanks, acknowledged that he had behaved himself like an upright Magistrate, and a good Citizen, and promised to pay a ready obedience in whatsoever he should command them. To make a trial of them, the Signiory deputed two Citizens for each of the chief offices, to consult with the Syndics of the Arts, what reformations were most necessary to be made in them for the good of the publick, and to report them to the Signiory.

But whilst these things were in agitation, a fresh tumult arose which was attended with still more danger to the city than the former. The greater part of the late robberies and other mischiefs had been committed by the Rabble and dregs of the people; and those of them that had been the most audacious, apprehended that when the most material differences were composed, they should be called to account for their crimes, and deserted, as it always happens, by those very persons at whose instigation they had committed them. Besides which, the inferior sort of people had conceived an hatred against the richer Citizens, and principals of the Arts, upon a pretence that they had not been rewarded for their past services in proportion to what they deserved. For when the city was first divided into Arts, in the time of Charles the First, there was a proper head or governor appointed over each of them, to whose jurisdiction in civil cases every person in the several Arts was to be subject. These Arts or Companies, as we have said, were at

first but twelve, but afterwards they were increased to twenty-one, and arrived at such power and authority that in a few years they wholly engrossed the government of the city : and because some were more, and others less honourable amongst them, they came by degrees to be distinguished, and seven of them were called the *Greater*, and fourteen the *Less*. From this division, and other reasons before-mentioned, proceeded the arrogance of the Captains of the parties : for the Citizens that had formerly been Guelphs, to which party those offices were always appropriated, had made it a constant rule to favour the greater Arts, and to discountenance the less, and all those that sided with them ; which chiefly gave occasion to all the tumults we have hitherto made mention of. And, as in the division of the people into Arts and Corporations, there were many trades in which the meaner sort are usually occupied, that were not incorporated into any distinct or particular company of their own, but admitted into any of the others, according as the Nature of their Craft made them fit, it happened that when they were not duly satisfied for their labour, or any otherwise oppressed by their masters, they had no other head to apply to for redress, but the Magistrate of that company, to which the person belonged that employed them, who, they commonly thought, did not do them justice. Now, of all the Companies in the City, that of the Clothiers had then, and still has, the most of this sort of people depending upon it ; and being more opulent and powerful than any of the rest, it maintained by far the greater part of the multitude. The meaner sort of the people, therefore, both of this company and the others, were highly enraged at such treatment ; and being terrified also at the apprehension of being punished for their late outrages, they had frequent meetings in the night ; where, considering what had happened, they represented to each other, the danger they were in. And to animate and unite them all, one of the boldest and most experienced of them, harangued his Companions in this manner :

“ If

“ If it was now to be debated, whether we should take arms to plunder and burn the houses of our fellow Citizens, and rob the Churches, I should be one of those who would think it worthy of great consideration, and perhaps be induced to prefer secure poverty to hazardous gain. But since arms have been already taken up, and much mischief done, the first points to be considered are, I should think, in what manner we must secure ourselves, and ward off the penalties we have incurred. If no one should give us this advice, without doubt, Necessity itself would point it out. You see, the whole City is full of rage and complaints against us, the Citizens are daily in council, and the Magistrates frequently assembled. Assure yourselves, they are either preparing chains for us, or contriving how to raise forces to destroy us. It behoves us, therefore, to have two objects chiefly in view, at these consultations: first, how to avoid the punishment due to our late misdeeds; and in the next place, what means are to be used that we may enjoy a greater degree of liberty and satisfaction for the future, than we have done hitherto. To come off with impunity for our past offences, it is necessary, if I may presume to advise you, to add still more to them, to redouble our outrages, to rife and burn a great number of houses, and artfully depend upon our numbers for protection: for where many are guilty, none are chastised. Small crimes are punished, and great ones usually rewarded; and where many suffer, few seek revenge; a general calamity being always borne with more patience, than a particular one. I say again, therefore, that to redouble our crimes, is the surest way to procure a pardon for what has been already done, and to obtain the liberty we desire*: nor is there any difficulty to discourage

* Monsieur Balzac says, from Phalaris's Epistles, “ It has always been a general opinion, that they who rise in arms against their country, or their prince, are in a manner under a necessity to do evil, because they find it unsafe to do good. They dare not become innocent, lest they should expose themselves to the severity of those

us. The enterprize is easy, and the success not to be doubted of. Our enemies are opulent, indeed, but divided: their disunion will give us the victory, and their riches, when we have got them, will maintain it. Let not the antiquity of their blood, nor the meanness of our own, with which they so insolently upbraid us, either dazzle or overawe you. All families having the same original, are of equal antiquity*: nor has nature shewn any partiality in the formation of mankind. Let both sides be stripped naked, and both will be found alike. Clothe yourselves in their robes, and them in your rags; and then you will appear the Nobles, and they the Plebeians: for it is poverty alone that makes the real difference betwixt us. It fills me with just concern, indeed, to hear that some of you repent forsooth of what you have done, and out of a qualm of conscience, resolve to proceed no further. If that be the case, I have been mistaken in my judgment, and you are not the men I once thought you. Neither conscience, nor the fear of infamy, ought to terrify you: for those that succeed in their attempts (let them have used what means soever) are never upbraided with them, or called by ignominious names: and as for conscience, you have no reason to give yourselves any trouble about it. When famine, and racks, and dungeons, are sure to be our portion, what greater terrors can there be in Hell? consider the course of this world; you will find the rich, the great, and the powerful, have arrived at all their wealth, and grandeur, and authority, either by violence or fraud: and

laws, against which they have offended: they continue therefore in their crimes, because they think men will not be satisfied with their repentance."

* This is a constant topic with ringleaders of tumult and sedition; we find it urged by the famous Gabrini Rienzi, in the revolution he occasioned at Rome, by Masaniello to the rabble of Naples, and Wat Tyler's Chaplain in the Kentish insurrection, during the reign of Richard II. who was so ingenious to verify it in the following manner:

When Adam delv'd and Eve span,
Who was then a Gentleman?

when

when once they are in possession of them, you see with what ostentation they gild over the foulness of their usurpations, with the unjust, but glorious titles of conquest and good policy. Observe, on the other hand, what generally becomes of those who are either too stupid or too pusillanimous to follow their examples: they are buried in poverty and obscurity, or wear away their lives in slavery and contempt. Honest servants are servants for ever, and good men are always poor: whilst the bold and resolute soon free themselves from bondage, and the fraudulent and rapacious from indigence and distress. God and Nature have given every man the means of making his fortune: and it is sooner and more easily done by force or circumvention, than by honesty and plain dealing. Hence it is, that we see mankind in general is more prone to rapine than industry, to evil than good. Hence it is that we devour each other, and he that is weakest is at all times sure to come off with the worst. Force, therefore, is always to be used, when there is an opportunity: and what fairer opportunity than the present, can we ever hope for from the hands of Fortune? The Citizens are divided, the Signiory irresolute, the Magistrates frightened: so that before they can come to any determination, the matter will be over, and we shall either be masters of the whole City, or of so great a part of it, as will not only procure us pardon for what is past, but enable us to keep our enemies in sufficient awe for the future. I confess the resolution is bold and dangerous*; but where the necessity is ur-

* In this speech, which is otherwise in Character, there is, however, this inconsistency, that in the former part of it, the Plebeian having represented the enterprize "as easy, and the success not to be doubted of;" now says, he confesses the resolution is "bold and dangerous." This may either be an oversight in the author, or purposely put into the mouth of the Speaker, who is not to be considered as an orator, but an illiterate rough man, provoked by oppression, and blinded by his passions to such a degree, that whilst he is earnestly recommending revenge, he forgets what he has said before, and contradicts himself, as it generally happens upon such occasions. The latter perhaps, may be the case; since Machiavel says,

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gent, boldness becomes prudence, and danger, in great undertakings, is always despised by brave and courageous men. Those enterprizes that are begun with peril, for the most part are crowned with glory; and men seldom extricate themselves from one danger, but by risking a greater. Besides, as we have nothing but prisons and tortures, and death before our eyes at present, we have less to fear in behaving ourselves like men, than from despair, and giving up all for lost: for in one case our destruction is certain, and in the other, there is a possibility of success. How often have I heard you curse the insatiable avarice of your Task-masters? how often groan under the injustice of your Magistrates? now is your time, not only to shake off the yoke, but to retaliate their oppressions. Time has wings, opportunity flies away, and when once past, are never to be recalled. You see what preparations they are making; let us be before-hand with them. If we strike the first blow, we are sure of victory, to the ruin of our enemies, and the exaltation of ourselves; for it is an enterprize that will honour many of us, and secure us all."

This speech so inflamed his hearers, who before were sufficiently ripe for mischief, that they determined to rise as soon as they had drawn a proper number of accomplices into the conspiracy: and in the mean time, they bound themselves by an oath, to assist and stand by each other, when any of them should be oppressed by the Magistrates.

But whilst they were conspiring in this manner against the government, the Signiory had secret information of their proceedings, and caused one Simone della Piazza, and some others, to be apprehended, who confessed the whole plot, and that the very next day was designed for the insurrection. Upon

in the Dedication of this history to Pope Clement VII. "That the speeches and harangues to the public, as well as his own private reflexions and observations, are always delivered without restraint or reserve, and in a manner consistent with the actions, character, and temper of the person that speaks, or is spoken of." The reader is left to judge.

this,

this, considering the danger they were in, they immediately summoned the Colleges, together with the Syndics of the Arts, and those Citizens that had been appointed to use their endeavours for the re-union of the City. But, before they could be got together, it was late at night, and the Signiory were advised by them to consult with the Consuls of the Arts, who were instantly sent for, and unanimously agreed, that all the Militia of the City should be raised, and ordered the Gonfaloniers of the people to appear early the next Morning, at the head of their several Companies under arms in the Piazza before their Palace. At the time that Simone was under torture, and the Citizens were assembling, one Niccolo da St. Friano, who took care of the clock, happened to be in the Palace, and being aware of what they were about, he ran home as fast as he could, and raised all the Neighbourhood; so that above a thousand men were presently got together in arms at the Piazza di Santo Spirito. Upon this, the rest of the conspirators took the alarm, and the Piazzas of St. Pietro Maggiore and St. Lorenzo, (places which had been appointed before-hand for their rendezvous) were likewise soon filled with armed men. It was now day-light in the morning of the twenty-first of July, and not above eighty of the militia were assembled to support the Signiory; and of the Gonfaloniers, not so much as one appeared; for as they were informed, that the whole City was in arms, they durst not stir out of their houses. The first of the mob that entered the Piazza of the Signiory, were those that had assembled at St. Pietro Maggiore, and not being opposed by the Militia, they were soon followed by the rest, who likewise meeting with no resistance, began to call upon the Signiory in a furious and threatening manner, to deliver up their prisoners: but as no regard was paid to their threats, they determined to use other means to force them to a compliance, and immediately set fire to the house of Luigi Guicciardini; upon which, the Signiory, to prevent greater mischief,

chief, ordered the prisoners to be discharged. When they had thus got their accomplices safe into their hands again, they took the Gonfalone, or Standard della Giustizia, from the Esecutore; under the cover and authority of which, they burnt several of the Citizens houses down to the ground, and wreaked their malice upon many others, against whom they had taken any pique, either on public or private accounts. For if any one of the Plebeians had been injured or affronted by a particular Citizen, he led the Mob directly to his enemy's house: nay, it was sufficient barely to mention the person's name, or to call out, *to such a man's house*, or *to such a one's shop*, and immediately the new Gonfalonier carried the Standard that way. They burnt all the books and accounts of the Clothier's company, and after they had done a great deal more mischief, to crown their proceedings with some action of merit and *eclat*, as they thought, they knighted sixty-four Citizens: amongst whom were Sylvestro de' Medici, Benedetto and Antonio degli Alberti, Tomaso Strozzi, and others of their friends; though some of them submitted to it with much reluctance. Their levity, indeed, was very remarkable upon this occasion, for they conferred the honour of knighthood on some of those very persons whose houses they had burnt down but a few hours before; particularly upon Luigi Guicciardini, the late Gonfalonier: such is the caprice of the multitude, and so soon are their disgusts changed into favour and affection!

The Signiory being thus abandoned in this perilous conjuncture by the Militia, the heads of the Arts, and even by their Gonfaloniers, were not a little dismayed when they saw nobody come to their assistance, as they had ordered: for out of the sixteen companies, only those of the *the Golden Lion*, and *the Squirrel*, under the command of Giovenco della Stufa and Giovanni Cambi, made their appearance; and they did not stay long in the Piazza; for not being joined by the rest, they thought it most prudent to draw off

again. Some of the Citizens of their party, seeing the Multitude so outrageous, and the Palace deserted, durst not stir out of their doors; others mixed with the Mob, and went along with them, hoping thereby to save their own houses, and those of their friends: by which means the number of the people was much increased, and the Signiory left almost alone to defend themselves. This ferment continued all the day; and at night they sat down, to the number of six thousand, near the palace of Messer Stephano, behind St. Barnaby's Church; from whence they sent, in a threatening manner, before day-break, to demand the Colours from the Heads of the Arts. The next morning, as soon as it was light, they proceeded with the Standard of Justice, and the Colours of the several Arts, to the Palace of the Podesta, and demanded possession of it; which being refused, they broke down the doors, and forced their way into it. The Signiory, therefore, being desirous to come to some compromise with them, since they were not able to quell them by force, sent four of their body to them, at the Palace of the Podesta, to know their demands: but upon their arrival there, they found that the Ringleaders of the Plebeians had already settled the terms which they expected from the Signiory, with the Syndics of the Arts, and some other of the principal Citizens: so that they returned with four Deputies from the People, who made the following demands: That the Clothiers Company should no longer be subject to the jurisdiction of any Magistrate who was not a Florentine by birth. That there should be three new companies of Arts added to the others; one of Woolcombers and Dyers; another of Barbers, Taylors, Shoemakers, and other such mechanics; and the third, of the Trades that were inferior to these: out of which Companies, two of the Signiory should always be chosen, and three more out of the other fourteen minor Arts. That the Signiory should provide Halls where these new Companies might meet for the dispatch of business. That no person that was incor-

incorporated into these Arts should be compelled to pay any debt under the sum of fifty * Ducats, before the expiration of the two next ensuing years, at which time the Principal only should be paid to the Creditor, and the interest into the Bank, or publick Stock. That all such as were in banishment, or under any sentence, should be recalled and pardoned : and that those who had been admonished, should be made capable of enjoying any dignity or post of honour. Many other articles were added to these, in favour of their particular friends, and to the prejudice of their enemies, some of whom they insisted should be sent into exile, and others admonished. All which demands, grievous and dishonourable as they were to the government, were yet deliberated upon by the Signiory, the Colleges, and the Council of the People, who were apprehensive of still greater mischiefs, if they did not comply with them. But, before a Law could be passed for that purpose, it was necessary it should have the assent of the Common Council, which could not be obtained immediately, as it was contrary to established custom to hold two councils on the same day. However, as they were told that was the only obstacle, the Arts seemed pretty well contented, and the people so well satisfied, that they promised to lay down their arms, and give no further disturbance, as soon as the Law they demanded should be passed. The next morning, whilst the Common Council were deliberating upon it, the Multitude, naturally volatile and impatient, got together again under the same Colours, and returned into the Piazza before the Palace ; where they made such a dreadful clamour, that the whole Council, as well as the Signiory, were not a little terrified : and Guerriante Marignuoli, one of the Signiors, being more frightened than any of the rest, ran down stairs under a pretence of shutting the gates, and sneaked away to his own house. He was discovered, however, by the Mob ; but they

* The Silver Ducat is worth about 4s. 6d. sterling, the Golden one about 9s.

did not offer any sort of violence to him; and contented themselves with crying out, as he passed thro' them, "that if all the Signiory did not immediately quit the Palace, they would murder their Children, and burn their houses." In the mean time, the Law had passed, the Signiory had retired into their proper apartment, and the Counsellors being come down stairs, were walking in the Portico and Cloysters, expecting the immediate destruction of the City, and afraid to stir out, considering the baseness of the Mob *, and the perverseness, or rather the pusillanimity of those, in whose power it was not only to have curbed, but utterly suppressed them. The Signiory were in no less distraction, and gave up the City for lost, seeing themselves deserted by one of their colleagues, and that nobody had the courage either to assist or even so much as to comfort or advise them..

Whilst they were in this distress, and knew not what course to take, Tomaso Strozzi and Benedetto Alberti, either out of ambition, and a desire of remaining alone in possession of the Palace, or perhaps because they thought it the best expedient to allay the fury of the populace, advised them to give way to it, by resigning the Magistracy, and retiring to their own houses. This advice, though given by those that had been the chief fomentors and abettors of the insurrection, would have been immediately

* Livy's remark is most true. *Hac natura multitudinis est; aut servit humiliter, aut superbe dominatur: libertatem quæ media est, nec spernere audeo, nec habere sciunt; & non sermo desunt irarum indulgentes ministri, qui avidos atque intemperantes Plebeiorum animos ad sanguinem & cædes irritent.* "Such is the nature of the multitude; humble and abject even to baseness when they obey; but insolent to the last degree, when they command. They are neither content with liberty, nor without it, nor know how to keep any medium. And for the most part, there are persons ready enough to indulge their passions, and irritate their greedy and intemperate minds to plunder and bloodshed." Livy, lib. xxiv. c. 25. As Milton says of them; . . . 17 7)

"They bawl for freedom in their senseless mood,
And still revolt when truth would set them free,
Licence they mean, when they cry Liberty;
For who loves that, must first be wise and good;
But from that mark how far they rove we see,
For all this waste of wealth and loss of blood,"

com-

complied with by all the rest of the Signiory, if Niccolo del Bene and Alamanno Acciaivoli, who had a little recovered their spirits, and were moved with a just indignation, had not made answer, "that if other people had a mind to retire, it could not be helped; but for their own parts, they were determined rather to die like men, than quit the Palace, or lay down their authority before the usual time. This opposition increased the perplexity of the Signiory, and the rage of the People, to such a degree, that at last the Gonfalonier, chusing rather to resign his office in a dishonourable manner, than to maintain it at the peril of his life, recommended himself to the protection of Tomaso Strozzi, who led him out of the Palace, and conducted him to his own house. Upon which, all the rest of the Signiory thought fit to follow the example of their Gonfalonier, and were led away one by one: so that Niccolo and Alamanno seeing themselves left alone, and thinking it would be rather fool-hardiness than prudence to stay there any longer in their circumstances, likewise retired and left the Palace in the hands of the people, and the Eight that had been appointed to act as Secretaries at War, who had not yet laid down their offices.

When the people first entered the Palace, one Michael di Lando, a Woolcomber, but a bare-footed ragged fellow, carried the Standard of Justice before them; and after he had got up to the top of the steps, near enough to be heard by the Signiory, who were then sitting, he turned himself round to his followers, and said to them, "You see, my friends, not only the Palace, but the whole City is in your hands; how would you have them disposed of?" Upon which, they unanimously cried out, "that he should be their Gonfalonier and chief Magistrate, and govern the City as he pleased" Michael, therefore, who was a shrewd sensible fellow, and much more obliged to Nature than Fortune, readily accepted of the government, with a design, however, to compose
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the City, and put an end to all disturbances as soon as possible. For this purpose, and to keep the people employed, that he might have a little time to digest his designs, he sent them to search for * Ser Nuto, who had been appointed Provost Marshal, or rather Hangman, by Lapo da Castiglionchio. And to begin his administration with an appearance of Justice, as he had acquired it by favour, he caused a Proclamation to be issued, that nobody should dare to burn or plunder any man's house for the future: to enforce the observance of which, he ordered a Gibbet to be erected in the great Piazza. After this, in order for a further reform of the City, he immediately turned all the Syndics of the Arts out of their offices, deprived the Signiory and Colleges of their authority, and burnt the old Imborsations. In the mean time, the Mob had brought Ser Nuto into the Piazza, where they hung him up by one leg upon the Gibbet; and as every one tore away a joint, or a piece of his flesh, in two or three minutes, there was nothing left of him but one of his feet. On the other hand, the Eight Secretaries at War, thinking the government of the City devolved upon them, since the abdication of the late Signiory, had already appointed a new one: but Michael being informed of it, sent them word to quit the Palace immediately, for he intended to let every one see that he knew how to govern Florence without their advice or assistance. He then called together all the Syndics of the Arts, and appointed a new Signiory, consisting of Eight members: four of which were chosen out of the Plebeians, two out of the greater companies, and two more out of the less. He likewise reformed the other branches of the Magistracy, and divided it into three jurisdictions, one of which was to administer justice

* The Italian word *Messere*, or *Messer* (which is a contraction of it) is a title of respect prefixed to the proper name of a man, and answers to our *Mr.* But the word *Ser*, which is still a further abbreviation, is rather a term of diminution and inferiority, and sometimes of contempt, as we say in English, *Master* such a one.

to the new Companies, another to the greater, and a third to the less Arts. He gave the rents of all the shops upon the old Bridge to Sylvestro de' Medici, and took the Podesteria, or Bailiwick of Empoli, himself: besides which, he was very liberal to many other Citizens, who had befriended the Plebeians, not only out of gratitude for past favours, but to engage them to support him in future against envy.

But in this reformation of the State, the Plebeians thought Michael had been too partial to some of the principal Commoners, and that they themselves had not such a share in the government, as was sufficient to defend, much less to maintain them in it; wherefore, according to their usual insolence, they again took arms and ran in a tumultuous manner under their Colours into the Piazza, calling to the Signiory to come out upon the Ringheria, there to deliberate upon new matters, which they had to propose to them for their own security, and the good of the public. But Michael being well acquainted with their arrogance, and not caring to exasperate them too far, before he knew what their demands were, gently reprimanded them for applying in so clamorous a manner, exhorting them to lay down their arms, and assuring them, that they should find the Signiory ready to comply with any thing that was reasonable; but that it was not consistent with their dignity to suffer it to be extorted from them by compulsion. This answer so enraged the multitude against those in the Palace, that they drew off to a place near St. Mary's new Church, where they appointed eight heads over them, with other subordinate Officers and Magistrates, to give them more dignity and reputation; so that the city had now two Tribunals, and was governed by two distinct administrations. These heads resolved amongst themselves, that eight persons, to be chosen by their own new Companies, should always reside with the Signiory in the Palace, and that whatsoever was resolved on by the others, should not pass into a law, till it had their assent. They took away all honours

nours and emoluments which had been granted to Sylvestro de' Medici, and Michael di Lando, in their former deliberations; and assigned places and pensions to several of their own partisans, the better to support the dignity of their respective offices. After they had come to these resolutions, to make them more effectual, they sent two deputies to the Signiory, who were to insist upon having them confirmed by the Councils, and to threaten them with violence in case it should be refused. These deputies, accordingly, delivered the substance of their Commission to the Signiory, with much boldness and presumption, reproaching the Gonfalonier with the authority they had conferred on him, the favours he had received from them, the ingratitude, and supercilious manner in which he had since behaved; and concluded their speech with such menaces, that Michael, not able to bear with so intolerable a degree of insolence any longer, determined (with a resolution more suitable to the dignity of his new office, than the meanness of his birth) to chastise this height of audaciousness in an exemplary manner; and having drawn a sword which he had by his side, after he had given them several cuts with it, he sent them tied neck and heels to prison.

As soon as the Plebeians heard of this, they were enflamed to the last degree, and resolved to use violence to obtain their ends, now other means had failed: for which purpose, they moved forwards in a furious and disorderly manner, directly towards the Palace with a design to force their way into it. Michael in the mean time, apprehending the consequence of what he had done, determined to be before hand with them, thinking it more honourable to strike the first blow, than to stay cooped up within the walls of the Palace, till he was attacked by the enemy and forced to sneak out of it, as the late Gonfalonier had done to his great mortification and disgrace. He therefore assembled a considerable body of the Citizens, who now began to repent of their folly, and put:

putting himself at the head of them on horseback, he proceeded towards St. Mary's with an intent to engage the Multitude. The Plebeians likewise, as we have just said, had already determined to attack him, and were moving forward towards the Palace at the same juncture for that purpose; but as each side happened to take a different route, they did not meet by the way. Upon which, Michael turning back again, and finding the Mob had got possession of the Piazza and were going to make an assault upon the Palace, instantly fell upon them and dispersed them, driving some of them quite out of the City, and forcing the rest to throw away their arms and hide themselves. This victory put an end to the tumult; a victory gained entirely by the magnanimity and good conduct of the Gonfalonier, who upon this occasion, shewed himself in valour, generosity, and prudence, far superior to any other Citizen, and well deserves to be numbered amongst those few that have been real benefactors to their Country. For if he had been of an ambitious or self-interested disposition, the Republick must have totally lost its liberty, and relapsed into a more intolerable degree of servitude than it was under the tyranny of the Duke of Athens. But his integrity would not suffer him to cherish any design that might be prejudicial to the good of the public, and his prudence taught him to conduct himself in such a manner, as not only gained him the first place and confidence of his own party, but enabled him to triumph over that of his enemies. These proceedings struck a terror into the Plebeians, and opened the eyes of the better sort of people, who could not help wondering at their own stupidity, that after they had suppressed the pride of the Nobility, they could so patiently submit to be insulted by the very dregs and refuse of the city.

When Michael obtained this victory over the Plebeians, the new Signiory was already appointed, two of whom were of so base and abject condition, that every one seemed desirous to rid themselves of such
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infamous Magistrates : so that on the first of September, when the new Signiory entered upon the Magistracy, and the others were coming out of the Palace Gate, there began to be an uproar in the Piazza, which was full of armed men, who shouted out with one voice, " that they would have no Plebeians in the Signiory." The rest of the Signiory therefore, in order to appease them, degraded their two associates, one of whom was named Tira, and the other Baroccio, and chose Georgio Scali and Francisco di Michael in their room. They likewise dissolved the Plebeian Companies, and deprived all those of their offices that had any connexion with them, except Michael di Lando, Ludovico di Puccio, and some few others of the best of them : and in the last place, they divided the subordinate Magistracy into two separate jurisdictions, one of which was to preside over the greater Arts, and the other over the less. For the Signiory, it was only provided in general, that five of that body should be drawn out of the less Companies, and four out of the greater ; and the Gonfalonier alternately out of each.

In this manner the tranquillity of the city was re-established for that time : and though the government of the republick was taken out of the hands of the Plebeians, yet the lower Companies had more power than the chief Commoners, who were forced, however to be content with what they had, in order to satisfy the Arts, and to deprive the Plebeians of their countenance and assistance. Several others likewise that wished to see those kept down, who, under the name of the Guelph party, had treated many of their fellow Citizens with such insolence and indignity, rejoiced at this regulation ; and as Georgio Scali, Benedetto Alberti, Sylvestro de' Medici, and Tomaso Strozzi were the principal of those who favoured and promoted it, they became in a manner the chief governors of the city. These proceedings, however, and this new model of government revived the old divisions betwixt the more considerable Commoners
and

and the lower sort of Mechanicks, which had first been occasioned by the ambition of the Ricci and Albizi: and because they afterwards produced terrible consequences, and we shall often have occasion to speak of them in the course of this history, we shall henceforward distinguish these two factions by the Names of the *Popular* and the *Plebeian*.

This constitution of government lasted three years, a period which, though short, abounded with Executions and Banishments: for as those that were chiefly concerned in the administration well knew there were great numbers of Malecontents both within the city and without it, they lived in perpetual fear and alarm. The disaffected within the walls, either actually did, or were supposed to cabal daily against the State; and those without, being no longer under any restraint, were continually raising disturbances abroad by the assistance of foreign Princes or Republics, sometimes in one part, sometimes in another.

There was then at Bologna one Giannozzo da Salerno, a commander employed in the service of Carlo Durazzo (a descendant from the Royal Family of Naples) who designing, if possible, to wrest that Kingdom out of the hands of Queen Giovanna, kept this general in pay at the expence of Pope Urban, betwixt whom and the Queen there had lately been great contests. There was likewise a vast number of the Florentine exiles in Bologna at the same time, who held a close correspondence with him and his master Carlo, which gave great uneasiness to the governors of Florence, as they were the more easily prevailed upon thereby to give credit to the malicious reports that were raised of such Citizens as they suspected before. In the mean time, whilst the Magistrates were under these apprehensions, they received intelligence that Giannozzo was actually to march towards Florence at the head of the exiles, and that many within the Walls were ready to take up arms at his arrival there and deliver up the city to him. Upon this information, numbers were accused; the chief of whom

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were Pietro degli Albizi, Carlo and Philippo Strozzi, Cipriano Mangioni, Jacopo Sacchetti, Donato Barbadori, and Giovanni Anselmi, who were all committed to prison, except Carlo Strozzi, and he fled. Besides which, the Signiory ordered Tomaso Strozzi and Benedetto Alberti to patrol the city with some Companies of the Militia, in order to deter any one from rising in favour of the enemy. After the Prisoners had been examined and nothing criminal could be proved against them, the Magistrate was going to acquit and discharge them: upon which, their enemies immediately called the people together and raised such a ferment by their clamours and calumnies, that he was forced to pass sentence of death upon them. And though Pietro degli Albizi had been more honoured and respected in Florence for a long course of years than any other Citizen of his time; yet neither the clearness of such an established reputation, nor the splendor of his family availed him any thing. It happened not long before, whilst he was regaling his fellow Citizens one day at a great entertainment which he had made for them, that some person unknown (perhaps a true friend with a design to put him in mind of moderation in so remarkable a degree of prosperity, or very likely it might be an enemy, who did it to terrify him with the apprehension of some sudden change, when he considered the volubility of fortune) sent him a salver of sweetmeats and amongst them a large nail, which being observed and handed about the table from one to another, was whimsically interpreted as an admonition to nail down the wheel of fortune now he was got to the top of it *; as it must

* In the consulship of L. Genutius, and L. Æmilius Mamercus, the plague continuing to afflict the Romans, they had recourse to the ceremony of driving a nail, which had never been done before, but to keep an account of the years, (*quia raræ per ea tempora literæ erant*, says Livy) according to an ancient Law, "that the Great Prætor should drive a nail on the third day of September." From that time this political ceremony was turned into superstition, and simple people were made to believe, that this action would be effectual to avert public calamities, or at least to nail them down,

of

of necessity happen, if the rotation continued, that he would sometime or other be whirled to the bottom: and this prognostication was indeed fully verified by his sudden fall and unfortunate end.

These executions occasioned fresh murmurs and discontents in the city: so that both those that had got the upper hand, and those that were depressed, lived in continual fear and suspicion of each other. Dreadful indeed were the consequences which flowed from the apprehensions of the former; as every little accident furnished them with a handle to trample upon their fellow Citizens; some of whom they daily either put to death, admonished, or sent into exile. They likewise made several new laws to strengthen their hands, and keep those down of whom they entertained the least suspicion: besides which, they appointed forty-six Commissioners, who by the authority of the Signiory were to purge the Commonwealth of all disaffected persons. These Commissioners admonished thirty-nine Citizens, degraded several of the higher rank, and exalted many of the lower: and to defend themselves against any danger from abroad; they took † John Aguto into their pay, an English

and retard their progress. This nail was of brass, and driven into the wall behind the Chapel of Minerva, in the Capitol, on the right hand of the Temple of Jupiter Capitolinus: and to perform this ceremony, a Dictator was purposely created. Vid. Danet in voce Clavus, and Livy, lib. vii. c. 3. Probably this might be a custom amongst the Italians when this transaction happened, and derived from the ancient Romans; since they have been forward enough to imitate them in many other rites and modes of worship, as the late Dr. Middleton has fully shewn in his letter from Rome.

† This John Aguto, or Augut (as he is corruptly called by the Italians) before mentioned in the first book of this history, was Sir John Hawkwood, an English Knight; who was so highly esteemed in Italy for his courage and military conduct, that the Senate of Florence honoured him for his extraordinary merits, with an Equestrian Statue, and a magnificent monument, as a perpetual testimony of his valour and fidelity. The Italian historians are full of his great exploits, and Paolo Jovio celebrates them in his Elogies. I shall only quote the four following verses concerning him out of Giulio Ferroldo.

Hawkwood, Anglorum decus, et decus, addite, genti
 Italicæ, Italico præsidiumque solo;
 Ut tumuli quondam Florentia, sic Simulachri
 Virtutem Jovius donat honore tuam.

Com-

Commander of very great reputation, who had been many years in the service of the Pope and other Italian Princes. Their apprehensions from abroad chiefly arose from the intelligence they had received that Carlo Durazzo was raising a powerful army to invade the Kingdom of Naples, as it was given out, and that he had a great number of the Florentine exiles under his banners. But to guard against the danger

Hawkwood, whom England boasts her stoutest son,
And glad Italians their Preserver own;
A stately tomb as grateful Florence gave,
So learned Jovio does thy picture save.

This renowned Knight thus celebrated abroad, was neglected and had no honours paid to his memory at home; except that some of his fellow soldiers and followers in the foreign wars, founded a chantry for him at Castle Henningham, in Essex, the place of his birth, and for two of his Companions, John Oliver, and Thomas Newington, Esquires. Vid. Camden's Britannia, Vol. i. p. 240. Second Edit. by Bishop Gibson.

The account given of him by Collier, is as follows: "He was born at Sibble Henningham, in Essex, in the reign of Edward III. His Extraction was mean, his Education suitable, but his improvement in arms wonderful. His father was Gilbert Hawkwood, a Tanner, who bound him apprentice to a Taylor, in London. But being pressed into the King's service in his French wars, he behaved himself so valiantly, that it was not long before he got a company of Foot, and was afterwards knighted for some good services. However, as a peace was concluded soon after betwixt the two Crowns, and his estate was not sufficient to maintain his Title with dignity, he went into Italy with some English forces to advance his fortune. There he served first, with good success, under John, Marquis of Montferrat; next, under Galeazzo, Duke of Milan, at the solicitation of Bernabo, the Duke's brother; with whom he was in such esteem for his successful valour, that he gave him Domitia, his Daughter, in marriage, with a dower suitable to her birth. This alliance spread his fame far and near, chiefly throughout Italy: yet either upon further hopes, or some disgust, he quitted the service of his father-in-law, and went over to the enemy. Afterwards he went to Rome, where the Pope made him commander in chief of his forces, in an expedition for the recovery of part of Provence, which had revolted from him. When he had effected this, he entered into the pay of the Florentines, whom he served so successfully, that he was looked upon as the best soldier of that age. He died at Florence in a very advanced age, Anno 1394, and in the 18th of Richard II. The Florentines, to perpetuate the memory of his great exploits, and faithful service to their state, honoured him with a Statue and a sumptuous Monument. His friends also raised him one of Stone at Sibble Henningham, arched over with a representation of Hawks flying in a wood, in allusion to his name. But it is now utterly destroyed by time. He had a Son named John, born in Italy, who was Knighted, and naturalized in the reign of Henry IV.

with

with which they were threatned from that quarter, they not only put their Militia in good order, but raised a large sum of money; and when Carlo had advanced as far as Arezzo, they made him a present of forty thousand Ducats, upon a promise that he would not molest them. He accordingly proceeded in his march to invade the territories of Queen Giovanna, and having made himself master of the Kingdom of Naples, he sent her prisoner into Hungary. But this success alarmed the governors of Florence still more, who could not flatter themselves that the new King would have a greater regard to their bribe, than the alliance which had always subsisted betwixt his family and the faction of the Guelphs, whom they had so grievously oppressed.

These suspicions growing stronger and stronger every day, made them behave with more rigour to the other party: a manner of proceeding that only served to multiply their discontents, and to increase, instead of allaying their own fears, which were not a little heightened by the insolence of Georgio Scali and Tomaso Strozzi, whose authority was much superior to that of the Magistrates; and therefore they all stood in great awe of those two Citizens, as they knew it was in their power, if they should join the Plebeians, to turn them entirely out of the administration. This intemperate and tyrannical manner of governing began to grow intolerable, not only to all good Citizens, but even to the seditious themselves; and it was not possible that the arrogance of Georgio Scali in particular could be long supported. It happened accordingly soon after, that some of his informers accused one Giovanni di Cambio of conspiring against the State: but as he was found innocent of the crime that was laid to his charge, the Magistrate, who was then the Captain of the people, adjudged that the accuser should suffer the same punishment that would have been inflicted upon Cambio if he had been proved guilty. Georgio therefore perceiving that all his authority and intercessions for him

him were in vain, went together with Tomaso Strozzi at the head of a Mob which they had raised, and having rescued him by force, they plundered the Captain's Palace and obliged him to hide himself for fear of being murdered. This outrage so highly disgusted the whole city, that his enemies thought they had now a fair opportunity not only of wreaking their own private revenge upon him, but of delivering the Commonwealth out of his hands and the hands of the Plebeians, who had so unmercifully tyrannized over it for the space of three years. And this design was not a little promoted by the Captain's behaviour, who went directly to the Signiory as soon as the tumult was over, and told them, "that, as they had done him the honour to confer that office upon him, he had accepted it with pleasure, upon a presumption that he was to serve good and virtuous men, and who would have taken arms, if necessary, to favour the course of justice, and not to obstruct it. But since he had seen enough of their manner of governing the city and behaving themselves, that post which he had so cheerfully accepted in hopes of advancing his own fortune and reputation as well as serving the Commonwealth, he should much more cheerfully resign, to avoid further danger and save himself from utter ruin." Upon this, some of the Signiory, after they had persuaded the Captain to continue in his office, by giving him fair words and promising they would take care that he should not only be indemnified for the loss he had already sustained, but that he should live in security for the future, immediately entered into a consultation with such of the Citizens as they thought wished well to their country and were the least suspected of disaffection; in which it was concluded that now or never would be the time to deliver the city from the yoke of Scali and the Plebeian faction, as he had alienated the affections of the generality by this last enormity. They resolved therefore to make use of the opportunity before the passions of the people subsided, well knowing

ing that the favour of the multitude is soon lost and as soon regained by any little accidental circumstance. And to conduct the affair to a happy issue, they thought it absolutely necessary to draw Benedetto Alberti into a concurrence with their design, without whose assistance the undertaking seemed too rash and dangerous.

Benedetto, tho' a man of immense fortune, was yet very humane, strict in his morals and principles, a steady friend to the liberties of his country, and sufficiently disgusted at the tyrannical proceedings of the government: so that it was no difficult matter to engage him in any measures that might contribute to the downfall of Scali. For as the insolence and oppression of the principal Commoners and the Guelph faction had made him their enemy and a friend to the Plebeians: so, when he saw the latter pursuing the very same measures, he quickly detached himself from them, and had not the least hand in any of the late injuries and violences that had been offered to his fellow Citizens; the same motives, that at first inclined him to take part with the Plebeians, afterwards determining him to leave them. Having thus brought Benedetto and the Heads of the Arts into their design, they seized upon Georgio Scali; but Tomaso Strozzi made his escape. The very next day he was beheaded, which struck such a terror into his party, that not so much as one of them offered to stir in his favour, though they crowded in great numbers to see his execution. When he came to suffer death in the face of that very people which had so lately worshipped him with a degree of idolatry, he could not help complaining of the hardness of his destiny and the wickedness of those Citizens, who, by their oppressions, had forced him to court and caress a Rabble in which he found there was neither honour nor gratitude. And seeing Benedetto Alberti at the head of the guards that surrounded the scaffold, he turned himself towards him and said,

“ Can you too, Benedetto, stand tamely by, and see

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me murdered in this vile manner? I assure you, if you was in my circumstances, and I in yours, I would not suffer you to be treated so: but, remember that I tell you, this is the last day of my misfortunes, and the first of yours." He then bewailed his own folly in having trusted to the fidelity of the Plebeians, which he might well have known is ever liable to be shaken and seduced by any little suspicion, misrepresentation, or blast of envy. With these lamentations he ended his life in the midst of his enemies to their great exultation: after which, some of his chief Confidants were also put to death and their bodies dragged through the streets by the people.

His death threw the whole city into a ferment: for, during the execution, many of the Citizens had taken arms in favour of the Signiory and Captain of the people; and many others to gratify their own revenge or private ends. And as the city was full of different humours, almost every one had a separate view, and was eager to accomplish it before he laid down his arms. The ancient Nobility, now called Grandees, could not bear to live any longer without some share in the public honours, and exerted their utmost efforts to recover them: for which purpose, they endeavoured to have the Captains of the Arts restored to their former authority. The Heads of the popular faction and the greater Arts were disgusted that the government of the state was shared in common with them by the inferior Arts and Plebeians: the inferior Arts, instead of giving up any part of their authority, were very desirous to increase it: and the Plebeians were afraid of having their new Companies dissolved. From these different views and apprehensions it came to pass, that there was nothing to be seen in Florence but tumults for the space of a whole year: for sometimes the Grandees, sometimes the greater, sometimes the less Arts, and sometimes the Plebeians were in an uproar; and it often happened that they all took arms at the same time in different parts

parts of the city. So that there were frequent skirmishes and frays betwixt them and the guards of the Palace: for the Signiory sometimes by opposing, and sometimes by giving way to them, endeavoured by all possible means to find some remedy for such distractions. At last however, after two Conferences had been held, and two Balias instituted for the reformation of the city, after many mischiefs and more dangers and troubles, a form of government was established for the future; by which it was provided, that all such should be recalled as had been banished since Sylvestro de' Medici was Gonfalonier. That all offices and appointments which had been conferred by the Balia of 1378 should be abolished: That the two new Companies should be dissolved, and their individuals reincorporated into their respective Arts: That the inferior Arts should not chuse any Gonfalonier di Giustizia: That instead of enjoying one half of the public honours, they should now be limited to one third, and those too of the lower rank. So that the Popular Nobility and the Guelphs reassumed their superiority in the Government of the State; and the Plebeians were utterly dispossessed of it, after they had held it from the year 1378 till 1381, at which time this revolution happened.

The new administration however was no less grievous and oppressive to the Citizens at first than that of the Plebeians had been: for several of the Popular Nobility, who had shewn themselves the forwardest in supporting the people, and many of the Heads of the Plebeians were banished: amongst the rest was Michael di Lando, whom neither the remembrance of his former great merit and authority in restraining the fury of the populace when they were so licentiously plundering the city, nor any other consideration, was sufficient to protect from the resentment of the governing party. Such was the gratitude of his countrymen for his former services! and from this impolitic manner of proceeding in Princes and Governors of Commonwealths, it happens that men naturally

turally growing disgusted at their ill-timed severity and ingratitude, often incur their displeasure before they are aware of it. Accordingly, as such executions and banishments had ever been disapproved of by Benedetto Alberti, he could not help blaming the authors of those that had lately happened, both in public and in private company. Upon which the government began to grow suspicious of him as a favourer of the Plebeian party, and one that had consented to the death of Georgio Scali, not out of any real disapprobation of his conduct, but that he might the more easily get the reins of government into his own hands. His daily conversation and behaviour increased their suspicions to such a degree, that they kept a strict watch over him, and resolved to take the first opportunity of ruining him.

Whilst they lived in this manner at home, they did not suffer much from abroad, though indeed they were not altogether without their alarms. For about this time Lewis of Anjou came into Italy with an army to drive Carlo Durazzo out of the Kingdom of Naples and to reinstate Queen Giovanna. His arrival threw the Florentines into no little perplexity: for Carlo as their old friend and Ally demanded their assistance; whilst Lewis on the other hand, insisted upon their standing neutral if they expected any future favour or good offices from him. That they might seem willing therefore to oblige Lewis, they discharged Sir John Hawkwood from their service: and at the same time, to assist Carlo, they prevailed upon his Ally Pope Urban to take that commander into his pay. This double dealing was exceedingly resented by Lewis, who easily saw through it: so that when fresh succours arrived in Tuscany from France, to enable him to carry on the war against Carlo in Puglia, he joined the exiles from Arezzo, and having forced his way into that town by their assistance, he drove out the governing party there which adhered to Carlo. He likewise determined to have changed the government of Florence, but was prevented by death, which

which gave a new turn to affairs in Puglia and Tuscany; for Carlo then firmly established himself in a Kingdom which he had in a manner given up for lost: and the Florentines, who were something dubious, whether they should be able to defend their own city, resolved to make themselves masters of Arezzo, which they bought of the garrison that Lewis had left in possession of it. After Carlo had thoroughly settled himself in Puglia, he left his wife there with his two children, Ladislaus and Giovanna (as we have elsewhere related) and went to take possession of Hungary, which Kingdom had devolved to him by right of inheritance, but died there soon after he was crowned.

Greater rejoycings never were seen in any city, even for a victory of their own, than there were in Florence, both in public and in private, upon this acquisition; many families keeping open houses, and vying with the public in the pomp and extravagance of their entertainments. But none of them were to be compared to those made by the family of the Alberti, the splendor and magnificence of which were so far above the condition of any private person, that they would have done honour to a Prince. This ostentation excited much envy amongst their fellow Citizens, which, added to the suspicion that the government had already conceived of Benedetto, at last proved his ruin: for they could not quiet their apprehensions, whilst they thought he was taking these steps to reconcile the Plebeians to him, in order to drive them out of the city whenever he thought proper.

Whilst they were indulging these jealousies, it happened, that he was drawn Gonfalonier of the Companies, and his Son-in-law Philippo Magalotti, Gonfalonier of justice at the same time; an accident that redoubled the fears of those in the administration, who thought Benedetto had now much more power than was consistent with the safety of the state; and as they were desirous to find some means of averting

the danger they apprehended themselves in, without noise or tumult if possible, they secretly encouraged Bese Magalotti, his enemy and competitor, to represent to the Signiory, that Philippo not being so old as the Law required in the person that filled that office, neither ought nor could be admitted to it. Upon this, the affair was brought before the Signiors, part of whom out of hatred, and the rest for the sake of peace and quietness, adjudged him unqualified to hold that dignity: after which, Bardo Mancini was drawn in his room, a bitter enemy to the Plebeian faction, and no less inveterate against Benedetto. No sooner was this man in possession of his office, but he called a Balia for the reformation of the State; by the authority of which, Benedetto was sent into exile, and all the rest of his family admonished, except Antonio. Before his departure he called all his friends together, and seeing them very sorrowful and dejected, he took his leave of them in this manner:

“ You see, my dear friends and fellow Citizens, in what manner fortune has contrived my ruin, and how she still threatens you: at which, neither you nor I ought to be at all surprized, since it is almost always the Lot of those who endeavour to maintain their integrity, in wicked and corrupt times, and to support that which the generality are desirous to pull down. The love of my Country first induced me to join with Sylvestro de’ Medici; and afterwards to separate myself from Georgio Scali. From the same principle I could not forbear censuring the proceedings of those that are now at the Helm, who, having nobody to chastise them, are likewise desirous to get rid of every one that dares to reprehend them. I cheerfully submit to banishment, if I am doomed to it, only to free them from the awe they stand in of me, and not of me only, but of every one, who, they are conscious, has an eye upon their tyrannical and licentious proceedings. On my own account I am not much concerned; for that reputation with which I was honoured whilst my Country was free, can-

cannot be taken away from me now it is enslaved; and the review of my past life will always afford me more satisfaction, than the disgrace of my exile can give me regret. It fills me with concern, I confess, to leave my Country a prey to the avarice and oppression of a few particular men. It grieves me, when I reflect, that this day, which puts an end to my misfortunes, in all probability will give birth to yours, and that the malevolence of fortune may fall still more heavy upon you than it has done upon me. Let me exhort you however, not to despair, but to bear up against her frowns, and to behave yourselves in such a manner, that whenever you fall into adversity, which you may daily expect from the present situation of things, the world may bear witness that it is not owing to any demerit of your own." After his departure, he still kept up the same reputation of piety and goodness abroad, that he had ever maintained at home; and going to visit the Holy Sepulchre, he died in his return at Rhodes. His bones were brought back to Florence and interred there with the highest honours, by those very people who had persecuted him whilst alive with so much rancour and injustice.

The family of the Alberti were not the only sufferers in these distractions, for many other Citizens were either admonished, or sent into exile: amongst those that were banished were Pietro Benini, Matteo Alderotti, Giovanni and Francisco del Bene, Giovanni Benci, and Andrea Adimari, besides a great number of the lower sort of people: amongst those that were admonished, were the Covoni, the Benini, the Rinucci, the Formiconi, the Corbizi, the Mannelli, and the Alderotti. It always had been the custom to empower the Balìa to sit for a certain determinate time; but the Citizens, who were members of this, having done what they were deputed for to the satisfaction of the State, were going to break up before the expiration of that term, as they thought it would have an appearance of modesty and disinterestedness.

But the people hearing of their resolution, ran in arms to the Palace, and insisted that they should banish and admonish several others before they resigned their authority : at which, the Signiory were exceedingly offended, though they thought proper to amuse the people with fair words and promises, till such time as they had got their guards together, and were strong enough to make them lay down their arms by force. However, to give them some sort of satisfaction, and to diminish the authority of the Plebeians still more, they made a Decree, by which the third part of the public honours which they before enjoyed, should now be reduced to a fourth. And that there might be always two at least in the Signiory of approved fidelity to the government, they gave the Gonfalonier di Giustizia, and four other Citizens, authority to make a fresh Imborsation, and to put the names of a select number of Citizens into a particular purse, out of which two of every new Signiory should always be drawn.

Every thing being thus settled in 1381, after a series of troubles and convulsions, which had lasted six years, the Florentines enjoyed tranquillity at home till the year 1387 : at which time, Giovanni Galeazzo Visconti, commonly called the Conte di Virtu, imprisoned his Uncle Bernabo, and thereby became sole Lord of all Lombardy. This Conte di Virtu thought he could have made himself King of Italy by force of arms, as he had made himself Duke of Milan, by treachery : for which purpose, he began so vigorous a war upon the Florentines, in the year 1390, and conducted it in such a manner, that he would certainly have ruined them, if he had not died soon after. However, they made a courageous and indeed a wonderful defence, considering their State was a Republic * ; and the conclusion of the war was not

* What other advantages soever the advocates for a republican form of government may alledge in its favour, when compared with monarchial power, it is certain that the former cannot exert itself with the same vigour as the latter, especially in time of war. And the

so fatal as the fury with which it was conducted seemed to threaten. For after the Duke had taken Bologna, Pisa, Perugia, and Siena, and was making preparations to be crowned King of Italy at Florence, he was prevented by sudden death from enjoying the fruit of his victories, and the Florentines delivered from the calamities, which otherwise must have fallen upon them.

During the time of this war with the Duke, the office of Gonfalonier di Giustizia was fallen into the hands of Maso degli Albizi, whom the remembrance of Pietro's unfortunate end had made a bitter enemy to the Alberti, though Benedetto was now dead. And as the animosities of the Factions were not yet extinguished, he resolved to be revenged on the rest of that family before he went out of office. For which purpose, he availed himself of a deposition, that had been made by a certain person who was accused of holding a secret correspondence with the exiles, in which Alberto and Andrea degli Alberti were named as his accomplices, and immediately taken into custody. Upon this, the whole city was in such an uproar, that the Signiory having sufficiently provided for their own defence, called the people to a con-

more any governments have of democracy in their constitution, the weaker they generally are in that respect. Their deliberations are slow, their councils divided, and the result of them too public. Besides which, they are so subject to tumults and faction and civil dissension, that they must of necessity be more feeble and tardy, either in defending themselves, or annoying the enemy. They have often been so sensible of these inconveniencies, upon such occasions, that they have been forced to create Dictators, Stadtholders, &c. and put themselves under the government of one single Prince, or other person vested with absolute power and authority for a certain stated time, as the only means to close the wounds of faction, and to give more life and vigour to the State. A prince is to the community what the spirit and soul are to the body.

*Spiritus intus alit, totamque insusa per artus
Mens agit molem, & magno se corpore miscet.*

Virg. *Æn.* VI. 726.

One common Soul
Inspires and feeds and animates the whole.
This active mind infused thro' all the space,
Unites and mingles with the mighty mass.

