John Adams Library,

IN THE CUSTODY OF THE
BOSTON PUBLIC LIBRARY.
THE HISTORY OF ITALY,
Translated from the ITALIAN of FRANCESCO GUICCIARDINI,
BY AUSTIN PARKE GODDARD, Esq;
The THIRD EDITION.
In TEN VOLUMES.
VOL. I.

LONDON,
Printed for Z. STUART, at the Lamb, in Pater-noster-Row.

MDCCCLXIII.
TO

The Right Honourable the

Countess of POMFRET.

MADAM,

SHOULD never have presumed to appear in Print, had I not had the Honour and good Fortune of Your Ladyship's Acquaintance. In a Conversation Two Years ago, You expressed the Satisfaction You should receive in reading a faithful Translation of Guicciardini's History in our Language. This induced me to render a Sheet of it into English, which Your Ladyship was so good as to approve
DEDICATION.

prove. As you are a perfect Judge of both Languages, I construed Your Approbation for an Encouragement; and, with no small Labour, have gone through the Whole History. If I find my Undertaking has answered Your Ladyship’s Expectation (which is the Height of my Ambition) I shall have no Reason to doubt of its being acceptable to the Public.

I am, Madam,

Your Ladyship’s

most obedient

humble Servant,

AUSTIN PARKE GODDARD,
To the Reader.

The higher the Opinion the World entertains of the Merit of Guicciardini's History, the greater the Expectation may be of seeing it rendered properly into English. The Translator, therefore, to obviate all Prejudices and Prepossession, thinks proper to give the following Account of himself.

The Grand Duke of Tuscany, Cosimo III. having had some Knowledge of the Translator's Family, sent for him to Italy before he had attained the Eleventh Year of his Age. He lived Eighteen Years in that Country, Seven of them in the Academy of Siena, and other Places of Study, and the Remainder at the Court of Florence, where his Royal Highness honoured him with the Order of St. Stephen.