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ference, appointed a new Balìa, (by the authority of which many Citizens were banished) and caused a fresh imbrication of Magistrates to be made. Amongst those that they banished were almost all the Alberti; besides which many of the Artificers were either admonished or put to death. This tyrannical manner of proceeding so enraged the Arts and the lower sort of people, who now saw their lives and honours so wantonly taken away, that they rose in arms, some of them running to the Piazza before the Palace, and others to the house of Veri de' Medici, who after the death of Sylvestro was become the Head of that family. In order to sooth those that were in the Piazza, the Signiory sent Rinaldo Gianfigliuzzi and Donato Acciaivoli (two Commoners that were more acceptable to the Plebeians than any others) with the colours of the Guelph faction and those of the people in their hands. The other party that had repaired to the house of Veri de' Medici earnestly intreated him to take the government into his hands, and deliver them from the oppression of those Citizens who were daily endeavouring to destroy the Commonwealth and every good man in it.

All writers that have left any memoirs of the transactions of those times, unanimously agree, that if Veri had been as ambitious as he was virtuous, he then might easily have made himself absolute Lord of the City: for the violence and grievous injuries that were indiscriminately offered both to the good and bad, had provoked the Arts, and all those that favoured them, to such a degree, that they only wanted somebody to lead them on to satiate their revenge. Amongst several others that advised him to take the sole government of the Republic into his hands, Antonio de' Medici was the most importunate, though they had been long at open enmity together: but Veri, instead of paying any regard to him, only said, "that as he had always despised his threats, whilst he was his professed enemy, so he would not be ruined by his counsel now he pretended to be his friend;" and

and turning to the multitude, he exhorted them not to despair, for he would secure them, if they would follow his advice. After which, he advanced in the midst of them to the Piazza, and from thence, went by himself into the Palace, where he told the Signiory, " he was far from being sorry, that his manner of life had been such as to procure him the love of his fellow Citizens; but he could not help being concerned, that they had formed an opinion of him, which he trusted his conversation had not at all deserved: for as he had never shewn the least sign of an ambitious or turbulent disposition, he could not imagine what induced them to think he would either favour sedition, or entertain any design of usurping the government. That he prayed their Lordships, however, that the error and ignorance of the multitude might not be imputed as a crime to him, since he had delivered himself up into their hands as soon as it was possible. That he exhorted them to use their power with moderation; and for the preservation of the City, to be content with the superiority they had already obtained, rather than endeavour to make their victory complete by its utter ruin."

The Signiory having highly commended Veri's behaviour, desired him to make the people lay down their arms, and then they would comply with any thing whatsoever that he and the other Citizens should advise. Upon this, he returned into the Piazza, and having called together his followers, and those that were under the Colours of Rinaldo and Donato, he told them all, that he found the Signiory very well disposed to give them any manner of satisfaction: that many things had been already granted, but that the shortness of the time, and the absence of some magistrates, had prevented their being put in Execution. That in the mean time, he conjured them to lay down their arms, out of reverence to the Signiory; assuring them, that instead of menaces and insults, obedience and a respectful behaviour were more likely to prevail upon the government to gratify their

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requests: and that if they would follow his directions, both their liberties and honours should be secured to them. Upon these assurances and a reliance on Veri's word, they all returned to their own houses.

As soon as this tumult was composed, the Signiory, in the first place began to fortify the Piazza, and then immediately inrolled two thousand Citizens, well affected to the government, whom they divided into Companies, with orders, to be ready to assist them whenever they should be called upon; strictly prohibiting all others at the same time, from bearing arms upon any occasion whatsoever. After they had taken these steps to secure themselves, they put many of the Artificers to death, and banished others that had been the most active and clamorous in the late insurrection. And that the Gonfalonier della Giustizia might have the more reverence shewn him, they ordained, that no one should be capable of being admitted to that dignity, before he was five and forty years of age. They likewise made several other provisions to strengthen their hands, which were not only intolerable to those against whom they were particularly designed, but odious to all good Citizens of their own party; who could not help thinking that a bad administration, and built upon a sandy bottom, which stood in need of so much severity to support it. Those of the Alberti that were still left in the City, and many others, particularly the Medici, who thought themselves, as well as the people, abused and deceived, were extremely disgusted at these proceedings; but the first that had courage enough to oppose them, was Donato, the son of Jacopo Acciaivoli. This Donato, though he was one of the Grandees of the City, and rather superior than equal to Maso degli Albizi (who by the steps he had taken whilst he was Gonfalonier, was become in a manner the Head of the Commonwealth) could not live quietly himself in a city where so many were discontented; and disdained the common practice of making a private advantage of public misfortunes. He therefore resolved to
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use his interest, in the first place, that all such as had been sent into exile, might be recalled, at least that those who had been admonished should be requalified to hold their former honours and employments. For this purpose, he insinuated first to one Citizen, and then to another, that there was no other expedient left to quiet the people, and allay the rage of faction; and that if he was one of the Signiory, he made no doubt, but he could bring the matter to bear. But as delay is irksome in all things, and too much precipitation is commonly attended with danger; to avoid one extreme, he ran into the other. There were then in the Signiory Michael Acciaivoli, his near relation, and Niccolo Ricoveri, his intimate friend: and as he thought this was an opportunity not to be lost, he entreated them to propose a Law to the Councils for the restoration of their fellow Citizens. At his persuasion, they accordingly moved it to the rest of the Signiory, who were all of opinion, that it would be imprudent to attempt any change of Government in which the advantage would be doubtful, and the danger very great and certain. Donato, therefore, having first tried all means to no purpose, began to grow outrageous, and sent them word, "That since they would not suffer the City to be reformed by other methods, it should be done by force:" at which they were so incensed, that after they had communicated the affair to those that were in the administration, Donato was cited to appear before them, and being convicted of sending that message, by the Evidence of the person who carried it, he was banished to Barletta. They likewise banished Alamanno and Antonio de' Medici, and all those that were of Alamanno's family, together with many of the inferior Arts, who had any interest amongst the Plebeians. All these things happened within two years after Maso degli Albizi had assumed the government.

In this situation of affairs, whilst many were discontented at home, and many impatient under their banish-

banishment abroad, there happened to be amongst the Exiles at Bologna, Picchio Cavicciulli, Tomaso de' Ricci, Antonio de' Medici, Benedetto degli Spini, Antonio de' Girolami, Christofano di Carlone, and two others of much inferior condition; but all young and spirited men, and determined at all events to return to their Country: especially as Piggello and Baroccio Cavicciulli, who were in the number of those that had been admonished in Florence, had found means to send them word, that if they could get secretly by night into the City, they would receive them into their houses, from whence they might take some convenient opportunity of sallying out and killing Maso degli Albizi, and afterwards call the people to arms, who would be ready enough to rise, as they were sufficiently disaffected to the Government, and sure of being supported by the Ricci, Adimari, Medici, Mannelli, and many other considerable families. Flushed with these hopes, they privately entered the City at a place appointed, on the 4th of August 1397, and immediately set spies to watch the motions of Maso; as they designed to begin the tumult by dispatching him. Not long after, Maso came out of his House, and went to an Apothecary's, not far from the Church of St. Pietro Maggiore: upon which, the person that had been sent to watch him, ran to acquaint the conspirators, who immediatly took their swords and hasted to the Apothecary's, but found he was gone from thence. They were not discouraged, however, at this disappointment, but turned aside towards the Old Market Place, where they killed one of their enemies party, and proceeded towards the New Market, shouting, and calling upon the Citizens to arm for the recovery of their Liberties, and put the Tyrants to death. From thence they advanced towards a Street called the Calimara, at the end of which they killed another man: but seeing that nobody regarded their cries, nor offered to take arms and join them, they retired into the Loggia Nighthole, from the garrets of which they again called out

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to a great mob (which by this time was got round them, more out of curiosity than with a design to give them any assistance) conjuring them to take arms, and shake off so detestable a Yoke; and assuring them, "that the groans of their fellow Citizens had moved them more than any private injuries which they had sustained themselves, and were the only occasion of their making that attempt to rescue them out of slavery: that they had often heard that many of them were continually wishing for some opportunity of revenging themselves, and were determined to do it whenever they could get any body to head them. But now that opportunity was come, and they had leaders to conduct them, they stood gazing upon each other, till they would see the assertors of their Liberties massacred, and their oppressions redoubled. That they were astonished to see those who formerly used to take arms upon any little grievance, now crouching under so intolerable a burden, and tamely submitting to have so many of their fellow Citizens admonished, and so many sent into exile, when it was in their own power both to restore the Exiles to their Country, and those that had been admonished, to their former honours." These exhortations and reproaches, stinging as they were, had yet no effect upon the people, who either durst not stir out of the awe they stood in to the Government, or would not, out of the prejudice they had conceived against the Exiles from the death of those two Citizens, whom they had killed. So that when these Ringleaders of the tumult perceived that neither their words nor actions made any impression upon the multitude, they were at last convinced, when it was too late, how dangerous a thing it is to attempt the deliverance of a people who are willing to continue in slavery: and despairing of success, they shut themselves up in the Church of St. Reparata, not with any hopes of saving their lives, but of deferring their death for a little while.

Upon

Upon the first rumour of this tumult, the Signiory had armed themselves, and fortified their palace; but when they heard the event, who they were that had been the occasion of it, and whither they had retired, they recovered their spirits, and ordered an officer to take a party of the guards with him, and seize them. The doors of the Church were easily forced, but the others defended themselves so resolutely, that many of them were killed: the rest being taken and examined, it did not appear that any other of the Citizens had been privy to the Conspiracy, except Barroccio and Piggello Cavicciulli, whom they put to death with their accomplices.

This conspiracy was hardly quashed, when another and more dangerous one was discovered. The Florentines, as we have said before, were then at war with the Duke of Milan; who not being able to conquer them by dint of arms, had recourse to other methods; and having engaged many of the Citizens in his design, by means of the Exiles, (of whom there were numbers all over Lombardy) it was agreed amongst them, that upon a certain day appointed for that purpose, all the Exiles who lived nearest to Florence, and were able to bear arms, should advance towards the City, and endeavour to force their way into it by the channel of the Arno. In which attempt, if they succeeded, they were to be joined by their friends in the City, and then proceed to the houses of the chief governors, whom they had determined to put to death, and afterwards to reform the State as they thought proper. Amongst the Citizens within the walls, that were concerned in the conspiracy, was Samminiato de' Ricci; and as it often happens in such undertakings, that a few persons are not sufficient to put them in execution, and it is dangerous to trust a great number, whilst he was endeavouring to engage as many in it as he could, he unluckily met with one that betrayed him. For having communicated the affair to Sylvestro Cavicciulli, whom he thought the remembrance of his Kinsman's death, and the sufferings

ings of his family, would inspire with a thirst of revenge, he proved to be mistaken in his man: for Sylvestro being moved by fear more than any other consideration, immediately went and informed the Signiory of it, who ordered Samminiato to be taken into Custody, where he confessed himself guilty, and acquainted them with every particular circumstance of the design. None of the other Conspirators, however, were taken, except Tomaso Davizi, who coming from Bologna towards Florence, without knowing what had happened there, was arrested upon the road: all the rest, when they heard what had befallen Samminiato, were so terrified, that they fled out of the City.

Samminiato and Tomaso being punished according to the nature of their crimes, a new Balia was instituted, consisting of many Citizens, with authority to proceed against Delinquents, and to provide for the Safety of the Commonwealth. By this Council, six of the family of the Ricci, six of the Alberti, two of the Medici, three of the Scali, two of the Strozzi, Bindo Altoviti, Bernardo Adimari, and many others of lower condition, were proclaimed Rebels. All the rest of the Alberti, Ricci, and Medici, except some very few, were rendered incapable of holding any office for the space of ten years.

Amongst those of the Alberti that were not admonished, was Messer Antonio, whom they spared, as a man of a very quiet and peaceable disposition. But, before the Signiory had thoroughly got over the apprehension they had been in from the late danger, a priest was taken up, who had often been seen to go backwards and forwards betwixt Florence and Bologna, whilst the conspiracy was upon the anvil: and upon examination, he confessed that he had several times brought letters for Messer Antonio. Upon which, he was immediately taken into custody; and though he positively denied it at first, yet being convicted by the priest, he had a fine laid upon him, and was banished to the distance of three hundred

miles from the city. And to free the government from the continual apprehensions they had lived under, from the practices of the Alberti, they banished all of that family that were above fifteen years of age. These things happened in the year 1400; and about two years after, Giovanni Galeazzo died, which, as we said before, put an end to a war that had lasted ten years. After a respite of these two years from foreign troubles and domestick feuds, the government having drawn a little breath, and in some measure recovered its strength, it was resolved to attempt the reduction of Pisa; in which enterprize they succeeded, and not only gained great reputation abroad, but continued quiet at home, till the year 1433, except that in the year 1412, some of the Alberti having returned from banishment, another Balia was appointed, which made new laws for the security of the State, and inflicted other penalties upon that family. During this period, the Florentines likewise engaged in a war with Ladislaus, King of Naples, which ended in the Year 1414, upon the death of that Prince, who finding himself not able to cope with their forces, was obliged to cede Cortona to them, a City which had been some time in his hands. But afterwards gathering fresh strength, he renewed the war with much more vigour: and if he had not been prevented by death (as the Duke of Milan was likewise in his designs) he certainly would have reduced them to great distress, and perhaps as much danger of losing their liberties, as ever they were in from that Duke. So that their escape was no less remarkable at the end of this war, than at the conclusion of the other; for after the King had taken Rome, Siena, all la Marca d'Ancona, and Romagna, he had no impediment left but Florence, to obstruct his progress with all his forces into Lombardy, he suddenly died. In this manner, the death of others was more than once of greater Service to the Florentines, than any Friend, or Valour of their own.

After

After the decease of this Prince, the State continued in tranquillity both at home and abroad for the space of eight years, at the end of which, the wars that ensued with Philip, Duke of Milan, revived the spirit of domestic faction, which never subsided again till the subversion of that Administration, which had ruled the State from the year 1371 till 1434, maintained many wars with great glory, and added the Cities of Arezzo, Pisa, Livorno or Leghorn, and Monte Pulciano, to their own Dominions; and would have done still greater things if the City had continued united, and the rage of faction had not flamed out afresh, as we shall more particularly relate in the next book.

END OF THE THIRD BOOK.

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HISTORY
OF
FLORENCE.

BOOK IV.

ARGUMENT.

The importance of one honest, wise, and powerful Citizen: The chief cause of changes in a Commonwealth. The family of Medici, having been depressed, at last, in some measure, recover their authority. Philip Visconti, Duke of Milan, enters into a treaty with the Florentines; which he breaks, and seizes upon Furlì and Imola, and defeats the Florentine army. Rinaldo degli Albizi endeavours to quiet the clamours of the people, and advises a continuation of the War. Uz-zano's opinion. They try to bring over Giovanni de' Medici. His answer to Rinaldo. The factions of Uz-zano and Medici. The remarkable courage and fidelity of Biagio del Melano. The perfidy and cowardice of Zanobi del Pino. Niccolo Piccinino, the Florentine General, goes over to the Duke of Milan. The Venetians enter into a League with the Florentines, and appoint Carmignuola their Commander in chief. A new taxation, called the Catasto. The consequences of it. How Carmignuola conducted the war in Lombardy. A peace concluded betwixt the Duke and the Allies. The conditions of it. The advice of Giovanni de' Medici to his two sons, at his death. His character. Volterra rebels

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rebels against the Florentines; but is soon reduced to obedience. Rinaldo promotes a war with Lucca. Uzzano opposes it, but to no purpose. The cruelty of Astorre Gianni, the Florentine Commissary, to the Seravezzans, and their complaints of it. He is cashiered for it. Rinaldo, the other commissary, is likewise accused of misconduct. His speech to the Council of Ten. The project of Philip Brunelleschi, a celebrated Painter and Architect, to lay Lucca under water, is defeated. The tyrant of Lucca is deposed by the people. The Florentines are defeated by Piccinino, the Duke's General. A peace ensues between them and the Lucchese. Uzzano is persuaded by Niccolo Barbadori, to join him in endeavouring to drive Cosimo de' Medici out of the City. His answer. His death. Rinaldo becomes head of that faction. He garbles the Magistracy, and imprisons Cosimo. Malavolti's generous behaviour to him in prison. Cosimo is banished. Rinaldo's advice to his party is neglected. He, with many others, rise in arms to depose the Signiory; but lay them down again, at the mediation of Pope Eugenius IV. The Signiory banish Rinaldo, and recall Cosimo.

ALL Republics, especially such as are not well constituted, undergo frequent changes in their laws and manner of government. And this is not owing to the nature either of Liberty or Subjection in general, as many think, but to downright oppression on one hand, or unbridled licentiousness on the other. For the name of Liberty is often nothing more than a specious pretence, made use of both by the instruments of licentiousness, who, for the most part, are Commoners, and by the promoters of slavery, who generally are the Nobles, each side being equally impatient of restraint and controul. But when it fortunately happens, which indeed is very seldom, that some wise, good, and powerful Citizen, has sufficient authority in the Commonwealth, to make such laws as may extinguish all jealousies betwixt the Nobility and the People, or at least so to

moderate and restrain them, that they shall not be able to produce any bad effect; in such case, that State may properly be called free, and its constitution looked upon as firm and permanent. For, being once established upon good Laws and Institutions, it has no further occasion, like other States, for the virtue of any particular man to support it. On such laws and principles, many of those ancient Commonwealths, which so long subsisted, were formerly constituted: and for want of them, others have often varied, and still vary, their form of government from tyranny to licentiousness, and from licentiousness to tyranny. For as each of those states always has powerful enemies to contend with, it neither is, nor can be, possible they should be of any long duration. All good and wise men must of necessity be disgusted at them; since much evil may very easily be done in the former, and hardly any good in the latter: the insolent having too much authority in one, and the ignorant and unexperienced in the other; and both must be upheld by the spirit and fortune of one man alone, who yet may either be suddenly taken off by death or overpowered by adversity. I say therefore that the model of government which took place in Florence after the death of Georgio Scali in the year 1381, was at first solely maintained by the conduct of Maso degli Albizi, and afterwards by that of Niccolo Uzzano.

The city continued in tranquillity from the year 1414 till 1422: for as King Ladislaus was now dead*, and Lombardy divided betwixt different masters, the Florentines had nothing to fear either at home or abroad. Those that had the greatest authority in it next to Niccolo da Uzzano, were Bar-

* He was poisoned at Perugia by a Physician's daughter of that city, of whom he was passionately enamoured. Her father having been bribed by the Florentines, to get him dispatched, prevailed upon her, to give him poison in a Philter, or love-potion. He was a brave and generous Prince; but his virtues were obscured by many vice. He died in 1414, and was succeeded by his sister Giovanna, or Joan. Collenucio. Hist. Neap. l. v.

tolomeo Valori, Nerone di Nigi, Rinaldo degli Albizi, Neri di Gino, Capponi, and Lapo Niccolini. The animosities however, which were at first kindled in the city by the quarrel betwixt the Albizi and the Ricci, and afterwards blown up to such a height by Sylvestro de' Medici, were not yet extinguished: and although that party which had the largest share in the affections of the people, continued only three years in the administration and was turned out of it in 1331, yet as they were favoured and supported by the greater part of the Citizens, they could not be totally suppressed. It is true, indeed, that frequent admonitions and the continual persecutions that were carried on against the Heads of it, from the year 1381 to 1400, had brought them very low. Those that suffered most by these proceedings were the Alberti and the Medici, several of whom had their estates confiscated, others were either banished or put to death, and those that were suffered to continue in the city, were deprived of all their honours and employments; by which their party was much depressed and almost reduced to nothing. They retained however a sharp resentment of the injuries they had received, and determined to take the first opportunity of revenge; which they thought proper to dissemble in these circumstances.

This administration, which was composed of the most considerable Commoners, or popular Nobility, and had kept the city so long in peace, at last was guilty of two errors in point of conduct which proved its ruin. For in the first place, they grew insolent and supine; and in the next, they began to quarrel amongst themselves, instead of taking proper care to guard against their enemies: so that whilst they were daily provoking their fellow Citizens by fresh oppressions, and become so jealous of each other, that they rather encouraged plots and cabals against their associates in the government, than used any means to defeat the revenge of those whom they seemed to despise, the Medici in a great measure recovered their

former power and authority. The first of this family that began to lift up his head again, was Giovanni the Son of Bicci de' Medici; who being a man of great goodness and humanity, and grown exceeding rich, was admitted to a share in the government of the State: at which there was such extraordinary rejoicings amongst the people, that many of the graver sort of the Citizens were not a little alarmed when they saw the old humours began to shew themselves again. Upon this, Niccolo da Uzzano took the opportunity of representing to his Collegues, how dangerous a thing it was to promote a man of so general a reputation to such a degree of power: that it was an easy matter to get the better of some disorders in the beginning of them, which afterwards would admit of no remedy: and that he knew Giovanni was a person of much greater influence and abilities than ever Sylvestro had been. But these remonstrances made little or no impresson upon the rest of the Governors, who envied Niccolo's reputation, and were glad to avail themselves of any assistance, which they thought might contribute to ruin him.

Whilst these sparks of discord were secretly rekindling in Florence, Philip Visconti, the second Son of Giovanni Galeazzo, becoming sole Lord of all Lombardy by the death of his brother, had set his heart upon recovering the State of Genoa, which then lived free under the government of their Doge Tomaso da Campo Fregoso. But he was diffident of success in this or any other enterprise except he could first engage the Florentines to enter into an Alliance with him; the credit of which he imagined would enable him to accomplish his designs. With this view, he sent Ambassadors to propose it to the Citizens of Florence; many of whom thought it better to continue upon the same amicable terms they had been with him for many years, than to enter into any particular treaty: as they plainly saw how much reputation he would acquire thereby, and how little ad-

advantage their own city was likely to reap from it. Others were of a different opinion, and voted for a treaty with him upon certain conditions; which if he did not observe, he would manifest his evil designs to the whole world, and justify them in making war upon him. After long debates, an agreement was at last concluded, in which Philip engaged not to interfere in any affairs on this side the Rivers * Magra and Panaro. But soon after this stipulation, he first seized upon Brescia, and then upon Genoa, contrary to the expectation of those in Florence that promoted the convention; who thought the Venetians would have protected Brescia, and that Genoa was able to defend itself. And as Philip was to keep possession of Serezana and some other towns on this side the Magra, by the capitulation made betwixt him and the Doge of Genoa, (on a promise that if ever he alienated them, the Genoese should have the refusal) he consequently was guilty of infringing the articles of the Convention he had so lately made with the State of Florence. Besides which, he had entered into another treaty with the Legate of Bologna.

These proceedings alarmed the Florentines to such a degree, that they thought it high time to provide some remedy, lest worse consequences should ensue. Upon which Philip, who was aware that he had roused their apprehensions, immediately sent Ambassadors to Florence, in order to justify himself and feel the pulse of the Citizens; and at the same time,

* The former of these Rivers arises in the Parmesan, and taking a south-west course by Pontremoli, waters a Valley that is likewise called Magra, and at last falls into the Mediterranean a little below Sarzano. Lucan makes mention of it, Pharsal. l. ii. The Panaro rising in the Apennine mountains on the confines of Tuscany, runs northward into the Modenese, and divides that State from Romagna: then turning east-ward it runs by Ferrara, through the Ferrarese, and empties itself into the Gulph of Venice at Valona, where it is called the Podi Valona. As the sources of these two Rivers are not far asunder, and their streams run different ways, they almost cut Italy in two, from the north-east to the south-west, and were therefore pitched upon, very likely, as proper boundaries betwixt the contending parties.

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if possible, to lull them into security, by representing how much he was surprized at the unkind opinion, he heard, they had conceived of him; and that he was ready to cancel any thing he had done, which might give them the least umbrage or suspicion of his sincerity. But this Embassy served only to raise discord and divisions in the city: as some of the most considerable of those that were in the administration, thought it would be adviseable to arm themselves, and take proper measures to frustrate the designs of the enemy: for when such preparations were made, Philip perhaps might think it his best way to remain quiet; and thus by preventing a war, the peace that subsisted betwixt them might be established upon a surer and more stable foundation. On the other hand, there were many who, either out of opposition to the government, or the dread of a war, alledged, “that it was unreasonable and unjust to entertain such suspicions of an Ally upon so slight an occasion; as he had not yet done any thing that could justify them in treating him after that manner: that raising forces and appointing officers, they must surely know, was the same as declaring war, which could not be carried on against so powerful a Prince without bringing inevitable ruin upon their city: that there was not the least prospect of any advantage which might accrue from it: for as Romagna lay betwixt their Dominions and those of the Duke, they must not expect to remain in possession of any conquests they should make; nor could they hope to penetrate even into Romagna, when they considered that the forces of the Church were so near at hand.” The former opinion, however, prevailed at last, and they accordingly appointed ten superintendants of the war, raised soldiers, and imposed new taxes upon the Citizens; which being laid heavier upon the poorer sort of the people than the rich, occasioned great murmurs in the city; every one exclaiming against the oppression of their Governors, who had wantonly embroiled them in an expensive and unnecessary war, only

only to gratify their own private interests and ambition, and to establish themselves in their tyranny. They had not yet, indeed, proceeded to an open rupture with the Duke, but their suspicions grew stronger and stronger every day; especially as he had sent some troops to Bologna at the request of the Legate, who was under no little apprehensions from the practices of Antonio Bentivogli, one of the exiles in that city. These forces therefore lying so near the territories of Florence, gave the governors of that State great uneasiness: but what still increased it, and more fully discovered the Duke's design to commence hostilities against them, was his manner of proceeding at Furli.

Georgio Ordelaifi, Lord of Furli, died about that time, and left his Son Tibaldo to the care of Duke Philip. And though his widow, who looked upon such a Guardian with a very suspicious eye, had sent the Child to her father Ludovico Alidossi Lord of Imola, yet the people of Furli obliged her to comply with the will of her husband, and to put him into the Duke's hands again. Upon which, the better to avoid suspicion and disguise his own designs, he got the Marquis of Ferrara to send Guido Torelli as his Lieutenant, with a body of soldiers to seize upon Furli in his name; and in this manner that Town fell into the hands of Duke Philip. When this event and the arrival of his troops at Bologna came to be known in Florence, it fully determined the majority of the Governors to declare war, notwithstanding that resolution still met with great opposition, especially from Giovanni de' Medici, who publicly protested against it, and said, "that although they were sufficiently convinced of the Duke's designs, it would yet be more prudent to wait till he attacked them, than to be the aggressors: for otherwise the Duke might fairly justify all his subsequent proceedings to the other Princes of Italy; and for their own parts, they could not in that case expect such effectual assistance from them, as they might do when his ambitious and

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enterprising spirit came to be more generally known ; since experience shewed that all States act with much more vigour when their own safety is concerned than in the defence and protection of others." To this it was replied, " that it would be much better to march boldly out and meet the enemy, than to stay till they were attacked by him at home : that fortune in general was more favourable to the Invader, than to those that are invaded : and though perhaps it might be more expensive, it certainly would prove less detrimental in the end, to carry the war into the territories of their enemy, than to have their own depopulated." This advice was approved of, and it was resolved, that the Ten should use their utmost efforts in the first place to wrest the City of Furli out of the Duke's hands again. But Philip seeing the Florentines so earnestly bent upon the recovery of a town which he was resolved to maintain, now thought it high time to throw off the mask, and immediately sent Agnolo della Pergola with a considerable force to Imola, to keep the Lord of that place so fully employed in the defence of his own State, that he should not be able to give his Grandson any assistance. Agnolo accordingly advanced almost to the walls of Imola, and finding the moats frozen over, (as it was then a very cold season) he took the town by surprize the same night, and sent Ludovico prisoner to Milan, though the Florentine army lay no further off at that time than Modigliana.

The Florentines, therefore, seeing Imola lost, and open war now publickly avowed, ordered their Commanders to go and lay siege to Furli ; which they did, and invested it on every side : and, to prevent the Duke from sending all his forces to its relief they took Count Alberigo into their pay, who made daily excursions from Zagonara, a town in his possession, to the very walls of Imola. But Agnolo, who perceived our army was so advantageously posted, that it would be impossible to raise the siege of Furli, without running too great a risque, determined to sit
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down before Zagonara, rightly judging, that the Florentines would abandon their enterprize against Furli, and march to its succour; which must oblige them to fight him at a great disadvantage. In the mean time, Alberigo was reduced to such distress by the Duke's army, that he was forced to capitulate, and agreed to surrender, if the town was not relieved in the space of fifteen days. When this came to be known in the Florentine camp, and in the City, the eagerness which every one shewed to prevent that loss, was the occasion of their sustaining a much greater. For having raised their camp before Furli, to go to the relief of Zagonara, they came to an engagement with Agnolo, in which they were utterly routed; not so much by the valour of the enemy, as the badness of the weather: for our forces having marched several hours, through very deep and miry roads, and continual rain, found the enemy quite fresh, and in so good order, that, as it might well be expected, they were not able to stand before them, but soon fled and were dispersed. However, in so great a defeat, and which made so much noise all over Italy, there was nobody killed but Ludovico degli Obizi, and two of his men, who were thrown from their horses, and trampled to death in the mire.

The news of this misfortune occasioned great consternation in Florence, and particularly amongst those of the governing party, who had been the chief promoters of the war; as they saw the enemy now so powerful and elated, and themselves in a manner not only disarmed and without allies, but hated to the last degree by the people, who insulted them whenever they appeared in the streets; complaining of the insupportable taxes they had laid upon them, and upbraiding them with the heavy expences of an unnecessary war. "These are the men, said they, who appointed ten superintendants to strike a terror into the enemy! how bravely they wrested Furli out of the hands of the Duke! you now see, fellow-Citizens, the bottom of their hearts, and their villainous machinations!"

chinations! these are the *Defenders of our Liberty* footh; a name that they inwardly hate, as their actions have fully shewn, which never tended to any other point than to establish and increase their own power, which God has now, most justly indeed, been pleased to humble. This is not the only time they have brought our city to the brink of ruin; the expedition against King Ladislaus, and many others of the same kind, might be instanced, if it was necessary. To whom will they now have recourse for assistance in their extremities? To Pope Martin, whom they so vilely abused, only to gratify Braccio da Montone? To Queen Giovanna, whom they basely abandoned, and obliged to throw herself into the hands of the King of Arragon?" With these and other such taunts as fury and despair commonly suggest to an enraged multitude, they pursued them wherever they went.

The Signiory, therefore, having called a meeting of the principal Citizens, earnestly exhorted them to use their good offices and endeavours to sooth the people, and to appease the general indignation which their clamours had excited. At this meeting, Rinaldo (eldest son to the late Maso degli Albizi) having secretly entertained some hopes of becoming sole governor of the Republic, by the merit of his own services, and the reputation of his father, made a long speech; in which he told them, "That it was neither generous, nor just, nor good policy, to form a judgment of such enterprizes from the event of them; for it happened sometimes, that the best laid designs miscarried, and the worst were crowned with success. That if bad measures were applauded, merely because they proved fortunate, it would give encouragement to rashness and presumption; which might one time or other be the destruction of the Commonwealth; as it did not always happen that they succeeded. That, on the other hand, it might be of great prejudice to vilify designs that were wisely planned, for no other reason than because they failed in the execution, since that would deter such as were most able, from giving their
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their advice, and delivering their opinion, without reserve, in any exigency." He then shewed the necessity of entering into this war, and that Tuscany must have been the seat of it, if they had not carried their arms into Romagna: that although it was the will of God their forces should be defeated, the loss was not so great as it would be, if they abandoned themselves to despair: that if they would exert themselves as they ought to do, they would find no great reason to be so dejected at their overthrow, nor the Duke to triumph in his victory. That they might make themselves easy about the taxes, which would not be so heavy by a great deal for the future, as they had been; since a defensive war could not be attended with so much expence, as an offensive one. He lastly conjured them to imitate the noble example of their ancestors, whose magnanimity even in the lowest ebb of their fortune, had at all times supported the State against the most powerful enemies."

Upon these exhortations, enforced by the authority of so popular a man, the Citizens began to recover their spirits, and took Count Oddo, the Son of Braccio da Montone, into their pay, under the inspection of Niccolò Piccinino, who had learnt the art of war from Braccio himself, and was esteemed the best soldier that had ever fought under his banners: to whom they likewise joined several commanders of their own, and remounted such of the cavalry as had lost their horses in the late defeat. They also gave a commission to twenty of the Citizens, to raise further supplies for the maintenance of the war; who seeing the governing party now humbled by their misfortunes, took courage, and laid the chief burden of the tax upon their shoulders; at which they were not a little mortified in their turn. However, as they could not for shame remonstrate against it as a particular hardship, they only complained of it in general, and said, it was too heavy, and ought in some measure to be remitted. But when this came to the ears of the council, they took effectual care to prevent it; and
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in order to make all impositions appear the more grievous and hateful to the people for the future, they gave a strict charge to their officers to collect this with the utmost rigour, and to kill any one that should dare to oppose them, or refuse to pay it. In consequence of these orders, so many were either murdered or grievously wounded, that it was apprehended the two parties would come to blows, and that much mischief would ensue: for those who had been so long in power, and used to be treated with such reverence and distinction, could not bear the thoughts of being insulted in this manner; and the other side were resolved, that every man in his turn should equally feel the sting of these oppressions.

Certain of the principal Citizens, therefore, had a private conference, in which they determined to resume their former authority, and to support it with more vigour for the future; seeing their remissness had emboldened private men to cavil at their conduct, and given fresh courage to those who were wont, upon every occasion, to put themselves at the head of the populace. After many of these meetings, and much consultation, they agreed to have a more general one in St. Stephen's Church; where they accordingly assembled, to the number of seventy, by the permission of Lorenzo Ridolphi and Francisco Gianfigliuzzi, who were then in the Signiory. But Giovanni de' Medici was not there; either because he had not been invited, as a person in whom they could not thoroughly confide, or refused to come, because he did not approve of such cabals. When they were all met, Rinaldo degli Albizi took the chair, and represented to them, in a pathetic manner, the present circumstances of the City, and how the government of it, by their too great security and inadvertence, had again fallen into the hands of the people, from whom their fathers had recovered it in the year 1381. He reminded them of the tyranny of those that were in the administration from 1377, till that time; in which interval, either the Father, or Grandfather, or some

some near relation, of almost every one that was then present, had been unjustly put to death. That the City was now going to relapse into the same state of confusion and oppression, as the multitude had already taken upon them to impose taxes; and, if they were not either curbed by force, or restrained by some other more desirable expedient, would certainly, in the next place, proceed to appoint such officers as they thought fit: after which, they would turn the present magistrates out of their seats, to the utter destruction of an administration which had governed the City with so much glory and reputation, for the space of forty-two years. The consequence of which would be, that Florence must either be blindly governed by the caprice of the multitude, (and then one party would live in continual danger and apprehension, whilst the other rioted in all manner of licentiousness) or it must fall under the subjection of some one person, who would make himself absolute Lord, and perhaps Tyrant over it. It was the duty, he said, of every man that had any affection for his Country, or regard for his own reputation, to exert himself at that time, and to follow the example of Bardo Mancini, who delivered the City from the imminent danger it was in, by the extirpation of the Alberti: and as the audaciousness of the multitude was in a great measure owing to the largeness of the Imborsations, and the little care that was taken in them, (which had filled the palace with new and mean men) he thought the only remedy that was left for such disorders would be, to restore the authority of the Nobility, and diminish that of the Minor Arts, by reducing them from fourteen to seven: which would lessen the power of the Plebeians in the Councils, both by retrenching their number, and by throwing more weight into the scale of the Grandees, who would be sure to use all possible endeavours to depress them, out of revenge for old injuries. That wise men always availed themselves of different sorts of people at different seasons; and if their fathers

had made use of the assistance of the Plebeians, to humble the insolence of the Grandees, now the latter were brought so low, and the former become so audacious, it would be no bad expedient to join with one to lower the other: to effect which, if artifice was not sufficient, they must have recourse to forcible means; as they had that in their power, now some of them were in the *Commission of Ten*, and might secretly bring a few companies of soldiers into the City."

This speech of Rinaldo's was much applauded, and his advice approved of by every body; and Niccolò da Uzzano, in the name of the rest, made answer, "That what he had said was very true, and the remedies he proposed efficacious and certain, provided they could be applied without making an open division in the City; which yet he thought might be done, if they could draw Giovanni de' Medici into their designs: for if he concurred with them, the multitude being deprived of their head, would not be able to make any opposition: but if he could not be brought over, they could not effect it without force; and in that case, it was doubtful whether they should prevail; and if they did, they probably might not long enjoy the fruits of their victory. He then modestly reminded them of the advice he had before given them, and of their contempt of those warnings, at a time when they might easily have prevented these difficulties: but it was now too late to do that, he said, without great peril and hazard, except they could gain Giovanni de' Medici."

They deputed Rinaldo, therefore, to wait upon Giovanni, and try, if he could make any impression upon him; which he did accordingly, and used all the arguments he could think of to persuade him to join them; and not, by fostering and indulging the multitude, at last encourage them to rebel, to the utter subversion of the Government, and ruin of the City at the same time. To which Giovanni replied, "That he had always thought it the duty of a good

and wise Citizen to endeavour to prevent any change in the established laws and customs of the State he lived in, as nothing gave greater offence to the generality, than alterations of that kind; and where many are discontented, it is but natural to apprehend some fatal event. That this their design, in all probability, would produce two very pernicious effects: for, in the first place, they would be obliged to confer honours and employments upon such, as having never enjoyed any before, did not know how to set a due value upon them, and consequently would have the less reason to complain, if they were not admitted to them; and in the next, by depriving others of such emoluments as they had long been used to taste the sweets of, they would provoke them to such a degree, that it would be impossible ever to appease them again till they were restored; by which manner of proceeding, one party would think themselves much more aggrieved, than the other benefited. So that whosoever should be hardy enough to pursue such a resolution, would soon find he had gained but few friends, and many enemies; the latter of whom would be more eager to do him a mischief than the former to defend him: mankind being naturally more prone to revenge than gratitude; since the one puts them to the expence of refunding, and repaying past favours; the other always seems attended with some degree either of pleasure or profit." Then addressing himself in a more particular manner to Rinaldo, he told him, that if he would be pleased to recollect what had already happened, and consider how basely and perfidiously the Citizens of Florence commonly dealt with each other, perhaps he might not be altogether so sanguine in his present undertaking: for that as soon as the promoters and advisers of it had sufficiently depressed the people by the help of his authority, they would certainly fall upon him next with the whole force and assistance of the Plebeians, whose affections he must have lost by such a conduct; and then he would be utterly de-

ferred and ruined. That he could not help remembering the fate of Benedetto Alberti, who, at the instigation of such as conspired his destruction, consented to the severe proceedings against Georgio Scali and Tomaso Strozzi; and soon after, was sent into exile himself, by the very persons who had inveigled him into those measures. He advised him, therefore, to think more coolly of the matter, and to tread in the steps of his father, who, amongst other Benefactions, had made himself so dear to his fellow-citizens, by lowering the excessive price of salt; by leaving it to the option of every one, whose taxes did not amount to the value of half a Florin, whether he would pay them or not; and by procuring a law to be passed, that no body should be arrested for debt on such days as the Councils were assembled. He told him in short, that for his own part, he should never agree to have any alterations made in the laws or constitution of his Country*.

When the subject of these deliberations came to be publickly known, it still added to the reputation of Giovanni, and wonderfully increased the hatred which the people had already conceived against the other Citizens; with whom he broke off all manner of commerce, that he might not seem to give them any encouragement to pursue their designs under his countenance and authority. On the contrary, he took great pains, to convince every one in his daily conversation, that it was so far from his intention to blow up discord and faction, that he should use his utmost endeavours to extinguish them; and that he desired

* Nothing can be more disgustful to a free people, that have lived in peace and security under the protection of good Laws, (the necessity, utility, and comfort of which, have been fully evinced by a long course of time) than an attempt to annul them. Nor has any thing been more fatal to Princes: of which, every one must remember many instances, that would be tedious, and perhaps invidious, to recite. Hence the celebrated saying, *Nolumus Angliæ leges mutari*: and, old ways are the best ways: the latter of which was formerly engraved upon the walls of the House of Commons. Hence the just attachment and regard that has always been shewn to them.—The learned Sir John Fortescue, Chancellor of England, in the time of

nothing more than the union of the City. At which declarations, many of his followers were not a little disappointed, as they expected to have seen him act with more vigour in such a conjuncture; especially Alamanno de' Medici, who being a man of a warm disposition, was continually urging him to take this opportunity of humbling his enemies, and exalting his friends; reproaching him with his coldness and phlegmatic manner of proceeding, which, as he said, emboldened those that wished him ill, to form daily conspiracies against him, without any sort of fear or reserve, and would one time or other prove the ruin of all his family and dependants. They were seconded in this by Cosimo his son; but he was deaf to all their remonstrances and prognostications, and determined to pursue his own measures: the designs of the faction, however, were now plainly discovered, and the City began once more to divide itself into parties.

There were at that time, two Chancellors presiding in the supreme Court of Justice under the Signiory, whose names were * Martino and Paolo: the former was of Uzzano's party, the latter followed that of the Medici. Rinaldo, therefore, perceiving that Giovanni continued inflexible, and would not come into their measures at any rate, resolved to turn Martino out of his office, as he thought that court would then be wholly at his devotion. But the other side being aware of this, were before-hand with him, and contrived matters so well, that they got Martino continued and Paolo discharged, to the great mortification and prejudice of his party. This would certainly have occasioned great commotions in the City, if it

Henry VI. speaking of this kingdom in his treatise, *De dominio politico & regali*, says, "Regnum hoc in omnibus nationum & regum temporibus, iisdem quibus nunc regitur legibus & consuetudinibus, regebatur." "The laws and customs by which this Kingdom is now governed, are the very same with those by which it was governed in the times of all former Kings, and the several nations that have come into it." A rare example! See *State Tracts*, Vol. III. p. 269, 270. concerning the right of Subjects to petition, &c.

* The surnames of these two Magistrates are wanting in the original.

had not happened in a time of war: for the people had not yet recovered their spirits since the defeat before Zagonara; and whilst things were in such confusion at home, Agnola della Pergola, the Duke's General, had taken all the towns in Romagna, that were in the possession of the Florentines, except Castracaro and Modigliana; some of them being so ill fortified, that they were not in a condition to sustain a siege, and others given up through the pusillanimity or treachery of their governors.

In the reduction of these towns there happened two remarkable circumstances, which may serve to shew how much true valour and fidelity are admired, and with what detestation, cowardice and perfidy are looked upon even by an enemy. Biagio del Melano was then Governor of the Castle of Monté Petroso, which was invested on every side by the enemy; and as they at last set fire to it, and he saw there was no possibility of saving the fortress, he threw a parcel of straw and bedding over the walls, on that side where the fire had not yet spread itself; upon which he let down two of his Sons who were but infants, and told the enemy, "they were welcome to them and all his other worldly goods, which indeed were now in their hands; but his honour and reputation, which he had always esteemed his only real treasure, he would never give up, nor was it in their power to ravish them from him." The besiegers, struck with admiration at his Magnanimity, immediately ran to take up the children, and threw him ropes and scaling ladders to save himself; but he would not make use of them; and chose rather to perish in the flames, than owe his life to the enemies of his country*. An example of

* An instance of the same kind happened at Prænestæ, when it was taken by Sylla. He ordered his soldiers to plunder the town, and put all the inhabitants to the sword, except one man, who had formerly entertained him with great hospitality. This man, however, when he heard of it, said, he disdained the thoughts of being obliged for his life to one that had ruined his country; and disguising himself, he mixed in the crowd with his fellow-citizens, and was killed. But are not these instances of madness rather than true valour? and if they are not, have we not many of the same in modern history, and some in that of our own nation, without recurring to antiquity?

fortitude that may vie with the heroism of Antiquity; and the more remarkable, as such were but very rare in those times. What effects could be saved from the fire were generously restored to the children, who were likewise sent home to their relations: and the Republick, out of gratitude to the bravery of their father, made a handsome provision for them as long as they lived. Very different was the behaviour of Zanobi del Pino, governor of Galeata, who not only shamefully gave up that place without making any defence, but advised Agnolo to leave the mountains and fastnesses of Romagna, and descend into the plains of Tuscany, where he might carry on the war with less danger and greater advantage. But Agnolo, detesting his baseness and cowardice, delivered him up to his own men, who, having treated him with the contempt and abhorrence he deserved, shut him up in a dungeon, with nothing but a pack of cards to eat; telling him “*that would soon make him a good Ghibeline, since he had chosen to leave the Guelphs:*” but he died in a few days of hunger*.

In the mean time, Count Oddo and Niccolo Piccinino had entered the Vale of Lamona, to try if they could prevail upon the Lord of Faenza to join the Florentines; or at least to curb the excursions of Agnolo, if possible, in Romagna. But as that Vale is naturally fortified with strong passes, and the inhabitants inured to arms, the Count was slain and Niccolo taken prisoner and sent to Faenza. Fortune however so ordered it, that the Florentines gained by

* As Machiavel has honoured Biagio with saying, that ‘his fortitude might vie with the heroism of antiquity,’ he ought in justice to have distinguished Zanobi too by comparing his baseness with that of old times. For there were very eminent Peltroons and Traitors in those days as well as in these later ages, bad as they have been: though Machiavel, like many others, seems to speak as if the world was inhabited only by Heroes and Demi-Gods at that time of day. There have always been good and bad, brave men and cowards, and mankind seem to have been pretty much the same from the first accounts we have had of their actions to the present times. Complaints of their prodigious wickedness and degeneracy are not peculiar to our own: the most antient poets and historians, both sacred and profane, abound with them.

the consequence of this defeat what they could not perhaps have obtained by a Victory : for Niccolo negotiated so effectually with the Lord of Faenza and his Mother, that they consented to enter into an alliance with the Republick of Florence ; in consequence of which he was set at liberty. Yet he did not think fit to pursue those measures himself, which he had recommended to others : for when he had received the arrears that were due to him from the Florentines, he either thought their pay too inconsiderable, or that he could have better elsewhere : upon which, he suddenly left Arezzo, where he then resided, and went to Duke Philip in Lombardy, who took him into his service. The Florentines, dismayed at this unexpected desertion, and the great expence they had been at to no purpose, began to perceive they were not any longer able to bear the burden of this war alone ; and therefore sent Ambassadors to entreat the Venetians to take a share in it, and prevent the farther progress of a Prince, whose growing power, if not timely checked, would be as prejudicial to them as to the State of Florence. The Venetians were likewise advised to it by Francisco Carmignuola, a Commander of very great reputation in those times, who had formerly served under the Duke, but afterwards left him upon some disgust. They were doubtful, however, for some time what part to act in this matter ; as they did not thoroughly confide in Carmignuola, and suspected the misunderstanding betwixt him and the Duke was only a pretended one. But whilst they were in this state of suspence, it happened that the Duke had found means to bribe one of that General's Domesticks to give him poison ; which, though it did not prove mortal, very much impaired his health. Upon this, the Venetians laid aside all suspicion of Carmignuola's fidelity ; and the Florentines still continuing to solicit their aid, they entered into a League with them, in which it was agreed betwixt the two States, that the war should be prosecuted at their common expence ; that the Venetians should hold what they might

might happen to conquer in Lombardy, and the Florentines enjoy such towns as they could reduce in Tuscany and Romagna; and that Carmignuola should be appointed Captain General of the League. In consequence of this confederacy, the war was immediately carried into Lombardy, where it was conducted with such bravery and integrity by Carmignuola, that in the course of a few months, he took many towns from the Duke, and at last made himself master of Brescia; a city which, according to the method of making war in those times, was thought impregnable.

This war having now lasted five years, that is, from 1422 to 1427, the Citizens began to be grievously impoverished by the heavy and continual impositions which had been laid upon them, that it was thought proper to make some alteration in them. In order, therefore, to proportion them according to every man's circumstances, it was provided that personal estates should be taxed as well as real; and that whosoever had effects of that kind to the value of an hundred Florins or more, should pay one half as much for every hundred as a person that had land or houses of the same worth. And as this tax was regulated by a Law made on purpose, and not left to the Arbitrement of partial or interested persons, it was likely to fall so much the more heavily upon the richer Citizens. Upon which account, it was vehemently opposed by them all before it passed into a Law, except Giovanni de' Medici, who publickly expressed his approbation of it; so that it was carried against them. And because every man's goods were rated in this assessment, which the Florentines call *Accastare*, it went by the name of *Catasto*. By this law the more powerful Citizens were in some measure restrained from oppressing the inferior sort, and influencing their votes in the Councils, as they had been used to do, by the threats of taxing them according as they gave their suffrages. This tax, therefore, was very cheerfully submitted to by the generality, though highly disgustful to the government,

vernment. But as it is the nature of mankind to be ever restless and discontented, and when they have gained one advantage, to be still grasping at a higher, the people not satisfied with this equality of taxation, established by the Law, demanded a retrospect, by which it might appear how much less the rich Citizens had paid before, than they ought to have done according to this regulation, and every one be made to account for deficiencies; that so they might be put upon the same level with those who had been obliged to sell their goods and inheritances to discharge impositions so arbitrarily laid upon them. This demand seemed still more grievous than the Catasto itself, to those that had lately been in power, who, to evade the force of it, made heavy remonstrances, and said, "it was a most unjust distribution; as the tax was laid upon moveables, which often changed hands and were daily subject to perish: that there were many who had concealed treasures, the knowledge of which could not easily be come at: that it was hard upon those who were loaded with the care of the public affairs, (to the great detriment of their own private concerns) to be equally taxed with the rest of the Citizens; and that it might reasonably be hoped, whilst the Republick was satisfied with only the pecuniary contributions of some, it would not be so rigorous to exact both the labours and fortunes of others." To this it was answered by those who approved of the Catasto, "that as moveable goods changed hands, the tax might be varied accordingly; that no account was to be made of such as had concealed treasure, or money locked up in their coffers; for as wealth of that sort did not yield any profit or interest, it would be unreasonable to tax it; and whenever it was otherwise applied, it must of necessity be known: that if any one was tired of his labours for the good of his country, he was at liberty to resign his employment, if he pleased, and to give himself no farther trouble about it; since it was hoped; other well-disposed Citizens might be found,

found; who would not grudge to assist the Republic both with their fortune and counsels: and that when so much honour, and so many other emoluments were the constant reward of such as filled the great offices of State, they might think themselves very well paid for their services, without being exempted from the common taxes. But this, they said, was not the real cause of their murmurs; they were mortified that they could no longer carry on a war solely at the expence of others, but were now obliged to share in it themselves: that if this course had been taken before, there neither would have been any war with King Ladislaus in times past, nor at present with Duke Philip; both which were set on foot, without any necessity, and only to enrich some particular Citizens."

These discontents, however, were in some degree allayed by the authority of Giovanni de' Medici, who represented to the people, the bad consequences of retrospects: "That it behoved them rather at present to look forward, and provide for the future: that if the late taxes had been heavy and unreasonable, they ought to thank God that a way had been found to alleviate them, and to use their endeavours to unite, and not divide the City, as they certainly would, if they persisted in their demand of reducing former taxes to the level of the present: and that a wise General was sometimes very well content with a victory, that was not altogether complete; since experience shewed, that men, by grasping at too much, often lost what they had gained before." With these, and other arguments of the like nature, he soothed the resentment of the people in such a manner, that they dropped their demand of a retrospect.

Soon after this, a peace was concluded with Duke Philip at Ferrara, by the mediation of a Legate from the Pope: but as it was not long before he broke the conditions of it, the League took up arms again, and came to an engagement with his forces at Macchio, where they utterly defeated him. After which, he

he proposed fresh terms to them, which were accepted by the Florentines, because they grew jealous of the Venetians, and thought, that they were throwing their money away only to aggrandize others. The Venetians likewise, for their part, were no less ready to come into the accommodation; as they found Carmignuola proceeded but very slowly, and made little advantage of his victory, after he had routed the Duke's army: on which account, they thought it unsafe to trust him any farther. A peace therefore was signed betwixt them in the year 1428; by which, the towns that had been taken from the Florentines in Romagna were restored to them, and Brescia ceded to the Venetians; besides which, the Duke gave them the city of Bergamo, and the Territory belonging to it. This war cost the Florentines three millions and five hundred thousand Ducats; a war, which only served to give the Venetians an opportunity of extending their power and dominion; whilst it produced nothing but poverty and dissension amongst themselves. For a peace was no sooner concluded with the Duke, but fresh Commotions began amongst their own subjects. The late Governors not being able to bear the Catasto, and seeing no other way to rid themselves of it, endeavoured to raise a spirit of discontent in the rest of the Citizens; that so they might avail themselves of their co-operation to procure a repeal of it. For this purpose, they represented to the Commissioners that were appointed to levy the tax, "that they ought to search all the houses of the neighbouring towns; as the inhabitants of Florence might, perhaps, convey some part of their effects thither." In consequence of which, all towns that were subject to the Florentines had orders to deliver inventories of their goods to them in a certain time. But the people of Volterra would not comply with this order, and sent some of their townsmen to complain of it to the Signiory, as an act of oppression: at which the Commissioners were so provoked, that they sent eighteen of them to prison.

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The Volterrans likewise were exceedingly enraged at this treatment; but durst not rebel at that time, for fear of bringing a heavier punishment upon their Deputies.

In this juncture, Giovanni de' Medici fell sick, and finding there was no hope of recovery, he called his two Sons, Cosimo and Lorenzo, to his bed-side, and spoke to them in this manner: "I perceive that I am now approaching the limits which God and Nature have prescribed to my days. I shall die with pleasure, as I leave you both, my dear children, in health and prosperity, and in a condition to live with honour, and beloved by every body, if you follow my example and instructions. For indeed, nothing gives me so much consolation in this extremity, as the reflexion that I have never injured any man; but, on the contrary, have always endeavoured to do good to every one to the utmost of my power. Let me advise you to do the same. If you would live with safety and comfort, be content with such a share in the government as your fellow-citizens confer upon you; by which you will avoid envy and danger. For as it is that which a man arrogates to himself that makes him odious, and not what is voluntarily given him: so you will always be upon a much securer bottom, and obtain more than they, who, by attempting to invade the rights of others, often lose their own, and in the mean time live in continual anxiety and disquietude. By observing this conduct, I have not only preserved, but augmented my fortune and reputation in this City, amongst so many enemies and intestine broils: and by the same manner of life, it is in your power both to maintain and increase yours. But if you take a different course, you may depend upon it, your end will be like that of several others, who, in my memory, have ruined both themselves and their families." He died not long after, extremely lamented by the whole City, as he well deserved to be, considering his excellent qualities. For he was very charitable and compas-

sionate,

tionate, and not only gave liberally to those that were in want, but prevented their asking. His universal benevolence taught him to love good men, and pity the evil. He never sollicitated any Honours, though he obtained the highest. He never went to the palace, but when the rest of the Signiory sent for him. He was always averse to war, and recommended pacific measures. To those that were in adversity, he was a kind friend, and promoted the welfare of such as lived in prosperity. Disdaining to plunder the public, his sole aim was to serve his Country. When in power, he was affable and easy of access to every one; exceeding wise, though not a man of much eloquence. He had a melancholy countenance, but was pleasant and facetious in conversation. He died possessed of immense riches, and full of glory and reputation; leaving his son Cosimo heir to his fame and fortune; both which he not only maintained, but augmented.

The Volterran deputies being tired of their imprisonment, at last promised to comply with the order before mentioned: upon which, they were set at liberty, and returned to Volterra, just at a time when they were making an Imborsation for new Magistrates there: and as it happened, one Giusto *, a Plebeian, but a man in great credit with the people, and one of those that had been confined at Florence, was drawn amongst the rest. This man, though already sufficiently irritated at the Florentines, both on account of the private injury which he himself had sustained, and the indignity that was offered to the whole town, became still more determined by the instigations of Giovanni di †, a man of a noble family and his associate in the Magistracy, to make use of his interest and authority, to wrest the town out of the hands of the Florentines, and take the government of it upon himself. Upon this encouragement, Giusto took

* The Surname is wanting in the original.

† The Surname is also wanting here.

arms, made himself master of the town, seized upon the Governor, and, by the consent of the people, took the reins into his own hands. The Florentines were not a little mortified at the revolt of Volterra. However, as they had concluded a peace with the Duke of Milan, they thought they should have nobody to disturb them in attempting to recover it; and therefore immediately appointed Rinaldo degli Albizi and Palla Strozzi their * commissaries to conduct the expedition. But Giusto expecting to be molested in his new sovereignty by the Florentines, sent to desire the aid of the Lucchese and Siense; the former of whom would not send him any, as they were then in amity with the State of Florence: and Paolo Guinigi, who at that time was Lord of Lucca, in order to regain the friendship of the Florentines (which he feared he had lost by inclining to the interest of Duke Philip) not only flatly refused to give him any assistance, but sent the person under a guard to Florence, who came to solicit it. These commissaries resolving to come upon the Volterrans before they could form any alliances, presently drew together all their horse, and raised a large body of infantry in the lower part of the Vale of Arno and the territory of Pisa, and advanced towards Volterra. Giusto, on the other hand, was not wanting to himself; and though he saw the great preparations which the Florentines were making against him, and that he must expect no succour from the neighbouring States, yet he trusted to the strength and situation of the place, and manfully provided for his defence. There was at that time in Volterra, one Messer Arcolano, a man of good interest amongst the most

* Commissaries, in the foreign service, are officers that muster the army, settle the procuration, conveyance, and distribution of provisions, ammunition, and pay, take a particular account of every regiment, see that they are complete, that the horses are in good order, and the men well armed and accoutred. They likewise sometimes regulate the conduct of the General, and are a check upon his proceedings, and sometimes command the forces themselves, acting as Intendant of the army and Lieutenant General at the same time.

considerable of the townsmen, and brother to that Giovanni, by whose persuasions Giusto had been prevailed upon to take the government of it himself. This Arcolano having assembled several of his most trusty friends, represented to them how fair an opportunity Providence had now given them of advancing themselves and delivering their city out of its present troubles: for if they would take up arms to depose Giusto and deliver up the city again into the hands of the Florentines, they would not only preserve its ancient privileges, but become the Governors of it. To this they all readily consented, and going directly to the Palace where Giusto resided, some of them staid below stairs, whilst Arcolano and three others went up into his apartment; and finding him there with some of the Citizens, they took him aside, as if they had something of importance to communicate to him; and having drawn him by degrees, in the course of their conversation, into another room, they shut the door and fell upon him with their swords. He had the courage however to draw his own, and desperately wounded two of them before he fell: but not being able to deal with so many, he was killed at last, and his body thrown out of the window. After which, the rest of Arcolano's accomplices took arms and delivered up the city to the Florentine commissaries; who presently brought in their whole army and took possession of it, without any Capitulation or terms granted to the inhabitants. So that the city was still more humbled and fell into worse circumstances than it was in before: for besides other marks of their indignation, the Florentines took away the greater part of their territory from them, and reduced the rest into a Bailiwick.

Volterra being thus happily recovered, it was hoped a lasting tranquillity would have been established both abroad and at home. But ambition soon kindled a new war. Niccolo Fortebraccio, the Son of a Sister to Braccio da Perugia, had long served the Flo-

Florentines in their wars with the Duke of Milan. But after a Peace was concluded betwixt them, this commander was discharged from their pay, and had his quarters at Fucecchio: from whence the commissaries sent for him and his troops to employ them in the reduction of Volterra. It was therefore generally believed that whilst Rinaldo degli Albizi was engaged with him in that enterprize, he persuaded him to pick a quarrel upon some pretence or other with the Lucchese, by insinuating to him that if he did, he would so order matters, that war should be declared against Lucca, by the Florentines; and that he should be appointed their commander in chief. Accordingly, as soon as Volterra was retaken, and Niccolò had returned to Fucecchio, (either at the solicitation of Rinaldo, or in consequence of a design, which he himself had formed) he marched away in November 1429, at the head of three hundred horse, and the same number of foot, and surprized Ruoti and Compito, two Castles belonging to the Lucchese; from whence he daily made excursions into their other territories and there committed great depredations. When the news of these proceedings arrived at Florence, the whole city was divided into little meetings and cabals of all ranks of people, the generality of whom were for commencing hostilities against the Lucchese. Amongst the more considerable Citizens that favoured this undertaking, were all the followers of the Medici family, who were joined by Rinaldo degli Albizi, either because he really thought it would be for the good of the Public, or that he should thereby effectually serve his own private interest and ambition, and become more popular if the expedition proved successful, by having been the adviser and promoter of it. Those that opposed it, were chiefly Niccolò da Uzzano and his Party.

It seems almost incredible that there should be such a change of opinions in the same Citizens, on this occasion, concerning the expedience of a war. And

yet those very persons who, after a Peace that had lasted ten years, opposed a war against Duke Philip, which was undertaken in defence of their own liberties, now strenuously insisted upon one against Lucca, to invade the rights of others; and at a time too when the city was exhausted and impoverished to the last degree, by the heavy expences of the last. And on the contrary, those Citizens who had been the most active and forward in promoting that war, were now as vehement in dissuading this. From hence we may observe, what a wonderful alteration time usually makes in the judgment of mankind; how much more ready they are to usurp the property of others, than to defend their own; and how much stronger the hope of gain is, than the fear of losing; the latter seldom operating except when the danger is imminent; but the former at all times, even when the prospect of success is most precarious and at the greatest distance. And it must be considered likewise that the Florentines were at this time exceedingly elated with the hopes of enjoying those acquisitions, which Fortebraccio had already made and was daily increasing; and from the Letters they received from the governors of their fortresses that lay near the confines of the Lucchese: for those of Pescia and Vico wrote to desire commissions to take such towns as surrendered, under their protection; since they might assure themselves they would soon be masters of all the territories belonging to the Lucchese. And these expectations were still heightened by an embassy sent from Paolo Guinigi Lord of Lucca to the Signiory of Florence, to complain of the depredations made by Fortebraccio, and to entreat them not to join their enemy in making war upon a neighbouring State, which had always lived in strict amity with them.

The name of this Ambassador was Jacopo Viviani, a man, who not long before had been thrown into prison by Paolo Guinigi for being concerned in a conspiracy against him: and as Guinigi had pardoned
him,

him, though he was found guilty, he thought he might reasonably expect his best endeavours to serve him. But the remembrance of the danger he had escaped, making a deeper impression upon him, than the sense of the favour he had received, when he came to Florence he secretly advised the Citizens to pursue their designs. Flattered by this encouragement and the hopes they had already conceived, the Signiory assembled the Common Council, where the matter was debated by some of the leading men of the Republic, in the presence of four hundred and ninety-eight Citizens. Amongst the chief of those that promoted the enterprize, was Rinaldo degli Albizi (as was said before) who shewed them the advantages that would result from making themselves masters of Lucca: that they could never have a fairer opportunity than the present, as that State was then abandoned both by the Venetians and the Duke of Milan, and could not be relieved by the Pope, who was sufficiently embroiled in the affairs of Naples: that the success was certain, as the government of Lucca was then usurped by one of its own Citizens, and had lost much of its ancient vigour and alacrity in defending its liberties; so that it was more than probable it would be delivered up into their hands, either by the people, to get rid of their tyrant, or by the tyrant for fear of the people. He then recited many instances of Guinigi's malevolence and of the injuries he had done their Republic; assuring them they would find him a thorn in their side, and a very dangerous enemy, if they should chance to be engaged in a fresh quarrel with the Duke, or the Pope; and concluded with saying, "that no war was ever entered into by the State of Florence with more justice on its side, or more likely to be attended with success and advantage to the public."

In answer to this, Niccolo da Uzzano said, "that on the contrary, he could not help being of opinion that they had never engaged in any undertaking that was more unjust, more hazardous, or more likely

to be of fatal consequence to the State. That in the first place, they were going to declare war against a city of the Guelph party, which at all times had been a friend to the Florentines, and had often received the Guelphs with open arms, and with great peril and prejudice to itself, when they were not suffered to live at peace and safety at home. That there was no instance to be found in the annals of the Commonwealth of any offence that the Lucchese had ever given them: that if those who at different times had usurped the government of their State, as Castruccio formerly, and Guinigi at present, had done them any injury, it ought not to be imputed to the Citizens, but to the Tyrant that ruled over them. That if they could make war upon one, without hurting the other, he should not be against it: but since that was impossible, he thought it most cruel and unjust, that a people with whom they had always lived in amity and alliance, should be plundered and stripped of their goods and territories without any cause or offence: that however, as they lived in an age when little account was made of justice, he should drop that consideration, and confine himself chiefly to what regarded common utility and the welfare of the Republic. Those measures, he said, might be esteemed good and safe, and therefore profitable, which were not liable to be attended with loss or damage: but he did not see how any one could call that undertaking profitable, where the loss was certain, and the gain precarious. The certainty of loss proceeded from the expence it must occasion; the greatness of which was enough to alarm even a city that had long lived in tranquillity, but much more their own, which had already been sufficiently harassed and exhausted by a tedious and devouring war. The profit they might expect to reap was the acquisition of Lucca, which he confessed, was considerable: but the difficulties and uncertainty of succeeding in the enterprize ought likewise to be remembered, and appeared to him so great, that he thought

thought it impossible. For it was not to be imagined that either the Venetians or the Duke of Milan would suffer them to make such a conquest, though the former perhaps might conceal their designs at present, not to seem ungrateful to the Florentines, at whose expence they had lately enlarged their dominions so considerably: and the latter would be glad to see them entangled in a new war, and impoverished with fresh expences, that so he might fall upon them again with greater advantage. That in the mean time, when they vainly thought themselves surest of success, he would find some means or other, of supplying the Lucchese with money either publickly or privately; and if that was not sufficient, he might pretend to disband his troops and send them as soldiers of fortune into their service. Upon which account, he would advise them to give up the enterprize, and rather endeavour to excite the people of Lucca to rise against their Tyrant; for if nothing else would satisfy some persons but the acquisition of that city, he thought there was no way so likely to effect it, as to suffer them to live under the oppression and insolence of the usurper. For if the matter was conducted with prudence, things might soon be brought to such a pass there, that the tyrant would not be able to support himself in his government, and the Citizens not knowing how to govern of themselves, must of necessity give it up to them. But that he saw the Council in a manner already determined, and that his advice was not listened to. However, he would take upon him to prophesy, that the war would be attended with a very grievous expence and much danger; that, instead of making themselves masters of Lucca, they would only enable it to shake off its present yoke; and from a weak and oppressed city that was in amity with them, it would become a free State, and an enemy too; which in time might prove no inconsiderable obstacle to the aggrandizement of their own Republic."

, After both sides of the question had been thoroughly canvassed, they proceeded as usual to * a ballot, by which it appeared, that out of so great a number, there were only ninety-eight against a war. It was therefore resolved upon; and ten Citizens being appointed to conduct it, they raised both horse and foot, made Astorre Gianni and Rinaldo degli Albizi their commissaries, and agreed with Niccolo Fortebraccio to be their Commander in chief, on condition that he should be suffered to keep possession of the towns and fortresses he had already taken. When the commissaries arrived with their troops in the territories of Lucca they divided their army; Astorre marching with one part through the plains towards Camaggiore and Pietro Santa; and Rinaldo towards the mountains with the other; imagining that when all communication was cut off with the Country, the city must soon fall into their hands. But this expe-

* A manner of voting in elections, debates, or criminal causes by dropping black or white balls, called *Balotes* by the French, into a box or bag or something of that kind; the white ones signifying assent, the black ones dissent; by which every man is at liberty to vote according to his conscience, not being in awe of any one, or fear of having it known which way he gave his vote: the majority of white balls determining *for* the question, of black balls *against* it. This seems to be a very equitable manner of proceeding, and is of great antiquity. In the trial of criminal causes at Rome, an *A* upon the Balots which the Judges threw into an Urn, signified the whole word *Absolvo*, or, *I absolve the person accused*: whence Cicero calls *A*, *Litera salutaris*, a *saving letter*. They had other Balots with a *C* upon them which signified *Condemno*, *I condemn the person accused*: and others likewise marked with the letters *N* and *L*. *Non Liqueat*, to order that the matter should be further enquired into: as the Judges hereby declared, that it was not sufficiently plain, and that they would not decide it whilst it remained so. This was also sometimes expressed *viva voce*, by the word *Amplius*, as we may learn from the following passage in Cicero: "Causam pro Publicanis dixit Cælius. Consules re auditâ *amplius* de Concilii sententiâ pronuntiârunt. Cælius pleaded for the publicans. The consuls, after they had heard him, by the advice of the Senate, pronounced, *let this matter be further enquired into*." The Greeks likewise used this custom in their criminal causes, banishments or ostracisms, so called from writing the sentence or acquittal upon oyster-shells, or by throwing black or white beans into a covered Urn. It is a pity it is not still continued in all great assemblies, as it seems so well calculated to prevent corruption. Some interpret the saying of Pythagoras, *abstine a fabis*, as an admonition not to meddle in public affairs, especially in sentences.

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dition proved unfortunate to them both in the end: for though they took several towns, yet their conduct was highly censured by the Public; and Astorre's indeed with great reason.

There is a Vale near Pietra Santa called Seravezza, which at that time was very rich and full of inhabitants, who hearing of the commissary's approach, went out to meet him, and entreated him to receive them into his protection, as faithful subjects to the State of Florence. Upon which, Astorre seeming to accept their submission with pleasure, ordered his forces to seize upon all the passes and strong places in the Vale: and having assembled them all in their principal Church, he kept them prisoners there, and caused his soldiers to plunder and ravage the whole Country, with unheard of avarice and barbarity; not sparing even the consecrated places, or women of any degree or profession whatsoever. When the news of these proceedings arrived at Florence, not only the Magistracy but the whole city was exceedingly offended. And some of the Seravezzans, who had escaped from the commissary, flying directly to Florence, made such grievous complaints and lamentations to every one they met in the streets, that many of the Citizens, who either thought Astorre deserved to be severely punished for these misdeeds, or hated him because he was not of their party, advised them to apply to the Council of Ten, and desire an audience; which being granted, one of them thus addressed himself to the Council. "We humbly trust, Magnificent Lords, that you will give credit to our report, and compassionate our unhappy condition, when you shall have heard in what manner your commissary has seized upon our Country, and how we have been since treated by him. Our Vale, as the records of your city will amply testify, has ever been of the Guelph party, and often afforded a secure retreat to such of your Citizens as fled to it from the persecution of the Ghibelines. Both our ancestors and ourselves have at all times shewn the highest re-

gard for this renowned Commonwealth, as the head and support of our party: and whilst the Lucchese continued to avow the same principles, we voluntarily submitted to their government: but since they are fallen under the dominion of a Tyrant who has forsaken his former allies, and gone over to the Ghibelines, we have obeyed him indeed, but it has been out of constraint, and not any good will or inclination of our own. We call God to witness how often we have prayed his Divine providence to give us an opportunity of shewing our affection to our ancient friends. But how fallacious are the hopes of men! what we thought would have been our redemption, has proved our utter ruin. For when we had intelligence that your Standard was advancing towards our Vale, we came out to meet the commissary, not as an enemy, but as a servant of our ancient masters, and delivered up our Country, our fortunes, and our persons into his hands, recommending ourselves to his protection, upon a presumption that he had the soul, if not of a Florentine, at least of a man. But pardon our freedom, we beseech you, Magnificent Lords, (since the reflection that our misfortunes are already so great that they cannot be increased, inspires us with this degree of confidence) your commissary has nothing of a man but the shape, nor of a Florentine but the name. He is a Pestilence, a wild Beast, and such a monster of lust and cruelty, as was never let loose upon any people before. For having drawn us all together into one of our Churches under the pretence of a conference, he first made us prisoners, and then carried fire and sword through the whole Vale, plundering and murdering the men, violating the chastity of the married women, and tearing those that were unmarried from the arms of their mothers, to deliver them up to the brutality of his merciless soldiers. If we had provoked him to these barbarities by any injury done either to himself or the Republic of Florence; or if we had so much as taken up arms in our own defence, we should have

have had the less reason to complain; nay we should have justly condemned ourselves, for bringing them upon our own heads, and considered them as a punishment due to our arrogance. But as we delivered up ourselves, freely and unarmed, into his hands; to be afterwards treated in this inhuman manner, exceeds all patience and justifies our bitterest lamentations. And though we might have made not only Lombardy but every part of Italy ring with a recital of our sorrows, to the great disgrace of this city; we did not think ourselves at liberty to do so however, for fear of staining the reputation of so beneficent and honourable a Republic with an imputation of crimes committed by the malevolence and villany of a private subject; whose unexampled avarice (if we had known the man before) we would have endeavoured to satiate if possible (though indeed it seems to have no bounds) by sacrificing one part of our estates, to preserve the other; that so we might have escaped irretrievable ruin. But since that is now too late, and we have no refuge left to fly to but your compassion, we beseech you, Magnificent Lords, to pity the miserable condition of your poor and destitute subjects; lest others hereafter may be deterred by our example from putting themselves under your protection. If the greatness of our sufferings is not sufficient to move pity, let the fear of God's vengeance, however, excite you to punish the wretches who have so impiously dared to rife and burn his churches, and to massacre the people, whom they had so basely betrayed, before his very altars." And having thus said, they threw themselves at their feet, weeping and imploring them to cause their goods and estates to be restored; and since their honour could never be repaired, that they might at least have the consolation of seeing their wives returned to their husbands, and their daughters to their parents.

The enormity of these facts, supported not only by common fame, but the testimony of the sufferers themselves, enflamed the Magistracy to such a degree,

gree, that Astorre was not only recalled immediately, but cashiered, and rendered for ever incapable of being employed again in the service of the Republic. A strict search was likewise made after the effects of the Scavezzans, and what could be found was restored to the owners; for the rest they were afterwards indemnified at the expence of the Republic.

Rinaldo degli Albizi was also accused of carrying on the war in such a manner as tended only to his own private advantage, without any regard to that of the Commonwealth. They said, that after he was appointed commissary, he thought no more of the reduction of Lucca, but employed himself in plundering the Country to stock his own estate with the cattle, and furnish his house with the spoil of others. That he was not content with the booty he had amassed himself, but bought up all that had been taken by the common soldiers: so that instead of a commissary, he was become a Pawn-broker. These calumnies exceedingly mortified his pride, (for he was a haughty, though an honest and upright man) and raised his passions to such a height, as was not consistent with the character of his gravity and wisdom. He therefore took post full of rage and indignation against the Magistrates, and without waiting for their leave, immediately returned to Florence, and presented himself before the Council of Ten; whom he told without any ceremony or reserve, that he well knew, how difficult and dangerous a thing it was, to serve an unbridled People, and a divided State; since the one was carried away with every rumour; the other, put a malicious interpretation upon actions that were doubtful, and always punished the evil, but never rewarded the good. So that if a commander succeeded in an expedition, he had no praise at all; if he was guilty of an error, his conduct was censured by the generality; but if he miscarried, he was sure to be condemned by every one: for in one case, his own party would envy his success, and his adversaries not fail to insult him in the other. That, however,
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he had never been discouraged by the fear of idle slander and undeserved reproach, from pursuing any undertaking, that he was convinced would be of real advantage to his Country. That indeed, the aspersions so unjustly thrown upon him at present, had overcome his patience and discomposed his usual temper. That he advised them to be more ready to defend the reputation of their servants for the future, if they expected to be cheerfully and effectually served by them: and since it was not the custom of the Florentines to honour their Citizens with Triumphs, it might be hoped at least they would protect them against calumny and unjust accusations. That they ought to remember that they themselves were likewise officers in the same Republic, and liable at any time to be traduced in the same vile manner, and then they would find how grievous such treatment was to men of honour and integrity."

Upon these remonstrances, the Council endeavoured to appease his resentment as much as they could at present; but gave the further care of conducting that expedition to Neri di Gino and Alamanno Salviati; who, instead of ravaging the Country, determined to advance directly to Lucca with their forces; which, as it was then very cold weather, had retired into winter quarters at Capannole. But the commissaries who designed to draw nearer, and invest the town without further loss of time, having ordered them to march out and encamp before it, the soldiers flatly refused to stir in that severe season of the year; tho' the Council of Ten had likewise sent them strict orders to advance, and said they would admit of no excuse.

There was at that time in Florence, one Philip Brunelleschi, a celebrated Painter and Architect, many of whose paintings and buildings are yet to be seen in Florence*: and for which the Citizens thought

* At length (says Voltaire) wealth and liberty excited the genius as well as the courage of the nation. In Florence Brunelleschi began

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themselves so much obliged to him, that after his death, they erected a marble statue to his memory in the principal Church, with an inscription upon it setting forth his great merit and excellency in those arts. This Philip having reconnoitred the course of the river Serchio and the situation of Lucca, informed the Council of Ten, that he would undertake to lay that city under water; and so far convinced them of the practicability of his design, that they gave him a Commission to put it in execution. But this project had a very different effect, and occasioned such disorder amongst the Florentine troops that it saved the city. For the Lucchese being aware of it, immediately threw up a strong bank, quite across the meadows through which they were diverting the current of the River upon them. After which, they cut a sluice one night in the bank of the Channel which the enemy had made; through which the water presently took its course, and being opposed by the Dam, began to rise in such a manner upon the plain above, where the Florentine army had at last encamped, that instead of advancing any further, they were forced to raise their Camp and abandon the enterprize for that time.

This expedition having proved unsuccessful, the new Council of Ten which had lately been appointed, sent Giovanni Guicciardini to supersede the late com-

to revive the ancient taste of Architecture. Giotto was remarkable for his Paintings, and Boccaccio ascertained the Italian language. Guido of Arezzo invented the new method of musical notes. In Petrarch and Dante there is a great number of passages wherein we admire the vigour of the Ancients joined to the freshness of the moderns. What gave modern Rome some superiority over the ancient, was the Cupola of St. Peter's. There were only three antique monuments of this kind extant in the world; part of the dome of the temple of Minerva at Athens, the dome of the Pantheon at Rome, and that of the great Mosque at Constantinople, formerly St. Sophia's; built by Justinian. But these Cupolas, though sufficiently raised off the inside, were too flat without. Brunelleschi, the restorer of Architecture in Italy in the fifteenth century, remedied this defect in the cathedral of Florence, by building two Cupolas one within the other; but those Cupolas had something of the Gothic, and were not in just proportion. Vol. ii. part iii. p. 5. and Vol. iii. part vi. p. 104.

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missaries; who sat down with his army as near the town as he could. The Lord of Lucca therefore, seeing himself closely besieged, sent Sylvestro Trenta and Ludovico Bonvisi to solicit relief from the Duke of Milan, by the advice of Antonio del Rosso, who at that time resided with him as envoy from the Republic of Siena. But these Deputies finding him unwilling to send any succour to their master, assured him privately in their own name and that of the people of Lucca, that if he would send a body of troops to their assistance, they would seize upon the Tyrant, and deliver both him and the town into his hands: but if he did not, the Tyrant would certainly give up the town to the Florentines, who had offered him very advantageous terms. This suggestion wrought so effectually upon the Duke, that he immediately laid aside all reserve, and ordered Count Francisco Sforza, his General, publicly to demand a passage for his troops through the territories of Lucca, into the Kingdom of Naples: which being granted, he advanced with them to Lucca; though the Florentines, who saw through his design, sent to desire their common friend Boccacino Alamanni, to dissuade him from it. But upon the arrival of Sforza at Lucca, they withdrew their forces to Librafatta, and the other went to lay siege to Pescia, of which Paolo da Diacetto was then Governor; but he basely abandoned it and fled to Pistoia; so that if it had not been better defended by Giovanni Malavolti, Commander of the Garrison there, it must have fallen into the enemy's hands. The Count, however, not being able to carry it by assault, marched away to Buggiano, which he took, and burnt the Castle of Stiliano, a neighbouring fortress. Upon which, the Florentines not a little chagrined at these devastations, resolved to have recourse to a remedy that had often been of great service to them in times of danger and distress; knowing by experience, that mercenary soldiers might generally be corrupted, when they could not otherwise be opposed. For this purpose, they offered the
Count

Count a sum of money, provided he would give Lucca up to them and quit the Country: and the Count finding he was not likely to squeeze any great matter out of the Lucchese, soon began to lend an ear to those that could better feed his avarice. He therefore agreed with the Florentines, not absolutely to deliver Lucca into their hands, which he could not for shame comply with, but to draw his forces from it, upon payment of fifty thousand Ducats. After which treaty, in order to engage the Lucchese to excuse his proceedings to the Duke, he determined to assist them in deposing their Tyrant.

Antonio del Rosso, the Siense envoy, was then in Lucca, as we have said before; and by the Duke's authority began to enter into measures with the Citizens for that purpose: the principal of whom were Pietro Cennami and Giovanni da Chivizano. And this they did the more freely, as Lanzilao the Tyrant's Son, was then with Sforza, who lay encamped upon the banks of the Serchio, at a little distance from the town. The Conspirators therefore, taking arms, to the number of forty, went directly to Guinigi's house in the dead of the night; who being awaked by the noise they made, came down to them trembling and frightened, and desired to know what they wanted. To which Cennami made answer, "that, as they had been so long oppressed by him within the walls, and reduced to such straits by an enemy without, that they were every day in danger of perishing either by famine or the sword, they were now resolved to govern themselves; and therefore demanded the Keys and treasure of the city to be delivered to them." Guinigi replied, "that the treasure was all spent, but the keys and himself were at their service: that he hoped however, as his reign had both begun and been continued till that time without blood, there would be none shed at the conclusion of it." Upon which submission his life was spared for that time: but Sforza took both him and his Son along with him to the

the Duke at Milan, where they died not long after in prison.

At the departure of the Count, the Lucchese being freed from the yoke of their Tyrant, and the Florentines from the fear of the Duke's forces; one side began to prepare for their defence, and the other to renew hostilities. The latter having appointed the Count of Urbino their Commander in chief, laid close siege to the town, and reduced the Lucchese to such extremities, that they were obliged to make fresh application to the Duke, who under the same pretext that he had before sent Count Sforza, now sent Niccolò Piccinino to their succour. But the Florentines resolving to dispute his passage over the Serchio, as he was advancing to relieve the town, came to an engagement with him upon the banks of the River; in which they received so great an overthrow, that only the commissary and a very few of his men escaped the hands of the enemy, and fled to Pisa. This defeat threw the city of Florence into the utmost consternation; and as the expedition had been undertaken almost by general consent, the people not knowing against whom else to turn their rage, began to abuse those that had conducted the war (since they could not well tell how to blame those who by their own instigation had first advised it) and revived their old calumnies against Rinaldo degli Albizi. But the person whom they fell upon with the greatest virulence was Giovanni Guicciardini, who, they said, might easily have put an end to the war after the departure of Count Sforza, if he had not been bribed; nay, they went so far as to charge him with sending a horse-load of money to his own house, and particularly mentioned the names both of those that carried, and those that received it. These clamours and accusations made such a noise, that the Captain of the People could not help taking cognizance of so public a charge; especially as he was likewise importunately called upon so to do by Giovanni's enemies. Having cited him therefore to clear himself of this impu-

imputation, he made his appearance, but with much seeming indignation, and contempt of their malice, and his relations exerted themselves so strenuously for the honour of their family, that the Captain was obliged to stop all further proceedings against him.

The Lucchese after their late victory not only recovered the towns they had lost, but possessed themselves of all the territories of Pisa, except Bientina, Calcinaiia, Livorno (or Leghorn) and Librafatta: and if a conspiracy had not been discovered, which was formed in Pisa, that city would also have been lost amongst the rest. The Florentines however recruited their army, and put it under the Command of Michele^{tto} *, who had been bred up under Sforza. The Duke on the other hand, did not fail to pursue his advantage; and in order to defeat all future attempts of the Florentines more effectually, he prevailed upon the Genoese, the Sieneſe, and the Lord of Piombino, to enter into a league for the defence of Lucca and to take Piccinino into their pay: which last circumstance so plainly discovered his designs, that the Florentines likewise renewed their confederacy with the Venetians. Upon this, open hostilities were immediately commenced in Lombardy and Tuscany, where the war was carried on, and several skirmishes ensued with various success on each side: till at last they were both so tired, that a general Peace was concluded in the Month of May 1433: by which it was agreed, that whatsoever towns had been taken by the Florentines, Lucchese and Sieneſe should be mutually restored to their former possessors.

During the course of this war abroad, the factious humours began to ferment again at home; and Cosimo de' Medici, after the decease of Giovanni, began to act with greater spirit in public affairs, and with more openness and zeal for the good of his friends, than ever his father had done: so that those that rejoiced at the death of Giovanni, were not a little

* The surname is wanting.

damped

clamped at the proceedings of his Son. Cosimo, was a man of very great prudence, of a sedate and agreeable countenance, exceeding liberal and humane : never entering into any measures that would be pernicious to the State, or even the party that he opposed ; but taking all opportunities of doing good to every one, and of conciliating to himself the affections of his fellow Citizens by his goodness and generosity. So noble an example of benevolence, greatly increased the hatred which the public had already conceived against the governing party, and at the same time was the best method he thought he could take, to enable himself either to live with reputation and security in Florence, or to get the better of any persecution that the malice of his enemies might raise against him, by the interest he had with the people, and even, if necessary, by force of arms. There were two Citizens that contributed more than any of the rest to promote this interest, whose names were Averardo de' Medici, and Puccio de' Pucci : the one by his boldness and activity, the other by his great wisdom and experience, which added much reputation to his party. And indeed the judgment and authority of the latter were so generally revered, that he gave name to the party, which was not called Cosimo's, but Puccio's party.

In this divided state of the City, the expedition against Lucca was undertaken ; which, instead of extinguishing the rage of faction, still added fuel to it. For though Puccio's party had promoted and advised a war, yet those of the other side were chiefly employed in conducting it, as they had greater power in the government. And since Averardo de' Medici and his friends could not by any means prevent this, they took every opportunity of defaming them and calumniating their actions : so that when they met with any misfortune (as they did with several) it was not imputed to the superior strength or better management of the enemy, but to the misconduct and imprudence of the Commissary. This was the occasion

caſion that the enormities committed by Aſtorre Gianni, though very great indeed of themſelves, were ſtill exaggerated. It was this ſort of treatment that provoked Rinaldo degli Albizi to ſuch a degree, that he left his command without permiſſion. This was the true cauſe of Giovanni Guicciardini being cited to appear before the Captain of the People. From hence proceeded all the charges and complaints that were exhibited againſt other Magiſtrates and Commiſſaries: and whiſt thoſe that had any foundation were always aggravated, and ſometimes ſupported by downright falſehood, the people greedily ſwallowed all, whether true or falſe, out of the hatred they bore to them. And though Niccolò da Uzzano and the other heads of that party, were ſufficiently aware of theſe baſe artifices, and had ſeveral private meetings to conſider of proper means to prevent the effect of them, yet they could not fix upon any expedient. It was very dangerous, they knew, to connive at them, and not leſs ſo to proceed to open violence. Uzzano himſelf was averſe to any remedies of that kind. But Niccolò Barbadori, ſeeing they were harracted in this manner with war abroad, and faction at home, took an opportunity of going one day to viſit him at his own houſe, where he found him very thoughtful and alone in his ſtudy; and as he himſelf wiſhed to ſee the ruin of Coſimo, he left no method untried to prevail upon Uzzano to join with Rinaldo degli Albizi to drive him out of the City.

After ſome pauſe, Uzzano replied, “It would be much better for yourſelf and your family too, Barbadori, and for the Commonwealth in general, if both you and all others that propoſe ſuch meaſures, had * beards of ſilver inſtead of gold, as your name

* Barba d'oro, in the Italian, ſignifies a beard of gold. This is therefore one of thoſe little puns, or *concelli*, from which the very beſt authors that wrote in Machiavel's time, and long after, are not altogether free. They were not peculiar to Italy; for we find them ſcattered in great plenty (the more is the pity) through the works of the firſt rate Genius's of our own country.

imports: for then every one might hope for wise and wholesome counsel from grey hairs and long experience. Common prudence, however, I should think, would be sufficient to induce those that advise the expulsion of Cosimo, in the first place, to compare their own strength with his. Our party, it seems, is now distinguished by the name of the Nobility, and the other, by that of the Plebeians. And supposing there was any just reason for that distinction, success in such an undertaking would still appear very dubious; and we ought rather to fear the worst, than hope for any good from it, when we remember the fate of the ancient Nobility of this City, who at last were utterly suppressed in their contests with the Plebeians. And we have still fewer advantages on our side than they had: for our party is divided, whilst that of our adversaries is compact and entire. Neri di Gino and Nerone di Nigi, two of the chief men in the City, have not yet declared themselves, and it is uncertain what side they will take. Several families are divided amongst themselves; and many there are that hate us, and favour our adversaries, merely out of envy or malice to their own brothers, or some other near relations. Some of the most considerable of whom, I shall mention; the rest will naturally occur to your own memory and observation. Amongst the sons of Maso degli Albizi, Luca, out of hatred to Rinaldo, is gone over to the other side. In the family of the Guicciardini, Pietro, the son of Luigi, is a mortal enemy to his brother Giovanni, and joins our adversaries. Tomaso and Niccolò Soderini openly oppose us out of picque to their uncle Francisco. So that if we consider the quality of those that constitute their party, and of whom our own consists, I see no reason why one should be called the Nobility in preference to the other. If it is because they are followed by the whole body of the Plebeians; that very circumstance makes them so much superior to us, that if ever we come to an open trial of our strength, we shall not be able to stand

before them. And if we still continue in possession of the first places in the Commonwealth, it is entirely owing to the established credit of an administration, which has now supported itself for the space of fifty years. But if things should come to extremities, and our present weakness be discovered, you may depend upon it, we should be forced out of the Magistracy, perhaps to our utter destruction. If it be said, that the justice of our cause will increase our reputation, and diminish that of our enemies; I answer, that it is necessary the people should first be convinced, that it really is a just one: and how can that be done, since it must plainly appear, that the motives of our proceedings are founded merely upon a jealousy that Cosimo may attempt to usurp a sovereignty over this Republic. If we entertain such suspicions of him ourselves, others are so far from doing it, that they accuse us of those very designs with which we charge him. What reason is there for these apprehensions, they will say, except that he freely lends money to every one that wants it; not only to private people, but to the public, upon any exigency, and to foreigners as well as Florentines; that he is a friend to such as stand in need of protection; or because he sometimes helps to advance an acquaintance to a reputable employment in the Commonwealth, by the interest which his universal benevolence has gained him amongst the people? What then shall we be able to plead as an excuse for endeavouring to expel him the City? Shall we accuse him of being charitable, friendly, liberal, and beloved by every one? Tell me, I pray you, what law prohibits or condemns charity, liberality, and beneficence. Indeed these virtues are sometimes counterfeited to cajole the vulgar, by such as aspire to dominion; but they do not appear in that light at present, nor is it in our power to make them; we have lost our reputation by our late misconduct; and a people naturally prone to faction, and corrupted by continual divisions, will no longer put any confidence

in us, or give credit to such accusations. But suppose we should succeed so far as to get him banished (which indeed might possibly be done if the Signiory would concur in it) how should we prevent his return, when he has so many powerful friends left in the City, who would never rest till they had got him recalled? This would be to no purpose therefore, whilst his interest is so great, and the remembrance of his benevolence so fresh upon the minds of the people; and the more we should banish of his declared friends, the more we should augment the number of our own secret enemies. So that when he returned, as he certainly would do in a short time, we should find, that we had done nothing more, than banish a good man, and bring back a bad one, as his disposition would be altered by those that had procured his restoration; to whom he would think himself under such obligations, that he could not oppose them in any thing. But, if it is intended to put him to death in a judicial manner, that can never be effected; for as he is rich, and the magistracy corrupt, he will be sure to escape all punishment. But let us suppose he should be condemned, or perhaps never return from exile; I cannot perceive what the Commonwealth would gain by that: for no sooner will it be free from the apprehensions it was under from Cosimo, but it will be liable to the same from Rinaldo. For my own part, I am one of those that never desire to see one Citizen exceed another in authority. And if one of these two must seize the reins, I know not any reason that should induce me to prefer Rinaldo to Cosimo. I have nothing further to add, but that I pray God to preserve this City from ever falling under the dominion of any one man; but, if a time should ever come when our sins shall bring that judgment upon us, I pray still more earnestly, that we may not become subject to Rinaldo. Let me exhort you, therefore, not to persist in a design that is every way so full of danger, nor to imagine that you shall be able to get the better of the multitude

tude by the co operation of so few assistants as you will have : for take my word for it, the far greater part of the Citizens, some out of stupidity, and others out of malice, are thoroughly disposed to sell their country ; and fortune has been so favourable to them as to provide a purchaser. Take my advice then for once ; endeavour to live quietly ; and as to any invasion of our liberties, be assured, that you have as much to apprehend from our own party, as the other. When troubles arise, take no side *, for by standing neuter, you will be upon good terms with every one, and advantage yourself, without prejudicing your Country."

These dissuasions, in some measure, cooled Barbadori's resolution : so that the City continued tolerably quiet, till the war with Lucca was over. But a peace being concluded, and Uzzano dying soon after, there was nobody left of sufficient authority to suppress the ill humours that began to shew themselves again without reserve, when all restraint was at an end. Rinaldo degli Albizi in particular, who now looked upon himself as the Head of that party, was continually teasing and importuning such Citizens as

* "It is a man's duty, said a celebrated but unhappy Prelate of our Church, to keep himself always from embarking in parties and factions, and falling with vehemence into all the interests and designs of them. This will necessarily, in time, embitter his spirits, and sour his humour, make him like and dislike men implicitly, and lead him into many resentments which he hath nothing to do with." Bishop Atterbury's Sermons, published by Dr. Moore, vol. ii. p. 335. This passage occurs in that upon Rom. xiii. 18. The author of Dr. Asheton's Life (an eminent Divine, who died at the beginning of this century) says, p. 39, "That he had narrowly observed the conduct of all parties in every reign, during the course of his life : that he saw the madness of the people, and how designing men can seduce them to proclaim Hosannas at one time, and demand crucifixion at another ; that he was aware of the mean selfishness, ambition, and violence of the best parties ; which gave him the same idea of parties in general ; and consequently was sensible of the expedience of those precautions recommended by Archbishop Dawes, in his Sermon upon the 10th of January, "That we ought to take care not to list ourselves as thorough members of any party."—It is no extraordinary thing, says a very celebrated author, to see persons die in that party, which they declared for, at the rise of a faction, or the beginning of a revolution,

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he thought were likely to be the next Gonfaloniers, to take up arms and deliver their Country out of the hands of a man, who, taking the advantage of the stupidity of some, and the malice of others, would certainly enslave it. Thus Rinaldo, by endeavouring to supplant his adversaries, and they to support themselves, kept the whole City in continual alarm and suspicion: so that when new magistrates were appointed, it was presently known how many there were on one side, and how many on the other: and at the Imborsations for the Signiory, there was nothing to be seen but tumult and uproar. Every trifling affair that was brought before the Magistracy, created a division amongst them: all secrets were divulged; they had no regard to justice; the good and the evil were treated alike; and there was not so much as one Magistrate that did his duty.

The City being in this confusion, and Rinaldo impatient to lower the authority of Cosimo; considering with himself that Bernardo Guadagni (though a man very fit for his purpose) could not be admitted to the office of Gonfalonier, even if his name should be drawn, except the arrears he was in to the public were first discharged, he paid them himself. And as fortune (the constant enemy of our City) would have it, in the Imborsation for a new Signiory, Bernardo was actually drawn Gonfalonier for the two ensuing months of September and October. Upon which, Rinaldo immediately went to congratulate him, and told him, how much the Nobility, and all honest men who desired to live in peace and security, were rejoiced to see him in possession of that dignity; and that it was hoped he would behave himself in such a manner as would give them no cause to repent of it. He then represented to him the danger they were in from their divisions; that the surest way to restore union amongst them, was to rid themselves of Cosimo, who was the only man that stood in their way: that the popularity he had gained by his immense riches, had given him such an ascendancy, that, if

timely care was not taken to prevent it, he would certainly make himself absolute Lord over them: and therefore it was his duty, as a good Citizen, to provide against the danger, by calling the people together in the Piazza, to reinstate the administration in its former power, and secure the liberties of his Country. He desired him to remember the example of Sylvestro de' Medici, who (even without any appearance of justice on his side) was able to check the over-grown power of the Guelphs, though they certainly had the fairest claim to govern the city, as a reward for the blood which their ancestors had so generously shed for the defence of it: and that what he alone could effect without any just pretensions, and in spite of so many powerful adversaries, might surely be done again in a just cause, and when there was but one man to oppose them. He exhorted him to act with vigour and resolution, as all his friends would immediately take arms to support him; to make no account of the mob (though they seemed to adore Cosimo at present) for in time of need, he would be served by them just as Georgio Scali had been formerly: nor to stand in awe of his riches; for when once he was in the power of the Signiory, his wealth would fall into their hands. He concluded, with saying, that when this was done, the Republic would become united and secure, and his own reputation established for ever." Bernardo made answer in a few words, "that he was fully convinced of the expedience and necessity of what he had urged; but as it was high time to proceed to execution, he desired him to prepare their friends to take arms as soon as possible, since he was persuaded they should be so well supported."

As soon as Bernardo had entered upon his office, their friends being in readiness, and every thing settled betwixt him and Rinaldo, he summoned Cosimo to appear before the Signiory; which he did, trusting rather to his own innocence, than to their mercy; though he was dissuaded from it by many. But he
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was hardly got into the palace, before he was arrested. Upon which, Rinaldo instantly sallied out of his house, with a body of armed men, and all the rest of the party at his heels, and came into the Piazza; where the Signiory assembled the people, and appointed a Balia, consisting of two hundred Citizens, to reform the State. The first thing that was debated, after they met to consider of a reformation, was, whether Cosimo should be put to death or not. Some argued for it, others thought banishment sufficient, and many sat silent, either out of affection to him, or fear of the other party: so that in such a diversity of opinions, nothing was determined upon.

In the turret of the palace there is an apartment, called Alberghettino, to which Cosimo was committed prisoner, under the custody of Frederigo Malavolti. From this place he could hear the clamours of the armed men that were below in the Piazza, and frequent outcries for a Balia; which made him apprehend that his life was in danger, but much more, that his particular enemies would take some extraordinary method to dispatch him. For that reason, he would eat no meat for the space of four days, except a mouthful or two of bread. Of which Malavolti taking notice, addressed himself to him in this manner: "Whilst you are afraid of being poisoned, you will starve yourself to death, to my great dishonour; for certainly you must have a vile opinion of me, to suspect I would be concerned in so base a deed. In my opinion, your life is not in any danger, as you have so many friends both within the palace and without it: but if there is any such design in agitation, you may assure yourself I will not be employed as an executioner, nor ever stain my hands with the blood of any man, much less yours, who never did me any injury. Take courage then, eat your meat, and keep yourself alive for the good of your friends and your country: and that you may have no further suspicion of that kind, I will eat with you myself." Upon this encouragement, Cosimo embraced

braced him with tears in his eyes, acknowledging his generosity and gentleman-like behaviour in the most thankful manner, and assuring him, he would amply recompence his kindneses, if ever fortune should put it in his power again to shew his gratitude.

His apprehensions therefore being in some measure quieted, and his fate yet undetermined by the Balia, it happened that Malavolti, to entertain his prisoner, invited one Farganaccio a friend of the Gonfalonier's, and a man of humour and pleasantry, to sup with him. Upon which, after supper was almost over, Cosimo hoping to make some advantage of this visit (as he himself was well acquainted with him) gave a hint to Malavolti to leave the room, who, pretty well guessing at his intention, immediately went out to order something that was wanting, as he pretended. When they were alone, Cosimo after many fair words and promises of a greater reward, gave his guest a draught upon the Governor of St. Mary's new Hospital for eleven hundred ducats, desiring him to keep an hundred himself, and to present the other thousand to the Gonfalonier, from whom, he said, he should be glad to receive the favour of a visit, if he could find a proper opportunity. This he willingly undertook to perform, and gave the money to Bernardo, who then began to grow cooler and more moderate in the prosecution: so that after all, Cosimo was only banished to Padua, though Rinaldo used his utmost endeavours to have him put to death. Averardo de' Medici and many others of that family were likewise banished at the same time, and with them Puccio and Giovanni de' Pucci. And to keep those in still greater awe that seemed dissatisfied at Cosimo's exile, the Balia was reduced to eight (who were called wardens) and the Captain of the people. After these regulations, Cosimo was brought before the Signiory, on the third of October in the year 1433, who pronounced the sentence of banishment upon him, and exhorted him to submit to it with patience, lest he should provoke them to proceed with greater rigour
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both against his person and estate. He received the sentence with a chearful countenance, and assured them he would stay with content wherever they should be pleased to send him; praying them however, as they had spared his life, that they would protect his person, since he knew there were some in the Palace that thirsted after his blood. He then took his leave of them with saying, "that in what part of the world soever he should sojourn, his person and fortune should always be at the service of the Republic, the People, and the Signiory." In answer to which, the Gonfalonier told him "he would take care his life should be in no danger;" and having detained him in the Palace till night, he then conducted him to his own house to sup with him, and afterwards ordered a party of the guards to escort him to the confines of the Florentine dominions. Wherever he came he was received with great honour, and publicly visited by the Venetians, who treated him not as an exile, but as a person of the first rank and consequence in the State.

Florence being thus deprived of so great a man, and so universally beloved, both parties had their apprehensions: Rinaldo therefore, who saw a storm rising, resolved not to be wanting either to himself or his friends: and having called several of them together, he told them, they had now ruined themselves, as they would soon find, beyond all redemption, by giving way to the tears, supplications, and bribes of their enemies, not foreseeing that it would quickly be their own turn to weep and implore compassion from those who would be deaf to entreaties and tears: that they would be forced to refund the principal sum of the bribes they had taken, with the heavy interest of tortures, executions, and banishments. That it would have been much better for them to have remained content in their former circumstances, than to suffer Cosimo to escape with life, and leave so many of his friends in Florence; as great men ought either never to be provoked, or, if they
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are, to be entirely crushed. That he saw no remedy now left but to collect their strength and fortify themselves; that so, when their enemies should rise upon them (which was daily to be expected) they might be able to clear the city of them by dint of force, since, it seemed, they could not do it in a judiciary manner. That for this purpose, they must endeavour to regain the affections of the Grandees by restoring them to their honours and authority (as he had often advised) and to strengthen themselves by their assistance, as the other party had done by that of the Plebeians. That by such a junction they should considerably increase their strength, and might possibly recover their former power and reputation; but if this last and only expedient was not made use of, he knew of no other, for his part, that could preserve them, and indeed the Republic itself, from the imminent ruin it was threatened with amidst so many enemies." In answer to this, Mariotto Boldovinetti said, "that the insolence and tyranny of the Grandees, always had been, and always would be insupportable: and that it would be madness to run headlong into a certain and slavish subjection to them, when the danger that was apprehended from the Plebeians might only be imaginary." Rinaldo therefore seeing his advice rejected, could not help lamenting the misfortunes that he foresaw were going to fall upon himself and his party; but modestly imputed them rather to the malevolence of their destiny, than to the blindness and perverseness of men.

Whilst things were in this situation and no manner of provision made for their security, a letter was intercepted from Agnolo Acciaivoli to Cosimo, in which he informed him of the good disposition of the Citizens in general towards him, and advised him to stir up a war from some quarter or other, and to make Neri di Gino his friend; as he thought the people would then be in want of money to carry it on, and finding no body else that was able to supply them, they would naturally turn their thoughts upon him,

him, and be so much the more impatient for his return. To which he added, "that if Neri could by any means be detached from Rinaldo, his party would be so much weakened that it would not be able to support him." But this letter falling into the hands of the Magistrates, Agnolo was taken into custody, and afterwards brought to a trial, and sent into banishment; which in some measure restrained the ardour of those that favoured Cosimo.

It was now almost a year since Cosimo had been banished; and at the end of August 1434, Niccolò di Cocco was drawn Gonfalonier for the two next months, and with him eight new Signiors, all friends to Cosimo; at which Rinaldo and his party were not a little alarmed. And as, according to custom, the new Signiory could not enter upon their office till three days after they were drawn, Rinaldo once more applied to the other chiefs of his party, and represented to them the certainty and nearness of the danger they were in, and that there was no resource left but to take arms immediately and oblige Donato Veluti, who was then Gonfalonier, to assemble the people in the Piazza, to appoint another Balia, and depose the new Signiory: after which, they might get others drawn more fit for their purpose, by burning the old Imborsation, and making a fresh one, in which the purses might be filled only with the names of their friends. This resolution was thought proper and absolutely necessary by many; and by others too violent and odious. Amongst those that disapproved it, was Palla Strozzi, a man of a peaceable and humane disposition, and rather given to study than inclined to concern himself in the intrigues of faction. He said, "that all schemes that were either too finely spun, or too bold, appeared likely to succeed at first sight, but generally proved difficult in the management, and pernicious in the end. That he thought the fear of new enemies abroad (as the Duke's army was then in Romagna and near their confines) should make the Signiory turn their attention to them, rather

ther than busy themselves in domestic feuds: that however, if they should actually see any steps taken to raise a commotion (which could not well be without their notice) it would then be time enough to take arms, and make such regulations as should seem necessary for the public safety, which being done for their own defence, would also occasion less wonder and disgust amongst the people." It was therefore resolved to let the new Signiory enter peaceably upon the Magistracy; but to keep a strict watch upon their conduct, and if they should attempt any thing to the prejudice of their party, then to rise immediately and assemble in the Piazza of St. Pulinare (a place near the Palace) from whence they might proceed to act as occasion should require.

With this resolution they parted; and the new Signiory having taken possession of the Palace, the Gonfalonier, to begin his office with some action that would give him reputation and strike a damp into such as might think of opposing him, immediately committed his predecessor Donato Velluti to prison, upon a pretence that he had embezzled the public money. After which, he began to sound the rest of his associates about Cosimo's return; and finding them well disposed to it, he communicated their design to those that were reputed the Heads of the Medici party; who all encouraging him to attempt it, he cited Rinaldo degli Albizi, Ridolpho Peruzzi, and Niccolo Barbadori, as the principals of the other party, to appear before him. But Rinaldo seeing there was no more time now to be lost, instead of obeying the citation, rushed out of his house with a great number of armed men, and was instantly joined by Peruzzi and Barbadori with several other Citizens and many disbanded Soldiers that were then in Florence, and drew up in the Piazza of St. Pulinare, as they had before agreed. And though Palla Strozzi and Giovanni Guicciardini had assembled a good many men, they did not think proper to stir out of their houses; upon which, Rinaldo sent to hasten them

them and upbraid their tardiness. But Guicciardini sent him word back again, that he thought he should do his party better service by staying at home and preventing his brother Pietro from going to the relief of the Signiory : and Strozzi after many pressing messages, at last came to St. Pulinare on horseback ; but with only two attendants on foot, and all three without any arms. When Rinaldo saw him come in that manner, he could not help reproaching him bitterly with his backwardness to join his friends ; as he said, “ it must be owing either to perfidy or cowardice, the very appearance of both which ought to be most carefully avoided by such a man as he pretended to be. That if he thought to escape death or exile, in case their enemies should get the upper hand of them, by not fulfilling his engagement with his party, he would find himself fatally disappointed. That for his own part, let what would happen, he should at least have this consolation, that he had done his duty, not only in warning them of the danger before hand, but in prescribing remedies to prevent it, and lastly, by behaving himself like a man when it did come : that, on the contrary, he and his trusty companions must surely reflect with horror, that they had betrayed their country three different times : first in letting Cosimo escape ; next, in not listening to his advice ; and now, in not supporting him in the manner they had promised.” To this Strozzi muttered something by way of answer, but in such a manner that it was not understood by the rest ; and turning his horse about, he rode directly back again to his own house.

The Signiory being informed that Rinaldo and his party had taken arms, and seeing themselves unable to make head against them, caused the doors of the Palace to be barricadoed, as they knew not what other course to take in so sudden an emergency. But as Rinaldo staid waiting to be joined by others who never came near him, instead of advancing immediately to the Palace, as he ought to have done, he lost his

his opportunity, and gave the Signiory time to provide for their defence. Upon which, many of the Citizens resorted to them, and advised them in the first place to use their endeavours to prevail upon the other party to lay down their arms. They sent such of their friends therefore, as were least obnoxious, to acquaint Rinaldo and those that were with him, "that they could not conceive what was the cause of such a commotion; especially, as they had never designed to do them any injury: that if it was upon Cosimo's account, they could assure them they had no thoughts of recalling him; for which they would give them any security, if they would come into the Palace, where they should be honourably received, and have satisfaction in all other respects." These promises, however, made but little impression on Rinaldo, who said, he would take care to secure himself by turning them all out of their offices, and then the State should be reformed in a manner that would be more for the advantage of every one. But it seldom happens that any design succeeds, where the authority of the conductors is equal, and their opinions different. Ridolpho Peruzzi replied, "that for his part, he desired nothing more than that Cosimo might not be suffered to return: and since that had been promised, he was very well contented, and instead of insisting upon any thing further, which might involve the city in blood and confusion, he would accept of the invitation which the Signiory had given him;" as he immediately did, and went with all those that had followed him, directly into the Palace, where he was joyfully received. So that all hope of success being defeated by the delay of Rinaldo at St. Pulinare, the pusillanimity of Strozzi, and the desertion of Peruzzi, the rest of the party began to lose their spirits and grew much cooler in the undertaking than they had been at first: to which the interposition of the Pope's authority did likewise very much contribute.

Eug-

Eugenius IV. having been driven out of Rome by the people, was then at Florence *; and seeing these tumults, he thought it his duty to compose them, if possible. For this purpose, he sent Giovanni Vitelleschi, the Patriarch of Alexandria, who was intimately acquainted with Rinaldo, to desire he might speak with him, as he hoped he had credit and authority enough with the Signiory to procure him all reasonable security and satisfaction, without effusion of blood, or prejudice to any of the Citizens. Upon which Rinaldo, at the persuasion of his friend, went with all his followers to wait upon his Holiness at St. Maria Novella, where he at that time resided. After he was introduced into his presence, the Pope informed him that the Signiory had given him their word that all differences should be left to his arbi-

* Philip, Duke of Milan, having made an incursion into the Pope's territories, the cavalry which he sent thither, were commanded by Niccolo Fortebraccio, who had quitted the Pope's service in disgust: for when he demanded his pay, Eugenius answered, "that he ought to think himself amply paid by the booty he had amassed in plundering several towns." Exasperated at this answer, he went into the Duke's service, and being employed by him against this Pope, he made such dreadful havock in the places adjacent to Rome, that the whole City was in the utmost consternation, and the Pope himself for some time in doubt whither to retire. The people resorted to him in crowds, to complain of the losses they had sustained: but, as he was then in an ill state of health, and did not know which way to turn himself, he referred them to the Cardinal his Nephew and High-chamberlain, an indolent and voluptuous man, who used to shuffle off the complaints of the people who had lost their cattle (as Platina says in the life of Eugenius) with this answer, "You really set too great a value upon your cattle; the Venetians live much more genteely without such encumbrances." "Eos nimiam spem in pecoribus collocasse: Venetos quidem sine gregibus & jumentis longè urbaniorum vitam ducere." At which they were so enraged, that they cried out, To arms! Liberty, Liberty! and not only removed all the magistrates from their employments, who had been appointed by Eugenius, but created others in their room, and seized upon the Cardinal his Nephew. The Pope being reduced to such extremities, put on the habit of a monk, and went on board a bark, in order to fly to Ostia, where he arrived safe, notwithstanding the volleys of stones and arrows that were discharged at the vessel as it fell down the river. From Ostia he went to Florence, and resided there some time. But the Romans did not long enjoy this liberty: for the Pope's authority was restored at Rome in his absence by John Vitelleschi, Patriarch of Alexandria, who proceeded with great severity against the mutineers.

tration, and that every thing should be settled to his own satisfaction, as soon as he and his party had laid down their arms. Rinaldo therefore, seeing the coldness of Strozzi and the levity of Peruzzi, and having no other refuge left, put himself under the protection of the Pope, whose authority he thought was sufficient to secure and defend him. In consequence of this, the Pope ordered Niccolo Barbadori, and the others that were waiting for him without doors, to lay down their arms, as Rinaldo would remain with him till he had made terms for them with the Signiory: upon which, they dispersed, and every man returned to his own house.

As soon as the Signiory saw their adversaries disarmed, they began to treat with them through the mediation of the Pope, and, at the same time, sent privately into the mountains of Pistoia for a body of foot soldiers, which, being joined by all the horse they had in the adjacent territories, were brought into Florence by night; and having taken possession of all the passes and strong places in the city, they called the people together in the Piazza before the Palace, and appointed a new Balia, which at their first meeting recalled Cosimo, and all the other Citizens that had been banished with him. On the other hand, they not only sent Rinaldo, Peruzzi, Barbadori, and Strozzi into banishment, but such numbers of others, that most parts of Italy, and some other countries, were crowded with them, to the great impoverishment of Florence both in regard to its wealth, its inhabitants, its trade and manufactures. But the Pope seeing that party entirely ruined and dissipated, which had consented to lay down their arms upon his assurances and intercession, was exceedingly enraged; lamenting with Rinaldo the grievous misfortune that had befallen him through his means, and in violation of the most solemn engagements: exhorting him however, to patience under his sufferings, and to hope for a speedy change in his favour, from the inconstancy of fortune. Rinaldo made answer in a few words;

words, "that the little regard his friends had paid to his advice, and the too great confidence he had put in his Holiness, had been the ruin both of himself and his party: but that indeed, he ought to condemn himself rather than any other person, for foolishly imagining that a man, who had been driven out of his own Country, should have interest enough to protect another any where else. That he was no stranger to the vicissitudes of fortune, and as he had never been elated with prosperity, he should not be dejected in adversity; since he knew that when it was her humour, she would favour him again with her smiles. But if she should not, it would give him no great degree of regret to be banished a city where private men had more authority than the Laws: for any Country was certainly more desirable, where a man could enjoy his property and trust to his friends, than that where the one was so easily taken away, and the other always deserted him, out of fear and mean self-interest, in the day of distress. That all wise and good men thought it more grievous to be spectators of the calamities of their Country, than to hear of them at a distance; and more honourable to be an honest exile than an abject slave." After which, he turned himself about, and leaving the Pope with great contempt and indignation, he went into banishment; often bewailing his own credulity, as well as the baseness of his friends, and their blindness in rejecting his counsels. Cosimo, on the other hand, having notice that he was at liberty to come home again, immediately repaired to Florence: and it has seldom happened that any commander, though returning in triumph from some extraordinary Victory, was received with such acclamations and universal joy, as Cosimo was at his return from banishment by his fellow Citizens, who ran in multitudes to meet him, and saluted him with one voice, *the Benefactor of the People, and the Father of his Country.*

END OF THE FOURTH BOOK.

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O F
F L O R E N C E.

B O O K V.

A R G U M E N T.

The soldiery of Italy divided into two parties, under Count Francisco Sforza and Niccolo Fortebraccio. The Duke of Milan promises his Daughter in marriage to the former. Rome is assaulted by Sforza, and la Marca d' Ancona invaded by Fortebraccio. Pope Eugenius IV. makes an ignominious peace with Sforza, and being driven out of Rome by the inhabitants, flies to Florence. A war in Romagna betwixt the Duke of Milan on one side; and the Venetians, the Florentines, and the Pope, on the other; who enter into a league against the Duke. Sforza commands the forces of the league; and Piccinino those of the Duke. A new government in Florence. Their severe proceedings. Alphonso of Arragon attempts to make himself King of Naples. His fleet is defeated by the Genoese, and he himself taken prisoner and brought to the Duke of Milan. The authority of the Doge in Genoa. Francisco Spinola having betrayed that City into the hands of the Duke, repents of it, and is the author of recovering its liberty. Rinaldo degli Albizi's speech to the Duke, persuading him to make war upon the Florentines, which he does. His General Piccinino commits terrible ravages in their terri-

territories, and takes up his quarters at Lucca, to the great offence of the Florentines. Count Sforza gives him battle, defeats his forces, and lays waste the Country of the Lucchese. The speech of a Citizen of Lucca to animate the inhabitants of that City to defend themselves against the Florentines. Count Sforza is made General of the League. The Venetians are jealous of his proceedings. The disputes betwixt them about his passing the Po. He leaves their service and retires into Tuscany. A quarrel betwixt the Pope and Count Poppi accommodated by the Florentines. A controversy betwixt the Greek and Roman Churches, determined at Florence by the submission of the former. The Pope deluded, and his territories invaded by Piccinino, who takes all the towns in Romagna from him. Count Sforza earnestly persuaded by the Florentines not to desert the Venetians, at last consents to pass the Po. Neri Capponi's speech to the Venetian Senate. Count Sforza makes an unexpected march and relieves Verona, which was besieged by the Duke's forces. He attempts to relieve Brescia also. Piccinino defeats and takes most of the Venetian galleys upon the Lake di Garda. One part of his army is worsted by Count Sforza, and he himself escapes in a strange manner to the other. He surprises Verona, which is recovered by the Count. The Duke of Milan is encouraged by Piccinino and the Florentine Exiles to invade Tuscany. The Patriarch of Alexandria, General of the Pope's forces. His character. He is suspected of endeavouring to betray the Pope: is committed to prison, and dies there. Differences betwixt the Venetians and Count Sforza about relieving Brescia, adjusted at last to his satisfaction. The Duke of Milan's forces invade Tuscany, under the command of Piccinino, who plunders the territories of the Florentines, and takes several towns and castles from them. The cowardice of Orlandini. Count Poppi revolts from the Florentines. The Duke's army is defeated in Lombardy, and Brescia relieved by Sforza. A remarkable battle at Anghiari, in which Piccinino is routed by the forces of the Florentines, in conjunction

with those of the Pope. Poppi is besieged and taken, Count Poppi's address to the Florentine Commissaries upon that occasion. Neri Capponi's answer. The Count is stripped of his dominions for his perfidy.

IN the changes that are incident to all governments, they often degenerate into anarchy and confusion; and from thence emerge again to good order and regularity. For since it is ordained by Providence that there should be a continual ebb and flow in the things of this world; as soon as they arrive at their utmost perfection, and can ascend no higher, they must of necessity decline: and on the other hand, when they have fallen, through any disorder, to the lowest degree that is possible, and can sink no lower, they begin to rise again. And thus there is a constant succession of prosperity and adversity in all human affairs. Virtue is the mother of peace; peace produces idleness; idleness, contention and misrule; and from thence proceed ruin and confusion. This occasions reformation and better laws; good laws make men virtuous; and public virtue is always attended with glory and success. It has therefore been well remarked, that arms are prior to letters, and that in new States and governments there always have been warriors and soldiers, before the rise of Scholars and Philosophers. But the former being once securely established in their dominion by dint of arms, have generally encouraged the study of Letters, as an honourable relaxation in time of peace, and the most likely method to soften the ferocity of men inured to war. And it is certain that indolence and effeminacy cannot be introduced into any state in a more specious and dangerous disguise. Of which, Cato the Censor seemed to be so well apprized, that when he saw the Roman youth eagerly listening to the Lectures and philosophical discourses of Diogenes and Carneades, (who were sent Ambassadors from Athens to the Senate of Rome) and considered the prejudice which the Commonwealth might receive from suffering

fering its subjects to employ themselves in those speculative matters, he procured a law to be passed, that no Philosopher should be permitted to come into that city. These and other such causes sometimes bring States to the brink of ruin: but when they are at the lowest ebb, and grown wiser by their fall, they frequently recover their strength, as we have already said, by making new laws and institutions; unless they are either totally overwhelmed, or prevented by some forcible and extraordinary means.

Such were the Vicissitudes that Italy experienced; first, under the dominion of the ancient Tuscans; and then, under that of the Romans; sometimes flourishing and powerful, and sometimes reduced to misery and distress. And though no fabrick was afterwards erected upon the ruins of the Roman Empire, that could in anywise pretend to vie with it in its ancient splendor, (which yet might have been effected by a brave and wise Prince) there arose such a spirit, however, in some of the new States and cities that were founded upon those ruins, that if no one of them usurped a Dominion over all the rest, they nevertheless were at first so well governed and united amongst themselves, that they delivered their country from the yoke of Barbarians, and defended it for a while against any further invasions. Amongst these States, the Florentines (notwithstanding their territory was of less extent) were not inferior to any other either in power or authority: on the contrary, as they were situated in the middle of Italy, exceeding opulent, and ready to turn their arms to any side, they not only bravely supported such wars as were waged against themselves, but generally threw the victory into the scale of those allies with whom they thought fit to confederate. From the warlike disposition of these new States, it was not possible indeed that they should long continue at peace together; but their wars were not attended with much danger. For as those times cannot properly be called peaceable, when they stood ready armed and watching all opportu-

nities to attack each other; so neither does that deserve the name of war, in which no men were killed, no towns were sacked, nor any State was subverted: their enterprizes being conducted in so feeble a manner, that they were commenced without fear, carried on without peril, and ended, for the most part, without any material loss on either side. From whence it came to pass that all martial ardour, which in other countries is sometimes damped and abated indeed by a long interval of peace, was at last utterly extinguished amongst the Italians, even in the midst of wars; by the base and spiritless manner in which they were prosecuted; as will plainly appear in the course of those that happened betwixt the years 1434 and 1494: wherein we shall see a new inlet opened to the incursions of * Barbarians, and Italy once more become subject to their yoke. And though the actions of our Princes both at home and abroad during this period, may not fill the reader with so much admiration of their magnanimity, as the noble exploits that were performed in ancient times; yet it may occasion no less wonder, when he sees how many brave people were bridled and kept in subjection by dint of arms so weakly and pitifully conducted: And if in the account of that corrupted age he shall find neither valour in the soldiers, nor skill in the commanders, † nor any love of their country

* The Italians are pleased to bestow this name, not only upon the Goths and Vandals, and such other northern nations as are particularly mentioned in the beginning of the first book of this history, but upon all Tramontanes, or people that live on the other side of the Alps. The French, Spaniards and Germans are here meant.

† These *Condottieri*, or *pitiful Commanders*, as Machiavel justly calls them in the latter end of the first book of this history, were commonly either younger brothers and soldiers of fortune that had nothing to trust to but the profession of arms; or rebels and outlaws or traitors, who having collected a parcel of Banditti in as desperate circumstances as themselves, used to hire out their service, sometimes to one State, and sometimes to another, (as best suited their own interest) to fight their battles. So that their masters were likely to be finely served; as indeed they often were. For upon any little disgust, or offer of higher pay, they always deserted them and went over to the enemy. They had at that time, as Machiavel says, reduced

left.

left in the Citizens, he may observe however, what little shifts and tricks, and low artifices, both the Princes and Commanders and governors of Commonwealths then made use of to maintain a reputation which they did not deserve. And this, perhaps, may be of equal utility with reading ancient history: for as the great examples that occur in one will naturally inspire generous minds with a desire to imitate them; so the other may serve to excite their abhorrence and disdain.

Italy therefore was reduced to such a condition by those who governed it, that a Peace was no sooner agreed to by the contending Princes, but it was presently disturbed again by the soldiers who still continued in arms: so that they neither gained any glory by their wars, nor tranquillity by a peace. Accordingly, after a peace was concluded betwixt the Duke of Milan and the League in the year 1433, the soldiery being discontented at it, resolved to turn their arms against the Church. They were at that time divided into two parties, the Braccescan and the Sfor-

their manner of making war to a sort of a trade or system; and those that employed them were sure to be losers in the end, even if they were victorious: whilst their Condottieri always took care to secure some part at least of the bone in dispute for their own share, either by making themselves arbitrators, or threatening upon one frivolous excuse or other, to go over to the enemy and leave their masters disarmed. These hirelings generally gave themselves terrible names to inspire the enemy with fear, one calling himself Havoock, another Hamstringer, and a third Fortebraccio or Strong Arm, which last has been adopted amongst the French under the name of Fierbras, and by the English under that of Armstrong. They made but little account of Infantry in those times, and seldom used any artillery in their field engagements. They were afraid of losing their men. For which reason they endeavoured to bear down the enemy by the weight of their gens d'armes or heavy armed horse, and did not often come to blows. Those that were driven out of the field were said to be vanquished. There was more blood shed in private quarrels and conspiracies than in battles. For as their horsemen were all covered with armour, it sometimes happened that not so much as one man was killed on either side, and sometimes not above two or three at the most, in an engagement that lasted several hours; and those too by being thrown from their horses and trampled to death. This strange account of the military prowess of that age, is however very far from supporting what the Historian just before intimates respecting the power, authority, and spirit of the Florentines.

cescan :

cescan: Count Francisco Sforza being Head of the one, Niccolo Piccinino and Niccolo Fortebraccio the Chiefs of the other. To these two parties all the rest of the soldiers in Italy then joined themselves. But the Sforcean was in the greater credit, both on account of Francisco's valour, and the promise that the Duke of Milan had made of giving him his natural daughter Madonna Bianca in marriage; the prospect of which alliance gained him very great reputation. Both the parties, however, when they saw a peace concluded in Lombardy, immediately fell upon Pope Eugenius, though for different reasons. Fortebraccio did it in consequence of the ancient enmity that Braccio da Montone had ever professed against the Popes; but the Count out of ambition alone. The former therefore bent his forces immediately against Rome; and the latter possessed himself of la Marca d' Ancona: so that the Romans in order to avoid a war, were obliged to force Eugenius out of the city, who made his escape from the enemy with much difficulty and fled to Florence. Upon his arrival there, seeing the danger he was in, and that none of those States which had lately been so forward to lay down their arms, now cared to take them up again merely to support his cause, he came to an agreement with the Count and ceded the territory of la Marca to him; though the Count had not only seized upon it before without any manner of claim, but treated him with the utmost insolence. For in the letters which he wrote to his correspondents, he dated them in Latin (according to the custom of the Italians * *Ex Girifalco nestro Firmiano, invito Petro & Paulo*; 'From Girifalco near Fermo, where I reside at present in spite of St. Peter and St. Paul.' He was not content with this cession however, but insisted upon being created † Gonfalonier of the

* *Girifalco* or *Girfalco* in the Italian signifies a sort of a Hawk called a Gerfalcon: but here I suppose it is the name of a place.

† The Gonfalonier or Standard-bearer of the Church was an officer created by the Popes to conduct their forces and protect them against the Emperor, after they had usurped his authority at Rome.

Church,

Church, which was likewise granted ; as the Pope, it seems, preferred an ignominious peace to a dangerous war. Upon these compliances, the Count took part with his Holiness and made war upon Fortebraccio with various success, for the space of several months, in the territories of the Church ; but always with much prejudice to the Pope and his subjects (which side soever prevailed) and advantage to those that conducted the war. At last, by the mediation of the Duke of Milan, a sort of truce was agreed to betwixt those two Chiefs ; by which they both became masters of several towns that belonged to the Church.

This war was hardly extinguished at Rome, when another was kindled in Romagna by Battista Canneto ; who having killed some of the family of the Grifoni at Bologna, had driven the Pope's Governor, and some others whom he suspected to be his enemies, out of that city. And in order to keep forcible possession of it, he applied for aid to Duke Philip ; whilst the Pope, on the other hand, solicited the assistance of the Venetians and Florentines to enable him to recover it : and each party being furnished with supplies, two powerful armies soon appeared in Romagna ; the Duke's forces being commanded by Niccolò Piccinino, and those of the Venetians and Florentines by Gattamelata and Niccolò da Tolentino. Not far from Imola they came to an engagement, in which the Venetians and Florentines were defeated ; and Niccolò da Tolentino being taken prisoner, was sent to the Duke at Milan, where he died in a few days after his arrival, either by poison, or out of mortification at his disgrace. The Duke however, not pursuing his advantage, either because his finances were too much exhausted by the late wars, or that he thought the league would remain quiet after such an overthrow, gave the Pope and his confederates time to recover their spirits in such a manner, that they appointed Count Sforza their General, in order to drive Fortebraccio out of the territories of the Church if possible, and put an end to a war, which had

had been commenced in favour of his Holiness. The Romans therefore seeing the Pope once more in the field with fresh recruits, endeavoured to make their peace with him; which being effected, they submitted to receive a commissary whom he sent to Rome. Amongst other places which Fortebraccio had seized upon, were Tivoli, Montefiasconi, and the cities of Castello and Ascesi; into the latter of which he had retired when he found he was no longer able to keep the field. But being besieged there by the Count for a long time, for he made a brave defence, the Duke began to perceive that it behoved him either to prevent the Allies from making themselves masters of that place, or to provide for his own security, in case it should fall into their hands. To make such a diversion therefore as might oblige the Count to raise the siege, he ordered Piccinino to force his way, if he could, through Romagna into Tuscany: and the Allies judging it more necessary to defend Tuscany, than to reduce Ascesi, sent instructions to the Count to oppose his passage through that province, though he had then advanced with his army as far as Furli. The Count, on the other hand, having raised the siege, marched with his forces directly to Cesena, leaving the management of the war in la Marca, and the defence of his possessions to the care of his Brother Lione. But whilst Piccinino was thus endeavouring to force a passage into Tuscany, and the Count to prevent it, Fortebraccio boldly attacked Lione, and not only took him prisoner but dispersed his army; and, pursuing his victory with the same rapidity, took and plundered several towns in la Marca: at which the Count was not a little chagrined, as he thought he should now lose all he had so lately acquired. Upon which account, he left part of his army to hold Piccinino at bay, and advanced with the rest against Fortebraccio, whom he brought to an engagement; in which the latter being routed and taken prisoner, died not long after of the wounds he had received in the battle. By this Victory the
Pope

Pope regained all the territories that Fortebraccio had taken from him, and forced the Duke of Milan to sue for a peace, which was at last concluded by the mediation of Niccolo d'Esti Marquis of Ferrara: and it was agreed that all the towns that had been seized upon by the Duke in Romagna, should be restored to the Church, and his forces withdrawn into Lombardy. These conditions being complied with, Battista da Canneto, not being able to maintain himself in possession of Bologna by his own strength (as it generally happens to those that depend upon the power of others to support them in their usurpations) was forced to fly from thence and leave the city open to Antonio Bentivogli, the former Governor, who immediately returned thither.

These things happened during the exile of Cosimo de' Medici; at whose return, those Citizens that had been his chief friends, and some others who had been injured and oppressed by the late Administration, were determined, at all events, to take the government of the State into their own hands. The Signiory therefore, that was drawn for the two ensuing months of November and December, not content with what their predecessors had already done in favour of their party, prolonged the term, and changed the residence of several that had been banished, and sent numbers of others into exile. And this was done, not only out of party rage, but likewise on account of their riches, alliances, and private connexions: so that this proscription, except in the article of blood shed, might in some measure be compared to that under Sylla and Octavius. There were, however, some executions; for Antonio the son of Bernardo Guadagni, was beheaded: and four other Citizens, amongst whom were Zanobi Belfratelli and Cosimo Barbadori, having left the place to which they had been banished, and gone to reside at Venice, were secured by the Venetians as setting a greater value upon Cosimo's friendship than their own reputation, and sent prisoners to Florence, where they were

were put to death in an ignominious manner. These examples greatly increased the strength of Cosimo's party, and struck a terror into that of his enemies, when they saw such a powerful Republic as Venice so meanly prostitute its honour to the Florentines: though some thought this was not done so much to oblige Cosimo, as to revive the spirit of faction, and create more dangerous divisions in Florence by such executions; as the Venetians plainly saw, that peace and union in that city, was the only obstacle to their further aggrandizement. When they had thus pretty well cleared the City of their enemies, and such as they thought disaffected to their government, they began to strengthen their hands, by caressing and heaping favours upon others. For this purpose, they recalled the family of the Alberti, and all the rest of the Exiles that had been formerly banished: they reduced the Grandees (except some very few) to the rank of Commoners: and divided the possessions of those whom they had banished, amongst themselves. After this, they fortified themselves with new laws and ordinances, and made a fresh Imborsation, taking the names of all suspected persons out of the purses, and filling them up again with those of their own friends. But remembering the supineness and neglect that had been so fatal to the late administration, and considering that even such an Imborsation as they had already made, might not be sufficient to establish them firmly in the government, they likewise took care, that such magistrates as had the power of life and death entrusted to them, should always be chosen out of the most eminent of their party; for which purpose, they ordained that the Syndics who inspected the Imborsations, in conjunction with the old Signiory, should have the power of appointing a new one. They left the cognizance of capital offences, to the eight Wardens, and enacted, that no Exile should return, even after the term of his banishment was expired, till he had obtained the consent of the Signiory, and thirty-four of the Colleges, though the whole

whole number of them amounted to no more than thirty-seven. All persons were prohibited to write to or receive any letters from them; every word, or sign, or gesture, that displeased the governors, was punished with the utmost severity: and if there was any suspected person left in Florence, who had not fallen under their lash for such offences, they took care, however, to load him severely with new taxes and impositions: so that one part of their adversaries being driven out of the City, and the other depressed and over-awed by these means, they in a short time secured the government to themselves. And to support their power with foreign aid, and deprive their enemies of all assistance, if they should offer to disturb them, they entered into a defensive league with the Pope, the Venetians, and the Duke of Milan.

Whilst things were in this situation at Florence, Giovanna Queen of Naples and Sicily died, and by her last will, declared Regnier, Duke of Anjou, her successor. Alphonso, King of Arragon, was at that time in Sicily, and had such an interest with the Nobility there, that he was taking measures to make himself sovereign of that Island. The Neapolitans in general, and many of the Nobles in particular, adhered to Regnier: the Pope, on the other hand, was not willing that either Regnier or Alphonso should become master of it, as he wanted to get possession of it himself and to govern it by a Lieutenant. But Alphonso making a sudden descent upon the coast of Naples, was received there by the Duke of Sessa, and took the forces of several other Princes into his pay; with a design (as Capua was already in his possession, and governed by the Prince of Taranto, in his name) to compel the Neapolitans to submit to him: for which purpose, he ordered his fleet to make an attack upon Gaïeta, which was then in their hands. Upon this, the Neapolitans sent to desire the assistance of Duke Philip: but he recommended them to the protection of the Genoese, who, (in submission

to the commands of the Duke their sovereign, and in hopes of securing the great quantity of merchandize which they had lodged at that time in Naples and Gaieta) immediately fitted out a powerful squadron for their relief. Alphonso hearing of this armament, thought proper to reinforce his own, and went to Sea with it in person, with a resolution to fight the Genoese; and the two fleets happening to meet near the Isle of Ponzio, came to an engagement, in which the Arragonese were not only defeated, but Alphonso himself, and many other Princes that attended him, were taken, and sent Prisoners by the Genoese to the Duke. This victory struck a panic into the Princes of Italy (who before were under great apprehensions of the Duke's power) as they thought he had now a very fair opportunity of making himself absolute sovereign over them all. But, contrary to the expectation of every one, he took a very different resolution.

Alphonso was a Prince of great wisdom and address, and as soon as he had an opportunity of a private conversation with Duke Philip, he represented to him, "how little he consulted his own interest, in supporting his competitor Regnier: for if Regnier should become King of Naples, he would certainly endeavour (he said) to make the Duchy of Milan a Province to the King of France; that so he might have a speedy recourse to him, and a door ready opened for succours upon any emergency; which could not be effected without introducing the French into that Duchy, to the utter destruction of it. That for his own part, he thought the case would be very different, if he himself should succeed to the crown of Naples and Sicily: for as he should not be afraid of any enemy but the French, he must of necessity be obliged to court and caress, and shew the most profound obedience to those who only had it in their power to suffer his enemies to invade him. That the name and title of King of Naples would then indeed devolve to Alphonso, but the power and authority to
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Philip Duke of Milan. So that it behoved the Duke much more than himself, to consider the danger of proceeding in that manner, and the advantages that might result from a contrary resolution; unless he chose rather to give way to his passions than to secure his State. For in one case he would continue free and independant; but in the other, (as his dominions lay betwixt two powerful Princes) he must either entirely lose his Duchy, or live in perpetual apprehension and slavish subjection to them both." These remonstrances made such an impression upon the Duke, that he changed his resolution, and not only set Alphonso at liberty, but sent him in an honourable manner to Genoa, and afterwards to Naples; from whence he went to Gaieta, which city had been seized upon by some Lords of his party, as soon as they heard that he was released. But the Genoese seeing the Duke had thus set him at liberty, without any regard to them, and not only reaped all the glory of a war, which had been carried on solely at their risqué and expence, but had the merit of releasing him, and left them to his resentment for having defeated and taken him prisoner, were exceedingly enraged at it.

In the city of Genoa, when it has the full enjoyment of its liberty, a chief Magistrate is chosen by the free suffrages of the people, whom they call the Doge; not invested with the power of an absolute Prince, nor to determine upon any thing himself, but only to propose such matters as are to be debated and considered in council. The Nobility, however, were so powerful in this city, that they stood in very little awe of the Magistrates: and amongst them, the two families of Fregoso and Adorna, were at that time the most eminent. From hence it came to pass, that there were frequent divisions, and but little civil order observed amongst them; and as their contests for power were oftner decided by arms than the laws, sometimes one party was depressed, and sometimes the other. Sometimes it happened, that those who had been excluded from a share in the government,

called in foreign Princes to their assistance, and sacrificed the State to strangers, when they could not usurp it themselves. From hence it likewise generally happened, that those who were masters of Lombardy, had also the command of Genoa; as Duke Philip had at the time when Alphonso of Arragon was taken prisoner. One of the Nobles that were the chief instruments in subjecting that city to the Duke of Milan, was Francisco Spinola; who, not long after he had been the cause of enslaving his country, became suspected (as it often happens in such cases) and very odious to Philip*. Upon which, he was so disgusted, that he retired to Gaïeta, as a voluntary exile, where he was when the engagement happened betwixt Alphonso's fleet and that of the Genoese; and having behaved with great bravery in their service upon that occasion, he thought he had so far regained the Duke's favour by it, that he should at least be suffered to live quietly at Genoa, as a reward for his merit. But perceiving that the Duke still looked upon him with a suspicious eye, and seemed to think that a man who had betrayed his country, could never be faithful to any one else, he resolved to make an attempt to restore Genoa to its former liberty, and to retrieve his own reputation, that so he might hereafter live in security at home; as he found there was no other way left to make his peace with his Fellow-citizens, but by healing the wound which he himself had given them. Seeing therefore, the universal indignation which the release of Alphonso had excited against the Duke, he thought it a very opportune conjuncture to proceed to the execution of his designs. For which purpose, he communicated the matter to some

* It seldom happens that they who raise either a usurper or a lawful Prince to the throne, enjoy his favour long. This, however, is not always owing to the maxim, "that men love treason but hate traitors;" nor because men imagine, that they who laboured to dethrone their first master, will not scruple to dethrone their new sovereign. It is chiefly because these men think they are never rewarded as they deserve; and that a Prince who owes his crown to them, ought to grant them whatever they request of him.

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of his friends, who, he knew were equally impatient to regain their liberty, and earnestly exhorted them to assist him in the attempt. Accordingly, on the Festival of St. John the Baptist, as soon as Arifmino, their new Governor for the Duke, had made his entry into the city, attended by Opicino the former Governor, and many of the Citizens, Spinola without further delay, rushed out of his house with his confederates ready armed, and having drawn them up in the street before his door, cried out, Liberty, Liberty. At this sound, the people ran together with such eagerness, that those who adhered to the Duke, either out of self-interest or some other motive, were not only unprepared to make any resistance, but hardly had time to run away. Arifmino and some of the Citizens that were of his party, retired into the citadel, which was garrisoned by the Duke's soldiers. But Opicino endeavouring to get to the Palace, where he thought he should be able to secure himself, and animate his friends to make a vigorous defence (as there were two thousand soldiers in it under his command) was slain before he could reach it, and torn limb from limb by the populace, after they had dragged his body through every street in the city. The citadel and other forts that were in the Duke's possession, likewise surrendering in a few days, the Genoese in this manner recovered their liberty and entirely shook off his yoke.

The Princes of Italy, who sometime before had been under great apprehensions that the Duke would grow too powerful for them all, began to hope they should be able to make a stand against him when they saw things take this turn; and the Florentines and Venetians, notwithstanding the league they had so lately made with him, now entered into a confederacy with the Genoese. Rinaldo degli Albizi therefore, and several others of the greatest distinction amongst the Florentine Exiles, seeing the face of affairs so changed, and further disturbances likely to ensue, did not despair of prevailing with the Duke

to come to an open rupture with the Florentines ; and for that purpose, they went to wait upon him at Milan, where Rinaldo addressed him in the following manner: “ Neither your Highness, nor any other person, who considers the course of human affairs and the mutability of fortune, will think it strange that we, who formerly have been your enemies, should now have the confidence to solicit your assistance to restore us to our Country ; especially as we trust we can give a satisfactory account of our past actions to yourself, and present conduct to our fellow-citizens. No reasonable man will ever reproach another with defending his Country, by any means whatsoever ; and in so doing, it never was our desire or intention to do you the least injury, but merely to secure ourselves. For the truth of this, we appeal to yourself ; as you must very well remember, that in our highest career of victory and success, whenever we found you sincerely disposed to peace, we have promoted it with still greater ardour than you did : so that we cannot accuse ourselves of ever having done any thing that might give us reason to doubt of your Highness’s favour and protection ; nor can our Country with justice complain of us, for now inciting you to take up those arms against it, which we have often so vigorously exerted in its defence. For that State alone can duly claim the reverence and love of its subjects, which equally bestows its favours upon them all : and not that, which smiles only upon some few minions, and frowns upon all the rest. Nobody, surely, will affirm, that it is unlawful in all cases to bear arms against one’s Country : for every State, being of a compound nature, in some measure resembles the human body ; and as one is subject to several diseases, which cannot effectually be cured without caustics and amputation ; so, in the other, many disorders and inconveniencies arise, which if a good and dutiful Citizen did not endeavour to remedy, even by the sword, if necessary, he would become highly culpable. What greater
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mifery then can there be in any Republic, than flavery? What remedy more expedient than that which will certainly put an end to it? Those wars are always esteemed juſt that are neceſſary; and it is but charity to our Country to take up arms, when there is no other hope of redreſs for the injuries it ſuſtains. For my own part, I know not what neceſſity can be more preſſing than ours, nor any higher degree of charity, than to reſcue our Country out of the jaws of flavery. Without doubt, we have a moſt juſt cauſe, and very well worthy of being maturely conſidered and attended to by your Highneſs, as well as ourſelves; and you, likewise, will be fully juſtified in making war upon the Florentines, by their ſhameleſs behaviour in confederating with your rebellious ſubjects the Genoefe, in open violation of the ſolemn engagements into which they have ſo lately entered with your Highneſs. But if our ſufferings are not ſufficiently grievous to move pity, certainly the indignities that have been offered to yourſelf ſhould excite your reſentment, and prompt you to take a juſt revenge; eſpecially, ſince it is ſo eaſy to be effected. Let not the remembrance of paſt times diſcourage you, in which you have ſeen them defend themſelves with ſo much vigour and obſtinacy: though indeed, if their courage was now equal to what it was formerly, it would be much to be dreaded. But the caſe is far otherwiſe at preſent; for what ſtrength can you expect in a city that has expelled the richeſt and moſt induſtrious of its inhabitants? What reſolution in a people diſtracted with freſh broils and quarrels amongſt themſelves, which will naturally prevent the little money they have left from being applied as it uſed to be? For men chearfully open their purſes, when they ſee it is for the reputation and ſecurity of their Country, in hopes of regaining that by an honourable peace, which they have expended in ſupporting a neceſſary war: but with great reluctance, when they find themſelves equally oppreſſed, both in war and peace, and are plundered by the out-

rages of an enemy in one, and the rapacity of their Governors in the other. It is certain, that the avarice of Governors is of much greater prejudice to any State, than the depredations of its enemies: as the latter, it may be hoped, will cease in time; but of the former there seldom is any end. You formerly waged war against the whole Republic; but now against a very inconsiderable remnant of it: you then had great numbers of good and worthy Citizens to oppose you; but at present very few, and those bad men: you came at that time to deprive our City of its liberties, but now to restore them: and surely, from such a contrariety of circumstances, you may well hope for a very different event; nay, you may certainly depend upon success. We leave your Highness to judge of the advantage you will reap from it, in strengthening your hands by a strict alliance with the Tuscans, whom you will firmly attach to your interest, by the merit of so great a deliverance; an alliance from which you may avail yourself of more effectual supplies in any future undertaking, than even from Milan itself: and though such an enterprise, at another time, might have been imputed to injustice or ambition, it will now be regarded as equitable and compassionate. Permit us, therefore, to exhort your Highness, not to let so fair an opportunity slip away, but to consider, that although your former attempts against that State were attended with great difficulty, expence, and dishonour, you may easily succeed in this, and gain infinite reputation and advantage."

The Duke did not require much sollicitation to induce him to make war upon the Florentines, as he entertained an hereditary hatred to them, and was prompted to it by the blindness of his ambition, which governed him in all his actions: besides, he was not a little provoked at their confederacy with the Genoese. But when he considered the vast expences he had been at, the risque he had run, the losses he had so lately sustained, and the vain and ill-grounded hopes
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of the exiles, his ardour was something abated. However, as soon as he heard of the revolt of Genoa, he ordered Niccolo Piccinino to advance towards that City with all his Cavalry, and what infantry he could raise in his own territories, to try if it was possible to recover it, before the Citizens had established any new government, and made necessary provisions for their defence; as he depended much upon the strength of the Citadel, which he thought was still maintained by his garrison. And though Piccinino not only drove some of the Genoese up into the mountains, but took the Vale of Ponzeveri from them, where they had fortified themselves, and forced them into that town, yet they defended it so obstinately, that he could make no further progress, and was obliged to draw off again with his forces. Upon which, the Duke, at the instigation of the Florentine Exiles, sent him instructions to make an incursion towards the Seacoast near Leghorn, and harraß the confines of Pisa, as much as possible; imagining he should be better able to judge from the success of these expeditions, what course it would be most proper to take next. In consequence of this, Piccinino made an assault upon Serezana and took it; and after he had committed great ravages thereabout, in order to alarm the Florentines still more, he proceeded towards Lucca, giving out that he would march into the Kingdom of Naples to the assistance of the King of Arragon. In the beginning of these new commotions Pope Eugenius left Florence and went to Bologna, where he endeavoured to bring about an accommodation betwixt the League and the Duke, to whom he caused it to be signified, that if he did not consent to it, he should be obliged to give Count Francisco Sforza leave to go into their service, who was then his General and Ally. And though his Holiness took great pains in the matter, it was to no purpose: for the Duke would not listen to any agreement, except Genoa was restored to him; and the League insisted that it should continue in the enjoyment of its liberties:

ties: so that all hopes of peace being at an end, both sides prepared for war. Upon the arrival of Piccinino at Lucca, the Florentines beginning to be apprehensive of new disturbances from that quarter, ordered Neri di Gino to march directly with their forces to cover the Country about Pisa, where he was joined by Count Sforza, according to the Pope's directions, and both of them took post at Santa Gonda. On the other hand, Piccinino, who lay at Lucca, sent to demand a passage through that Country into the Kingdom of Naples; which being refused, he threatened to force one.

The strength of the two armies, and the abilities of the commanders were nearly the same: so that neither side being very desirous to come to an engagement, especially in the depth of winter, (as it was then December) they lay many days in their quarters, without proceeding to further hostilities. The first that moved was Piccinino, who being informed, that if he made an assault upon the town of Pisano, he might easily carry it. But failing in that, he laid waste all the adjacent Country, and not only took St. Giovanni alla Vena, but plundered it and burnt it down to the ground. The success of this enterprize (though he failed in his main design) determined him to attempt something further; especially when he saw that neither Gini, nor the Count stirred out of their quarters to oppose him. He therefore made an attack upon St. Maria in Castello and Filetto, and took them both. Yet even this did not provoke the Count to put himself in motion; though he was not afraid to face the enemy; but because the Government of Florence had not yet fully resolved to declare war, out of reverence to the Pope, who was still negotiating a peace. But this manner of proceeding, which was the effect of moderation and prudence in the Florentines, being imputed to pusillanimity by the enemy, so elated them that they marched forward and sat down with all their forces before Barga. This new provocation,
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however, determined the Florentines to lay aside all respect, and not only to relieve Barga if possible, but to invade the territories of the Lucchese. For which purpose, the Count advancing directly towards Piccinino, engaged and routed his army, almost under the walls of that town, and forced him to raise the siege. In the mean time, the Venetians perceiving the Duke had broken his engagements with them, sent Francisco da Gonzaga, their commander in chief, to Ghiaradadda, who made such devastation in the Duke's territories, that he was forced to recall Piccinino out of Tuscany. This retreat, and the advantage which the Florentines had lately gained over him, encouraged them to make an attempt upon Lucca, and not without great hopes of reducing that city; in which expedition they proceeded without either fear or ceremony, as they saw the Duke, who was the only person that could interrupt their designs, was likely to be sufficiently employed by the Venetians; and the Lucchese could not with any face complain of hostilities being commenced against them by a people whose enemies they had received into their bosom, and giving them an opportunity of invading their dominions. In the beginning of April therefore 1437, the Count put his army in motion again: but being desirous of recovering what the Florentines had lost, before he invaded others, he first retook St. Maria in Castello, and all their other towns which Piccinino had made himself master of: and then directing his march towards the territories of the Lucchese, he laid siege to Camajore, the inhabitants of which, though very well affected to their masters, being terrified at the sudden arrival of the enemy before their gates, forgot their loyalty, and surrendered to the Count. With the same facility he reduced Massa and Serezana, before the end of May; and then carried his arms into the confines of Lucca, where he laid waste all their corn-fields, burnt the Villages, cut up their Vines and fruit trees, drove away their Cattle, and spared

spared nothing that his soldiers could lay their hands on. The Lucchese on the other hand, seeing themselves abandoned by the Duke, and in no condition to defend their Country, retired into the city, which they fortified with redoubts and other works in such a manner, that they were not without hopes of defending it for some time; especially as they had a strong garrison within the walls, and remembered how often the Florentines had miscarried in their former attempts upon it. The only thing they had to fear, was the baseness and irresolution of the common people, who being wearied out with a siege, would most likely prefer their own private safety to the liberty of the public, and force them to some ignominious capitulation. To encourage them therefore to make a resolute defence, one of the oldest and most experienced of the Citizens, having called them together in the great Piazza, harangued them in the following manner:

“Ye need not be told, fellow-citizens, that whatsoever is the effect of necessity, deserves neither censure nor applause. So that if ye should accuse us as the occasion of a war which the Florentines have now commenced against our State, by admitting the Duke’s forces into this city, and giving them a more convenient opportunity of invading their dominions, ye certainly do us much wrong; since ye must all but too well remember the many attempts they have formerly made upon us, which have not been owing to any injuries that we have done them, or any just apprehensions from us on their side, but to our weakness and their ambition; both which, from time to time, have continually incited them to conspire our ruin. Let us not flatter ourselves therefore, that any merit on our part will ever divert them from their purposes, or any offence that we may give, can more fully determine them in such a resolution: and since it is their desire to deprive us of our liberty, let it be our endeavour manfully to defend it. We have sufficient cause indeed to lament, but not to be surprized,

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at their present manner of proceeding : for how is it possible to suppress our grief, when we see our country invaded, our towns taken from us, our houses burnt, and our fields laid waste ? but can any man be simple enough to wonder at it, when he considers that we should treat them in the same manner, and perhaps worse if it was in our power ? And though the arrival of Piccinino amongst us has furnished them with a pretence to begin this war upon us, yet they would certainly have found out some other, if he had not come hither : the evil might have been deferred for a while, but it would in that case very likely have fallen so much the heavier upon us at last. So that we ought not, in reality, to impute these misfortunes to his coming, but to our own evil destiny and the ambition of our enemies : for we could neither refuse admittance to the Duke's forces, nor restrain them from committing hostilities when they were here. Every one must needs know that we cannot possibly support ourselves without the aid of some powerful Prince ; and that no one is either more able or more willing to defend us than the Duke. As he restored our liberty when it was lost, we may reasonably hope he will still maintain us in it ; especially against enemies so implacable, that he himself has always looked upon them with abhorrence. If then we had offended him for fear of disobliging the Florentines, we should have lost a firm friend, and made our enemy still more powerful and ready to attack us. It is surely therefore much more eligible to be at war with them, under his protection, than to incur his displeasure by patching up a peace ; as we may depend upon it he will deliver us out of those dangers to which he has exposed us, provided we are not wanting to ourselves. Ye very well remember with what a degree of inveteracy the Florentines have often invaded us, and with how much reputation we have always defended ourselves, even when we had no other hope but in God, and in time ; both which have hitherto constantly preserved us. And since we were enabled to do

do so in those exigencies, why should we despair of it at present? At that time we were left to their mercy by all the States of Italy, but now the Duke espouses our cause, and we have good reason to hope the Venetians will not be very forward to annoy us; as they look with a jealous eye upon the growing power of our enemies. When the Florentines attacked us before, they were not so much embarrassed in their affairs as they are now; they had also greater dependance upon foreign assistance, and were more powerful themselves: on the contrary, we were every way much weaker than we are at present: for we then were obliged to defend a Tyrant; but now we fight for ourselves: at that time he reaped the glory of defending us; but now the reputation is our own: the enemy was then united and entire, but now so divided and dismembered, that every part of Italy swarms with their Exiles. But if we had none of these motives to animate us, certainly we ought to exert our utmost efforts to defend ourselves in such a conjuncture as this. Every enemy indeed ought to be justly dreaded by us, as they are all ready to take advantage of our weakness to aggrandize themselves with our spoils; but the domination of the Florentines is much more to be feared than that of any other people. Tribute and obedience, and the government of our city will not content them; they will seize upon our very persons and houses, to satiate their cruelty with our blood, and their avarice with our possessions: so that it behoves every one of us, of what rank or condition soever, to guard against them above all others. Let us not despair however, tho' we see our Country laid waste, our towns reduced to ashes, and our lands in the hands of the enemy; for if we can save our city, those of necessity must return into our possession; but if we lose that, it will avail us nothing to preserve the other: if we maintain our liberty, they will hardly be able to continue masters of our estates; but if we are to be slaves, it signifies but little what becomes of them. Let us
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take arms then, and in the day of battle, let every man remember that he is fighting not only for his country, but for the preservation of his wife and children and private fortune."

The latter part of this speech excited such a spirit in the people, that they unanimously promised to shed the last drop of their blood, rather than fail in the duty they owed to their Country, or listen to a peace, that should be in any wise prejudicial to their liberty; and immediately began to make all necessary preparations for the defence of the City.

In the mean time the Florentine army was not inactive: for after they had committed great devastation in the adjacent country, they took possession of Monte Carlo by capitulation, and then laid siege to Uzzano, in order to distress the Lucchese on every side in such a manner, that when there was no hope of relief from any quarter, they might be compelled by famine to submit to them. The Citadel however, was very strong and had a numerous garrison in it, so that it did not prove so easy a matter to reduce it as the rest. The Lucchese seeing they were thus straitened, had recourse to Duke Philip (as might well be expected) and recommended themselves to his protection in the most pressing terms; sometimes reminding him of their past services, sometimes of the insults he himself had received from the Florentines, and sometimes representing to him "how much it would animate his other allies, when they saw him thus ready to interpose in their defence: and on the other hand, how greatly it must discourage them, if they should be left to the mercy of their enemies. That in case they should lose their lives or liberties, he would also lose his friends and his reputation at the same time, as well as the confidence of all others who should at any time expose themselves to the like dangers to serve him. To these remonstrances they added tears and entreaties beseeching him to have compassion on them at least, if he had no remembrance of former obligations." The Duke therefore,
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not only considering the late merit of the Lucchese, and the ancient enmity of the Florentines to him, but being likewise very desirous to prevent them from growing still more powerful by fresh acquisitions, resolved either to send a considerable army into Tuscany, or to make a vigorous war upon the Venetians; that so the former might be necessitated to abandon their present enterprize, in order to march to their assistance. As soon as the Florentines had intelligence of this resolution, they began to grow sick of their undertaking; and therefore, to find him sufficient employment at home, they earnestly solicited the Venetians to fall upon him with all their forces in Lombardy. But the Venetians being daunted at the desertion of the Marquis of Mantua, who had quitted their service and gone into the Duke's; and seeing themselves in a manner disarmed thereby, made answer, "that they were so far from being able to become principals in the war, that they could not take any share at all in it, except they would spare them Count Sforza to command their army; and upon condition too, that he should be obliged to pass the Po with it in person: otherwise, they would not embark in the war (notwithstanding any former engagements) since they could neither carry it on without a General, nor hope for success from the conduct of any one but the Count; nor even from his, unless he would engage to serve them with equal vigour and fidelity in all parts." The Florentines saw very plainly that it was necessary to make a powerful diversion in Lombardy; but considered that if they parted with the Count, their enterprize against Lucca must fall to the ground: and they were likewise aware that the Venetians made that demand, not out of any real occasion they had for him, but to prevent them from becoming masters of that State. On the other hand, the Count did not refuse to go into Lombardy to serve the Confederates there, but was resolved not to violate the obligation he lay under not to pass the Po; for fear of forfeiting the advantages

vantages he expected from his promised alliance with the Duke. So that betwixt the desire of reducing Lucca, and the apprehension of being embroiled in a war with the Duke, the Florentines were in no little perplexity. But fear at last prevailing over ambition, as it generally happens, they consented that the Count, after he had taken Uzzano, should march into Lombardy. There still remained another difficulty however, which seemed much harder to be surmounted, and gave them more trouble and vexation than the former. For the Count would not be obliged to pass the Po; and the Venetians would not take him into their pay upon any other conditions. But as there was no way to accommodate these differences, without making some concessions on one side or the other, the Florentines prevailed upon the Count to promise them in a letter to the Signiory, that he would pass that river; telling him, that a private promise could not dissolve a public engagement, and that he would be under no necessity of observing it: from whence they should gain this advantage, that when the Venetians had once begun a war, they would be obliged to persecute it; which perhaps might divert the storm they were then threatened with themselves. On the other hand, they represented to the Venetians, "that as such a letter was sufficiently binding, they ought to be satisfied with it: that it was but reasonable to screen the Count, as much as they could, out of regard to the expectations he might have from his future father-in-law: and that it was both their interest and his, not to divulge the letter without a manifest occasion." The Venetians appearing satisfied with this expedient, it was accordingly determined to send the Count into Lombardy; who having taken Uzzano, and thrown up some works round Lucca to keep it still blocked up, recommended the superintendance of that war to Commissaries, and passing the * Apennines advanced

* The original says, *passo l'Alpi*, he passed the Alps. But it is plain, the Apennines are here meant. And though the word Alps

to Reggio. But the Venetians suspecting his sincerity, and desirous to discover his real intentions, sent him orders thither to pass the Po immediately and join their forces: which being peremptorily refused by the Count, much ill language passed betwixt him and Andrea Mauroceno, who brought him those orders, each upbraiding the other with pride and insincerity: so that after much altercation, one insisting that he was not obliged to pass the River, and the other protesting he should receive no pay if he did not, the Count returned into Tuscany, and Mauroceno to Venice.

After this, the Count encamped in the territories of Pisa, by an order from the Florentines, who expected he would still have conducted the war against the Lucchese; but in that they were disappointed. For the Duke being informed, that he had refused to pass the Po, out of respect to him, began to entertain some hopes that he might preserve Lucca by his mediation, and therefore desired him to use his endeavours to make a peace betwixt the Lucchese

is generally appropriated, by way of eminence, to that vast ridge of mountains which divides Italy from France, Germany, and Switzerland, yet the Latin, Greek, and Italian writers (and Machiavel in particular) very often apply it to other mountains, and in both numbers. The French use it only in the plural. The singular is chiefly found amongst the poets. And indeed it signifies any high mountain. Antonini says, "*Alpe significa in generale ogni altissima montagna, come in Greco e in Latino; i Francesi non l'hanno in questo sentimento: particolarmente significa quella che fascia l'Italia da tramontana. Gl' Italiani l' usano nel singolare e nel plurale; come; di neve in Alpe senza vento; e, giasul' Alpi neva d' ogni intarno.*" The English use it in the same manner. Milton makes his Sampson Agonistes say, l. 628.

"No breath of vernal air from snowy Alp."

Which must be meant of the mountains of Palestine; as it could not without great impropriety be spoken of any other, especially of those in Italy: For what breath of vernal air could he expect from mountains that were at the distance of so many hundred leagues from him; if indeed he could be supposed to know there were any such in being? The Appennines run the whole length of Italy, from the north west to the south-east, and may, perhaps, be deemed a ramification of those mountains that are particularly called the Alps. They lay directly in the Count's way from Lucca into Lombardy, whither he could not possibly get without passing them, and are at a great distance from the other,

and

and the Florentines, and get him included in it if possible; still buoying him up with the promise of his daughter in marriage at a more convenient opportunity: which made no slight impression upon the Count, who was in hopes, that by such an alliance, he might likewise sometime or other become Lord of Milan, as the Duke had no sons. He therefore used all means to prevent the Florentines from prosecuting the war, protesting that, for his own part, he would not give himself any further concern about it, except the Venetians would first pay him the arrears that were due to him, and fulfil their other engagements: for that the payment of his arrears alone, was not sufficient to maintain him in the quiet possession of his State, without some other support besides that of the Florentines. So that if he was abandoned by the Venetians, he must do as well as he could for himself; hinting, at the same time, that he would go over to the Duke.

These cavils and double dealings exceedingly chagrined the Florentines, who saw that they must not only give up all thoughts of making themselves masters of Lucca, but provide for the safety of their own dominions, which would be in great danger if the Duke and the Count should join forces against them. They sent Cosimo de' Medici, therefore, to Venice, in hopes that a man of his reputation would be able to prevail upon the Venetians to perform their engagements with the Count. But after the affair had been thoroughly discussed in the Senate, and he had represented to them at large the state of affairs in Italy at that time, the greatness of the Duke's power, the reputation of his arms, and shewed them, that if he was reinforced by the Count, they would be driven back again to the Sea, and the Florentines in the utmost danger of losing their liberties; the Venetians made answer, "That they knew their own strength, and that of the other Italian States, and trusted they should be able to defend themselves upon occasion. That it was not the custom of their Republic to pay

soldiers who fought for others; and therefore, they thought the Florentines ought to pay the Count, as they had employed him. That in order to enjoy their dominions with security, it was more necessary to humble his pride, than to support it by pensions: for as his ambition had no bounds, if they now paid him his demands, when he had done them no service, he would soon make others, which perhaps might be more dangerous and dishonourable to them. That it appeared of the last consequence to them, to curb his insolence in time, and not suffer it to become incorrigible: but if they were desirous to continue him their friend, either out of fear or any other motive, they would advise them to pay him by all means."

With this dissatisfactory answer, Cosimo returned to Florence. The Florentines however, earnestly solicited the Count not to abandon his confederates: which indeed, he was not very desirous to do: but his impatience to be married to the Duke's daughter, kept him in such suspense, that every little accident shook his resolution. He had left the care of his possessions in La Marca, to Furlano, one of his principal officers; who being tempted by great offers from the Duke, quitted the Count's service, and went over to him; which so alarmed the Count, that he laid aside all other considerations, and entered into a treaty with the Duke; in which, amongst other articles, it was agreed betwixt them, that the Duke should not, for the future, interfere in the affairs of Tuscany or Romagna. After this agreement, the Count took great pains to persuade the Florentines to come to an accommodation with the Lucchese; and, indeed, in a manner compelled them to it: for as they saw there was no other hope left, they made a peace with them in the month of April 1438; by which the Lucchese were left in the enjoyment of their liberties; and the Florentines kept possession of Monte Carlo, and some other fortresses they had taken from them. But not satisfied with this, they wrote letters into all parts of Italy,

Italy, full of murmurs and complaints, that, since God and man had not been pleased to suffer them to reduce the Lucchese under their dominion, they had been forced to make a peace with them. And it has very seldom happened, that any other people has shewn so much regret at the loss of their own territories, as the Florentines expressed, when they found they were not able to usurp those of their neighbours.

Notwithstanding they were so busily employed at this time in their own affairs, yet they found leisure to attend also to those of their friends, and to beautify their City. Niccolo Fortebraccio, who had married a daughter of the Count de' Poppi, being dead, and Poppi having got possession of the Bourg and Citadel di San Sepulchro, during the life of his son-in-law, still held them in the name of his widow (pretending they had been settled upon her) and refused to deliver them up to the Pope, who demanded them, as usurped from the Church. Upon which, his Holiness sent the * Patriarch of Alexandria, with an army, to wrest them out of his hands: and the Count finding he was not able to maintain them, made an offer of them to the Florentines; which they refused to accept; and at the Pope's return to Florence, endeavoured to accommodate matters betwixt them. But as the treaty was attended with many difficulties and delays, the Patriarch made an assault upon Casentino, took Prato Vecchio, and Romena, which he likewise in his turn offered to the Florentines, who would have nothing to do with them, except the Pope would consent that they should restore them to the Count; to which, after much wrangling, he at last agreed, upon condition that the

* A Patriarch is a great Dignitary in the Church, above an Archbishop. A Bishop presided only over the territory of the City whereof he was Bishop. A Metropolitan superintended a Province, and had the Bishops of it for his Suffragans. A Primate was the chief of a Diocese, and had several Metropolitans under him. A Patriarch had under him several Dioceses, the Primates themselves were subject to him.

Florentines would use their interest with the Count, to restore the Borgo di San Sepulchro to him. After his Holiness was thus satisfied, the Florentines being desirous to have Divine Service performed in their Cathedral Church of St. Reparata, (which had been many years in building, but was now finished) entreated him to oblige them so far, as to consecrate it himself: to which he willingly consenting, a gallery was built (to heighten the solemnity, and shew greater honour to the Pope) from St. Maria Novella, where he resided, to St. Reparata, eight yards in breadth, and four in height, under a very richly embroidered Canopy, and hung on the sides with cloth of gold, through which his Holiness only and his Court was to pass, with such of the Magistrates and principal Citizens, as were deputed to attend him; all the rest of the people crowding into the street, the windows of their houses, and every part of the Church, to entertain themselves with so magnificent a spectacle. When the ceremony was over, the Pope, as a further instance of his respect for the City, conferred the honour of Knighthood upon Giuliano d'Avanzati, then Gonfalonier of Justice, and a Citizen of very great and long established reputation: and the Signiory, out of regard to a man whom his Holiness had been pleased to distinguish, likewise made him governor of Pisa for one year.

About this time, certain disputes arose betwixt the Roman and Greek Churches, concerning their modes of Divine worship; in some particulars of which, they did not altogether agree. And as much had been said upon that subject by the Prelates of the Western Church in the last Session of the Council held at Basil, it was determined to use all means to bring the Emperor and the Greek Bishops thither, to try if matters could be accommodated betwixt the two Churches. And though it seemed derogatory to the Majesty of the Eastern Emperor, and mortified the pride of his Prelates to submit to the Roman Pontif: yet as they were distressed by the Turk,

Turk, and not able to defend themselves, they thought it the best way to comply; that so they might with greater confidence demand the assistance of the western Christians. The Emperor therefore, together with the Patriarch of Constantinople, and several other Grecian Prelates and Barons, in obedience to the order of the Council, came to Venice with a design to proceed to Basil: but as they were frightened at the news of the plague being there, it was resolved that their differences should be discussed and decided at Florence, where they accordingly assembled: and after many long debates, which lasted several days in the Cathedral Church of that City, the Greeks submitted, and were reunited with the Church and Pontif of Rome*.

After a peace was concluded betwixt the Lucchese and the Florentines, and betwixt Count Sforza and the Duke of Milan, it was thought all disturbances would have subsided in Italy, especially in Lombardy and Tuscany: for as to the war which was still carried on betwixt Regnier of Anjou, and Alphonso of Arragon, there was no likelyhood of its being ended, but with the ruin of either one or the other of those two competitors. And though the Pope was not a little exasperated at the loss of so many towns as had been taken from him; and the ambition of the Duke

* The Council of Basil, was only a prolongation of several others, which had been summoned by Pope Martin V. sometimes at Pavia, and sometimes at Siena: but as soon as Eugenius IV. was elected, in 1431, the fathers there assembled, began with declaring, that the Pope had neither a right to dissolve, nor even to transfer their assembly; and that he himself was subject to their jurisdiction. Upon this declaration, Eugenius issued out a Bull to dissolve the Council. The contest lasted a long time, and both the East and West were engaged in it. The Greek Empire was no longer able to support itself against the Turks, without the assistance of the Latin Princes; and in order to obtain a weak and very precarious supply, the Eastern Church must submit to that of Rome. The Grecian Clergy were not at all inclined to this submission; nay, as their danger increased, they rather grew more stubborn. But the Emperor John Paleologus resolved to comply, that he might secure some assistance at least; and addressing himself at the same time, both to the Pope and to the Council, they vied with each other, who should have the honour of converting the Greeks.

and the Venetians were sufficiently known to every one; yet it was imagined his Holiness would be forced to be quiet out of necessity, and the others, out of downright weariness. But it happened quite otherwise: for neither the Duke, nor the Venetians could rest in peace; but soon took up arms again, and raised fresh wars in Lombardy and Tuscany. The Duke's pride was piqued that the Venetians should still keep possession of Bergamo and Brescia, and so much the more, as he saw them continue armed and making excursions every day to harass and ravage his other dominions; and at a time too, when he thought himself able, not only to curb their insolence, but recover the towns they had stripped him of; especially, when they were deserted by the Pope, the Florentines, and the Count. He therefore resolved, if possible, to take Romagna from the Pope, imagining, it would not be in his power to molest him, when he was once in possession of that; and that the Florentines seeing the fire so near them, would not dare to move, for fear of being burnt themselves: or, that if they should, they could not easily do him any mischief. He likewise was no stranger to the resentment which the Florentines harboured against the Venetians, for their late behaviour to them in the affair of Lucca, and thought they would upon that account be less inclined to take up arms in their favour. As for Count Sforza, he concluded that the treaty he had so lately made with him, and the hopes of marrying his daughter, would keep him still attached to his interests. And to avoid the imputation of perfidy, and give others the less occasion to arm against him, he contrived matters so, that Niccolò Piccinino should invade Romagna, (as if it was solely to gratify his own ambition) since he could not openly embark in that enterprize himself, without being accused of violating the engagement he had entered into with Sforza.

At the time when that treaty was concluded, Piccinino was in Romagna, and pretended (as it had been
been

been concerted betwixt him and the Duke) to be so highly disgusted at the alliance he had entered into with his professed enemy the Count, that he retired with his forces to Camurata, a town betwixt Furli and Ravenna; where he fortified himself, as if he intended to stay there till he could be employed by some other State. The report of his disgust being industriously spread abroad, he took an opportunity of representing to the Pope, how ungratefully the Duke had requited him for his long and faithful services: that he knew it was his design to make himself master of all Italy, and that he thought he should be able to accomplish it, as he had got two of the most experienced Commanders, and consequently all the best forces of it in his service. But that, if his Holiness pleased, he would point out means to him, by which he could make one of those Commanders, upon whom the Duke so much depended, become his utter enemy, and the other entirely unserviceable: for if his Holiness would furnish him with money to pay his troops, he would fall upon the territories which the Count had taken from the Church, and find him such employment there, that he would have no leisure to assist the Duke in his ambitious designs. These proposals seeming feasible enough, the Pope eagerly listened to them, and not only sent him five thousand ducats, but promised to provide largely both for him and his Children. And though his Holiness was warned by several to beware of Piccinino, yet he gave no credit to them, nor would bear to hear any thing said against him.

Ostasio da Polenta was Governor of Ravenna for the Church; and Piccinino now thinking it high time to proceed to the execution of his designs (as his son Francisco had taken and plundered Spoleto, to the great dishonour of the Pope) resolved to make an attempt upon Ravenna; either because he thought he was more likely to succeed in that enterprize than any other, or had a private correspondence with the Governor: whatever might be his motive, it surren-

dered upon terms, after a siege that lasted but a few days. After which, he seized upon Bologna, Imola, and Furli, and which was still more unexpected, out of twenty fortresses that were garrisoned with the Pope's troops in those parts, there was not one that did not fall into the hands of Piccinino; who, not content with basely robbing him of those possessions, added insolence to his perfidy, and told his Holiness in a letter which he wrote to him, "that he thought he had served him very right for attempting in so shameless a manner, to break the friendship that had so long subsisted betwixt the Duke and him; and for writing letters into all parts of Italy to make people believe he had abandoned that Prince, and was gone over to the Venetians.

After Piccinino had thus made himself master of Romagna, he left the defence of it to his son Francisco, and marched himself with the greater part of his forces into Lombardy, where he joined the rest of the Duke's army, and falling into the territories of Brescia, soon reduced all that part of the Country, and then sat down before the city itself. But the Duke, who earnestly wished to see the Venetians deserted by their Allies, and left alone to his mercy, took great pains to clear himself to the Pope, the Florentines, and Count Sforza from the suspicion of being in any wise accessory to Piccinino's proceedings in Romagna; and said that what he had done there was exceedingly displeasing to him, as it was so contrary to his engagements: secretly assuring them, that at a proper time and opportunity, he would not fail to make him smart for his disobedience. The Florentines and the Count, however, paid little regard to these protestations; and thought (which indeed was the case) that the late outrage had been committed upon the Pope with a view to check and over-awe them, whilst he himself fell upon the Venetians; who thinking they were sufficiently able of themselves to cope with him, were so lofty that they disdained to ask assistance from any other State, and

trusted

trusted solely to their General Gattamelata to conduct the war. Count Sforza was desirous to have gone to the relief of Regnier of Anjou in the Kingdom of Naples, if he had not been prevented by the disturbances which happened in Lombardy and Romagna; and the Florentines were very well inclined to have assisted him in that enterprize, out of the amity which had always subsisted betwixt their Republic and the Crown of France. The Duke, on the contrary, would willingly have protected Alphonso of Arragon, as he had contracted a friendship with him whilst he was his prisoner. But they all had such employment at home, as would not suffer them to concern themselves in foreign affairs.

The Florentines, therefore, seeing Romagna in the hands of the Duke, and the Venetians hard pressed by him, began to apprehend that the depression of their neighbours might perhaps conduce to their own ruin. Upon which, they solicited Sforza to come into Tuscany, that they might concert measures to prevent the Duke from making any further progress; since he was now become much more powerful than ever he had been before: adding, that if his ambition was not effectually curbed by some means or other, all the States in Italy would soon feel the effects of it. The Count was sensible that the Florentines had sufficient reason for these apprehensions: but the earnest desire he had to conclude the match with the Duke's daughter, still kept him in suspense. And the Duke, who was well aware of it, continually flattered him from time to time that it should speedily be consummated, provided he did not take up arms against him, as the lady was now of a marriageable age. Nay the farce was carried on so far, that sometimes great preparations were made for the wedding; when all on a sudden, some fresh excuse or other was found out to protract it. However, to keep him quiet and prevent all suspicion, he sent him the sum of twenty thousand Florens, which was to be her dower by the articles of mar-

marriage. In the mean time, the war began to wax hot in Lombardy, and the Venetians every day lost some town or other; the Vessels which they fitted out to cruise along their coasts, were continually taken; the country about Brescia and Verona, entirely in the enemy's hands; and those two Cities so closely invested by the Duke's forces, that it was generally thought they could not hold out long. The Marquis of Mantua, who commanded their forces for many years, had unexpectedly left their service, and gone into the Duke's: so that in the progress of the war, fear at last compelled them to do that, which their pride would not stoop to in the beginning of it. For when they began to perceive there was no other hope left but from the succour of the Florentines, and Count Sforza, they condescended to ask it, though not without much diffidence and suspicion that the Florentines would return them some such answer, 'as they had given the Florentines in the affair of Lucca and the Count's arrears. But they found them much readier to comply with their demands than they expected, or indeed deserved, considering their late behaviour to them: so much more powerful was the enmity of the Florentines against an old inveterate enemy, than the resentment of a slight they had received from an old Ally! for having long foreseen the extremities to which the Venetians must of course be reduced, they had represented to the Count "that his ruin was inseparable from theirs; that he would find himself deceived if he thought the Duke would treat him with still greater regard, if he succeeded in his designs, than he did at present: that he had promised him his daughter, only because he stood in fear of him; and since necessity compelled people to make promises, that alone could enforce the performance of them: for which reason, it behoved him to keep the Duke low: and that could not be effected without supporting the power of the Venetians. That he ought to consider therefore, that if the Venetians should be driven

driven out of their possessions upon the * Terra firma, he would not only be deprived of all the conveniences which might accrue from their alliance, but of those also that he might hope for from others, out of respect to them. That if he would reflect upon the condition of the rest of the Italian States, he would find some of them very poor, and others ill affected to him. That the Florentines alone, as they had often given him to understand, were not able to maintain him: so that he was obliged, by every motive, to use his utmost endeavours that the Venetians should retain their territories upon the Continent.

These arguments, joined to the resentment which the Count had now conceived against the Duke for duping him, as he thought, in the match with his Daughter, at last determined him to enter into a confederacy with them (though he would not be obliged to pass the Po) and the articles were accordingly signed in February 1438: by which the Venetians were to bear two thirds, and the Florentines one third of the expences of the war; both of them engaging to defend the Count's possessions in la Marca, at their own charges. But the League thinking they had not yet sufficient strength, brought also the Lord of Faenza, the sons of Pandolpho Malatesta da Rimini, and Pietro-gian-paolo Ursini into the confederacy: and though they tempted the Marquis of Mantua with large offers, they could not detach him from the Duke. The Lord of Faenza also (though the confederacy had agreed to his demands) finding he could have better terms, soon deserted them, and went into the Duke's service; which made them despair of putting so speedy an end to the troubles in Romagna as they had vainly promised themselves.

* So they call their dominions that lie upon the Continent, which formerly were considerable; but at present they are very much reduced, as well as their commerce and naval power. They have particular magistrates to superintend the affairs of what possessions they have still left upon the Terra firma, who are called *i savii della terra*: and there are yet several orders of Nobility, as Counts, Marquises, &c. in that part of their dominions; but they are not treated with any great regard at Venice.

Their

Their affairs in Lombardy also were in a bad situation; for Brescia was blocked up in such a manner by the Duke's forces, that it was daily expected to be obliged to surrender for want of provisions. They were under the same apprehensions for Verona: and if either of those Cities should be taken, they thought any further preparations for war, would be to no purpose, and all the expences they had hitherto been at, entirely thrown away. But there seemed to be no remedy, except the Count would march into Lombardy; and in this, there were three obstacles to be surmounted. The first was, to prevail upon him to pass the Po, and carry the war whithersoever they commanded him. In the next place, they thought they should be left too much exposed when the Count was gone: as the Duke might easily retire into some of his strong places, and whilst he kept the Count at bay there with one part of his forces, he might send the other, in conjunction with the exiles, into Tuscany; of which the Government of Florence was in very great apprehension. And lastly, to find a secure route by which the Count might march with his forces into the territories of Padua, where the Venetians had assembled theirs. Of these three difficulties, the second, which chiefly concerned the Florentines, seemed to be the most important. However, as the necessity was pressing, and they were tired with the importunities of the Venetians, who earnestly solicited them to put the Count and his forces in motion, without whose aid they could not pretend to do any thing, they postponed their own danger to the necessity of their Allies. The last point, which was a safe route for the Count, they left to the care of the Venetians. And since it was judged convenient by the Signiory to send Neri, the son of Gini Capponi, to concert measures with the Count and persuade him to pass the Po: they likewise determined that he should go on to Venice, to make the favour appear still greater to the Senate, and to expedite necessary provisions there for the security of the Count's march. Neri accordingly em-

embarked at Cesena, and went by Sea to Venice, where no Prince was ever received with greater honour by the Senate, and as they thought the preservation of their dominions entirely owing to his arrival and the resolutions that would be taken upon it, he was immediately introduced into the Council, when he addressed himself to the Doge in the following manner: "Our Signiory have always been of opinion, Most Serene Prince, that the ambition of the Duke of Milan, would some time or other be the ruin both of your Republic and our own, except it was prevented by their mutual defence and support of each other: and if this Senate had likewise been of the same opinion, our affairs would have been in a better situation, and yourselves secure from the danger which now hangs over your heads. But since you have neither been pleased to put any confidence in us, nor to lend us the aid you ought to have done in our necessities, we could not run with so much eagerness to your assistance, nor you so well tell how to demand it, as both sides might have done, if you had dealt with us either in your prosperity or adversity, like the men we really are, or known that whom we once love we always love, and those that we hate we hate for ever. Our ancient affection for this illustrious Senate, yourselves can witness, who have seen Lombardy so often filled with our forces, and what losses we have sustained there to serve you: and all the world knows the hatred we bear to Philip; which we likewise shall continue to his family; for with us, the remembrance of former friendship is not extinguished by recent injuries, nor that of ancient enmity, by modern favours. We are very certain that if we had stood neuter in this war, the Duke would have thought himself much obliged to us, and that it could not have been of any great prejudice to ourselves: for if he should drive you out of Lombardy, and become sole Lord of it himself, there would still be such resources left in Italy, that we should have no occasion to despair of our own preservation: since the more
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any Prince increases his power and dominions, the more envy and hatred he draws upon himself; which give birth to wars that generally end to his disadvantage. We likewise know very well, what heavy expences and what dangers we might have avoided, by not taking part with you in the war, and that by acting otherwise, we may probably remove the seat of it out of Lombardy into our own Country. All these considerations however, weighty as they are, cannot make us forget the affection we have so long borne to your State; and we have resolved to support it with the same vigour that we should defend ourselves if we were invaded. Our Signiory therefore judging it highly necessary, in the first place, to relieve Brescia and Verona, which cannot well be effected without the assistance of Count Sforza, sent me to persuade him to march into Lombardy, and carry the war into what part soever he shall be directed, though ye need not be informed, illustrious Senators, under what obligations he is not to pass the Po: and yet I have prevailed upon him to do it by the same motives that influence our own conduct. And as he is invincible in arms, he is unwilling to be outdone in point of courtesy; nay, he has even endeavoured to exceed us, if possible, in that frankness and generosity which he saw were the rules of our behaviour to you. For though he was sensible to what dangers, not only his own possessions, but all Tuscany would be exposed in his absence, yet when he saw that we had postponed all private interest and considerations to your safety, he freely did the same. I come therefore, illustrious Senators, to make you an offer of the Count's service at the head of seven thousand horse, and two thousand foot, all ready to march whithersoever they shall be commanded. But it is the expectation of our Signiory, and indeed of the Count himself, that, as they have sent a greater number of forces to your assistance than they were obliged to do by treaty, you will not be wanting on your part, to make him a liberal provision; that so, neither he
may

may have any cause to repent of entering into your service, nor our Republic, of having persuaded him to it."

This speech was listened to by the Senate with as much attention as if it had been dictated by an Oracle, and made such an impression, that without waiting for the Doge to make an answer to it (as it had always been customary) the whole assembly rose from their seats, and with hands lifted up and tears in their eyes, returned thanks to the Republic of Florence for their affectionate regard to them; and to Neri for having executed his Commission with so much address and dispatch. They vowed that the sense of such an obligation, should be for ever engraved, not only upon their own hearts, but upon the hearts of their posterity; and that for the future, they would always look upon the interests of the Florentines and their own to be the same.

When these emotions began to subside, they proceeded to deliberate upon the route which the Count should take; and upon the number of pontoons and pioneers and other provisions that would be necessary to facilitate and secure his march. There were four different routes. One from Ravenna along the shore: but that being for the most part straitened by the Sea on one hand, and Morasses on the other, was not approved of. The next, was the direct high road; but obstructed by a fortress belonging to the Duke, called Uccellino, which must be reduced before they could proceed any further, and that would take up more time than they could possibly spare, as the necessity was urgent, and the utmost expedition required. The third was through the forest of Lugo: but as there was then a great flood upon the Po, it made the passage that way altogether impossible. There was, therefore, only one road left, which was through the plains of Bologna, and over the bridges at Puledrano, Cento and Pieve, and so betwixt Finale and Bondeno to Ferrara; from whence they might transport themselves, partly by water and partly

partly by land, into the territories of Padua, and join the forces of the Venetians there. This way had likewise its difficulties, and they were liable to be attacked by the enemy in several places. However, as it was thought the best upon the whole, the Count had orders to take that route: upon which, he instantly began his march, and proceeded with such expedition, that he arrived near Padua on the 20th of June.

The arrival of this commander in Lombardy revived the drooping spirits of the Venetians in such a manner, that they, who but a little before seemed almost to despair of their own preservation, now began to think of invading others. But the first thing which the Count attempted was the relief of Verona: to prevent which, Piccinino moved with his army to Soave, a fortress situated betwixt the territories of Vicenza and that City, where he intrenched himself, and threw up a Fosse that reached from Soave to the Marshes formed by the river Adige. But when the Count saw his passage obstructed through the plain, he resolved to march over the Mountains, and to push on that way to Verona; imagining the other would not at all suspect his attempting any passage that way, because it was exceeding rough and difficult; or if he should, that he would not have time to prevent it. Having provided his army therefore with provisions for eight days march, he passed the Mountains and arrived in the plains beyond Soave. And though Piccinino had raised some forts to cut off his passage even this way, yet they were not strong enough to stop it. So that when he found the Count had actually passed the mountains, contrary to all expectation, he retired beyond the Adige, that he might avoid being forced to an engagement with him upon disadvantageous terms: and the Count still advancing, entered Verona without any opposition.

The first difficulty being thus surmounted, Brescia was in the next place to be relieved. That City stands

stands near the Lake di Garda, and though it was blocked up by land, it might at all times be supplied with provisions whilst the Lake continued open. But the Duke being aware of this, had posted troops along the banks of it, in the first career of his success, and secured all those towns that might send any assistance thither by water. The Venetians had also some Gallies upon the Lake, but they were not of sufficient strength to drive off the Duke's forces. Upon which account, Sforza resolved to act in concert with those Vessels, in order to make himself master of such towns, as kept the City blocked up in that starving condition: and for that purpose, sat down before Bandolino, a Castle situated upon the Lake; hoping, when he had taken that, the rest would soon surrender. Fortune however was not propitious to him in this undertaking: for great numbers of his men falling sick, he was obliged to raise the siege and retire to Zeno, a fortress belonging to the Veronese, where there was a better air and greater abundance of provisions for them. No sooner had the Count retired, but Piccinino, resolving not to lose so fair an opportunity of making himself master of the Lake, left his Camp at Vegasio, and proceeded with some of his choicest troops to the banks of it, where he made so furious an attack upon the Venetian Vessels which lay there, that he took the greater part of them, and got possession of most of the neighbouring Castles. At this misfortune the Venetians were in great consternation; and fearing Brescia must now likewise of course fall into his hands, they sent very pressing and repeated messages to desire the Count would use his utmost endeavours to prevent it. Seeing, therefore, all hopes of succouring it by water were now at an end, and that it was impracticable to do it by land on that side, considering the ditches, redoubts, and other obstacles that Piccinino had thrown in the way, which would so embarrass his forces, if he should engage the enemy there, that they must inevitably be defeated, he de-

terminated to try whether it was not possible to pass the Mountains and relieve the town that way, as he had done Verona. With this design he quitted Zeno, and marching through the Vale of Aciri to the Lake of St. Andrew, he proceeded to Torboli and Penda upon the Lake di Garda; from whence he advanced to Tenna, which he laid siege to, as it was necessary to reduce that fortress before he could get to Brescia. But Piccinino having intelligence of his march, moved with his army to Peschiera, where he joined the Marquis of Mantua, and having picked out a body of his very best troops, he advanced to give the Count battle, and the Count not declining it, Piccinino's forces were entirely routed, some of them being taken prisoners, others flying to the main body of their army, and the rest to the Gallies upon the Lake. Piccinino himself retired to Tenna the same night, and considering with himself that if he staid there till morning, he must certainly fall into the hands of the enemy, he resolved to run the last risque to avoid so imminent a danger. Of all his followers he had only one German servant left with him, who was a very lusty strong fellow, and had always been exceeding faithful to him. This man he persuaded to put him into a Sack, and to place him on his shoulders, as if he was carrying his master's baggage, and by that means convey him to some place of security. And as the enemy's army lay round Tenna after the Victory they had gained, in a careless and secure manner, without posting any guards, or observing the least order, the German found no great difficulty in effecting it. For having put on a futler's coat, he took his master upon his shoulders, as if he had got a sack full of baggage or plunder, and carried him through the whole camp safe to his own army, without any molestation or interruption.

If this Victory had been improved with the same good conduct that it was obtained, Brescia might have been effectually relieved, and the Venetians have reaped

reaped greater advantages from it. But for want of that, the rejoycings of the one werè very short, and the other was left in the same distressful circumstances. For as soon as Piccinino had got safe back again to his forces, he resolvèd to go upon some new enterprize; the success of which, might wipe off the disgrace of his late defeat, and prevent the Venetians from throwing any succours into Brescia. He was well acquainted himself with the situation of the Citadel of Verona, and had been informed, by some prisoners whom he had taken in the beginning of the war, it was so carelessly guarded that he might easily make himself master of it. He therefore determinèd not to neglect an opportunity, which fortune seemèd purposely to have thrown in his way, of retrieving his own honour, and putting an end to the exultations of the enemy upon their Victory, by a stroke that might give them occasion to alter their note. Verona is in Lombardy, and situated at the foot of those Mountains that separate Italy from Germany, in such a manner, that one part of it stands upon the skirts of the Hills, and the other upon the Plain. To the North of this, in the Valley of Trent, the river Adige has its source, and at its entrance into Italy does not immediately take a strait course along the plains, but turning to the left and winding about the bottom of the Mountains, passèd through that City; which it divides, but not into equal parts; for that next the plain is much larger than the other. Above the latter are the two Forts of St. Pietro and St. Felice, which seem better fortified by nature than art, and standing upon the heights command the whole town. On the other side of the River, in the part next the plain, there are also two Castles joined by the wall of the town, and at the distance of about a thousand paces from each other; one of them callèd the *Old*, and the other the *New Citadel*. From the former, there runs a wall in a strait line to the latter, that may be resembled to the string of a bow, which the wall of the town forms in its range betwixt the

two fortresses : and the space betwixt one wall and the other, commonly called the Bourg of St. Zeno, is full of houses and inhabitants. These two fortresses and the Bourg, it was Piccinino's design to surprize ; and he thought it would be no difficult matter to effect it, considering the negligence and security of the Garrison, which in all probability would be still increased by the late Victory ; and because he knew by late experience that no enterprize was more likely to succeed than one that was judged impracticable by the enemy. Having, therefore, drawn out a picked body of men for this purpose, he advanced with the Marquis of Mantua in the dead of the night to the walls of Verona, and making a sudden Sca-lado upon the new Citadel, he carried it almost before the enemy knew any thing of the matter. From thence he descended with his men into the town, and broke open St. Anthony's Gate, through which he let in all his Cavalry. But the Centinels of the old Citadel hearing the out-cries of those that had been surprized in the new one, and the noise that was made at the breaking down of St. Anthony's Gate, at last perceived the enemy was upon them, and immediately began to beat their drums and ring the alarm bells, to raise the people. Upon which, those of the Citizens that were most courageous took up arms, and ran in great confusion to the Piazza before the Palace of the Magistrates. In the mean time, Piccinino's forces had taken possession of the Bourg of St. Zeno, and were pushing forward into the town, when the Citizens finding they were the Duke's troops, and that there was no possibility of defending themselves against them, advised the Magistrates to retire into the Forts, to save their own lives, and the City from being plundered ; as it would be much better to do that, and wait for a change of fortune, than to be murdered themselves, and provoke the enemy to shew no mercy to the City.

The Magistrates therefore, and all the rest of the Venetians, took shelter in the fort of St. Felice ; and some

some of the principal Citizens going to wait upon Piccinino, and the Marquis of Mantua, intreated them to receive the City into their hands, rich and flourishing as it then was, which would very much increase their reputation; rather than suffer it to be rifled and sacked, to their great infamy and disgrace: especially as they had not taken much pains to oblige their former Masters, nor deserved to incur the displeasure of their new ones by an obstinate resistance. Upon this submission, they were favourably received by Piccinino and the Marquis, who endeavoured to restrain the licentiousness of their soldiers as much as they could, and prevent the City from being plundered: but as they were certain Count Sforza would use his utmost endeavours to recover it, they took all possible means to get the rest of the strong places into their hands; and such as they could not make themselves masters of, they separated from the town, and surrounded with fosses and other works, to prevent the enemy from throwing succours into them, and those that were already there from annoying the town.

Upon the first rumour of this loss, Count Sforza; who then lay with his army at Tenna, could not give credit to it: but when he was convinced of the truth of it, from more certain intelligence, he determined to make speedy amends for his past negligence. And though it was the opinion of all his principal officers, that he ought to postpone the relief of Verona and Brescia, and march directly to Vicenza, for fear of being surrounded by the enemy, where he was; yet he would not listen to their advice, but resolved to use all means for the recovery of Verona: and addressing himself, in the conclusion of the debate (which had been occasioned by such a difference in their judgment) to the Venetian * Proveditores, and Bernardetto de' Medici, the Florentine Commissary,

* A Proveditore is the same in the Venetian armies, as a Commissary in the Florentine.

he assured them, that he would certainly retake that town, if any one of the fortresses there still held out for him. For this purpose, having put his army in good order, he marched with all expedition towards Verona. At the sight of his vanguard, Piccinino imagined he had been going to Vicenza, as his officers had advised him: however, when he perceived that he still advanced and bent his course towards the fort of St. Felice, he began to prepare for his defence. But it was too late; for he had not yet finished the barricadoes and entrenchments: and his soldiers being dispersed, and busy in plundering, could not be got together to oppose the Count's forces before they entered the fort. So that having gained a passage into the town, they soon retook it, to the great dishonour of Piccinino; who, after most of his men were cut to pieces, retired with the rest into the citadel, and from thence made his escape, in company with the Marquis, to Mantua; where he collected the remains of his army, and joined the other part of it that lay before Brescia. In this manner Verona was taken and lost again in the space of four days, by the Duke's forces: and the Count seeing the winter now approaching, and the season very cold, after he had with much difficulty thrown some supplies of provisions into Brescia, took up his quarters at Verona; where he gave orders for the building several Gallies at Torboli, during the winter, that so he might be strong enough to relieve Brescia more effectually, both by land and water, when the spring came on.

The winter having thus put an end to hostilities for a while, the Duke, who was aware that he had been defeated in his hopes of making himself Master of Brescia and Verona, chiefly by the assistance which the enemy had received from the Florentines, whom neither the ill usage they had met with from the Venetians could detach from their alliance, nor the offers he had tempted them with could gain over to himself, resolved to invade Tuscany, in order to make them more sensible of the evils they were drawing upon them;

themselves. In this design he was likewise abetted by the instigations of Piccinino, and the Florentine Exiles; the former of whom, much wanted to get possession of the states that were held by Braccio, and to drive Count Sforza out of la Marca; and the latter to return to their own Country: both of them urging such motives to prevail upon the Duke, as seemed most specious, and best flattered his own ambition. Piccinino represented to him, "that he might send him with an army into Tuscany, and still keep Brescia blocked up; as he was master of the Lake, had so many strong and well garrisoned towns round about it, and would have both Commanders and soldiers enough to face the Count, if he should make any further attempts in those parts; which yet it could hardly be supposed he would do before he had relieved Brescia, and that he thought was impossible: so that he might safely venture to carry the war into Tuscany, without being obliged to discontinue it in Lombardy. For the Florentines, he said, must either recall the Count when they saw their own Country invaded, or suffer it to be totally ruined: in either of which cases his advantage would be certain." The Exiles assured him for their parts, "that if he would send Piccinino with an army to Florence, the people there, who at last were become desperate under the oppression and insolence of their Governors, would instantly take up arms against them and revolt. That nothing was more easy than to march up to the very gates of the City; as Rinaldo degli Albizi had sufficient interest with the Count of Casentino to procure him a free passage through his territories." So that though the Duke was at first inclinable enough to engage in such an undertaking, he became thoroughly determined upon it by these persuasions.

The Venetians, on the other hand, were very importunate with the Count to attempt the relief of Brescia with all his forces, though the winter was uncommonly severe: but the Count said, "it was not possible at that time, and that he must wait for a

milder season; that however in the mean while, he would be getting his Fleet in readiness to succour it both by land and water." At which answer, the Venetians were much dissatisfied, and afterwards proceeded so slowly in making the necessary provisions for their forces, that they began to dwindle away very fast. The Florentines also, when they had intelligence of their enemy's designs and the tardiness of their friends, were not a little alarmed; especially as they saw the war upon the point of being carried into their own dominions, and that their arms had met with little success in Lombardy. Nor were they less perplexed with the suspicion they entertained of the Pope's forces; not that they thought his Holiness himself was ill-affected to them, but because they saw his troops under the command and direction of the Patriarch, who was their declared enemy, and that the soldiers shewed much greater deference to him than to the Pope.

Giovanni Vitelleschi da Corneto, having first been * Apostolic Notary, then Bishop of Riccanati, and next, Patriarch of Alexandria, was at last created Cardinal, with the title of *Cardinal of Florence*. He was a subtle enterprising man, and had found means to insinuate himself into the Pope's confidence to such a degree, that he made him Commander in chief of his forces, and entrusted him with the sole management of all his affairs and undertakings in Tuscany, Romagna, the Kingdom of Naples, and even at Rome: so that he had gained such an ascendant both over the army and the Pope himself, that the one was afraid to command him, and the other to obey any one else. This Cardinal happened to be at Rome with his forces, when the report was spread that Piccinino was meditating an invasion upon Tuscany. A circumstance that redoubled the apprehensions of the Florentines, as he had ever been their enemy since

* An officer whose business it is to expedite beneficiary matters at the court of Rome.

the banishment of Rinaldo degli Albizi; because they had not only abused him in not observing the agreement which had been promoted betwixt them at Florence by his mediation, but deceived Rinaldo, who had laid down his arms at his persuasion, and furnished his enemies with the means of sending him into exile: so that the government began to be afraid that Rinaldo and his friends would certainly be restored and indemnified for all their sufferings if they should join Piccinino in his expedition into Tuscany. And so much the more, as that Commander had suddenly departed out of Lombardy, and left one undertaking that seemed almost sure to be attended with success, to go upon another, the event of which must be very precarious: which they thought he would not have done, if he had not had some secret design or invitation. These suspicions they communicated to the Pope, who at last began to be sensible of the error he had been guilty of intrusting too much authority in the hands of another person. But whilst they were under these apprehensions, an accident happened that put an end to them.

The government had Spies in all parts that kept a strict watch upon such as carried Letters, in order to detect any conspiracy that might be formed against them: and it chanced that one of these intercepted a Packet at Monte Pulciano, sent from the Patriarch to Piccinino without the knowledge of the Pope, which was immediately carried to his Holiness by the Magistrate, who had the charge of conducting the war. And though the letters were written in an unusual character, and the sense of them so obscure that they were difficult to be interpreted with any certainty; yet those very circumstances, and the holding a correspondence with his enemy, made the Pope so jealous that he determined to secure him, and gave a strict charge for that purpose to Antonio Rido (a Paduan lately made Governor of the Castle of St. Angelo at Rome) who readily undertook to execute his orders as soon as he had a convenient opportunity, which

which presently occurred. For the Patriarch intending to have gone into Tuscany the next day, sent word to the Governor of the Castle, that he desired he would meet him in the morning at a certain hour upon the Bridge, for he had something to say to him before he left the City : and as Antonio thought this was too favourable an opportunity to be neglected, (after he had made a proper disposition for the execution of his design) he went at the hour appointed to the bridge, which being near the castle, was so contrived, that it might easily be drawn up or let down, as occasion required, for its greater security. He had not waited long there, before the Patriarch came ; and having led him by degrees in the course of their conversation to the other end of the bridge, he made a signal to have it drawn up : which being instantly done, he, who but the moment before had been General of the Pope's forces, now became Antonio Rido's prisoner in the castle of St. Angelo. His attendants, indeed, at first began to raise an out-cry ; but when they were informed, that what had been done was by the Pope's orders, they were soon quieted ; and the governor, to comfort his prisoner in the best manner he could, told him, " he hoped he would come to no further harm." To which the Patriarch made answer, " that persons of his rank were seldom arrested, only to be discharged again ; and that those who deserved to be imprisoned, did not deserve to be released." Not long after his confinement, he died in the castle ; and the Pope appointed Ludovico, the Patriarch of Aquileia *, Commander in chief of his forces. For tho' his Holiness had been always unwilling before to embroil himself in the wars betwixt the Duke of Milan and the Confederates, he now promised to assist the

* This Lewis (says Volaterran, lib. xxii.) who was a native of Padua, having been promoted first to the senatorial dignity, for services done in the field, and afterwards to the Purple, grew so proud, that, forgetful of his birth, he was the first Cardinal who presumed to keep horses and hounds, and to introduce a greater degree of magnificence, in feasting, furniture, and equipage, than became that Order.

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latter, if Tuscany should be invaded, with four thousand horse and two thousand foot.

The Florentines, though now delivered from the fear of the Patriarch, were yet very suspicious of Piccinino's designs, and so uneasy at the confusion in which they saw their affairs in Lombardy (occasioned by the difference of opinion betwixt Count Sforza and the Venetians) that they sent Neri, the Son of Gini Capponi, and Giuliano d'Avanzati to Venice, in order to reconcile them, if possible, and to settle the operations of the next campaign; instructing Neri in particular, to sound the resolution of the Venetians: after which, he was to go to the Count, and persuade him to comply with such measures as should appear most necessary for the security of the League. These Deputies had not got so far on the road as Ferrara, when they heard that Piccinino had passed the Po with six thousand horse, which made them hasten their journey; and when they arrived at Venice, they found the Senate there fully determined to have the relief of Brescia attempted without further delay; since that City, they said, could not otherwise hold out, for want of provisions, till the return of the spring, nor till the galleys were built, but seeing no hope of succour, must of necessity be obliged to surrender to the enemy; which would entirely answer the Duke's purposes, and occasion the loss of all their dominions upon the Terra Firma. Upon which, Neri proceeded to Verona, to hear what the Count had to say, in answer to this; who made it sufficiently appear to him, that any endeavour to relieve Brescia, must not only be ineffectual at that juncture, but of great prejudice to their future undertakings: for considering the time of the year, and the situation of that town, no success could be expected, and he should only harass and fatigue his troops in such a manner, that when a proper season for action came, he must be forced to return with his army to Verona, to supply himself with such provisions as the winter had consumed to no purpose, and other necessaries for the ser-

service of the ensuing summer: so that all the time that ought to be employed in action, would be thrown away in fruitless marches and countermarches betwixt the two towns.

To obviate these objections, Orsatto Justiniani and Giovanni Pisani, were sent to wait upon the Count at Verona; and after long debate, it was at last agreed amongst them, that the Venetians should increase the Count's stipend for the next year to eighty thousand Ducats, besides an allowance of forty Ducats for every private soldier: and that he should not only take the field as soon as possible, with his whole army, but endeavour to penetrate into the Duke's dominions, that so he might be obliged to recall Piccinino into Lombardy to defend himself; after which agreement, the deputies all returned to Venice. But the Venetians finding some difficulty in raising so large a subsidy, proceeded very slowly in making the necessary provisions: whilst Piccinino, on the other hand, diligently pursued his march, and had already got into Romagna; where he tampered so effectually with the sons of Pandolpho Malatesta*, that they deserted the Venetians, and went over to the Duke. This was very unwelcome news at Venice, and much more so at Florence, as they had chiefly depended upon the Malatesti, to obstruct the progress of Piccinino; but when it came to be known that they had revolted, it occasioned great consternation in the City; especially as it was likewise apprehended, that Pietro-gian-Paolo Urfini, their commander in chief, who was then in the territories of the Malatesti, must certainly be betrayed and defeated; by which they would be in a manner disarmed, and deprived of all means of making any defence.

The Count himself likewise was not a little alarmed at this event. He was afraid of losing his possessions in la Marca, if Piccinino advanced into Tuscany: and being resolved to attend more particularly to that

* They were Lords of Rimini, a town upon the Gulph of Venice, which now belongs to the Pope.

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point, he took post and went to Venice, where he immediately demanded an audience of the Senate; which being granted, he represented to them how necessary it was for the service of the League, that he should march with his forces into Tuscany. "That the main strength of their arms ought to be directed against the enemy's Commander in chief and the place where he had collected his principal force; and not to be dissipated in fruitless skirmishes with Garrisons and attacks upon particular towns. That if the Duke's army could once be broken, there must be an end of the war; but if that was suffered to remain entire, the war would still be carried on with greater vigour, even after his fortresses were reduced, as it almost always happened in such cases. That if Piccinino was not resolutely opposed, both la Marca and Tuscany must inevitably be lost; after which, their affairs in Lombardy would become desperate. But if there should be any hopes left of retrieving them, he thought it could not reasonably be expected that he should abandon the care of his own subjects and friends; for as he was a Prince when he came into Lombardy, he did not design to stay there till he had nothing left but the title of a private Commander." To which the Doge made answer, "that if he left Lombardy, nay, if he should only repass the Po with his army, all their dominions upon the Terra firma would most certainly be lost, and therefore, they should not throw away any more money to defend them; as it would be simple to use any endeavours to save what could not possibly be maintained, and less prejudicial and dishonourable too to lose those territories only, than to lose both them and their money together. And if that should be the case, it would then plainly appear, though perhaps too late, of what importance the preservation of the Venetian dominions in those parts, would have been for the protection of Tuscany and Romagna. Upon which account, they could not by any means approve of the measures he recommended, since they very well knew whosoever

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was master in Lombardy would be master every where else : and in that there could not be much difficulty ; for now Piccinino had withdrawn his forces out of it, the Duke's dominions were left so exposed that they might be wholly over-run before that Commander could possibly return, or any other remedy be provided. That if any one would maturely consider the matter, he would find that the Duke had sent Piccinino into Tuscany with no other view but to divert the Count from his present undertaking, and to remove the war out of his own Country into another. So that if the Count should follow him, before there was any absolute necessity for it, he would fall into the snare, and suffer him to gain his ends : but if they still kept their forces in Lombardy, and made the best provision they could in Tuscany, he must soon be aware of his error, and find that he had entirely lost every thing in one, and gained nothing in the other." After the matter had been thoroughly discussed, and every one had given his opinion, it was concluded to wait a little while to see what effects the new alliance betwixt Piccinino and the Malatesti would produce ; what Pietro-gian-Paolo Ursini, the Florentine General, would be able to do ; and whether the Pope really designed to perform the promises he had made to the League. A few days after this resolution, they had intelligence that the Malatesti had entered into that alliance by downright compulsion, and not out of any disaffection or ill will to the Florentines ; that Ursini was gone with his forces towards Tuscany ; and that the Pope was better inclined to assist the confederates than ever he had been before. Upon which, the Count was so well satisfied, that he consented to stay in Lombardy, and that Neri Capponi should return to Florence with a thousand of his horse and five hundred others. That if affairs should take such a turn as to make his presence necessary in Tuscany, they should let him know, and he would immediately repair thither. Neri therefore proceeded with those forces towards Florence, and arrived there
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in April, on the same day that Urfini likewise returned to that City.

In the mean time, Piccinino having made all necessary dispositions in Romagna, designed to have proceeded in his march to Tuscany over the Mountains of St. Benedetto and through the Vale of Monrone, but he found those defiles so well guarded by Niccolo da Pisa, that any attempt to force a passage that way must be to no purpose. And since this invasion was so sudden, and the Florentines were but ill provided with Officers and Soldiers, they had sent only a few companies of new raised foot to defend the other passes in those Mountains, under the command of some of their own Citizens: amongst whom was Messer Bartolomeo Orlandini, who had the charge of defending a Fort at Marradi, which secured the passage that way. The pass at St. Benedetto therefore, being so bravely maintained that Piccinino had no hopes of succeeding there, he determined to try what might be done at Marradi, where he knew the Commander was not a man of any great courage. Marradi is a fort situated at the foot of those Mountains that separate Tuscany from Romagna, but on that side of them which lies next to the latter, and at the entrance of the Vale of Lamona. And tho' it has no walls, it is otherwise pretty well fortified by a river that runs close to it, as well as by the Mountains and the valour of the inhabitants, who are very courageous and faithful: for the banks of the river are so high above the water, that it is impossible to get that way into the Vale, provided a little Bridge that stands over the river be well defended: and on the other side the rocks are so steep and craggy that it is inaccessible. But the cowardice of Orlandini struck a panic into his men and made the situation of no significance: for he no sooner heard of the enemy's approach but he quitted the place and ran away as fast as he could with all his men, and never stopped till he came to the Bourg of St. Lorenzo. Piccinino at his arrival was not a little
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surprized to find a pass of such importance so meanly abandoned, and overjoyed that he had got possession of it. For he immediately marched down into the Vale of Mugello, where he seized upon several Castles, and at last took up his quarters at Pulciano; from whence he made incursions into the neighbouring territories, as far as the Mountains of Fiesole; and grew so bold at last, that he passed the Arno, plundering and ravaging all the Country till he came within three miles of Florence.

The Florentines however were not at all dismayed at these proceedings, but in the first place began to strengthen the hands of the Government, which yet stood upon a pretty good bottom, considering the popularity that Cosimo de' Medici had gained by his benevolence, and that the supreme Magistracy was vested in a very few of the principal Citizens, who kept a strict hand upon such as they thought disaffected or desirous of a change. They knew that Neri Capponi was bringing back with him a good body of horse, and depended upon the Pope's assistance; the hopes of which kept up their Spirits till the return of Neri: who at his arrival, finding the City under some apprehension, resolved to take the field, in order to check Piccinino's career and prevent him from making such terrible devastation in the Country. For this purpose, having raised what number of foot he could in the City to join his horse, he marched out and retook Remole, which the Duke's forces had got possession of: after which, he encamped near that place, and sent the Citizens word, that he had already put an end to the enemy's depredations, and hoped in a short time to drive him entirely out of their territories. But Piccinino finding that every thing was quiet at Florence, and nobody offered to raise any commotion there, (as he expected) though there were now no forces left in the city to over-awe them, determined not to throw away his time to no purpose, but to go upon some other undertaking that might provoke the Florentine troops

to

to follow him, and give him an opportunity of coming to an engagement with them, in which he made no doubt of routing them, and then he thought he should be able to carry every thing before him.

Francisco Count of Poppi (though he entered into the League with the Florentines) had revolted from them when the enemy penetrated into the vale of Mugello, and was at that time with Piccinino's army. And as the Florentines had always some suspicion of his sincerity from the first, they endeavoured to attach him more firmly to their interest by augmenting his stipend, and making him intendant over all their towns that lay near him. Yet (such is the prevalence of party spirit in some men) neither the sense of past favours nor the apprehension of future danger, could make him forget his connexions with Rinaldo degli Albizi, and those that had formerly been his associates in the government of Florence. So that as soon as he heard of Piccinino's approach, he not only went and joined him immediately, but advised him to leave the neighbourhood of Florence, and march towards Casentino; acquainting him with the fastnesses of that Country, and representing to him, with how much ease and security to himself, he might from thence more effectually harrass and distress the enemy. Piccinino followed this advice, and advancing into the territory of Casentino, first took Romena and Bibiena, and then laid siege to the Castle of St. Niccolo. This Castle stands upon the skirts of the Mountains that divide the State of Casentino from the Vale of Arno; and as it was situated upon an eminence and well garrisoned, it was not easily reduced, though he battered it day and night with such engines and * artillery as he had. This Siege

* The original says, *ancora che Niccola continuamente con briccole e simile artiglierie lo combatteffe*. Machiavel says, in the latter end of the first book of this history, that great guns were first used in the wars that happened betwixt the Venetians and the Genoese, about the island of Tenedos, in the year 1376, or thereabout. But we don't find the least notice taken of them in any of the field engage-

had lasted twenty days; during which time, the Florentines assembled more forces, having got together about three thousand horse at Feggine, and taken several other Officers into their pay, under the command of Ursini their General, Neri Capponi, and † Bernardo de' Medici their Commissaries. At that place they received intelligence of the distress to which the Castle was reduced, by four different Messengers who were sent from thence to desire immediate relief. But the Commissaries having reconnoitred the Country, found it impossible to send the Besieged relief any other way than over the Mountains that extend themselves from the Vale of Arno; the heights of which, perhaps, might be occupied by the enemy before the succours could get thither, as they were so much further from them, and could not conceal their march: so that there was no hope of succeeding in such an attempt, and their army must otherwise be entirely ruined by it. They sent the Messengers back again therefore to the besieged with high commendations of their fidelity, and instructions to capitulate when they found they could defend themselves no longer.

After a siege of two and thirty days, Piccinino at last took the Castle; but he lost so much time in making such a trifling acquisition that it was in a great measure the ruin of his main design: for if he

ments or sieges that have hitherto been mentioned in this history, and it is much to be questioned, whether they were used in the siege of this castle. For *Broccole*, which is a very old word, does not signify *caannon*, but other warlike engines, or *tormenta bellica*; the *arbalestra*, the *catapulta*, the *balista*, and other machines of that kind, to batter and throw great stones and darts. Nor is the word *artillery* confined to great guns alone, but is often used to signify other machines and weapons of war. Thus, 1 Sam. xx. 40. *Jonathan gave his artillery to the lad, and said unto him, go carry them into the city*; where *arrows* are plainly meant. The same (*calaju*) occurs again, 2 Sam. i. 27. but is differently translated. *How are the mighty fallen, and the weapons of war perished! or lost.* That is, the arms and armour, which had been taken from Saul and his sons, and placed as trophies in the temple of *Astartoth*, after they were slain by the Philistines. The Septuagint in both places says, *τασπαι πολεμικα, military apparatus.*

† The author sometimes calls him Bernardo, and sometimes Bernardino de' Medici.

had

had continued nearer Florence with his army, the Governors of the City would have found much greater difficulty in raising money and forces and making other necessary provisions, whilst the enemy was in a manner at their gates, than they did after he had retired: and many of the disaffected party would have inclined to some accommodation with Piccinino, to prevent the expences of a war, which they saw was not likely to be soon ended. But the impatience of Count Poppi to be revenged of the governors of those fortresses, with whom he had long been at enmity, induced him to advise those measures; and Piccinino took them to gratify him; which proved the destruction of them both in the end. And indeed it generally happens that private interests and passions are highly prejudicial to public undertakings.

Piccinino pursuing his success, took Rassina and Chiusi; in the neighbourhood of which, Count Poppi persuaded him to fix his quarters, as he might extend his forces from thence to Caprese, and from Caprese to Pieve; by which he would become master of all the passes in the mountains, and might then make incursions at his pleasure into the territories of Casentino, the vales of Arno, Chiana, and Tevere, and be ready to attack the enemy, if they should offer to move. But Piccinino considering the roughness and barrenness of those parts, told him, *bis borses could not eat stones*; and proceeding to the Bourg of St. Sepulchro, where he was received as a friend, he then began to treat at a distance with the people of Castello, to see if he could corrupt them; but they were too firmly attached to the Florentines to be moved by his offers. However, as he was desirous to engage the Perugians in his interests, he went to Perugia with forty horse, where he was honourably received on account of his being their fellow-citizen. But they soon began to look upon him with a suspicious eye, when they saw him tampering with the Legate there, and some other Citizens, to whom he

made several proposals; all which being rejected, he returned to his army with a present of eight thousand ducats, which they had made him. After this, he formed a design of taking Cortona from the Florentines, by a conspiracy, in which he had engaged some of the inhabitants: but this also miscarried, as it was discovered in good time. For the evening before it was to have been put in execution, Bartolomeo di Senso, one of the principal Citizens, going to mount guard by the Governor's order, at one of the gates of the town, was warned by a friend not to go thither, except he had a mind to be slain: and upon asking what his friend meant by that advice, he was informed of the whole affair, and immediately communicated it to the Governor. But the Governor having secured the chief conspirators, and doubled the guards at that gate, waited there for the arrival of Piccinino: who, according to agreement, came at a certain hour in the night: but finding his design was blown, he returned to his former quarters.

Whilst things were thus circumstanced in Tuscany, where the Duke's arms made but a feeble progress, his affairs in Lombardy were in a still worse situation. For Count Sforza had begun the Campaign there as soon as ever the season permitted him: and the Venetians having got a new fleet in readiness; he determined in the first place to make himself master of the Lake di Garda, and to drive the Duke's forces entirely away from it; imagining when he had done that, he should easily succeed in his other designs. For this purpose, he attacked them with his galleys, and not only defeated them, but took the castles they had got possession of: and the rest of the Duke's army, which invested Brescia by land, hearing of this overthrow, immediately raised the siege, and left that City at large, after it had been blocked up three years. Upon this success, the Count marched after the enemy, who had retreated to Soncino, a castle upon the river Oglio; from whence he dislodged them, and obliged them to retire to Cremona, where they

they made a stand, and resolved to defend that part of the Country. But as the Count now distressed the Duke more and more every day, he began to be afraid of losing some part of his dominions at least, if not all: and being sensible of the error he had committed in sending Piccinino into Tuscany, he resolved to remedy it if he could, as soon as possible; for which purpose, he wrote to acquaint him in what condition his affairs were; ordering him to quit Tuscany immediately, whatever progress he might have there, and return into Lombardy.

The Florentines in the mean time having collected all their forces under their Commissaries, were joined by those of the Pope at Anghiari, a Castle at the foot of the mountains which part the Vale of Tevere from that of Chiana, about four miles from the Bourg of St. Sepulchro. The Country round about was plain and even, and the fields large and fit for horse to act in, if they should come to an engagement. But as the Commissaries had heard of the advantages which Count Sforza had gained, and that Piccinino was recalled, they were in hopes of putting an end to the war without drawing the sword or any further trouble; and therefore sent them orders to avoid an engagement by all means, since that Commander could not stay many days longer in Tuscany. Piccinino having intelligence of these orders, and finding himself obliged to leave the Country, resolved to make his utmost efforts at the last, and to give them battle; hoping to take them unprepared, as it was not their intention to fight him. To this, he was likewise earnestly persuaded by Rinaldo degli Albizi, Count Poppi, and the rest of the Florentine exiles, who saw they should have no hopes after Piccinino abandoned them; but that if they came to an action, they probably might gain a Victory and succeed in their wishes; and if they lost the day, they should not be in worse circumstances than they were before.

With this resolution, he moved with his forces from the place where he then lay, which was betwixt Castello and the Bourg, and arriving at the latter before the enemy had any notice of it, he drew two thousand men out of that town, who, confiding in the valour of their General, and allured by the promises he made them, followed him in hopes of enriching themselves with plunder. From thence he proceeded with his army in order of battle directly towards Anghiari, and had advanced within less than two miles of that place: when Micheletto Attendulo perceiving a great cloud of dust raised at a distance, suspected the enemy was approaching, and immediately gave the alarm. Great was the confusion in the Florentine Camp upon this occasion. For though indeed very little order or discipline was ever observed by armies in their encampments in those days, yet the supineness of the Florentines was at this time greater than ordinary: and as they thought the enemy had been not only at a much greater distance, but rather inclined to retreat than hazard an engagement, most of them had laid aside their arms and straggled away to places at a distance from the Camp, either to enjoy the shade (as the weather was then very hot) or indulge themselves in some other pleasure. Yet such was the diligence of the Commissaries and the General in getting them together, that they were all mounted and ready drawn up to receive the enemy before they arrived. And as Attendulo was the first that discovered them, he likewise sustained their first shock; having posted himself with the men under his Command on a Bridge that lay upon the road at a little distance from Anghiari. Upon the approach of the enemy, Ursini had caused the banks and ditches to be levelled, which lay on each side of the way betwixt Anghiari and the Bridge; and Attendulo having taken possession of the Bridge itself, the Cavalry were placed to the right of him, under Simoncino Commander of the Forces of the Church, and the Pope's Legate; and to the left, under the
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Florentine Commissaries and their General Urfini; the Infantry extending themselves on each hand along the banks of the River. The enemy therefore, had no way to come at them but over the Bridge; nor could the Florentines be forced to engage in any other place. Upon which account they ordered their foot to ply that of the enemy briskly with their Cross-bows, if they should quit the high road and fall to the right and left of their own gens d'armes; that so they might be prevented from taking their horse in flank, as they passed or repassed the Bridge. Those that made the first attack were bravely received and repulsed by Attendulo: but Astorre and Francisco Piccinino * advancing to their relief with a picked body of men, charged him so furiously, that they obliged him to quit the Bridge, and pursued him to the bottom of the hill upon which Angiari stands, from whence they were driven back and forced over the Bridge again by the Infantry that attacked them in flank. The dispute lasted in this manner for the space of two hours; during which, sometimes Piccinino's forces, and sometimes the Florentines were Masters of the Bridge. And though the success of each party was nearly the same upon the Bridge, yet Piccinino had much the worst of it on both sides of the River. For whenever his forces possessed the Bridge, they found those of the enemy well drawn up and ready to act as occasion required; (an advantage that was gained by the precaution they had taken to level the banks and ditches on their side) so that when any of their men were hard pushed and began to faint, they were immediately relieved by a fresh party. On the other hand, when the Florentines passed it, Piccinino was so embarrassed with the banks and ditches on his side, that he found it very difficult to relieve his troops: and though they often gained the Bridge, they were constantly driven back again by the enemy. The Flo-

* He was son to the General, Niccolo Piccinino.

rentines therefore having once more got possession of it, and pushing forward into the road on the other side with great fury, Piccinino found himself straitened in such a manner by his situation, that he had neither time nor room to succour his men that were giving way: so that those who were in the front recoiling upon the rear, his whole army was thrown into such confusion, that they at last turned their backs and fled with the utmost precipitation towards the Bourg of St. Sepulchro. Upon which, the Florentine Soldiers, instead of pursuing them, began to plunder and strip the prisoners they had taken, of their horses, arms and accoutrements, and what else they had: and indeed the booty was not inconsiderable: for there were not quite a thousand horse that escaped with Piccinino. And the inhabitants of St. Sepulchro who had followed him for the sake of plunder, being all taken, with the loss of their baggage and colours, were not only stripped themselves, but afterwards forced to pay a ransom for their liberty. This Victory was of great consequence to the Florentines, though not very prejudicial to the Duke's affairs: for if *they* had lost the day, all Tuscany must have fallen into his hands. But as *his* forces were routed, he lost nothing but their arms and horses; a damage that might be repaired at no considerable expence. Indeed it never happened that invasions were made with less danger and slaughter on the side of the invaders, than in these times: for in a battle that lasted four hours, and in so total an overthrow, there was but one man killed; and he too, not by the edge of the sword, or in any honourable attempt, but by a fall from his horse to the ground, where he was trampled to death in the rout. With so much security did they make war in those days! for most of the soldiers being mounted on horseback and covered with armour, had but little occasion to fear death in any engagement: and if they were defeated and surrendered, they commonly had their lives spared.

This

This battle, and what immediately happened after it, may serve to shew the weak and pitiful manner in which they made war in those times. For as soon as Piccinino was routed and had fled to St. Sepulchro, the Commissaries, to make their Victory complete, intended to have pursued and shut him up there : but there was not so much as one of their officers, nor even a private soldier that would follow them, till they had laid up their plunder in some place of security, and got cured of the wounds they pretended to have received. And, which was still more remarkable and audacious, they went off the next day, openly in a body, and without asking any leave either from their Commissaries or General, to Arezzo ; from whence, after they had secured their booty, they returned to Anghiari. A manner of proceeding so contrary to all military rule and order, that the smallest remnant of a well-disciplined army, would easily and deservedly have recovered a Victory out of their hands which they so little merited. Nay they presently released all the gens d' armes or heavy armed horse they had taken prisoners, in spite of the Commissaries who would have had them detained in order to deprive Piccinino of their service. Certainly it must seem astonishing that such an army should ever gain a Victory, and still more so, that another should be found vile and dastardly enough to be beaten by so contemptible an enemy.

Whilst they were thus taken up in going to Arezzo and back again, Piccinino marched away with the remainder of his forces from St. Sepulchro towards Romagna and took the Florentine exiles along with him, who now falling into despair of ever returning to their own Country, dispersed themselves into different parts of Italy and other States, every man providing for himself as well as he could. Rinaldo degli Albizi retired to Ancona ; and having lost all hopes in this world, he went a pilgrimage to the Holy Sepulchre, in order to prepare himself for a better. Soon after his return from thence he died suddenly at dinner,

ner, whilst he was celebrating the marriage of one of his daughters: fortune seeming favourable to him in this at least, that he was taken away in one of the happiest days of his exile. He was a man truly respectable in all the different conditions of his life, and would have been still more so, if he had been born in an united City: for many of his good qualities which excited envy and jealousy amongst his fellow-citizens in a factious Commonwealth, would have been admired and rewarded any where else.

After the departure of Piccinino and the return of the Florentine forces from Arezzo, the Commissaries advanced with them to St. Sepulchro, the inhabitants of which place offered to surrender to them, but upon terms that they did not think fit to grant. And whilst they were yet in treaty, the Pope's Legate * beginning to grow suspicious that the Florentines were not willing that town should revert into the hands of the Church, was so enraged, that very high words passed betwixt him and the Commissaries; and the troops commanded by each would certainly have come to blows if the treaty had continued much longer: but that being ended at last to the satisfaction of the Legate, their differences were composed. Whilst these things were in agitation, they had intelligence from some quarters that Piccinino was marching towards Rome, and from others that he was gone into la Marca d'Ancona. Upon which, the Legate determined that Count Sforza's troops should advance towards Perugia, in order to relieve either la Marca, or Rome, to which soever of the two he had bent his course, and that Bernardo de' Medici should go along with them; whilst Neri Capponi went with the Florentine forces to reduce Casentino. Upon this resolution, Neri marched away for Rastina, which he presently took; and soon after, Bibiena, Prato Vecchio, and Romena: after which, he sat down before Poppi, and made proper dispositions for two different

* Piccinino the Patriarch of Aquilea before mentioned.

assaults

assaults upon that town at the same time ; one on the side that looks towards the plain of Certomondo ; and the other from the hill that extends itself from thence to Fronzoli. Count Poppi seeing himself now abandoned and destitute of all succour, had shut himself up there ; not in hopes of any relief, but to gain time and make the best terms he could for himself. So that when Neri drew close to the town to make an assault, he demanded a parley, and had as good terms granted him as he could possibly expect in his circumstances ; which were, that he should be suffered to depart himself with his children, and what effects they could carry with them, and immediately deliver up the possession of the town and all his other dominions to the Florentines. During the capitulation he came out upon the bridge over the Arno which runs close by the town, and with tears in his eyes thus addressed himself to Neri. “ If I had rightly considered my own situation and the power of your Masters, I should now have come out as a friend to congratulate you upon your late Victory, and not as a vanquished enemy to implore your pity in these unhappy circumstances. Fortune indeed has given you sufficient reason to rejoice, and me to weep and lament my wretchedness. I lately had horses, and arms, subjects and dominions and riches ; and who can wonder that it grieves me to lose them ? But since your Republic seems determined, and now has it in its power, to reduce all Tuscany into subjection, we for our parts shall obey you : and it is some consolation to me, that if I had not been guilty of this error, neither your generosity nor my future gratitude might perhaps have appeared in so fair a light to the world. For if you shall be pleased to leave me still in possession of my dominions, it will be an illustrious and indelible instance of your clemency. My imprudence indeed has been great, but I submit to your mercy and compassion, not without hopes that you will still suffer me to enjoy this place of residence at least, which has descended to me from Ancestors to whom

whom your Republic has formerly lain under many and great obligations *." To this Neri made answer, "that the having placed his confidence in people that were never likely to do him any service, and being by that means in some measure the cause of the insults offered to the Republic of Florence; these considerations, added to the circumstances of the times, necessarily obliged them to deprive him of his dominions, and to turn him out of those places as an enemy, which he might still have enjoyed if he had behaved himself like a friend. That his conduct had been such as would not allow them to let him continue any longer in possession of a territory that gave him an opportunity of insulting a Republic upon any little change of fortune, which indeed had no occasion to stand in fear of his person, though his dominions were so situated that he might open a way at any time through them for an enemy to annoy it. But that if he thought he could by any means obtain another Principality in Germany, he was at liberty to withdraw thither, and the Republic desired he would do it; where they should not fail to shew him all manner of respect, in consideration of the favours which he said the Florentines had received from his Ancestors." The Count replied with great indignation, "that he would endeavour to get as far as possible from them;" and finding there was no good to be done by intreaties and supplications, immediately broke off all further treaty, and giving up the town and his other possessions, except his personal effects, he quitted it with his wife and children, bitterly lamenting his folly and the loss of a State which his family had governed above four hundred years. When the news of this success arrived at Florence, it occasioned very great rejoicings both amongst the People and the Magistrates. And as Bernardo de' Medici found that Piccinino had neither advanced

* This speech is almost wholly taken from that of Caractacus in the 12th book of Tacitus's Annals.

towards Rome nor la Marca, as had been falsely reported, he marched back again with his forces to rejoin those under the command of Neri Capponi; and both of them returning together to Florence, it was decreed that they should be received with the highest demonstrations of honour and respect that had ever been shewn to any of their victorious Generals: and they accordingly made their entrance into the City amidst the public acclamations of the Signiory, the Captains of the Companies, and all their fellow-citizens.

END OF THE FIFTH BOOK.

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H I S T O R Y
O F
F L O R E N C E.

B O O K VI.

A R G U M E N T.

What is, or ought to be, the chief design of those that make war. The bounds they should prescribe to themselves. How the ancient Republics used to dispose of the booty taken from their enemies. The error of modern governments in that respect. The Duke of Milan proposes a peace to Count Sforza. The Count's answer to him. The ingratitude of the Venetians to Oskasio da Polenta. Micheletto Attenduli made General of the League. Sforza reduced to great distress by Piccinino. The insolence of the latter to the Duke of Milan. The Count marries the Duke's natural daughter. A peace concluded. Naples taken by Alphonso of Arragon. Baldaccio d' Angbiari, General of the Florentine foot, an able and experienced Commander, vilely assassinated by Bartolomeo Orlandini, a coward and poltroon. A reformation in the government of Florence. Piccinino disappointed of a certain victory by the Duke of Milan, and otherwise ill used by him, dies of grief. The Bentivogli and Cameschi, two powerful families in Bologna. The latter raise an insurrection there in favour of the Duke of Milan, and kill Annibal Bentivoglio, the head of that family; but are quelled and driven out of the City.

City. Santi, a bastard Son of Hercules Bentivoglio, being made Governor of Bologna, and of Annibal's children, governs with great prudence. A new war in Lombardy. Count Sforza courted by all parties. The death of Pope Eugenius IV. who is succeeded by Nicholas V. The Duke of Milan dies. The Count in desperate Circumstances. The Milanese make him Commander in Chief of their forces. The Venetians aspire to the Duchy of Milan. King Alphonso invades the Florentines. A mutiny amongst the forces of the latter for want of provisions. King Alphonso retreats out of Tuscany, after he had lost many of his men. A battle betwixt the Count and the Venetians at Caravaggio, in which the latter are totally defeated. The generosity of the Count to a Venetian Proveditore, whom he had taken prisoner. A peace concluded betwixt him and the Venetians. He deserts the Milanese. The Speech of their Ambassador to him. His answer. He lays siege to Milan, makes a truce, and draws off his army; but returns at the expiration of the truce, and reduces the City to great distress. Cosimo de' Medici befriends him in his undertaking. The Venetians assist the Milanese. Count Sforza enters Milan, and is made Duke thereof, by the general consent of the Citizens. He engages in a confederacy with the Florentines; and the King of Naples with the Venetians. The latter send Ambassadors to Florence. The answer of the Florentines to them, delivered by Cosimo de' Medici. The Florentines prepare for war. Frederic III. Emperor of Germany, comes to Florence, and proceeds to Rome, where he is crowned. Tuscany invaded by King Alphonso's forces. Stephen Porcari, a Roman Citizen, conspires to deliver his Country out of the hands of the Pope and the Prelates: but fails in the attempt, and is put to death. The Vale of Bagno, by the perfidy of Gambacorta, is upon the point of being delivered up to King Alphonso, but prevented by the bravery of Antonio Gualdani. The Florentines take possession of it, and reduce it to a Bailiwick. The fate of Gambacorta. The Florentines and Duke of Milan, invite Regnier of Anjou, into Italy.

Italy. He comes with supplies, but soon leaves them and returns to France; from whence he sends his son, John of Anjou, to Florence. Peace betwixt the Duke and the Venetians, Florentines, and other States. Alphonso accedes to it. New troubles raised by Giacompo Piccinino, privately encouraged by Alphonso. Pope Calixtus III. endeavours to raise a Crusade against the Turks. A prodigious tempest in Tuscany. The Genoese invaded by Alphonso. They put themselves under the protection of John of Anjou. King Alphonso dies and is succeeded by his Son Ferdinand. Calixtus dies, and Pius II. is chosen Pope in his room. The Genoese revolt from the French. The Kingdom of Naples invaded by John of Anjou, who routs Ferdinand: but the latter being reinforced by the Pope and the Duke of Milan, takes the field again, and drives his competitor out of the Kingdom.

IT always has been, and indeed ought to be, the main end and design of those that wage war, to enrich themselves and impoverish their enemies: nor is there any other reasonable motive to contend for victory and conquest, but the aggrandizement of one nation, and the depression of another. From hence it necessarily follows, that whenever any State is impoverished by its victories, or debilitated by its conquests, it has either proceeded too far, or fallen short of those purposes for which the war was undertaken. A Kingdom, or Commonwealth, may properly be said to be enriched by victory, when it extirpates its enemies, and becomes master of their possessions and revenues. On the contrary, they are weakened by their victories, when they cannot utterly extinguish the enemy (though perhaps they may in some measure have subdued him) and his possessions fall into the hands, not of the State itself, but its soldiery. Such a Government suffers much more from a victory than a defeat: for in one case, it is only exposed to the outrage of an enemy, but in the other, it is injured and oppressed by its own friends; which seem-
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ing more unnatural, is likewise the more insupportable, especially when it is thereby necessitated to lay fresh taxes, and other heavy burdens upon its subjects. And if the Governors have any humanity in them, they cannot, surely, much rejoice at a victory which fills all the rest of the community with murmurs and dejection. The best governed Republics that we read of in ancient history, after they had obtained a victory, always used to throw the spoil they had taken from the enemy into the common Treasury, to distribute largesses amongst the people, to remit their taxes, and entertain them with magnificent spectacles. But the victories gained by those States, of whom we are now writing, not only exhausted their public treasure, but drained the purse of every private man, and after all, did not effectually secure them against any further attempts from their enemies. All which was owing to the absurd and ridiculous manner in which they carried on their wars: for after a battle, the conquerors generally contented themselves with stripping the enemy, and seldom put any of them to death, or so much as made them prisoners: so that the vanquished always renewed the war, as soon as ever they were provided again with horses and arms by those that had taken them into their pay. And as the booty and ransom-money were claimed by the soldiery, the State, receiving no advantage from thence, was forced to tear the supplies it stood in need of, out of the bowels of its own subjects*, who had the mortification of seeing that instead of reaping any sort of benefit from a victory, it only served to make their Governors proceed with less regard and compassion in laying new burdens upon them.

These soldiers conducting the war in such a manner, reduced both the conqueror and the conquered, to the necessity of raising continual supplies at home, if they intended to maintain any authority or com-

* Does not this seem to be our own case, with regard to the captures made by our Ships of war?

mand over their forces; as one side expected to be new clothed and accoutred, and the other to be rewarded for their services: and since those that had been defeated could not take the field again till they were remounted, and those that beat them would fight no more till they had been rewarded, it generally happened, that the former did not sustain much loss, nor the latter gain any considerable advantage by their victory; for the conquered had, for the most part, put themselves in a condition to make head afresh against the conqueror, before he was in readiness to pursue his blow. From this perverse and disorderly behaviour in the soldiery, it happened that Piccinino had remounted his troops before the news of his defeat had reached many parts of Italy, and renewed the war with greater vigour than ever he had done before. To the same cause it was owing that he was able to surprize Verona: that after his forces had been dispersed when Sforza retook that town, he was in a condition to invade Tuscany with a powerful army: and that after his misfortune at Anghiari, he was grown stronger, even before he got into Romagna, than he was at the beginning of the action that happened there: so that the Duke of Milan now began to conceive some hopes of being able to defend Lombardy, which he had in a manner given up for lost, during the absence of that General. For whilst Piccinino was making such havoc as he had done in Tuscany, his master was in danger of being stripp'd of his own dominions; and being apprehensive that he should be totally ruined before the other could come to his relief, though he had sent to recall him, he resolved to try if he could not in some measure check Count Sforza's career, and divert the fury of a storm by artifice and address, which he was not in a capacity to resist. For this purpose, he had recourse to such expedients as he had often availed himself of before in the like conjunctures, and dispatched Niccolò da Esti, Prince of Ferrara, to Peschiera, where Sforza then lay, who

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earnestly exhorted him to peace, and represented to him how prejudicial a continuation of the war was likely to prove to himself; since if the Duke was reduced to such circumstances that he could not support his present power and reputation, the Count must be the first man that would suffer by it, as neither the Venetians nor Florentines would have any further occasion for his service, nor of course any longer the same esteem for his person. And to convince him of the Duke's sincerity in desiring a peace, he solemnly assured him in his name, that as soon as one was concluded, the marriage should be immediately consummated with his daughter, whom he would send to Ferrara for that purpose, and there in person deliver her into his own hands. To this the Count made answer, "that if the Duke was really desirous of a peace, he might easily obtain one, as the Venetians and Florentines were no less inclinable to it: but that for his own part, he could put very little confidence in him, since he well knew he would never make any peace, except he was compelled to it by downright necessity; and that, as soon as the danger was over, he would instantly renew the war: that he could not give much more credit to what he promised concerning the marriage, as he had been so often deceived by him before; but if other things could be amicably adjusted, he would proceed in that matter as he should be advised by his friends."

The Venetians, naturally apt to suspect their Generals, even when they have no reason, had sufficient cause to look with great jealousy upon these negotiations, as indeed they did: and the Count being aware of it, endeavoured in some measure to recover their confidence by a vigorous prosecution of the war. But the usual alacrity of the one was at last so abated by his ambitious views; and the minds of the other so enflamed with suspicion, that no other enterprise worth notice was undertaken during the rest of that Summer: so that when Piccinino returned

into Lombardy, the Winter being come on, the respective armies went into quarters, the Count retiring to Verona, the Duke's forces to Cremona, the Florentines into Tuscany, and those of the Pope into Romagna. The last, after the battle of Anghiari, made an assault upon Furli and Bologna, in hopes of wresting them out of the hands of Francisco Piccinino, who held them in his father's name: but they were so well defended by Francisco, that the attempt did not succeed. Their march into those parts, however, struck such a terror into the people of Ravenna, that, to avoid falling into the hands of the Church, they (with the consent of Ostasio da Polenta their Lord) put themselves under the dominion of the Venetians; who, as a recompence for that favour, and to prevent Ostasio from ever recovering by force what he had so simply given away, sent him and his only Son to spend the rest of their days in Candia. These different enterprizes had so drained the Pope of money, that notwithstanding the Victory gained at Anghiari, his Holiness was obliged to sell the Castle of Borgo di San Sepulchro to the Florentines for the sum of twenty-five thousand ducats.

Things being in this situation, and both sides thinking themselves safe from any attack during the winter, all further thoughts of peace were laid aside, especially by the Duke; who now looking upon himself as sufficiently secured, in the first place by the season of the year, and in the next by the arrival of Piccinino, had broke off his treaty with the Count, and applied himself with great diligence to furnish his General with Cavalry and all other provisions that were necessary to continue the war. The Count, on the other hand, having intelligence of these preparations, immediately repaired to Venice to concert measures with the Senate there, for opening the next campaign. As soon as Piccinino was in readiness to take the field, and perceived the enemy was yet in no capacity to oppose him, he did not wait for the approach of the Spring, but passed the Adda in

the depth of Winter, entered the territories of Brescia, and making himself master of all that Country, except Adula and Acri, surprized above two thousand of Sforza's Cavalry, who, not expecting any such visit, were all taken prisoners and stripped. But what most chagrined the Count and alarmed the Venetians, was the defection of Ciarpellone, one of his principal Officers, who had mutinied and quitted their service. Upon the news of which, he posted away from Venice to Brescia, and finding at his arrival there, that Piccinino, after he had committed the above mentioned hostilities, was returned to his former quarters and lay quiet there, he did not care to provoke him to stir out of them again at that time; but thought it more prudent to make use of the opportunity which the enemy gave him, to put his forces in good order, that so he might be able to take any advantage that offered and wipe off his late disgrace at a proper season. He therefore prevailed upon the Venetians to recall the forces they had in the service of the Florentines, and persuaded them to take Micheleto Attenduli into their pay, in the room of Gattamelata who was now dead.

At the return of the spring, Piccinino appearing first in the field, laid siege to Cignano, a Castle about twelve miles from Brescia; to the relief of which the Count likewise marched out with his forces; and the war was once more begun and conducted in the usual manner betwixt those two Generals. The Count on one side, being apprehensive that Bergamo would fall into the enemy's hand, sat down before Martinengho, a Castle so situated, that whoever was master of it might easily throw succours into Bergamo, which City was very much straitened by Piccinino; who, on the other hand, being sensible that he could not be annoyed from any other quarter, had taken care to furnish it with all manner of provisions for its defence; so that the Count was forced to bring his whole army before it. Piccinino therefore posted himself with all his forces likewise in such a situation,

that he entirely cut off all supplies from Sforza's camp, and fortified his own so strongly with ditches and breast-works, that the Count could not attack him without manifest disadvantage: so that the besiegers were in much greater danger than those that were besieged. In these circumstances, as the Count could neither continue the siege for want of provisions, nor raise it for fear of Piccinino falling upon him, every body concluded the Duke must certainly gain a complete Victory, and that Sforza and the Venetians would be utterly undone. But by the caprice of Fortune, who takes delight in shewing her power to exalt her minions, and ruin such as are not in her good graces, things took a very different turn: for Piccinino grew so intolerably insolent and ambitious, in full confidence of Victory, that forgetting himself and laying aside all due respect to his Prince, he sent him word, "that as he had fought his battles so many years without being requited with so much ground as would bury him when he died, he desired to know what reward he might expect for his services: for since it was now in his power to make him absolute Lord of Lombardy and deliver up all his enemies into his hands, he thought a certain Victory deserved a certain recompence; and therefore demanded that the city of Placentia should be assigned to him, whither he might retire to enjoy a little repose at last, after so long a course of labour and fatigue." Nay he proceeded so far in the end as to threaten the Duke that he would abandon the enterprise if his demands were not complied with.

But the Duke was exasperated at this audacious behaviour to such a degree, that he chose rather to give up so great an advantage, than meanly to submit to his insolence; so that what neither the menaces of his enemies, nor the many imminent dangers he had been in, could ever move him to consent to, he was at last induced to comply with by the arrogance of his friends; and immediately resolved to come to an accommodation with the Count. For
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which purpose he sent Antonio Guido Buona da Tortona to him, with an offer of his daughter, and such overtures for a peace, as were eagerly accepted both by him and the rest of the confederates.

As soon as the articles were privately signed, by all parties, the Duke sent orders to Piccinino to make a truce with the Count for one year, pretending, "that he was so tired of the expences of war, that he could not help preferring a certain peace, to a victory that was still doubtful." Piccinino was thunder-struck at this resolution, not being able to comprehend what motives could induce the Duke to let so glorious a victory slip out of his hands; little imagining that the reason of suffering his enemies to escape, was only to avoid recompensing his friends. He opposed it, however, as much as lay in his power, and behaved in so refractory a manner, that in order to force him to a compliance, the Duke threatened to give him up, to be treated by the soldiers of both armies, as they pleased, if he did not instantly obey his orders. Upon which he was obliged to submit, but with the same reluctance that a man may be supposed to do, who is compelled to leave his friends and country; lamenting his evil destiny, and complaining with much bitterness both of fortune and the Duke, who had conspired together to snatch the victory out of his hands. After the truce was concluded, the nuptials were celebrated betwixt Madam Bianca and the Count, who received the City of Cremona with her in dower: and in November 1441, a peace was agreed upon; at the signing of which, Francisco Barbadico and Paolo Trono assisted as Plenipotentiaries for the Venetians, and Agnolo Acciaiuoli for the Florentines. By this treaty, the fortresses of Peschiera, Asola, and Leonato, in the Marquisate of Mantua, were ceded to the Venetians.

Though the war in Lombardy was now at end, the kingdom of Naples was still far from being in peace: and as no means could be found of quieting the distractions there, they proved at last the occasion of

raising fresh combustions in Lombardy. For during the last, King Regnier had been stripped of every town that he had got possession of in that Kingdom, except the city of Naples itself, by Alphonso of Aragon; who now thinking himself sure of the whole, determined, at the same time that he laid siege to that City, to seize upon Benevento*, and some other towns belonging to Count Sforza, in the adjacent territory, which he thought might easily be effected, whilst the Count himself was so fully employed in Lombardy. And he actually succeeded in his design, making himself Master of all those places with little or no difficulty. But, upon the news of a peace being concluded in Lombardy, Alphonso grew apprehensive, that the Count would soon march to join Regnier, in order to recover his own possessions; and Regnier not being without some expectations of the same kind, sent to entreat the Count to come to the assistance of a friend, especially as he might, at the same time, revenge himself upon an enemy. Alphonso, on the other hand, earnestly solicited Duke Philip, that out of regard to the friendship which had so long subsisted betwixt them, he would cut out some work of greater consequence to the Count, in order to divert him from this design. With this the Duke readily complied, not considering, that it would be a direct violation of the treaty he had so lately concluded. He, therefore, in the first place, suggested to Pope Eugenius, that he now had a fair opportunity of recovering the territories which Sforza had taken from the Church; and for that purpose, recommended Piccinino to him (who after the conclusion of a peace, had retired with his forces into Romagna) and said, he would pay him out of his own purse, as long as

* Benevento is situated at the confluence of the river Solato and Colore, which here form the Volturno, 130 miles south east of Rome, and 34 north east of Naples. It is an Archbishoprick, subject to the Pope, who is sovereign of this City. The greater part of it was demolished by an earthquake, in the year 1688, and the Archbishop of it dug out of the ruins; who, being afterwards advanced to the Papal Chair, by the name of Benedict XIII. rebuilt this City.

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the war continued. Eugenius, out of the ancient hatred which he bore to the Count, and the desire he had of recovering the possessions he usurped from him, listened with great eagerness to this proposal, and though he had formerly been duped by Piccinino, in the very same manner, he thought, now the Duke of Milan was on his side, he had no occasion to mistrust him; and therefore immediately joining his forces with those of Piccinino, he made an incursion into la Marca d' Ancona. The Count, on the other hand, though not a little surpris'd at so sudden an invasion, having assembled what troops he could raise, marched out to face the enemy.

In the mean time Alphonso had taken Naples; so that all the kingdom was now in his possession, except Castel Nuovo, in which Regnier had left a strong garrison, and was gone himself to Florence, where he was received with much honour: but after he had staid a few days there, and found he could no longer continue the war, he went to Marsailles. During this short interval, Castel Nuovo had likewise fallen into the hands of Alphonso; and Count Sforza perceiving he was not able to cope with Piccinino and the Pope in la Marca, had recourse to the Venetians and Florentines for supplies both of men and money; representing to them, that if they did not take proper measures to check the ambition of the Pope and King Alphonso, whilst he was in a capacity to assist them, it would soon behove them to look to themselves, as they would afterwards certainly join with the Duke of Milan, and divide Italy amongst them. To these solicitations the Florentines and Venetians were for some time in doubt what answer to return, as they did not care to break with the Pope and Alphonso, and their attention was likewise at that time wholly turned upon affairs at Bologna*.

* Bologna, or Bononia, lies about 50 miles north of Florence, and 200 miles north-west of Rome, on several little rivulets, and a navigable canal, in one of the most fruitful plains of Italy, and is

Annibal Bentivoglio had lately driven Francisco Piccinino out of that city, and to defend himself against the Duke of Milan, (who supported Francisco) demanded the aid of the Venetians and Florentines, who readily granted it: so that whilst their forces were employed in that service, they were doubtful whether they should be able to assist Sforza. But afterwards, when Annibal had entirely got the better of his adversary, and that affair was over, the Florentines determined to send him relief. However, in order to secure themselves against the Duke, they, in the first place, renewed the League with him, to which the Duke himself was not averse: for though he had in some measure contributed to bring that war upon the Count at a time when Regnier had got footing in the Kingdom of Naples; yet, when he saw him vanquished and utterly driven out of it, he did not care to have the Count also deprived of his dominions, and therefore not only gave his consent that others should send him succours, but wrote himself to desire Alphonso would return with his forces to Naples and give the Count no further disturbance; which he seemed very unwilling to comply with: but considering his obligations to the Duke, he at last acquiesced, and withdrew with his troops to the other side of the Trenta.

Whilst things were thus circumstanced in Romagna, the Florentines had some disturbances at home. Amongst those that had the chief authority in the Government there, Neri the Son of Gino Capponi was one of whose reputation Cosimo de' Medici was more jealous than of that of any other person; as he had not only very great credit in the City, but was ex-

therefore called *Bologna the Fat*. This City is about five miles in circumference, remarkable for its magnificent Churches and Monasteries, and the riches and fine paintings in them. The inhabitants are computed to amount to about 70,000. It is the See of an Archbishop, and one of the most considerable Universities in Europe, subject to the Pope, and governed by his Legate. There is an Academy of Literati here, who stile themselves *Gli Otiosi*, from their retirement and tranquillity.

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ceedingly beloved by the soldiery, whose affections he had gained by his bravery, humanity, and good conduct when he commanded the troops of the Republic, as he had done upon several occasions. Besides which, the remembrance of the victories that had been gained by him and his father (one of whom had taken Pisa, and the other defeated Niccolo Piccinino at the Battle of Anghiari) made him respected by many, and feared by others who did not desire any more associates in the Government. But of all their Generals Baldaccio de Anghiari was certainly the most eminent; nor was there any man in Italy at that time who surpassed him either in courage, or military skill, or bodily accomplishments: and having always commanded the Infantry, they had such an opinion of him, that it was generally believed he could influence them to execute any purpose, and that they would follow him in any undertaking whatsoever. This Baldaccio was very intimate with Neri, for whom he had the highest esteem on account of his valour and other good qualities, of which he had long been a witness: but it was a connexion that excited infinite jealousy amongst the rest of the principal Citizens, who thinking it dangerous to let him enjoy his liberty, and still more so to imprison him, resolved to have him dispatched; in which, fortune seemed to second their design. Bartolomeo Orlandini was then Gonfalonier of Justice; who having been sent to defend the pass of Marradi, when Niccolo Piccinino invaded Tuscany, had shamefully deserted it, (as we have before related) and abandoned all that country to the fury of the enemy, which, from the nature of its situation, was of itself almost inaccessible. So flagrant a piece of cowardice, provoked Baldaccio to such a degree, that he could not help expressing his contempt of him, both in public conversation, and the letters which he wrote to his friends, in terms that not only excited Orlandini's resentment, but made him thirst for revenge, and flatter himself that he should extinguish the infamy of the
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the fact, by the death of his accuser. To this resolution * some other Citizens were privy, who encouraged him in it, and said by so doing he would sufficiently revenge the injuries which he had suffered himself, and at the same time deliver the government from the fear of a man whom it was dangerous to employ, and might be their ruin to dismiss. Orlandini therefore, being confirmed in his purpose to assassinate him, shut up several armed men in his apartment; and the next day when Baldaccio came to attend at the Palace (as he did most days) to confer with the Magistracy concerning the pay of his soldiers, he was ordered to wait upon the Gonfalonier immediately; which he did, without suspecting any danger. As soon as they met and had taken a turn or two in the gallery which is before the chambers of the Signiory, they began to talk about their affairs, and at last coming near the door of the apartment where the armed men were concealed, the Gonfalonier gave them a signal: upon which, they instantly rushed out, and as Baldaccio had neither arms nor attendants, they soon dispatched him, and threw him out of the Palace window that looks towards the Dogana, or Custom-house, from whence he was carried into the Piazza, and after they had cut off his head, his body was exposed there all that day as a spectacle to the People. He left only one Son, who was but a boy, and did not long survive his father. His Widow Annalena, being thus deprived both of her Husband and Child, resolved to have no further commerce with the World, and having converted her house into a sort of Convent, she shut herself up in it with several other Ladies of Noble families, and there spent the rest of her days, in acts of piety and devotion, immortalizing her memory by endowing and calling the Convent after her own name.

* This vague and indiscriminate manner of speaking, seems rather a stroke of partiality in the author; as it is well known, that these other Citizens were the Medici, on whose family Machiavel was dependent when he wrote this history. Compare this with what he says of his impartiality in the Dedication to Clement VII.

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This tragical event gave a considerable check to Capponi's interest, and diminished the number of his partisans. The governors however did not stop here : for as they had now been ten years in the administration, and the authority of the Balìa was expired, many began both to talk and act with much greater freedom than they thought was consistent with the security of the State. In order therefore to establish themselves in their power, they judged it necessary to revive that Court ; by which they would have an opportunity of strengthening the hands of their friends, and more effectually depressing their enemies. With this view, the Councils instituted a new Balìa in the year 1444, which confirmed the present Magistrates in their respective departments, vested the privilege of chusing the Signiory in a few hands, and new-modelled the *Chancery of Reformation*, deposing the President Philip Peruzzi, and setting another person at the head of it, who they were well assured would conform himself to their instructions. They likewise prolonged the banishment of such as they had before sent into exile, imprisoned Giovanni the Son of Simone Vespucci, and deprived all those of their honours and employments, that adhered to their enemies ; amongst whom, were the Sons of Pietro Baroncelli, the whole family of the Seragli, Bartolomeo Fortini, Francisco Castellani, and many others. By such means they at the same time regained their former authority and reputation, and quashed all opposition : and having thus got entire possession of the Government at home, they now began to turn themselves with more attention to foreign affairs.

Niccolo Piccinino, as we have already said, was abandoned by King Alphonso, and Count Sforza grown so powerful by the assistance of the Florentines that he attacked him near Fermo, and gave him so total an overthrow, that he escaped with but very few of his men to Montecchio ; where however he fortified himself in such a manner, that being soon rejoined by almost all his forces, he was able to defend

send himself against the Count; especially, as he was favoured by the approach of the Winter, which obliged them both to send their troops into quarters.

During the course of the Winter, Piccinino's chief care was to recruit his army, which was also not a little reinforced by other supplies from the Pope and King Alphonso: so that as soon as the Spring came on, both Generals took the field again: but Piccinino's forces being much superior, reduced the Count to such extremities that he would have been utterly ruined, if the Duke of Milan had not interfered, and once more snatched the Victory out of his adversary's hand, by sending him word that he must instantly repair to his Court, for he wanted to confer personally with him about some affairs of the utmost importance to himself. Upon this, Piccinino, eager to know what those affairs were, immediately posted away to Milan, and left his Son Francisco to command the army, relinquishing a certain Victory for vain and fallacious hopes. For the Count being aware of this, resolved not to neglect so great an advantage, but to draw the enemy to an engagement if possible in the absence of their General; in which he succeeded according to his wish, and not only routed Francisco's forces, but took him prisoner near Monte Loro. Niccolo on the other hand, finding himself decoyed by the Duke, and hearing of his Son's misfortune soon after his arrival at Milan, was so affected with it, that he died of grief in the year 1445, at the age of 64, a more valiant than fortunate commander. He left two Sons, Francisco and Giacopo, whose valour was by no means equal to that of their father, and their fortune still more unfavourable; so that the glory of the Braccescan party was now in a manner totally eclipsed, whilst the arms of the Sforzas, being more successful, daily increased their interest and reputation. The Pope therefore, now Piccinino was dead and his army dissipated, not expecting much assistance from Alphonso, resolved to come to an accommodation with Count Sforza, which at last was brought

brought about by the mediation of the Florentines; it being agreed betwixt them, that Osimo, Fabriano, and Recanati, towns in la Marca de Ancona, should be restored to his Holiness, and that the Count should remain in possession of the rest of that territory.

After this peace, all Italy would have been in tranquillity, if it had not been prevented by the disturbances that happened at Bologna. There were then two very powerful families in that City, the Caneschi and the Bentivogli: Annibal was head of the latter, Battista of the former. To create a mutual confidence betwixt these two families, and to avail themselves of each other's assistance, there had been several intermarriages betwixt them: but amongst people that aspire to the same degree of grandeur, it is much easier to contract an alliance, than a friendship. Bologna was in league with the Venetians and Florentines, a treaty having been made with them for that purpose by Annibal Bentivoglio, after the expulsion of Francisco Piccinino; but Battista Caneschi knowing how desirous the Duke of Milan was to have an interest there, had engaged in a conspiracy with that Prince, to dispatch Annibal, and deliver up the City into his hands. Accordingly, when they had concerted proper measures for the execution of their design, on the 24th of June, 1445, Battista and his accomplices fell upon Annibal, and killed him: after which, they ran about the Streets, crying out, *Long live the Duke of Milan*. The Venetian and Florentine Commissaries happening to be in the Town at that time, immediately retired to their houses upon the first rumour of the fact; but afterwards, when they saw the people run together in arms against the murderers, and bitterly lamenting the death of Annibal, they took courage, and having joined them with their domestics, attacked the Caneschi and their followers, whom they soon got the better of, killing some, and driving the rest out of the Town. Battista himself not being able to make his escape, nor his enemies to lay hold on him,

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hid himself in a vault, in his own house, where he used to keep his grain: but the people, after they had sought for him in vain all day, though they knew he had not got out of the City, at last came back to his house, and so terrified the servants with their threats, that one of them discovered where he had concealed himself; from whence they pulled him out, covered with armour as he still was; and after they had put him to death, they first dragged his body through the streets, and then burnt it to ashes. Thus having vainly depended upon the Duke's victorious arms to support him, he perished in the attempt, for want of proper succour.

The death of Battista, and the expulsion of his whole family, put an end to that insurrection indeed, but the City still continued in great confusion; for there was nobody left of the house of Bentivoglio that was capable of governing it, as Annibal had left but one son, a boy of only six years of age, whose name was John: so that it was apprehended some divisions would arise amongst the friends of the Bentivogli, which might open a door for the return of the Cameschi, to the utter ruin, not only of their party, but of the whole City. Whilst they were in this perplexity, Francisco, who had formerly been Count of Poppi, happening to be then at Bologna, signified to the principal Citizens, "that if they had a mind to be governed by a person that was of Annibal's blood, he knew where to find such a one: for about twenty years before, one Hercules Bentivoglio, a Cousin of Annibal, being at Poppi, had enjoyed a young woman of that place, who afterwards was brought to bed of a son, whose name was Santi; and that he had often heard him acknowledge the child as his own: which seemed the more probable, as there was a very strong resemblance betwixt them." This suggestion was listened to with much eagerness by the Citizens, who not only gave credit to the story, but immediately sent deputies to Florence to see the young man, and endeavour to prevail upon Neri Cap-

Capponi, and Cosimo de' Medici, to deliver him to them.

Agnolo da Cascese, the reputed father, was dead, and Santi himself at that time under the care of an uncle, whose name was Antonio da Cascese. This Antonio was a rich man, had no children of his own, and lived in great friendship with Neri, who being informed of these circumstances, thought it was an offer not to be despised, nor yet to be rashly accepted; and therefore determined that Santi should be introduced to Cosimo, together with the deputies that came from Bologna, where they might hear what each party had to say for themselves. This being done, the deputies not only acknowledged Santi, and treated him with the highest respect, but were almost ready to prostrate themselves before him, out of the ancient love they bore to his family and friends. Nothing, however, was concluded upon at that time: but Cosimo taking Santi aside, said to him, "Young man, there is nobody that is capable of advising you so well in such a case as yourself; and I would have you follow the dictates of your own genius: for if you are really the son of Hercules Bentivoglio, you will naturally aspire to such actions as will be worthy of your father and his family: but if you are the son of Agnolo Cascese, you will of course incline to continue in Florence, and spend the rest of your life in combing wool, or some other such vile occupation." The young man, who before seemed indifferent about the matter, or rather unwilling to accept the offer, being stung with the sarcasm, made answer, "that he would leave himself wholly to the direction of Cosimo and Neri; and as they thought proper to comply with the request of the Bolognese, he was soon provided with rich cloths, horses, and equipage, and a few days afterwards conducted, in the midst of a numerous attendance to Bologna, where he was appointed Governor, not only of Annibal Bentivoglio's children, but of the City, and behaved himself with so much prudence in those charges, that, though most

of his predecessors had been murdered by their enemies, he, on the contrary, lived all his days in great honour, and died a natural death.

After Niccolo Piccinino was dead, and a peace concluded in la Marca, the Duke of Milan, standing in need of another General to command his forces, made some secret overtures for that purpose to Ciarpellone, who had returned into Count Sforza's service, and was one of his most experienced officers; and Ciarpellone having accepted the offer, demanded leave of the Count to go to Milan, that he might take possession of some Castles, which the Duke had given him in the late wars. But the Count suspecting his design, caused him, in the first place, to be arrested, and soon after, to be put to death, that the Duke might not avail himself of his service, if any future difference should happen betwixt them; pretending, that he had discovered a conspiracy, in which he was engaged against him. The Duke, indeed, was thoroughly exasperated at the disappointment; but it was matter of joy to the Florentines and Venetians, who were always jealous of any connexion that might make the arms of the Count subservient to the power and ambition of the Duke. It served, however, to excite fresh troubles, and kindle new wars in la Marca.

Gismondo Malatesta* was at that time Lord of Rimini, and as he had married the Count's daughter,

* Sigismund Malatesta, or Gismondo, as Machiavel calls him, was a Philosopher, an Historian, a great Soldier, and one of the most renowned Commanders of the fifteenth Century. But these accomplishments were obscured by many very bad qualities. For he was exceeding profligate and prophane, ridiculed all Religion, denied the Immortality of the Soul, and stuck at nothing to serve his private interest and ambition: by which behaviour he so offended Pius II. that he excommunicated him in the year 1462. This Commander, in conjunction with Count Sforza, routed Antonio Ordelaffi, Lord of Furl; and afterwards making war upon his other neighbours, almost always with good success, the Venetians made him their General. He then passed into the Morea, and took Sparta, and several other places from the Turks. At his return, the Florentines and Sieneze appointed him Commander in Chief of their forces, to make war upon Pius; but he was not successful in that. He died

expected to have obtained the government of Pesaro from him: but the Count, soon after he had got possession of that place, gave it to his own brother Alexander, which was highly resented by Gismondo; and what exasperated him still more, was, that Frederic di Montefeltro, his declared enemy, had taken Urbino from him, chiefly by the assistance of the Count. Upon these provocations, he went over to the Duke, and earnestly solicited the Pope, and the King of Naples, to make war upon his father-in-law; who, in order to give Gismondo a taste of the war he seemed so fond of, resolved to be before-hand with them, and attack him in the first place. This presently filled all Romagna, and la Marca with tumult and confusion: for the Duke, the King of Naples, and the Pope, all sent powerful succours to the aid of Malatesta: and on the other hand, both the Florentines and the Venetians supplied the Count with what Money he wanted, though they did not send him any men. Nor was the Duke content with carrying his arms into Romagna, he designed likewise, if possible, to strip the Count of Pontremoli and Cremona*: but the former was defended by the Florentines; and the latter by the Venetians. From these sparks a fresh war was kindled up in Lombardy, where, after some

October 6, 1467, at the age of fifty one, leaving many children; amongst whom was Robert Malatesta, a famous warrior in his day, who was a General in the Venetian service, and afterward commanded the army of Sixtus IV. against Alphonso, King of Naples, and the rest of his allies, whom he routed in 1481. The Pope ordered an Equestrian Statue to be erected for him in St. Peter's Church. The Malatesti were a very powerful family, and governed both Pesaro and Rimini a long time; in the latter they maintained themselves above two hundred years. Clement VII. at last took it from Pandolpho Malatesta, who died in poverty at Ferrara. Marcheselli & Sanfovino Orig. di famig. Ital.

* Cremona is the capital of the Cremonese, in the Duchy of Milan, situated upon the Po, 45 miles south-east of that City. Here Prince Eugene, the Imperial General, surprized the French General Marshal Villeroy, in his bed, and carried him off in the year 1702, and would infallibly have taken the City, if the troops, appointed to support him, had not lost their way. The Prince entered the town in the night by a subterraneous passage, which had been an aqueduct, and returned the same way, with very little loss.

skirmishes in the Cremonese, Francisco Piccinino, the Duke's General, was totally defeated by Micheletto Attenduli, who commanded the Venetian forces, in an engagement that happened near Casal. This victory so elated the Venetians, that they began to conceive hopes of making themselves masters of all the Duke's dominions: for which purpose, they sent a commissary with an army towards Cremona, who took Ghiaradadda by assault, reduced the whole country round about it, except Cremona itself, and then passing the Adda, made incursions up to the very gates of Milan. In this exigency, the Duke had recourse to King Alphonso, for succours; representing to him the danger his own dominions would be in, if Lombardy should fall into the hands of the Venetians: upon which consideration, Alphonso promised to send him the succours he requested, though it would be a very difficult matter, he said, to find any passage into Lombardy, if the Count should endeavour to prevent it. He therefore likewise applied to the Count himself, whom he earnestly entreated not to abandon his father-in-law, now he was weighed down with years, and had lost his sight. The Count, indeed, was not a little enraged at the Duke, for taking part in that war against him; and on the other hand, he could not help looking with some jealousy on the power of the Venetians, and the deficiency of his remittances, as the league began to grow very sparing in furnishing him with supplies: for the Florentines were now freed from those apprehensions of the Duke, which had formerly made them so much carels the Count; and the Venetians wished to see him ruined, as he was the only man that could prevent them from becoming masters of all Lombardy. Nevertheless, whilst the Duke was thus endeavouring to draw him over to his interests, and offered him the command of all his forces, provided he would leave the Venetians, and restore what he possessed in la Marca to the Pope, they also thought proper to send Ambassadors to him, with a promise of Milan,

if they took it, and the command of their troops for life, upon condition that he would continue the war in la Marca, and obstruct the passage of the succours which Alphonso was going to send into Lombardy.

The offers of the Venetians were very tempting, and the favours he had received from them considerable, as they had entered into the war merely to secure Cremona to the Count: on the contrary, the injuries the Duke had done were fresh upon his mind, and he knew his promises were always insincere, and not to be depended upon. He therefore was in doubt what resolution to take: for on one side he considered his engagements with the league, the forfeiture of his honour, the late good offices they had done him, and the promises of further reward: on the other, he could not help being moved by the entreaties of his father-in-law, nor to suspect there was some latent poison in the magnificent promises that were made him by the Venetians; especially as he was sensible, that if ever they gained their ends, he should then have nothing to trust to but their mercy and honour for the performance of them, and even for his own preservation, and that of his dominions; a condition to which no wise Prince would ever submit, except compelled by downright necessity. But the ambition of the Venetians, at last, put an end to the Count's suspense; for as they had formed a design of seizing upon Cremona, by the assistance of some of the Citizens there, with whom they held a correspondence, they caused their forces to march that way, though upon a different pretence; but their intention being discovered by those that governed the City for the Count, they not only failed in that attempt, but entirely lost the Count by it, who, without any further consideration, or regard, immediately went over to the Duke.

Pope Eugenius being now dead*, was succeeded by Nicholas V. and the Count had already advanced

* The name of this Pontif, before his exaltation, was Gabrieli Condemerio. He was born of a Plebeian family at Venice, and succeeded

with all his forces as far as Cotignola, in order to pass into Lombardy, when he received an account of the Duke of Milan's death. This event, which happened on the last day of August, in the Year 1447, exceedingly embarrassed the Count; for in the first place he began to be apprehensive his men would grow mutinous for want of the arrears which were due to them: and in the next he was afraid of the Venetians, who were already armed, and he knew would resent his abandoning them and joining the late Duke. Alphonso was his ancient enemy; and he could put no confidence either in the Pope or the

ceeded Martin V. in the year 1431. His Pontificate was an unquiet one, as he was involved in wars, and disturbed with schisms and ecclesiastical sedition, during the greater part of it. Being forced from Rome by the arms and intrigues of the Duke of Milan, he fled to Florence; and refusing to go to the Council which he had summoned to meet at Basil, he was deposed for contempt (as has been said before, in a note, towards the latter end of the fourth Book of this History) and the Antipope, Amadeus, Duke of Savoy, or Felix V. set up in his room. At last, however, after ten years absence, he returned to Rome, made a vigorous opposition to his enemies, who were making great havock in the ecclesiastical State; and at the same time sent a fleet by sea, and an army by land, against the Turk, under the command of his Legate Juliano Cesarini. He was very inconsistent and desultory in his actions at the beginning of his reign, and led away by evil Counsels; but afterwards, acted with prudence and resolution. But an indifferent scholar, though pretty well versed in history; very liberal, especially to men of learning, whom he favoured and preferred; a great benefactor to the Religious Orders, to some of which he granted several privileges and revenues, and increased the foundations of others. But he delighted so much in war, that besides those he was embroiled in himself in Italy, he intigated the Dauphin of France to march with a great body of horse against his enemies at Basil: and afterwards sent Ladislaus, King of Poland, with his Legate Cesarini, against the Turks, of whom they cut off thirty thousand, in a battle betwixt Adrianople and the banks of the Danube; but the King and the Legate were also killed at the same time. Platina adds, that he was accounted very strict to his word, *except when he had made a promise which it was better to revoke than perform.* Qu. Does he mean better for himself or others? He died in the 63d year of his age, after he had reigned almost 16 years. See Platina. Spondan. Annal.

The Reflection he made just before he expired, is remarkable, and a proof that those that possess the highest dignities find them to be mere vanity. When he was going to breathe his last, he turned towards some friars who stood by his bed-side, and said with a deep sigh, that it would have conduced much more to his salvation, if he had never been either Pope or Cardinal. Launojus Epist. ult. Part. i. p. 82. Edit. Cantab.

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Florentines; as he had taken many towns from the one, and the other were in league with the Venetians. He resolved however to face them all, and avail himself of such expedients as might afterwards occur; well knowing that fortune usually favours such as are bold and active, and turns her back upon those that give themselves up to indolence and despair: besides, he was not without some hopes, that the Milanese would be obliged to have recourse to him for protection against the ambition of the Venetians. Taking courage therefore, he marched into the territories of Bologna, and having passed Modena and Reggio, he encamped with his whole army upon the banks of the Lenza, from whence he sent to make an offer of his service to the Milanese. After the death of the Duke, his subjects divided into factions, one party being desirous of forming themselves into a Republic, and another of living under the government of a Prince: and of those that chose the latter, some were for having the Count, and others King Alphonso to reign over them. Those however, that resolved to live under a free government, being more united amongst themselves, at last prevailed over the other party and established a Commonwealth upon their own model: which yet many Cities in that Duchy would not submit to, in hopes they should be able to become independant as well as Milan: and even those that did not aspire to be absolutely free, refused to be governed by the Milanese. Of the latter, Lodi, and Placentia put themselves under the protection of the Venetians: but Pavia and Parma* maintained their own liberties. The Count

* The Duchy of Parma was assigned to the House of Austria, after the death of the late Duke, who had no children, by a treaty betwixt the Emperor Charles VI. and France, in the year 1736, and the House of Austria took possession of it accordingly; against which, the Pope protested, claiming it as a Fief of the Holy See. The Court of Parma in the reigns of the late Dukes of the House of Farnese, was one of the most splendid in Europe.—The late Queen dowager of Spain was a daughter of Parma, whose eldest Son Don Carlos, the present King of Spain, was to have succeeded to this Duchy, and

being informed of these divisions, removed to Cremona, where it was agreed betwixt Commissioners on his part, and others who were sent thither by the Milanese, that he should be commander in chief of their forces, upon the same terms that had been offered him by the Duke: and further, that he should have Brescia ceded to him, till he could make himself master of Verona; after which, the former should be restored to them*.

Before the death of the late Duke, Pope Nicholas † had taken pains to re-establish peace amongst all the

that of Tuscany, by virtue of a treaty betwixt most of the Powers of Europe: but the Queen of Spain and her Son were content to relinquish their interest in those Duchies, in consideration of Don Carlos's being confirmed in the Dominions of Naples and Sicily, by the House of Austria, in the year 1736. But by the treaty of Aix la Chapelle, in the year 1748, the Duchies of Parma, Placentia, and Guastalla, were ceded to Philip Duke of Parma, second Son of the Queen of Spain, and Brother to Don Carlos.

* Philip Maria Visconti leaving only a natural daughter, whom he had given in marriage to Francis Sforza, several Princes laid claim to the Duchy of Milan. The Emperor Frederic III. pretended it was escheated to the Empire, as the last Duke left no legitimate children. Alphonso, King of Naples, founded his claim upon that Duke's will, in which he had appointed him his heir. The Duke of Orleans alledged the right of consanguinity; he being the son of Valentina, the Duke's sister. Sforza urged, that the same Duke had adopted him, and added to this, his wife's right. Spondan. Annal. ad ann. 1447. No. vii. From these opposite pretensions, therefore, the Citizens of Milan thought they had a fair opportunity of turning their State into a Republic: for which purpose, having elected twelve Magistrates, whom they stiled "Conservators of the Peace," they tore the late Duke's will to pieces, and appointed Sforza General of their army. The last part of their conduct was very imprudent, and ill suited to the design they had of establishing a republican government in their city. They did not consider, that no circumstance can be more favourable to a man, who wants to get possession of a sceptre, than the putting a sword into his hand; "*ben convenendosi la spada a quella mano che vuole scettro*" Vianoli. Hist. Venet. tom. i. p. 604. Spondanus observes very justly, that several cities fell into slavery at that time, through an excess of eagerness to avoid it. Factions arose within those cities: sometimes they would have one form of government, and sometimes another; and when one of these factions got the upperhand, it shewed no mercy to the other. Was not this paving the way for slavery? *Mediolanenses servande pro se libertatis impotentes erant; & ut in his fieri mos erat civitatum Italicarum, illam fueri querentes, mutuis dissensionibus crudelitibusque faciliorem servituti viam sternebant.* Spondan. Annal. ad ann. 1449. No. 7.

† This Pontif obliged the Antipope Felix V. to renounce all his pretensions to the Papacy, celebrated a Jubilee in the year 1450, and

Princes

Princes of Italy. For which purpose, he used his endeavours with the Ambassadors whom the Florentines had sent to congratulate him upon his exaltation to the Pontificate, that a conference might be held at Ferrara, in order to treat of a lasting peace, or at least a long cessation of arms. Accordingly a Legate was dispatched by his Holiness, to meet the Plenipotentiaries appointed to assemble at that City by the Venetians, the Duke of Milan, and the Florentines: but King Alphonso did not send any thither. He then lay at Tivoli* with a great body both of horse and foot, ready to support the Duke in any undertaking; and it was generally thought that as soon as they could draw the Count over to their interests, they would openly attack the Venetians and Florentines: and that they were only amusing them in the mean while with talking of a peace at Ferrara, to give the Count time to get with his forces into Lombardy. For though Alphonso did not send any Ambassador to the conference there, he gave them to understand he would ratify whatever the Duke should think proper to agree to. It continued many days, and there were warm debates whether a truce for five years, or an absolute peace should be concluded: at last, all parties consented that it should be left to the Duke of Milan's option to determine upon either one or the other, as he liked best: but

crowned the Emperor Frederick III. but being terrified with a conspiracy formed against him and the Cardinals, by Stephen Porcari (an account of which the reader will meet with towards the end of this book) and the taking of Constantinople by the Turks, he fell sick and died, in 1455. He was a great restorer and favourer of learning. He gave many thousand books to the Vatican Library, of which, some say, he was the Founder; and collected a vast number of Greek and Latin Manuscripts, at an incredible expence. *Platina.*

* The ancient Tibur of the Romans. It is in the Campagna di Roma, situated upon the River Teverone, about 18 miles to the East of Rome. The Palace of the family of Este, Dukes of Modena, which was built here by Cardinal Hippolyto d' Este, is much admired for its Architecture, Sculpture, Paintings, noble Gardens and Waterworks. Tivoli is now a little town, but the See of a Bishop, and subject to the Duke of Modena, proprietor of the magnificent palace above-mentioned.

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his Plenipotentiaries, who returned to Milan to know his pleasure in that respect, did not arrive there till after he was dead. Upon which event, the Milanese were desirous to have a Peace: but the Venetians now refused to stand to their agreement, as they began to entertain still greater hopes of making themselves masters of all their territories; and seeing that Lodi and Placentia had immediately submitted to them upon the death of the Duke, they made no doubt of reducing all the rest of his dominions, either by treaty or dint of arms, before any body could come to their succour; especially as the Florentines were at that juncture upon the point of being embroiled in a war with King Alphonso.

That Prince was then at Tivoli (as we have just now said) and being determined to prosecute his designs upon Tuscany, according to the plan that had been concerted betwixt him and the late Duke, thought the war, which was now begun in Lombardy, would give him a fair opportunity of so doing, and of getting some footing in the Florentine dominions, before he proceeded to an open rupture with them: for which purpose, having entered into a correspondence with some persons in Cennina, a fortress that lies in the upper part of the Vale of Arno, he soon after made himself master of it. The Florentines were not a little alarmed at this unexpected stroke; and seeing the King had now commenced hostilities, they immediately augmented their forces, created a *Council of Ten*, and made all other necessary preparations for war, with the utmost diligence and expedition. On the other hand, King Alphonso had already advanced with his whole army into the territories of Siena, and tried all the means he could think of to get possession of that City*: but the Siense continued so firm

* Siena is the capital of the Siense, in the Duchy of Tuscany, situated on an eminence, in a very fruitful and pleasant Country. It is about four miles in circumference, encompassed with a ruinous old wall, and defended by a citadel. The town is thinly inhabited, but elegantly built, and the Cathedral esteemed one of the finest

to their alliance with the Florentines, that they would neither open their own gates to him, nor admit him into any other place under their jurisdiction. They condescended so far however, as to furnish him plentifully with provisions: for which, they thought, their own weakness and the strength of the enemy would be a sufficient excuse.

The King therefore gave up his design of invading Tuscany by the way of the Vale of Arno, as he had at first intended; for the Florentines had not only retaken Cennina, but were pretty well provided with forces to oppose him in that part of the Country: upon which account, he suddenly turned off towards Volterra, and surprized many fortresses in that neighbourhood. From thence he advanced into the territories of Pisa, where by the assistance of Henrico and Fazio de' Conti, heads of the Gherardeschi family, he took several Castles; which gave him an opportunity of making an assault upon Campiglia, though he did not succeed in it; as it was resolutely maintained by the Florentines, and they were favoured in their defence by the winter season. The King therefore having left sufficient garrisons in the places which he had taken, not only to maintain them, but to make excursions into the neighbouring Countries, retired into quarters with the rest of his army in the territories of Siena. And the Florentines being now secured from all further danger by the season of the year, began to raise more forces with all possible diligence, and appointed Frederic Lord of Urbino, and Gismondo Malatesta Governor of Rimini, their Generals. For though there had been an inveterate enmity betwixt those two Commanders, yet their dif-

pieces of Gothic Architecture in Italy. It is the See of an Archbishop, and an University; and here is an Academy likewise of Literati. The Sieneſe are ſaid to ſpeak the Italian language with greater purity than any other people. The City is at preſent ſubject to the great Duke of Tuscany, who has been ſovereign of it ever ſince the year 1555; till which time it was a powerful Republic, and often contended with the Florentines for empire. The Emperor of Germany is now poſſeſſed of it as grand Duke of Tuscany.

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ferences were at last so happily composed by the prudence of Neri Capponi, and Bernardetto de' Medici, the Florentine Commissaries, that they took the field even in the depth of winter, and having recovered those places that had been taken from them in the territories of Pisa, and Volterra, they so bridled the excursions of Alphonso's garrisons, which before used to scour all the coasts that lay upon the Sea, that they were hardly able to support themselves in the towns they were left to defend.

At the return of the Spring the Commissaries assembled their whole army at Spedeletto, which consisted of five thousand horse, and two thousand foot; and King Alphonso advanced with all his forces likewise, amounting to fifteen thousand, within a league of Campiglia. But when every body expected he would have sat down again before that place, he suddenly turned aside to Piombino, imagining he could easily make himself master of it, as it was but indifferently provided for a siege: and he knew if he should succeed in the attempt, it would be very advantageous to himself, and of the utmost prejudice to the Florentines: for being in possession of that town, he should be plentifully furnished with all manner of provisions by Sea, and have it in his power to distress the Florentines to the last degree, by laying the whole Country round Pisa under contribution, and spinning out the war as long as he pleased. The Florentines were not a little alarmed at this step; but having considered what was best to be done in their circumstances, they thought if their forces could gain the thickets and woody defiles of Campiglia, they might oblige the King either to make a shameful retreat, or fight them at a manifest disadvantage. For this purpose, they armed four Galeasses* at Leghorn, and having embarked three

* Galeasses, or double Gallies, are large, low built, heavy vessels, which use both sails and oars, and are the biggest of all the vessels that go with the latter. They carry generally about twenty guns, and a great number of small arms, the latter chiefly in the stern or

hundred Soldiers on board of them, they found meant to throw them into Piombino: after which, their army posted itself at Caldane, where it could not be attacked without much difficulty, judging that safer upon second thoughts, than to lie amongst woods and thickets, or upon an open plain, where they must of course be exposed to great danger. Their supplies of provisions they drew from the neighbouring towns, which being few in number, and thinly inhabited, were not able to furnish them with a sufficient quantity: so that they were in great want, especially of wine: for as there was none produced in those parts, and they could not then get much from other places, it was not possible there should be enough for every one. But the King's army, notwithstanding all the endeavours of the Florentines to cut off its communication with the Country, having the Sea still open, was plentifully supplied with all manner of necessaries, except forage. Of which the Florentines being aware, resolved to try if they could not likewise furnish their troops with provisions in the same manner: but having loaded their four Galeasses with provisions, and sent them to Sea for that purpose, they were met by seven of the King's Vessels which took two of them, and obliged the others to return into port. This disaster having utterly extinguished the hopes which their forces had conceived of being supplied with provisions by Sea, one of their foraging parties which consisted of above two hundred, deserted, and went over to the King, chiefly for want of wine; and many others began to murmur, and said they would stay no longer in that hot Coun-

poop, with three masts, and a bowsprit, which are never to be taken down or lowered, as they may be in Gallies. They have thirty two Benches of rowers, and five or six men to each bench, with three tires of guns in the head, one over the other, of two guns each, which carry thirty-six, twenty-four, and ten pounders. The Venetians are now the only people that use Galeasses: The French made use of them formerly. Scaliger is of opinion, that what Pliny calls Long Ships, were what we call Galeasses, the first whereof was that of the Argonauts.

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try, where there was no wine to be had, and the water was so bad they could hardly drink it.

The Commissaries therefore, at last determined to quit that station, and endeavour to retake some other Castles, which still remained in the hands of the King; who perceiving that his army (though it did not want any sort of provision, and was much superior to that of the enemy) was likewise diminished every day by the distempers which are incident to those swampy parts that lie near the Sea (especially in the heat of Summer) and which raged at that time with such fury, that numbers fell sick, and many died. Each side being thus distressed, some overtures of peace were made, in which the King demanded fifty thousand Florins by way of indemnification for the expence he had been at, and that Piombino should be left to his mercy; which terms after they had been canvassed at Florence, many who were desirous of a peace seemed inclinable to accept; alledging that they could not see any probability of coming off with advantage in a war that must be supported at so vast an expence. But Neri Capponi going himself to Florence, used such arguments to dissuade them from it, that the Citizens at last unanimously agreed not to make those concessions; and not only took the Lord of Piombino under their protection, but promised to support him effectually both in peace and war, provided he would be faithful to them, and defend the town for the future in the manner he had already done. Of which resolution, King Alphonso was soon informed, and seeing his army so diminished by sickness, that he had no hopes of reducing that town, he immediately raised his Camp in as much confusion and disorder as if he had been routed: and having lost above two thousand of his men, he retreated with the rest of his army in a feeble and languishing condition into the territories of Siena: from whence he returned after some time into his own kingdom, highly enraged at the Florentines, whom he threatened with a fresh invasion at the return of the spring.

Whilst

Whilst things were upon this footing in Tuscany, Count Sforza being in Lombardy and now appointed Commander in chief of the Milanese forces, endeavoured in the first place, to make Francisco Piccinino his friend, who was likewise in their service; that so he might be induced to favour him in his future undertakings, or at least not to oppose him with much vigour: after which, he took the field with his whole army. The inhabitants of Pavia therefore, being apprehensive they should not be able to defend themselves against so great a force, and at the same time very loath to be governed by the Milanese, made the Count an offer of their City; provided he would not suffer them to fall under the domination of that State. The Count was very desirous of getting possession of Pavia, as he thought that would be an auspicious beginning, and furnish him with a colourable pretence to prosecute his other designs: nor was he at all restrained either by shame, or the fear of being reproached with breaking his word; for great men commonly think it a dishonour to lose, but an honour to gain any thing, even by fraudulent and peridious means. But he was afraid if he accepted the offer, he should exasperate the Milanese to such a degree, that they would throw themselves into the arms of the Venetians; and if he did not, he thought the Pavians would put themselves under the protection of the Duke of Savoy, to which, many of them seemed very much inclined: and in either of those cases he plainly saw he should have no further chance of making himself master of Lombardy. However, as there seemed to be less danger in taking that City himself, than in letting it fall into the hands of another, he determined to accept of it; persuading himself, that he should be able to find some way or other, of pacifying the Milanese. For which purpose, he represented to them the extremities they must have been reduced to if he had not acted in that manner; since otherwise, the Pavians would certainly have given up the City either to the Venetians or the Duke of Savoy.

and then the State of Milan would have been utterly ruined: that it must therefore be much better for them, to have him for their neighbour, who was their friend and ally, than an enemy, and a very powerful one too, as either of the others would be. But the Milanese having now discovered the Count's ambitious designs, and the object he had principally in view, were not a little alarmed: they thought proper, however, to dissemble for a time, because if they broke with the Count, they did not know whom else to have recourse to, except the Venetians, whose intolerable arrogance, and tyrannical manner of governing, they could not think of without dread and abhorrence. They resolved therefore not to detach themselves from the Count at that time, but to avail themselves of his assistance for a while, to guard them against the dangers with which they were then threatened, hoping that when they were extricated from those difficulties, they should find some means to get rid of him. For they expected to be attacked not only by the Venetians, but by the Genoese, and also by the Duke of Savoy, in behalf of Charles of Orleans, who was Son to a Sister of Philip the late Duke of Milan. But the Count having soon quieted the two last, had no other enemy left to deal with but the Venetians, who were determined to invade the Milanese with a powerful army, and had already got possession of Lodi and Placentia; the latter of which however, was now invested by the Count, and, after a long siege, retaken and plundered by his soldiers, whom he then sent into quarters (as the winter was coming on) and retired himself to Cremona, where he spent the rest of the season in repose with his family.

Early in the Spring, both the Milanese and the Venetian armies appeared in the field; the former being very desirous to recover Lodi also, and afterwards, if possible, to come to some accommodation with the Venetians; for as they found the expences of the war were likely to be very heavy, and grew
more

more and more suspicious of their General, they ardently longed for a peace; that so they might guard against the designs of the Count, and afterwards enjoy themselves in quiet and tranquillity after their troubles. They resolved, therefore, that their forces should lay siege to Caravaggio, imagining, that if they could make themselves masters of that fortress, Lodi would soon be forced to surrender. The Count obeyed their orders, though it was his own desire to have passed the Adda, and fallen into the territories of Brescia: and having set down before Caravaggio, he fortified his Camp in such a manner with ditches and ramparts, that the Venetians could not attack him but at a very great disadvantage. They advanced, however, under the command of their General Micheletto Attenduli, within two bow shots of him, where they continued several days, and had frequent skirmishes with his forces. But he still carried on the siege, and reduced the castle to such extremities, that it could not hold out much longer: at which, the Venetians were exceedingly mortified, as they apprehended the loss of that fortress would totally defeat all their other designs in that expedition. After many disputes amongst the Commanders concerning the means of relieving it, there seemed no way left but to attack the Count in his trenches, which yet could not be done without extreme hazard: but they had set their hearts so much upon the preservation of Caravaggio, that the Venetian Senate, though naturally timorous and averse to any doubtful undertaking, chose rather to run the risque of a defeat, than lose the Castle, and with it, all further hopes of success in their grand enterprize. With a resolution, therefore, to attack him at all events, they got under arms very early next morning, and falling upon that part of his Camp which was the weakest, they at first threw his whole army into some disorder, as it generally happens in such sudden and unexpected assaults. But the Count soon rallied his men in such a manner, that the enemy,

after many attempts to force his trenches, were not only repulsed, but so totally routed and dispersed, that out of twelve thousand horse, of which their army consisted, not quite one thousand escaped; and as all their baggage and carriages also fell into the hands of the Count's soldiers, it was the greatest defeat, and the heaviest loss, the Venetians had ever sustained before that time.

Amongst the rest of the prisoners that were taken, there happened to be one of the Venetian proveditores, who, during the whole course of the war, and particularly a little before the battle, had spoken in very contemptuous terms of the Count, calling him *a Bastard and a Coward*; but when he found himself at his mercy, and recollected what he had done, making no doubt but he should be punished as he really deserved, he threw himself, trembling and weeping, at the Count's knees, and (as it is the nature of base spirits, to be insolent in prosperity, and abject in adversity) humbly besought him to pardon his offence. Upon which, the Count lifting him up from the ground, bid him take courage, and fear no harm: but said, "he could not help wondering that a person of prudence and gravity, as he affected to be thought, should be guilty of such ill manners as he had been, in speaking so injuriously of a person who had done nothing to deserve it from him: that, as to the things which he had reproached him with, he neither could possibly know, nor prevent what had passed betwixt his father and mother before he was born, and therefore ought neither to be applauded nor upbraided for their actions: but that he would venture to affirm one thing however, which was, that since he was capable of acting for himself, he had behaved in such a manner, as not to merit reprehension from any one: of which, both he, and his Senate had many and recent proofs." And having advised him to be more modest for the future, in speaking of others, and to proceed with greater caution
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and deliberation in the execution of military undertakings, he dismissed him.

After this advantage, the Count marched with his victorious army into the territories of Brescia, and having presently over-run all the adjacent Country, encamped within two miles of the City. The Venetians, on the other hand, after their late defeat, having reason to apprehend that it would not be long (as indeed it happened) before he made an attempt upon Brescia, had fortified it as well, and with as much expedition, as their circumstances would admit: after which, they began to raise fresh forces with great diligence, and having collected some scattered remains of their late army, applied to the Florentines for the succours they were obliged by treaty to furnish them with, in case of necessity. And the Florentines, being now no longer embroiled in the war with King Alphonso, accordingly sent two thousand horse, and one thousand foot to their assistance: all which reinforcements put them in a condition to treat of peace.

It had almost always been the good fortune of the Venetian Republic to recover twice as much by treaty, as they had lost in an unsuccessful war; and they now knew that the Milanese were exceedingly suspicious of the Count's designs; that the Count was not content with being merely the Commander of their forces, but secretly aspired to be absolute Sovereign of Milan: and that it was in their own option to conclude an alliance with either of them; as one side would naturally be prompted to join them by ambition, and the other by fear. But having maturely considered the matter, they determined to come to an accommodation with the Count, and to offer him their assistance for the reduction of Milan, imagining, that when the Milanese saw they were betrayed by the Count, it would provoke them to such a degree, that they would throw themselves into any other hands, rather than submit to him; and that when they were reduced to such circumstances, that they

could neither defend themselves, nor put any further confidence in the Count, (having no other refuge) they must of course fly to them for protection. Having come to this resolution, they began to tamper with the Count, whom they found very well disposed to a peace, especially when he perceived that he himself should thereby reap the fruits of the late victory at Caravaggio, which would otherwise redound to the honour and emolument of the Milanese alone. A treaty, therefore, was soon concluded betwixt them, by which the Venetians obliged themselves to pay the Count thirteen thousand Florins a month, till he had conquered Milan; and to furnish him with four thousand horse, and two thousand foot, as long as the war lasted; and the Count, on the other hand, engaged to restore to the Venetians, all the towns and prisoners, and whatever else he had taken from them, during the course of the war: and to rest content with such places only, as were in the possession of Duke Philip, at the time of his death.

When the news of this treaty arrived at Milan, the inhabitants of that City were much more dejected at it, than they had been elated with their victory at Caravaggio; the Governors complained, the common people were outrageous, the women and children wept bitterly, all of them exclaiming against the Count, as *a traitor and perfidious wretch*; and though they had not any great hopes left of being able to prevail upon him, either by entreaties, petitions, or promises, to change the resolution he had taken; yet they sent ambassadors to him, to see what he could say for himself, and what face he put upon so ungrateful and wicked a manner of proceeding. When they were introduced into his presence, one of them thus addressed himself to him:

“ Those that seek to obtain any end, commonly make use either of supplications, gratuities, or menaces, to those whom they have to deal with, in hopes that being either moved by compassion, biassed by self-interest, or terrified with threats, they may at last
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be induced to comply with their requests: but as none of these three different methods of application make any impression upon hard-hearted and rapacious men, and such as are buoyed up with an opinion of their own great power and significance, those that endeavour either to soften them by entreaties, gain them by presents, or frighten them with menaces, will soon have the mortification to find they are labouring to no purpose. As we have, therefore, at last, though too late, discovered the cruelty, the ambition, and the pride of your heart; we are now come, not to ask any favour, nor with the least expectation of obtaining it, if we should ask; but to remind you of the kindnesses you have received from the people of Milan, and to upbraid you with the ungrateful manner in which you have requited them: that so amongst the numberless miseries and calamities which you have brought upon us, we may at least enjoy the pleasure of reproaching you with them. Recollect the circumstances you were in after the death of Duke Philip. You were at enmity with the Pope, and the King of Naples. The Florentines and Venetians, whom you had so basely deserted, could not help resenting the affront, though they had no further occasion for your service, and looked upon you as an enemy. You were debilitated and exhausted by the war in which you had been engaged against the Church; you were left in a manner without men, without money, without friends, or any hopes of being able to preserve your own dominions, and former reputation, which must have been inevitably lost, if we had not been simple enough to take you into our bosom, out of the reverence we bore to the memory of our late Duke, with whom you had entered into such treaties, and contracted so near an alliance, that we had reason to expect the affection you professed for him, would have descended to his subjects; and that when you considered how many favours we had added to those you received from the Duke, the union betwixt us would have continued firm and indissoluble: upon

which account, we not only punctually fulfilled all his former engagements with you, but gave you the actual possession of Brescia too, till you could make yourself master of Verona. What could we either give, or promise you more? What greater favours could you have received, or even hoped for at that time, we do not say from us, but from any other State?—For these unexpected kindnesses, you have recompensed us in a manner, which, we must own, was likewise altogether unexpected and undeserved by us. Nor was this the first instance of your perfidy: for no sooner were you invested with the command of our forces, but you took possession of Pavia for yourself, contrary to all the laws of justice and equity: from which first sample of your friendship, we might well have learned, what we had to expect from you for the future. This injury, however, we bore with patience, in hopes that so great an acquisition would have satiated your ambition: but alas! we find to our sorrow, that such as grasp at the whole, will never be content with a part.—You promised, that we should enjoy all the conquests you afterwards made, well knowing, that what you gave us at several times, you could take from us all at once; as it has happened in fact since the victory of Caravaggio, which being purchased at the expence of our blood and treasure, has been unhappily perverted to our ruin. Wretched are the States that are obliged to be continually in arms, to defend their liberties against the attempts of ambitious invaders; but much more so are those that are forced to employ mercenary and perfidious soldiers, like you, for that purpose. May our fate, however, be a warning to posterity, though we ourselves were so infatuated, as not to remember how the Thebans were treated in the like circumstances by Philip of Macedon; who, after he had been their General, and conquered their enemies, in the first place turned their enemy himself, and then usurped the sovereignty over them. We, for our parts, cannot with justice be accused of any other fault,

fault, but of having put too much confidence in a person whom we ought not to have trusted at all; especially if we had called to mind his former behaviour, and been upon our guard, as we ought to have been, against his restless and unbounded ambition, which was never satisfied in any state or condition: a person who had betrayed the Lord of Lucca; extorted such vast sums from the Florentines and Venetians, treated our late Prince with contempt, insulted a King, and (which was still more heinous) had rebelled against God, and persecuted his Church in so atrocious a manner. We ought not, indeed, to have flattered ourselves, that such a man would treat the Milanese with more respect than he had done those great and powerful States; nor to have expected, that one who had so often violated his engagements with others, would ever be faithful to us. The imprudence, however, for which others may condemn us, can be no excuse for your treachery, nor screen you from the infamy with which you will be branded, when it is known to the world how much reason we have to make these complaints. Does not your own conscience reproach you? Do you feel no remorse when you reflect, that you have turned those arms upon ourselves, which we had taken up to defend our laws and liberties against the invasions of others? We appeal to your own breast. Do you not look upon *yourself* as a Parricide? Can you deny that you deserve the severest and most exemplary of all punishments? But if you are so blinded by ambition, that you are not capable of judging yourself, the whole world has been witness of your iniquities, and will rise up in evidence against you: God himself will open your eyes, and make you sensible of your misdeeds, if the most flagrant perfidy, if perjury and treason are crimes in his sight: though, indeed, his Divine Providence sometimes permits the wicked to escape with impunity for a while (as the case may be at present) to be the instruments of his vengeance, and to bring about some great and good

purpose that is indiscernible to our eyes. Flatter not yourself, therefore, with the hopes of certain victory. You have little reason to expect the favour of Heaven; and we, for our parts, are determined to defend our liberties like men, and in case we cannot preserve them, to submit to any other Prince, rather than wear your yoke. But if, as a chastisement for our sins, and in spite of our utmost endeavours to the contrary, we should have the misfortune after all, to become subject to you, depend upon it, that a dominion usurped by fraud, and founded in violence, will end with ignominy, and utter destruction to yourself or your children."

The Count, though inwardly stung with these reproaches, did not shew any extraordinary emotion, either in his countenance or gestures, but calmly replied, "that as they seemed blinded with passion, he should in some measure overlook their indiscretion and ill language, and the high provocation they had given him in so injurious a charge; to every particular of which, he would, however, have returned an answer, if there had been any body present that was capable of judging betwixt them: as he could make it plainly appear, that he had never yet injured the Milanese in the least degree; and that all his past endeavours had been only to prevent them from injuring him. That they could not help remembering in what manner they had behaved to him, after the battle of Caravaggio; when, instead of rewarding him for his services with the free gift of either Brescia or Verona, as they had promised, they were secretly negotiating a peace with the Venetians; that so the odium of the quarrel might be thrown upon him alone, whilst they ran away with the fruits of the victory, the merit of concluding a peace, and all the other advantages he had gained them in the course of that war. They had no reason to complain, therefore, he said, that he had made his peace with the Venetians, since they had endeavoured to do so themselves: and that if he had deferred it a little longer,

longer, it must have fallen to *his* lot to reproach *them* with that ingratitude of which they now accused *him*; but with what truth, the same God, whom they had so solemnly called upon to avenge the injuries they pretended to have received, would not fail to shew, at the end of the war; when it would be seen, he made no doubt, which of them had justice on their side, and was most favoured by Heaven."

After the Count had thus dismissed the Ambassadors, he began to make preparations for invading the Milanese; and they being determined to defend themselves, took Francisco and Giacopo Piccinino into their pay (who out of the ancient jealousy that subsisted betwixt the Braccescan and Sforzescan parties, had always faithfully adhered to the Milanese) in hopes of being able by their assistance to preserve their liberties; especially if they could find some means to detach the Venetians from the Count, who they thought would not very long continue so strictly united. The Count was of the same opinion, and therefore judged it the best way to strengthen the confederacy betwixt them, by motives of self-interest, since other obligations and engagements did not appear to him sufficient. For this purpose, in concerting their plan of operations for the prosecution of the war, he proposed that they should lay siege to Crema*, whilst he with the rest of their forces over-run the other parts of that State. The Venetians swallowed the bait, and continued firm to the Count till he had made himself master of all the territories depending upon Milan, and reduced the City itself to such extremities by cutting off all communication with the Country, and preventing any provisions from being brought into it, that the Citizens despairing of relief from any other quarter, sent Ambassadors to beseech the Vene-

* Crema is the capital of a little Country, called Cremasco, upon the river Serio, which joins the Adda upon the borders of the Milanese. There is a fine Palace and a Castle, with other fortifications, which now make it something considerable; though it was formerly but an ordinary town. It is the See of a Bishop, and at present subject to the Venetians.

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tians to commiserate their condition, and assist them in defending their liberties, as all good Republicans ought to do, rather than support a Tyrant in his ambitious designs, whose career they would not afterwards be able to check at their pleasure, if he should ever get possession of Milan: insinuating at the same time, that they must not expect he would be content with that part of the Duchy which was to fall to his share by the treaty he had so lately entered into with them; since it was well known he aspired to the whole.

But the Venetians were not yet masters of Crema, and being loth to change sides till they were in possession of it, they answered the Ambassadors in public, "that as they were in alliance with the Count, they could not send the Milanese any succour:" but in private they spoke in different terms, and desired them to tell their masters, that they might depend upon their assistance.

The Count had now drawn his forces so near Milan, that he made an assault upon the suburbs: and the Venetians having at last taken Crema, thought it high time to relieve the Milanese, for which purpose they entered into a treaty with them, and engaged themselves by the first article of it to maintain them in the full enjoyment of their liberties. Accordingly, as soon as the treaty was signed, they sent orders to such of their forces as were with the Count to leave his camp, and join the rest of their own army: acquainting the Count likewise at the same time with what they had done, and allowing him twenty days to accede to the treaty himself if he pleased. The Count was not at all surprized at this event, as he had long foreseen it, and daily expected it would happen: nevertheless, when it did come to pass, he was no less chagrined at it than the Milanese had been when he deserted them. He therefore desired the Ambassadors who had been sent from the Senate of Venice to notify the treaty to him, that they would give him two days to consider of it, and then, he said, he would

would return them an answer : during which time he resolved with himself to amuse the Venetians, and not to give up his present undertaking. With this design, he publicly gave out that he would accede to the Peace, and sent Ambassadors to Venice, with full power to ratify it ; giving them private instructions, however, not to do it upon any account whatsoever, but to protract the matter as long as possible with all the cavils and artifices they could invent. And to make the Venetians believe that he was really in earnest, he not only made a truce with the Milanese for a month. but drew off his forces from their walls, and sent them to quarter in the neighbouring towns which he had taken from them. To this feint was owing all his future success, and the ruin of the Milanese : for the Venetians depending upon a peace, were more remiss in making preparations for war ; and the Milanese seeing a truce concluded, the enemy drawn off, and the Venetians their friends, were firmly persuaded the Count had given up all further design of molesting them. A delusion that was doubly prejudicial to them : for in the first place, it lulled them into security, and made them neglect to take proper measures for their defence ; and in the next, as the coast was now clear of the enemy and it happened to be seed-time, they sowed vast quantities of their grain, which put it in the Count's power to distress them so much the sooner. But he on the other hand, well knowing how to make an advantage of their oversights, took the opportunity of this interval to refresh himself and his men, and to look out for other allies.

During this war in Lombardy, the Florentines had not taken any side, nor shewn the least favour to the Count, either when he took part with the Milanese, or afterwards when he invaded them ; for as he had no great occasion for their assistance, he did not ask it with much importunity : they had indeed sent some succours to the Venetians after the battle of Caravaggio, in consequence of the alliance which then
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subsisted betwixt them. But Count Sforza being now deserted by the Venetians, and not knowing to whom else he could have recourse, earnestly solicited the aid of the Florentines; for which, he applied both publicly to the government of Florence, and privately to his friends in that City; particularly to Cofimo de' Medici, with whom he had always lived in great intimacy, and who had constantly not only assisted him with his advice, but furnished him with liberal supplies of money in all his undertakings. Nor did he fail him in this exigency; for he both gave him large sums out of his own private purse, and encouraged him to pursue his present enterprize: using all his endeavours at the same time that succours might be sent him by the public; but in this he met with some opposition. For Neri Capponi, who had then a very great interest in Florence, thought it would not be consistent with the safety of the Republic to let the Count become master of Milan; and that it would conduce more to the tranquillity of Italy in general, if he acceded to the treaty of peace, instead of continuing the war. He was apprehensive in the first place, that the Milanese, in the height of the resentment they had conceived against the Count, might throw themselves entirely into the arms of the Venetians, which must be attended with the ruin of all the other Princes in Italy: and in the next, he thought if the Count should get possession of Milan, his arms, when supported by so powerful a state, would grow too formidable; and that if he, who was so troublesome whilst he was only a Count, should ever come to be a Duke, he would then be insupportable. For these reasons, he said, it would be much better for the Republic of Florence and all Italy, that the Count should be left to live upon the reputation of his arms, as he had done before, and that Lombardy should be divided into two Commonwealths, which, it could hardly be supposed, would agree so well together as to unite for the ruin of any other State, and singly, they could hurt nobody. To effect

effect which, he knew no better expedient, than to give a deaf ear to the Count's solicitations, and continue in leage with their old allies the Venetians.

These suggestions, however, made very little impression upon Cosimo's friends, who thought Capponi did not give this advice out of any regard for the public good, but because he was jealous that Cosimo would become too powerful by his friendship with the Count, if the latter should make himself Duke of Milan. And Cosimo for his own part took upon him to demonstrate, that assisting the Count would be so far from being of any prejudice either to Italy in general, or their own Republic in particular, that it would be of the greatest service to both: since it was folly to imagine that the Milanese could maintain their liberties, considering the temper of the Citizens, their manner of living, and the factions then reigning amongst them; all which made it impossible to establish a Republican form of government in that City: so that it must of necessity happen that either the Count would become Duke, or the Venetians absolute Lords over it. And in that case, nobody could be so blind as not to see whether it would be more eligible to have a potent friend for their neighbour, or an enemy whose power would then be overgrown and uncontrollable. Nor was it to be feared that the Milanese would rashly put themselves under the dominion of the Venetians, merely because they were at war with the Count; for the Count had a party and friends in Milan, and they had none: upon which account, the Citizens, when they found they could no longer defend their liberties, would certainly be more inclinable to submit to the Count than to the Venetians.

This difference of opinion amongst the principal Citizens, kept the Florentines for some time in suspense: at last, however, they agreed to send Ambassadors with instructions to conclude a treaty of alliance with the Count immediately, provided they should find him in such circumstances, as made it
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seem probable that he would succeed in his designs; but, otherwise, to raise difficulties and objections, in order to defer it. These Ambassadors were got no further than Reggio, when they heard the Count had taken Milan: for as soon as the truce expired, he had suddenly invested that City again with all his forces, in hopes of carrying it very soon in spite of the Venetians, who could not succour it on any side, except from the Adda, and that pass was easily guarded. He knew very well, that, as it was the winter season, the Venetians would not be able to lie in a camp any where near him; and therefore made no doubt of reducing the town long before the return of the Spring, especially since Francisco Piccino was now dead, and his brother Giacompo left sole Commander of all their forces.

The Venetians in the mean time had sent an Ambassador to encourage the Milanese to make a resolute defence, with assurances also of speedy and effectual relief: and there actually happened several slight skirmishes betwixt their troops and those of the Count, during the course of the winter. But as soon as the weather grew more favourable, they took the field under the command of Pandolpho Malatesta, and encamped upon the banks of the Adda; where they held a Council of war to consider whether, in order to succour Milan, they should attack the Count and try the fortune of a battle. Pandolpho their general, who well knew the bravery of the Count and his troops, advised them not to run that risque, and thought they might obtain a more certain victory over him by avoiding an engagement; as the want of forage and other provisions, must in a very short time, oblige him to move his quarters. Upon this consideration, he persuaded them to continue in the Camp where they then lay, which would keep up the spirits of the Milanese and prevent them from surrendering to the Count. This advice was approved of by the Venetians, because they thought it a secure manner of proceeding, and were not without some hopes that the
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Milanese, being still kept in great distress, would at last submit to them, rather than the Count, from whom they had received so many injuries. In the mean time the Milanese were reduced to extreme misery; for as there was a great number of poor people in the City, many of them dropped down dead in the streets every day for want of bread; and this occasioning murmurs and complaints in every quarter of it, the Governors began to be apprehensive of an insurrection, and therefore took all possible means to prevent any tumult, or assembling of the people.

The Commonalty are not easily excited to mischief; but when they are at once so disposed, any little accident serves to put them in motion. It happened one day, that two persons of no very great consideration meeting each other near the Porta Nuova, fell into a conversation concerning the miserable condition to which the City was reduced, and what means were left to relieve it. This being over-heard by others, the people insensibly gathered about them till they were increased to such a number, that a report was spread through the town that the inhabitants about Porta Nuova were rising against the Magistracy. Upon which, the populace, who only waited for a proper opportunity, immediately ran to arms, and having appointed one Gaspar da Vico Mercato to be their leader, they made so furious an assault upon the place where the Magistrates were sitting, that all those that could not make their escape by flight were killed upon the spot; amongst whom was Leonardo Veneto, the Venetian ambassador, who had laughed at their miseries, and was thought to be the principal occasion of them. When they had thus in a manner made themselves masters of the City, they began to consult what were the most proper means to be taken, in order to deliver them out of their present distress and restore their former tranquillity. At last it was unanimously agreed amongst them, since they could no longer preserve their freedom and independency, to put themselves under the protection of some Prince that

that was able to defend them. But they could not so readily agree about the person; some proposed King Alphonso, some the Duke of Savoy, and others the King of France, but nobody mentioned the Count; so strong did the resentment of the people run against him! however, as they could not unite in their choice of any other Prince, Vico Mercato at last ventured to propose the Count, and represented to them at large, that if they had a mind to get rid of the war, there was no other way left but to submit to him; as their necessities demanded a certain and immediate peace, and they were no longer in a condition to feed upon the hopes of future succour, which after all might possibly be very uncertain, and at a great distance. He excused the Count's conduct, and threw the blame upon the Venetians and other States in Italy, some of which out of ambition, and others out of jealousy and avarice, would not suffer them to live free; and said, that since they were now under a necessity of giving up their liberties, it behoved them to give them to a person who both knew how, and was sufficiently able to defend them; that so, when they had lost their freedom, they might at least have the consolation of enjoying peace, and not be plunged into a still more dangerous and destructive war.

This harangue was listened to with wonderful attention by the populace, who as soon as he had done speaking, all cried out with one voice for the Count, and immediately dispatched Vico Mercato to invite him into the City: which invitation being accepted with great joy by the Count, he made his entrance into Milan on the 27th of February in the year 1450, and was received there with incredible acclamations by that very people who but a few days before had detested even the name of him*.

* A late author compares the populace to a coquet, who upon some days, is not to be prevailed upon either by sighs, or presents, or solicitations of any kind. The next day, perhaps, she falls into your arms.—Thus there are some circumstances of affairs in which the most plausible Manifesto's of those that take up arms against their

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When the news of this revolution arrived at Florence, the Florentines sent orders to their Ambassadors, who were yet upon the road, that instead of treating with him as Count Sforza, according to their first instructions, they should now pay their compliments of congratulation to him as Duke of Milan. These Ambassadors were received with great honour, and treated with the highest respect by the Duke, who well knew that he could not have more faithful or more powerful allies in all Italy than the Florentines, to secure him against the ambition of the Venetians. For though they were at last freed from all apprehensions of the Visconti family; it was generally thought they would soon be embroiled with the Aragonese and the Republic of Venice; as both the former, and the King of Naples looked upon them with a suspicious eye, on account of the connexions they had always had with the court of France; and the Venetians who perceived that the state of Florence was grown as jealous of them as it formerly had been of the Visconti, and remembered with what inveteracy they themselves had persecuted that family, began to be afraid they should have the same measure now dealt out to them in their turn; and therefore determined to ruin them both if possible. In these circumstances, the new Duke of Milan presently resolved to enter into an alliance with the Florentines: and the Venetians, on the contrary, made a League with King Alphonso against their *common Enemies*, as they called them; in which they agreed to take up arms at the same time, and that the King should invade the Florentine dominions, whilst the Venetians attacked the Duke; who, being hardly yet settled in

Sovereign, will not have the least effect upon the people's allegiance; and at other times, one half only of such pretences will be sufficient to bring about a revolution.—This, however, is not altogether to be imputed to the levity of the people: for how fickle and inconstant soever they are reckoned, they seldom care to stir, except impelled by some exterior force, as oppression or famine (as in the case before us) or the harangues and ambitious intrigues of factious Demagogues.

his government, they imagined would not be able to make head against them, either with his own forces alone, or any other assistance he could procure. But as the League betwixt the two Republics was still in force, and the King had made a treaty with the Florentines upon the conclusion of the war at Piombino, they both thought they could not justify commencing hostilities without some fair pretext for a war. Each of them, therefore, sent an Ambassador to Florence, who gave the Signory there to understand, that they did not design, by the engagements they had lately entered into with one another, to act offensively against any State whatsoever; but merely to defend their own. After which, the Venetian Ambassador, complained that the Florentines had given Alexander, the Duke's brother, leave to pass with his forces through Lunigiana into Lombardy; and that they had been the authors and advisers of the agreement made betwixt the Duke of Milan and the Marquis of Mantua, to the great prejudice of their Republic, and in open violation of the treaty of alliance then subsisting betwixt them: upon which account, he begged leave to represent to them in a friendly manner, that whoever injures another person without cause, gives him a just right to revenge; and that, if they broke the peace they must naturally expect a war.

To these remonstrances Cosimo de' Medici was ordered by the Signiory to return their answer; who addressing himself with much temper and prudence to the Ambassadors, recited at large the many services and good offices the Republic of Venice had received from that of Florence, and the obligations they lay under to it for the vast acquisitions they had made by the assistance of the Florentines, whose treasure, and arms, and counsel had ever been at their service. After which he told them, "that as the Florentines had been the authors and promoters of the union betwixt them, they would not be the first to break it; for having always been lovers of peace themselves, they they had nothing to say against the engagements the
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Venetians had entered into with King Alphonso, provided they were not intended to disturb the public tranquillity. That indeed they could not help being a little surprized that so wise and majestic a Commonwealth should think it worth their while to be at the trouble of making complaints of such trifling and insignificant matters as the passage of Alexander Sforza through Lunigiana, and the agreement betwixt the Duke of Milan and the Marquis of Mantua: but if they thought they deserved any answer, the Florentines took that opportunity of declaring that a passage through their dominions should always be open to any friend: and as for the other point, the Duke was a Prince of such abilities, that he did not stand in need of their advice or direction in the choice of his allies. That he therefore suspected there was something more at the bottom of these cavils than he could at present discover; but if that should be the case, the Florentines would let the world see that they had it in their power, not only to be good friends but dangerous enemies." Things however were pretty well composed for that time, and the Ambassadors seemed to go away satisfied: but the conclusion of such a treaty, and the subsequent behaviour of the Venetians and King Alphonso, gave the Duke and the Florentines much more reason to expect the breaking out of a new war, than to hope for a continuance of the peace. The Florentines therefore having entered into a strict confederacy with the Duke, the Venetians began to discover their hostile designs, by driving all the Florentines and their dependants out of the territories of Venice: and soon after Alphonso did the same, without the least regard to the treaty he had made with them the year before, without any just cause, or so much as a specious pretence. The Venetians likewise endeavoured to reduce the Bolognese; and having furnished some of their exiles with forces, they marched towards that City in the night, and got into it through an old subterraneous aqueduct so privately that no body was aware of their entrance till

they gave the alarm themselves: upon which, the Governor Santi Bentivoglio, who was awake though in bed, being informed that the City was surprized by the exiles, immediately got up and resolved to face the enemy. And though he was advised by many that were about him to save himself by flight if possible, since he could not save the City if he staid; yet he put on his armour and having gathered together some friends whom he encouraged to follow him, he attacked the enemy, and not only routed them, but killed many and drove the rest out of the City: by which courageous behaviour, every body acknowledged that he had given sufficient proof that he was really descended from the House of the Bentivogli.

These proceedings fully confirmed the Florentines in their apprehensions of a war, and determined them to make the usual preparations for their defence: for which purpose they created a *Council of Ten*, took new Commanders into their pay, sent Ambassadors to Rome, Naples, Venice, Milan, and Siena, to demand succours of their allies, to know what they might certainly depend upon from those of whom they were doubtful, to fix such as were wavering, and to penetrate into the designs of their enemies.

From the Pope they got nothing but general declarations of his good disposition towards them, and exhortations to peace: The King of Naples contented himself with making trifling excuses for having driven the subjects of the Florentines out of his dominions, and offered safe conducts to such as still remained behind if they pleased to ask them. And though he endeavoured by all means to conceal his hostile designs, yet the Ambassadors plainly discovered them, and that he was making great preparations to invade their Republic. With the Duke they not only renewed their League, but strengthened it with several additional articles; and by his means all former differences betwixt them and the Genoese were compromised with so much satisfaction on both sides, that they became good friends to each other, though
the

the Venetians left no stone unturned to prevent their reconciliation, and went so far as even to solicit the Emperor of Constantinople to banish all Florentines out of his Empire: with so much rancour did they begin the war, so insatiable was their ambition of rule, and so fully bent were they upon the utter destruction of those to whom they entirely owed all their power and greatness! but that Prince paying no regard to their solicitations, the Senate of Venice forbade the Florentine Ambassadors to enter their territories; alledging, that as they were in League with the King of Naples and Arragon, they could not admit of any Embassies without his participation. But the Sieneſe received their Ambassadors with much ſhew of kindness and reſpect; though it was only out of fear of being over-run by their Maſters before the other ſide could ſend them any ſuccours: and therefore they thought it the beſt way to amuſe them for a time, as they were not then in a capacity to make any reſiſtance. The Venetians however and King Alphonſo deſigned (as it was then ſaid) to have ſent Ambassadors to Florence, in order to juſtify the war they were going to make upon that Republic: but as the Venetian Ambaſſador was reſuſed entrance into the Florentine dominions, and the other did not care to take that charge wholly upon himſelf, that Embaſſy fell to the ground; and the Venetians had the mortification to ſee themſelves treated with as much contempt and diſregard as they had treated the Florentines but a little while before.

In the miſt of theſe apprehenſions, the Emperor Frederic III. * came into Italy to be crowned, and on the 30th of January in the year 1451, made his entry

* This Emperor, ſurnamed the Pacific, began his reign in 1440, and reigned 53 years. He was a Prince of great generoſity and prudence; and naturally abhorring war, he endeavoured to ſupply in policy what he wanted in power. He bore the inſults that had been offered him by ſeveral of the Popes, with ſuch patience, that the Italians uſed to ſay, *he had a dead ſoul in a living body*. It was in the 12th year of his reign that he went to Rome to receive his crown at the hands of the Pope.

into Florence with fifteen hundred horse, where he was received with the highest honours by the Signiory, and staid there till the Sixth of February; at which time he departed for Rome, to receive his Crown from the hands of the Pope. After that ceremony was over, and his marriage consummated with the Empress *, who had come thither by Sea, he returned into Germany; but came back again to Florence the May following, where he was treated with the same demonstrations of respect that he had been before: and having been magnificently entertained by the Marquis of Ferrara as he was going back into Germany the second time, he, in return for those civilities, made that Prince a grant of Modena and Reggio. But the Florentines were not diverted by these solemnities from making due preparation for the approaching war: and to give reputation to their arms, and strike a terror into the enemy, they and the Duke entered into a League with the King of France, for the mutual defence of each other's dominions, which they published with great triumph and ostentation all over Italy.

It was now the month of May in the year 1452, when the Venetians resolving to defer the hostilities no longer, entered the Duke of Milan's dominions with sixteen thousand horse and six thousand foot by the way of Lodi: whilst the Marquis of Monferrat, either moved by his own ambition or the instigation of the Venetians, at the same time likewise invaded him on the side of Alexandria. The Duke on the other hand, having assembled an army of eighteen thousand horse and three thousand foot (after he had put sufficient garrisons, not only into Lodi and Alexandria, but into all other such places as he thought were most liable to be attacked by the enemy) fell into the territories of Brescia, where he made prodigious havock; laying waste the country on every side, and plundering all the towns that were not well fortified,

* Eleanora, Infanta of Portugal.

And

And the Marquis of Montferrat being also defeated by the garrisons at Alexandria, gave the Duke an opportunity of turning with all his forces upon the Venetians and attacking them with greater vigour.

Whilst the war was thus carried on in Lombardy with various success on both sides, but in so feeble a manner that nothing was done worth relating on either, the flame likewise broke out in Tuscany, but not with greater vehemence, nor more danger than it had done in Lombardy. Ferdinand the illegitimate Son of King Alphonso, had marched into those parts with twelve thousand men commanded by Frederic Lord of Urbino; and their first enterprize was an attempt upon Foiano in the Vale of Chiana: for the Sieneſe being their friends, they entered the Florentine dominions on that side. That fortress was but a small one, and neither strong nor well garrisoned; the number of men which had been sent thither by the Signiory for its defence not exceeding two hundred: but they were reckoned as good and faithful soldiers as any in those times. Before this place Ferdinand sat down; however, either the resolution of the besieged was so great, or the conduct of the besiegers so bad, that it did not surrender till after six and thirty days: which gave the Florentines time to provide better for places of greater importance, to assemble their troops, and make more effectual preparations for their defence.

After the reduction of this fortress, the enemy advanced into the territories of Chianti, where they made an assault upon two other places that were defended only by the townsmen, but were not able to carry them. From thence they passed on to Castellina, a town on the confines of Chianti, about ten miles from Siena, neither well fortified by art, nor strong by its natural situation: yet, weak as it was in all respects, they could not make themselves masters of it; so that after they had invested it on every side for the space of forty days, they were forced to raise the siege and make a shameful retreat. For so con-

temptible were their armies in those days, and their method of making war attended with so little danger, that towns which now would be abandoned as incapable of being maintained, were then defended in such a manner, as if they thought them impossible to be taken.

Whilst Ferdinand was in the Country of Chianti, he made daily incursions into the Florentine dominions, and not only committed terrible depredations there, but advanced with some of his parties within six miles of the City, to the great consternation and distress of the Governors there; who having assembled their forces to the number of eight thousand near the Castle of Colle, under the Command of Astorre da Faenza and Gismondo Malatesta, did not care however to come to an engagement, but kept at a good distance from the enemy: because they knew very well, as long as their army was entire, they could not suffer much by the war; as the little places which might be taken from them, would be restored at the conclusion of a peace; and for those of greater consequence they were in no pain, being assured that the enemy would not then venture to make any attempt upon them. King Alphonso had likewise a fleet consisting of about twenty sail of Gallies and other such vessels hovering upon the Coast of Pisa; and whilst he besieged Castellina by land, he made an attack upon the Castle of Vada by Sea, which he took through the negligence of the Governor. This acquisition gave him an opportunity of infesting all the adjacent Country: but his excursions were at last checked by some forces which the Florentines sent to Campiglia, who put an end to those depredations, and kept his men closely confined to the Sea Coast.

The Pope in the mean time did not interfere in these broils any further than in endeavouring to re-establish peace amongst the contending parties. But whilst he had the address to keep himself out of the war abroad, he was in no little danger at home.

There.

There was at that time in Rome one Stephen Porcari, a Citizen by birth, of a noble family and great learning, but much more eminent for the generosity of his mind. This Stephen (like men that are ambitious of glory) resolved to perform, or at least to attempt some action of *Eclat* that should make him memorable to posterity. And nothing seemed to him more honourable than an attempt to rescue his Country out of the hands of the Prelates, and restore it to its ancient liberty: in hopes, if he succeeded, of being called *The second Founder and Father of Rome*. What animated him to this enterprise, was the corruption, insolence, and dissolute lives of the Prelates; at which, both the Nobility and common people of Rome were highly disgusted. But his chief confidence was founded upon some verses in one of Petrarch's Sonnets, which begins thus, *Spirto gentile, &c.* The verses are these,

“ Sopra il monte Tarpeio Canzon vedrai
 Un Cavalier, ch' Italia tutta onora
 Pensoso piu d' altrui che di se Steffo.”

On the Tarpein Mount my Muse shall see
 A Cavalier ador'd by Italy,
 Regardless of himself, to set his Country free. }

Stephen was possessed with a conceit, that Poets are often inspired with a divine and prophetic spirit; and taking it for granted, that what Petrarch had thus foretold, would certainly come to pass, he looked upon himself as the man destined for the execution of so glorious an undertaking; as he thought he was far superior to all his fellow-citizens in learning, eloquence, friends, and popular favour. Having taken this into his head, he could not contain himself within the common bounds of reserve, but behaved with so much indiscretion, both in his words and actions, and manner of living, that the Pope beginning to suspect he had some bad design in agitation, immediately banished him to Bologna, in order to keep him

him out of mischief, and sent instructions to the Governor of that City, to keep a strict eye upon his actions, and to see him every day at such an hour, Stephen, however, was so far from being daunted at this rebuff, that he pursued his designs with much more resolution and assiduity than before, holding a secret correspondence with his friends at Rome, and often going thither and back again himself, with so much expedition, that he was always in time to present himself before the Governor at the appointed hour. So that when he thought he had drawn a sufficient number into the conspiracy, being determined to defer the execution of it no longer, he sent orders to his friends at Rome, to prepare a splendid supper on such an evening, where all the conspirators were to meet, and bring as many confidants with them as they could fully depend upon, promising to be with them before supper was over. When every thing was settled, therefore, according to his instructions, he came to the house where they supped, and having put on an embroidered mantle, with a chain of gold about his neck, and other ornaments, to give him the more majesty and authority, he entered the room where the conspirators were assembled; and after he had tenderly embraced them all, made a long and pathetic speech to them, wherein he exhorted them to behave like men, and prepare themselves for the execution of so glorious a purpose. After which, he gave every man his separate charge, ordering one part of them to seize upon the Pope's palace early the next morning, and the other to run about the streets, and excite the people to take up arms. But the plot was discovered that very night; some say, by the information of certain of his accomplices, and others, by his having been seen in the City himself. However that might be, the Pope caused him, and the greater part of the Conspirators, to be immediately apprehended, and afterwards put to death, as they might well expect. Such was the event of this undertaking! and though, indeed, Porcari's intention

in it may seem worthy of praise to some people *, yet his judgment and manner of conducting it must be condemned by every one : for notwithstanding enterprizes of this kind have some shadow of glory in the projection, they are almost always attended with the ruin of the projectors.

The war in Tuscany had now continued almost twelve months, and in the Spring of the year 1453, when both armies had taken the field, Alexander Sforza, the Duke of Milan's brother, came to the succour of the Florentines, with two thousand horse; so that their army being augmented, and that of King Alphonso rather diminished, the Florentines resolved to use their endeavours to recover what had been lost, and without much difficulty retook several towns. After this, they sat down before Foiano, which being sacked through the negligence of the Commissaries, the inhabitants were dispersed in such a manner, that they could not be prevailed upon to return, till great rewards and exemptions were offered them. They likewise recovered the fortress of Vada; for the enemy finding they could not keep it, first set the Castle on fire, and then abandoned it. But whilst the Florentine army was making this progress, the king's not daring to face them, had retreated towards Siena, and made several incursions into their territories on that side, where they committed great outrages, and filled all the Country with terror and confusion. The King also endeavoured to annoy them in another quarter, in order to divide their forces, and to harass and distress them as many ways as he could, in hopes of humbling them at last. Gerardo Gambacorta was then Lord of the Vale of Bagno, whose Ancestors,

* Conspiring against the State, Mr. Bayle says, is the greatest crime a man can be guilty of, and yet some persons suffer themselves to be drawn into conspiracies by such motives as they think are morally good : so true it is, that man's conscience is liable to the most lamentable errors ! Brutus, and several of those whom he prevailed upon to assassinate Julius Cæsar, were men of the most eminent probity and virtue.

as well as himself, having been under great obligations to the Florentines, had always lived in amity with them, and were constantly either in their pay, or recommended by them to others. With this man Alphonso began to tamper, and offered him another State in the Kingdom of Naples, which was more than an equivalent, provided he would deliver up that territory to him. But when this came to be known at Florence, the Signiory sent an Ambassador to see how he stood affected; who was likewise at the same time to remind him of the favours which he and his family had received from that Republic, and to exhort him to continue faithful to it. Upon which, Gambacorta seeming to be much surprized at the imputation, assured them, with the most solemn oaths and asseverations, that so wicked a thought had never entered his head, and proffered not only to go back again with them to Florence, but to reside there as a security for his fidelity. But as he pretended to be in an ill state of health, he said, what he could not do himself at that time, without great inconvenience, his Son should do for him, and delivered him up to the Ambassadors as an Hostage. These assurances and proofs seemed so convincing, that they fully confided in him, and looked upon the charge as a mere calumny. Upon this, Gambacorta prosecuted the agreement with the King with more earnestness; and when it was concluded, his Majesty sent Brother Puccio, a Knight of the Order of St. John at Jerusalem *, with a good body of forces into the Vale of Bagno to receive such Castles and Towns as were in Gerardo's possession; though the inhabitants of that Vale, who were very well affected to the Republic of Florence, submitted to the King's Commissaries with great reluctance. Puccio, however, made himself master of all that territory, except the Castle of Corzano: but when Gambacorta was upon the point of delivering up that fortress also into the enemy's

* Now called Knights of Malta.

hands,

hands, there happened to be amongst his attendants, one Antonio Gualandi, a native of Pisa, and a spirited young man, who inwardly detested the perfidious behaviour of his master. This man, who was well acquainted with the situation of the place, and perceived by the countenance and behaviour of the garrison, that they were much dissatisfied at such a manner of proceeding, seeing Gambacorta standing at one of the gates to admit the King's forces, laid hold of him with both hands, and having thrust him out of the Castle, called upon the garrison to shut the gate upon so vile a wretch, and preserve the fortrefs for the Republic of Florence. And no sooner was the news of this event known at Bagno, but the inhabitants there, and of all the neighbouring places, immediately took up arms against King Alphonso's garrisons, and hoisting Florentine Colours, drove them entirely out of all those towns. The Florentines also being informed of what had happened, committed their Hostage, young Gambacorta, to prison, and sending forces to defend that territory, in the Name of the Republic, they reduced it to a Bailiwick, dependant upon themselves, from a State, which, for a great number of years, had been governed by Princes of its own. The Father, in the mean time, having betrayed both his Allies and his Son, with great difficulty made his escape, and wandering about the world like a Vagabond, left his wife and family, and all his possessions, in the hands of the enemy. This sudden revolution was of the utmost importance to the Florentines; for if the King had been in full possession of that Country, he would have had it in his power to make incursions into the Vale of Tevere, and the Territories of Casentino, with very little difficulty, whenever he pleased; where he would have been a continual thorn in their sides, and obliged them to divide their forces in such a manner, that they could not have turned their whole power against his main army, which then lay near Siena.

Be-

Besides the steps which the Florentines had taken in Italy to stop the progress of the enemy, they likewise sent Agnolo Acciaiuoli as Ambassador to the King of France, to pray that his Majesty would let King Regnier of Anjou return into Italy to the assistance of their Republic and the Duke of Milan, his ancient allies; where he might also take proper measures for the recovery of the Kingdom of Naples, in which undertaking they promised to furnish him both with men and money. Accordingly, whilst the war was carried on in the manner we have related in Lombardy and Tuscany, that ambassador concluded an agreement with King Regnier; in which it was stipulated, that he should come into Italy by the latter end of June at furthest, with two thousand four hundred horse; that upon his arrival at Alexandria, he should be immediately supplied with thirty thousand Florins in ready money, and ten thousand more every month, as long as the war continued. In consequence of this treaty, he had got his forces in readiness to march; but their passage was obstructed by the Duke of Savoy and the Marquis of Montferrat, who were in alliance with the Venetians. Upon which, Regnier was advised by the Florentine Ambassador to turn aside into Provence, and endeavour to pass by Sea into Italy with what forces he could, in order to give some reputation at least to his friends: and at the same time to try if he could not prevail upon the King of France to use his good offices with the Duke of Savoy so effectually as to obtain him a passage through his dominions. This being granted at last, to oblige the King of France, some part of Regnier's troops marched through Savoy, whilst he transported himself, with the rest, by Sea, to join them in Italy; where, upon his arrival, he was received with the highest honours by the Duke of Milan: and these two Princes having united their forces, attacked the Venetians with so much vigour on every side, that they soon not only recovered all the places which had been taken from them in the Cremonese, but made them-

selves

elves masters of almost all the territory of Brescia, with such rapidity, that the Venetian Commissaries not thinking their army secure in the field, retreated and took shelter under the walls of that City. However, as the Duke was then at Verona, and the season of the year pretty far advanced, he thought it necessary, for the refreshment of his men, to put them into winter quarters; and having consigned Placentia to Regnier, for that purpose, they staid all the rest of the year 1453, and the beginning of the next, in those places, without attempting any thing farther. But as soon as the weather began to grow more temperate, and the Duke was preparing to take the field again, in hopes of stripping the Venetians of all their dominions upon the Terra Firma, Regnier gave him to understand, that his own affairs laid him under an absolute necessity of returning into France.

This sudden and unexpected resolution, greatly chagrined the Duke: and though he immediately took post, and went to him at Placentia, to see if he could not prevail upon him to change it, yet all his offers and entreaties were to no purpose: he only promised to leave part of his forces behind him, and to send his son John to serve the allies in his stead. The Florentines, on the contrary, were not at all displeas'd at this event; for as they had now recovered all the towns that had been taken from them, they were no longer afraid of King Alphonso, nor did they desire that the Duke of Milan should become possess'd of any thing more than what belonged to him in Lombardy. Regnier accordingly returned into his own Country, but sent his son, as he had promised, into Italy; who did not stop in Lombardy, but came directly to Florence, where he was received with much respect.

After the departure of Regnier, the Duke of Milan seem'd dispos'd to a peace; the Venetians, King Alphonso, and the Florentines, being all tired of the war, were likewise desirous of it; and the Pope had always taken great pains, and still laboured with much car-

earnestness to bring about an accommodation betwixt the different parties: for Mahomet the Grand Turk, had taken Constantinople that year, and made himself Master of all Greece*; an acquisition that struck terror into all the Princes of Christendom, but especially into the Pope and the Venetians, who imagined, they already felt the weight of his arms in their dominions. His Holiness, therefore, vehemently solicited every State in Italy to send their respective Am-

* Voltaire having at large recited the causes that contributed to the loss of this great seat of the Eastern Empire, says, "Mahomet II. was twenty-two years of age, when he ascended the throne of the Sultans. From that time he bent his mind upon the conquest of Constantinople, whilst that unhappy City was rent into factions and Schisms, disputing and quarrelling whether they should make use of leavened or unleavened bread in the sacrament, and whether it was better to pray in Latin or Greek. He began therefore, with blockading the City; and in the beginning of April, 1453, the adjacent Country was covered with near three hundred thousand Turks, and the Strait of Propontis with about three hundred galleys, and two hundred smaller vessels. One of the most extraordinary, and yet best attested facts, is the use that Mahomet made of these ships. They could not get into the Port, the mouth of it being barricaded with strong booms and chains of iron, and besides, in all probability, advantageously defended. One night, therefore, he ordered the ground to be covered for the space of two leagues in length with fir planks, greased with tallow and oil, and laid like the manger of a ship: after which, by the assistance of machines, and bodily labour, he caused fourscore galleys, and seventy tenders or smaller vessels, to be hauled out of the Strait, and rolled away over these planks. All this great work was finished in one night; and early in the morning, the besieged saw with astonishment, an entire fleet descend from the land into their harbour. The next day, a bridge of boats was built within sight of them, and served for the erecting a battery of cannon.

After a siege of forty-nine days, the Emperor Constantine was obliged to capitulate, and sent several Greeks to receive the Law of the Conqueror, who granted them terms. But as these Deputies were returning to the City, Mahomet recollecting something which he had forgot to add, ordered some of his people to ride after them. Upon which, the besieged on the top of the ramparts, seeing a body of Turks galloping after the Deputies, imprudently fired at them. The Turks were soon joined by a greater number, and just as the Deputies were entering the gate, the enemy rushed in pell-mell along with them, and made themselves masters of the upper town, which is separated from the lower. The Emperor Constantine XIII. was killed in the crowd, after he had fought to the last, with incredible courage: and when the Sultan had made himself Master of one half of Constantinople, he granted the same terms to the other half that he had offered to the whole City, which were accepted, and punctually observed by him." Voltaire's Gen. Hist. vol. ii. part i, p. 55. &c.

bassadors

bassadors to him at Rome, with full powers to conclude a general peace; with which they all complied. But when they met, and their several pretensions came to be discussed, many difficulties and impediments occurred, which seemed insurmountable. The King of Naples expected that the Florentines should indemnify him for the expences he had been at in the war; and the Florentines made the same demand upon him. The Venetians insisted upon the Duke giving up Cremona to them; and the Duke would not be satisfied except they restored Bergamo, Brescia, and Crema. So that these obstacles seemed impossible to be removed. Nevertheless, what appeared so difficult at Rome, where the matter was canvassed by so many, was soon got over at Milan and Venice, where it was conducted by fewer managers: for whilst the treaty went very slowly forwards under the mediation of his Holiness, the Duke and the Venetians concluded one betwixt themselves, on the ninth of April, 1454; by which such towns were to be restored to each other, as they were respectively in possession of before the beginning of the war; the Duke was left at liberty to recover those places, if he could, that had been seized upon by the Duke of Savoy, and the Marquis of Montferrat; and the rest of the Italian Princes were to have a month given them to accede to the treaty, if they so pleased. The Pope, the Florentines, together with the Sieneſe, and several other inferior States, came into it within that time; besides which, a peace was concluded betwixt the Florentines, the Duke, and the Venetians, for the term of twenty-five years.

Of all the Princes in Italy, King Alphonso alone was dissatisfied at the peace, as he thought it would be a derogation to his Majesty to be admitted rather as an auxiliary than a principal; upon which account he continued some time in suspense, and would not acquaint them with his resolution. At last, however, after several formal embassies from the Pope and other

States, he suffered himself to be prevailed upon, (chiefly at the instance of his Holiness) and both he and his Son acceded to the treaty, which was renewed for thirty years: at the same time a double alliance was contracted betwixt his family and the Duke's; each of those Princes giving his daughter in marriage to the Son of the other. Nevertheless as the evil destiny of Italy would have some seeds of future discords and troubles still left, he refused to ratify the treaty after all, except the rest of the contracting powers would suffer him to make war upon the Genoese, Gismondo Malatesta Lord of Rimini, and Astorre Prince of Faenza, without being in any wise impeded or molested in his operations by them. This being likewise complied [with, Ferdinand his Son, who was then at Sienna, returned into the Kingdom of Naples, after he had lost a great number of his men, and gained no material advantage by coming into Tuscany.

A general peace being thus concluded, the only apprehension that remained, was, that it would soon be disturbed again by the enmity which King Alphonso bore to the Genoese. But it proved otherwise; for in all outward appearance the subsequent troubles were not owing to that Prince, but to the ambition of mercenary Soldiers, which indeed had been the occasion of most of those that had happened before. The Venetians (according to their custom at the end of a war) discharged their General Giacopo Piccinino, who retired with some other Commanders and forces into Romagna, but without having then formed any other design. From thence Piccinino passed into the territories of Siena, where he began a war upon the Siense, and took several of their towns. In the beginning of these broils, and of the year 1455, Pope Nicholas died, and was succeeded by Calixtus III. This Pontif, in order to extinguish a flame which he saw just ready to break out again almost at his own door, immediately assembled what troops he could, under the Command
of

of his General Ventimiglia, and sent them against Piccinino, in conjunction with the forces of the Duke and the Florentines, who likewise concurred with him in their endeavours to prevent the growing evils. Near Bolsena, they came to an engagement; in which, notwithstanding Ventimiglia was taken prisoner, Piccinino was routed and forced to fly in great disorder to Castiglione della Pescaia, where if he had not been supplied with money by King Alphonso, he must have been utterly undone: a circumstance which gave every one reason to suspect this enterprize was undertaken and prosecuted by the order and direction of that Prince. So that Alphonso perceiving his designs were discovered, endeavoured to make up a peace, in order to regain the confidence of his allies, which he had almost lost by this feeble and pitiful attempt: and for that purpose he set a treaty on foot, wherein it was agreed that Piccinino should restore all the places he had taken from the Siense, and that they should pay him twenty thousand Florins; after which, he received both him and his forces into his own Kingdom.

At this time the Pope, though very watchful over Piccinino's motions, was making great preparations for the Common support of Christendom, which he saw in imminent danger of being over-run by the Turk; and not only sent Ambassadors, but Preachers into every part of Europe to exhort all Christian Princes and people to take up arms in defence of their Religion against the Common enemy, and to assist each other in so laudable an undertaking with their persons as well as their purses: in consequence of which, great sums were raised at Florence, and many wore red Crosses to shew they were ready to serve personally in such an Expedition. They likewise made solemn Processions to implore the blessing of God upon their arms. And all persons, in order to shew the warmth of their zeal for the Christian religion, were eager in offering their advice, their for-

tunes and persons, to forward this enterprize. But these apprehensions and this rage of Crusading were in some measure abated when news arrived, that the Grand Signior, having laid siege to Belgrade (a fortress in Hungary situated upon the Danube) was not only routed, but wounded himself. So that the Pope and other Christian States, having now recovered themselves a little from the panic which the loss of Constantinople had struck into them, proceeded afterwards with less vigour in their preparations for the prosecution of that war, which seemed to be much damped in Hungary likewise by the death of their Waivode who had obtained that signal Victory*.

But to return to the affairs of Italy. The disturbances which had been raised by Giacomo Piccinino being composed and arms laid down on every side, it pleased God to visit Tuscany with a storm of wind that wrought such effects as had never been heard of

* This was the famous John Corvinus, or Huniades, Waivode of Transylvania, General of the Hungarian armies, under King Ladislaus, and one of the greatest commanders of his time. He was almost continually engaged in wars with the Turks, whom he beat in two battles, one in the year 1442, the other in the year following, and forced them to retire from before Belgrade after a siege of seven months. He was at the battle of Varna, so fatal to Christendom: where Ladislaus was killed in 1444. Afterwards he was made Governor of Hungary, and his name became so formidable to the Turks, that they looked upon him as a scourge sent to chastise their nation, and called him *Jancus Lain*, that is, John the Wicked. He was beat by them, however, in a battle that was fought on the 17th, 18th, and 19th days of October, 1448. But he prevented them a second time from taking Belgrade, in 1458, when it was besieged by Mahomet II. with an army of two hundred and fifty thousand men; forty thousand of whom were killed, and the rest abandoned the siege in a precipitate manner, leaving all their baggage, artillery, and ammunition, behind them. He died the same year at Zemplin, and Mahomet, who said he was the greatest soldier in the world, is reported to have lamented his death, and thought himself unfortunate, because there was no other warrior of equal eminence left, by defeating whom, he might retrieve the glory he had lost. Pope Calixtus wept, and all Christendom was in affliction when he died. Thurosius. in Chron. Hungar. The word Vaivode or Wojewoda, signifies a Prince, Duke, Governor, or chief Magistrate, and in the northern parts is generally a feudal dignity. There is in Selden's *Titles of Honour*, an investiture, solemn livery, or infeodation of Moldavia to Stephen—as Vaivode thereof in the year 1485.

before

before that time, and will seem marvellous to posterity †. About an hour before Sun-rise on the twenty-fourth of August, a dark thick Cloud which seemed to extend itself about two miles every way, arose out of the Gulf of Venice near Ancona; and traversing the Continent of Italy from east to west, bent its course towards the Sea coast of Pisa. This cloud being driven forwards (whether by a natural or supernatural impulse I will not take upon me to determine) was broken at last into several parts, which sometimes were hurried up to a vast height in the air, sometimes precipitated themselves towards the earth, dashing violently against each other, and whirling round in a spiral manner with astonishing rapidity. These concussions, attended with a furious Hurricane of wind, incessant flashes of red lightning, and such dreadful bursts as far exceeded the loudest thunder or the most dismal crashes of an earthquake, made every man's heart fail within him; as they thought the world was certainly at an end and the elements resolving into their original Chaos.

No less amazing were the effects of this tempest where ever it passed; but most remarkable in the neighbourhood of St. Cassiano, a Castle about eight miles from Florence, upon the mountains which divide the Vale of Pisa from that of Grieve. For passing betwixt that Castle and the Bourg of St. Andrew, which stands upon the same hills, it never

† The new world was not discovered at that time: if it had, Sailors would have called this storm (terrible as it was) but a *cap-full of wind*, in comparison of those dreadful hurricanes which frequently happen in the West Indies. The Editor of this work had the misfortune to be an eye-witness of one of them in Jamaica, in October 1744. There were at that time ninety-five merchant vessels, and eight men of war, in Port Royal Harbour; of which, only his Majesty's ship the Rippon, rode it out, all the rest being either wrecked, or driven ashore, and some of them a great way up into the Country; where they were left *high and dry* (as the sea phrase is) when the waters subsided. The damage which the Island likewise sustained by that calamity, was hardly to be computed: and the havock it made, so prodigious and uncommon, that a particular narrative of it would be credited by few.

reached the latter, and brushed the former in so slight a manner, that it only blew down some chimnies and battlements : but in the space betwixt those two places it laid numbers of houses flat with the ground. The roofs of St. Martin's Church at Bagnuola, and of Santa Maria della Pace were taken off and carried away entire above a mile. A carrier and his mules were hurried out of the road into a neighbouring valley and there found dead. Many of the sturdiest Oaks and other huge trees that did not bend to the fury of the blast, not only had their branches stripped off but were torn up by the roots and carried to a considerable distance. So that when the storm ceased and day light began to appear, the inhabitants of the Country stood in amazement as if they had been thunderstruck or stupified. The fields were desolated, the Churches and houses entirely demolished, and nothing to be heard but the cries and lamentations of those that had lost their whole substance, and had not only their Cattle, but their families also buried in the ruins. A spectacle indeed, that must fill the hardest heart with terror and compassion ! but God in his mercy seemed to intend this calamity rather as a warning, than a chastisement to Tuscany in general : for if such a storm had fallen upon a large and populous City, instead of a Country where there was not any very considerable number of houses and inhabitants, and little else to spend its rage upon but trees and thickets, without doubt the havock it must have made would have been greater than can well be conceived. The Divine Being was pleased however to restrain his Vengeance, and to let this scourge suffice for that time, to revive in mankind a due sense of his Almighty power *.

* These reflections do not seem to favour much of Atheism, with which Machiavel has been so liberally charged, and often by people that never read any of his works. He speaks pretty freely, indeed, of the Church of Rome, and its corruption ; which being reckoned a Mortal Sin in one of that Communion, seldom goes without its

But

But to resume the thread of our narrative. King Alphonso, as we have said before, was dissatisfied with the peace; and as the war, which he had caused Giacopo Piccinino to make upon the Siensese without any reasonable occasion, was attended with no material advantage, he was resolved to try his fortune in that which he was allowed to commence with the Genoese by the articles of the late treaty. Accordingly in the year 1456, he invaded them both by sea and land, with a design to take the government of their State out of the hands of the Fregosi, who were then in possession of it, and to restore it to the Adorni. On the other hand, he sent Giacopo Piccinino over the Tronto, with a body of forces to fall upon Gismondo Malatesta; who having put all his towns in a good posture of defence, made so vigorous a resistance, that his Majesty's arms met with no success in that enterprize: and his attempt upon Genoa afterwards involved both him and his Kingdom in such troubles as he little expected. Pietro Fregoso was at that time Doge of Genoa, and being afraid he should not be able to cope with the King, resolved to give up what he found he could no longer hold himself, to some other Prince that was able to defend him from his enemies, and perhaps might one time or other make him a proper recompence for it. For this purpose, he dispatched Ambassadors to Charles VII. King of France, with an offer of the State of Genoa: which Charles readily accepted of, and sent King Regnier's Son John of Anjou (who had left Florence not long before and was gone back to France) to take

punishment in this world. The Jesuits, and other religious Orders, according as they are touched, never fail amongst the rest of their wiles, to brand such a one with a name that will be sure to stick close to him. A fearful outcry is raised of Atheist, Infidel, Heretic, mad dog, &c.

“Cape saxa manu, cape robora, Pastor,”

And then, blessed is the Zealot that takes up a stick or a stone, and knocks out his brains. It is well other Churches have more charity and moderation.

possession of that City: as he thought nobody more proper to govern it, than a person who was so well acquainted with the customs and genius of the Italians, and might at the same time have an opportunity of prosecuting his claim to the Kingdom of Naples, of which his father Regnier had been deprived by King Alphonso. John of Anjou therefore immediately repaired to Genoa, where he was received like a Prince, and invested with the whole power both of the City and the State.

Alphonso was not a little galled at this circumstance, perceiving he had drawn an enemy upon his back that was much too powerful for him: however he boldly pursued his undertaking, and had already brought his fleet to Porto-fino, near Villa Marina, when he suddenly fell sick and died*. By his death John of Anjou and the Genoese were freed from the apprehensions of war: and Ferrando†, who succeeded his father Alphonso in the Kingdom of Naples, seeing he had now so potent a rival in Italy, began to grow very doubtful of the fidelity of his Nobility: many of whom being fond of change, he thought would side with the French. He was likewise afraid of the Pope, whose ambition he was no stranger to, and imagined it would naturally prompt him to make some attempt to wrest his Kingdom from him, before he was thoroughly settled in his throne. His only hopes were in the Duke of Milan, who was no less

* This Prince, surnamed the Wise and Magnanimous, was a very great patron, and encourager of literature and learned men. Amongst many other instances of his particular regard to them and their memory, it is said, that at the siege of Gaeta, when he was told, there were none of the large stones left, with which they used to load the mortars, nor any to be found, except at a Country Seat, which, according to an old tradition, had belonged to Cicero, he answered, "that he chose rather to have his artillery useless, than to spoil what had been the property of so great a man." He used always to carry Cæsar's Commentaries with him in his voyages and journies, and never passed a day without reading some part of them, with great attention. His device was an open Book. Anton. Panormit. de dict. & fact. Alphonfi, l. ii. Num. 12.

† Or Ferdinand I. natural son of Alphonso.

anxi-

anxious than himself for the preservation of that Kingdom; apprehending that if the French should make themselves masters of it, their next attempt would be upon his dominions, which he knew they looked upon as of right belonging to them*. The Duke therefore, immediately after the death of King Alphonso, not only sent succours to Ferdinand to assist and give him reputation at that time, but wrote a letter to him in which he exhorted him to take courage, and promised that he would never abandon him in any circumstances.

After Alphonso was dead, the Pope designed to have given the Kingdom of Naples to his own Nephew Pietro Ludovico Borgia: and to set so good a face upon the matter as might induce the rest of the Italian Princes to acquiesce in it, he gave out that it was only his intention to reduce the Kingdom to its former obedience to the Church; in which case, he should secure such territories to the Duke of Milan as were at that time in his possession, or had ever belonged to him there; and therefore hoped he would not send any succours to the assistance of Ferdinand. But in the midst of these new projects and preparations his Holiness died, and was succeeded in the Papacy by Æneas Piccolomini, a Sieneſe by birth, who took the name of Pius II. † This Pontif, whose

* The Duke of Orleans having married a Princess of the House of Visconti, who became entitled to the Duchy of Milan, upon the failure of a male heir.

† This was the famous Æneas Sylvius, who, at the age of twenty-six, attended Dominico Capranico, Cardinal of Fermo, as his Secretary to the Council of Basil. He afterwards served several other Prelates in the same capacity, particularly Cardinal Albergoti, who sent him into Scotland, to mediate a peace betwixt the English and the Scots. After his return, the same council honoured him with the Charges of Referendary, Abbreviator, Chancellor, General Agent, and sent him several Times to Strasbourg, Frankfort, Constance, Savoy, amongst the Grisons, and conferred upon him the Provostship of the Collegiate Church of St. Lorenzo in Milan. At that time he composed those pieces in favour of the Council of Basil, against Eugenius IV. in particular, and the Papal usurpations and pretensions in general: for which he afterwards made an apology to that Pontif,

chief

chief study was to promote the common good of Christendom, and maintain the respect due to the

and asked his pardon, who not only forgave him, but made him his secretary. After he was exalted to the Pontificate, he likewise retracted them in a Bull, dated April 26, 1463, which is prefixed to the Collection of his Works, and may be seen in Father Labbè's Collection of Councils, tom. xiii. p. 1407. It may not be unentertaining, perhaps, to see in what manner he apologizes for his former conduct, and how much his sentiments were altered with his circumstances. He excuses himself for having written those pieces when he was young, and incapable of forming a right judgment of things. He owns, that he had been guilty of an error, and desires the University of Cologne, to which he addresses his Bull, not to regard what he had said in favour of the Council of Basil, but to condemn Æneas Sylvius, and to follow the sentiments of Pius II. "We are men, says he, and have erred as men. We do not deny that many things, which we have said, or written, may justly be condemned. We have been seduced like Paul, and persecuted the Church of God through ignorance. We now follow St. Austin's example, who having suffered several erroneous sentiments to escape him in his writings, afterwards retracted them. We do just the same thing; we ingenuously confess our ignorance, being apprehensive lest what we have written in our youth, should occasion some error, which may prejudice the Holy See. For if it is suitable to any person's character, to maintain the eminence and glory of the first throne of the Church, it is certainly so to us, whom the merciful God, of his infinite goodness only, hath raised to the dignity of Vice-gerent of Christ, without any merit on our part. Upon all these considerations, we exhort and advise you in the Lord, not to pay any regard to those writings, which in any wise injure the authority of the Apostolic See, or assert opinions that the Holy Romish Church does not receive. If you find any thing contrary to this in our Dialogues, or Letters, or in any other of our works, despise such notions, reject them, follow what we now maintain; believe what we assert now we are in years, rather than what I said when I was young; regard a Pope rather than a private man; in short, reject Æneas Sylvius, and receive Pius II. *Nec privatum hominem pluris facite quam summum Pontificem; Æneam rejicite, Pium accipite.* That heathenish name was given me by my parents at my birth; but this Christian name we assumed, when we were raised to the Apostolical Character: *Illud gentile nomen parentes indidere nascenti; hoc Christianum in Apostolatu suscepimus.* And since it might be objected, that his Dignity was the only reason of his changing his opinion, he answers that, by giving a short account of his life and actions, and of the Council of Basil, to which he went in the year 1431, when he was very young, without experience, and, as he says, "like a bird just out of its nest."

After he had filled many other great preferments, and discharged several embassies and negotiations, with much applause and reputation, he was made a Cardinal by Calixtus III. whom he succeeded in the Papal Chair, in the year 1438, and reigned six years within three days. Platina says, he was not only the best, but one of the most learned Pontiffs that had worn the Tiara for many ages before

Church

Church, laying aside all private interests and passions, crowned Ferdinand King of Naples at the solicitation of the Duke of Milan; thinking it would be more easy to compose all differences in Italy by confirming one that was already in possession, than either by favouring the French in their pretensions to that Kingdom, or attempting to seize upon it himself, as his predecessor had designed. Ferdinand, in return for so great a favour, not only gave his natural daughter in marriage to the Pope's Nephew Antonio, with the principality of Melfi for her dower, but likewise restored Benevento and Terracina to the Church. After which, the tranquillity of Italy seemed to be perfectly settled, and the Pope was using his utmost endeavours, as Calixtus the last Pontif had done before him, to unite all Christian Princes in a league against the Turk; when some animosities, which broke out betwixt the Fregosi and John of Anjou, the new Governor of Genoa, gave birth to fresh wars, and such as were of much more importance than any that had yet happened.

him. His works are very numerous. A Catalogue of them may be seen in Mr. Henry Wharton's Appendix to Dr. Cave's *Historia Literarie*, and in the *General Dictionary*, vol. i. p. 295. Among them, there is a remarkable letter (which is the fifteenth in the first book of his *Epistles*, and translated in the *General Dictionary*, vol. i. p. 290) wherein he gives his own father an account of an amour that he had with an English Lady, when he was Ambassador at Strasbourg, and of the fruits of it. Upon which, Mr. Wharton observes, in the work above cited, "that he is so far from lamenting his crime, that he even boasts of it there." Indeed it is written with an air of much gaiety.—He likewise wrote another very extraordinary letter to Mahomet II. which, as Mr. Bayle says, has cut out sufficient work for dealers in controversy, and occasioned a very warm dispute betwixt the famous du Plessis Mornai and Coeffeteau, the particulars of which may be found under the article Mahomet II. *Gen. Dict.* vol. vii. p. 352. Where the reader will see upon what *pious* motives this *great and good* Pontif persuaded the Sultan to turn Christian.—Olearius says, that he regretted three things at his death: 1st, that he had written, *The History of two Lovers, Euryalus and Lucretia*: 2. That he had canonized Catharine of Siena, who had been mistress to one of his Predecessors. 3. That he had excited the Christian Princes to a war with the Turk. *Bibliothec. Scriptor. Eccl.* tom. ii. p. 28. The two first articles seem probable; the last does not, and is directly contrary to what is said of him by all other writers, who affirm, that he had that expedition very much at heart to the last breath of his life.

Pietro

Pietro Fregoso was then at a Castle belonging to him upon the Sea Coast, whither he had retired in great disgust, that he and his family had not been rewarded according to their merits by John of Anjou; as they had been the principal instruments in making him Lord of Genoa. So that at last they came to an open quarrel; at which, Ferdinand was not a little pleased, and imagining that nothing could more effectually conduce to his establishment in the Kingdom of Naples, he sent him supplies both of men and money, in hopes that he should be able by such means to drive his competitor entirely out of these parts. But John having intelligence of this, immediately sent into France for succours to make head against his adversary, who was grown so formidable by the reinforcements he had received, that John did not think proper to face him at that time, but kept close within the walls of the City in order to secure that; which yet he could not do effectually. For Pietro having found means to enter it privately one night, seized upon some of the strong posts: but at the return of day light, being engaged by John's forces, he was killed himself, and all his men either taken prisoners or slain upon the spot.

• Elated with this advantage, John now determined to make a descent upon the Kingdom of Naples: for which purpose he left Genoa in October 1459 with a powerful fleet, and steering his course directly thither he came to an anchor at Baia, * and from thence proceeded to Sessa, where he was received by the

• This City was famous for its hot baths and elegant buildings in the time of the ancient Romans; and here they still shew the ruins of certain edifices, which they call the palaces of Cæsar, Pompey, Cicero, and other great men, who used to resort thither. Horace tells us, it was the most delightful place upon earth.

“ Nullus in orbe locus, Baiis præluet amœnis.”

The little plot of ground, called the Elysian Fields, so much celebrated by the Poets, lies about a mile from this place, but has not much to recommend or make it admired at present. It is parted from Puteoli by an arm of the Sea about two or three miles broad, over which the Emperor Caligula built a bridge. Suet. Tacit.

Duke

Duke of that place; and soon after his arrival, the Prince of Taranto, the people of Aquila, and many other Princes and Cities declared for him: so that the whole Kingdom was in a manner lost. Ferdinand seeing this, had recourse to the Pope and the Duke of Milan for assistance, and that he might have the fewer enemies to deal with, he came to an accommodation with Gismodo Malatesta; at which, Giacopo Piccinino (who was an avowed enemy to Malatesta) took such offence that he presently quitted the service of Ferdinand, and went over to the French. He likewise endeavoured to engage Frederic Lord of Urbino in his interests, by a considerable subsidy; and having assembled a pretty good army (for those times) with as much expedition as possible; he advanced to meet the enemy: but coming to an engagement on the banks of the Sarni, he was totally routed, and most of his principal officers taken prisoners.

After this defeat, all the rest of the towns revolted to John of Anjou, except Naples itself and some few other places; which still adhered to Ferdinand. Piccinino advised John to pursue his victory and march directly to Naples; for when that was reduced, he said, the whole Kingdom would immediately drop into his hands: but he determined, on the contrary, to strip his competitor entirely of what little he had then left in those parts, before he attacked the Capital; out of a persuasion, that when he had cut off all supplies from the Country, he should easily make himself master of the City: not considering that the members follow the motions of the head more naturally, than the head is directed by those of the members. This resolution, however, proved fatal to his designs, and overset the whole expedition. For Ferdinand after his defeat had retired into Naples, where he received great numbers of his subjects who had been driven out of their possessions; and having raised some money amongst the Citizens there by gentle and persuasive means, he by

by degrees formed a little army. He likewise solicited the Pope and the Duke of Milan for fresh succours : each of whom sent him speedier and much more effectual supplies than they had done before ; as they both began to be under very great apprehensions that the Kingdom of Naples would be utterly lost. Strengthened by these reinforcements Ferdinand marched out of Naples, and having retaken several of the towns which the enemy had seized upon, began in some measure to recover his credit and interest.

But whilst the war was thus carried on with various success on both sides in the Kingdom of Naples, an event happened which robbed John of Anjou of all his glory, and made him despair of any further success in that enterprize. The Genoese being thoroughly sick of the avarice and insolence of the French, at last took up arms against their deputy-governor, and forced him to fly for refuge into the Citadel : and in this insurrection both the Fregosi and Adorni concurring, were assisted with men and money by the Duke of Milan in their endeavours to recover and maintain their liberties. So that King Regnier, who soon after came thither to the relief of his Son with a body of forces on board some transports, in hopes of preserving Genoa, as the Citadel still held out for him, was routed almost as soon as he had landed his men, and forced to return with great disgrace into Provence.

When the news of this overthrow arrived in the Kingdom of Naples, John was not a little shocked at it : yet he did not abandon his undertaking, but carried on the war for some time, chiefly by the support of such of the Nobility as had revolted from Ferdinand and despaired of ever making their peace with him. At last, however, after many other occurrences, the two armies came to a general engagement near Troia in the year 1463, in which John was defeated. But he was not so much hurt by this overthrow, as by the defection of Giacomo Piccinino,

cinino, who went back again soon after into Ferdinand's service: so that being now in a manner disarmed, he retired into * Istria, and from thence into France. This war continued four years, and during the course of it, John of Anjou more than once lost that by negligence and supineness, which had been honourably gained by the valour of his Soldiers.

The Florentines had not publickly taken either side in these disputes; and when they were importuned by Ambassadors sent from John King of Aragon (who was lately called to the government of that Kingdom, upon the death of King Alphonso) to succour his Nephew Ferdinand, as they were obliged to do by their late treaty with his Father Alphonso, they made answer, "that they had no connection with Ferdinand, and did not think themselves under any obligation to assist the Son in a war which his Father had commenced, and as it was begun without their advice or concurrence, he might either continue or end it as he liked best, since he had nothing to expect from them." Upon which, the Ambassadors having charged them, in the name of their Master, with a breach of the treaty, and declared that he would expect to be indemnified by them for any future losses he might sustain thereby, immediately left the City with much indignation and resentment. But notwithstanding the Florentines had not embroiled themselves in these wars abroad, they were far from enjoying tranquillity at home, as shall be related more at large in the next book.

* All the Italian Copies, that I have seen, say Istria; but it is a mistake: for it was not Istria that he retired to, but Ischia, a little Island in the Neapolitan Sea, fifteen miles West of the City of Naples.

END OF THE SIXTH BOOK.



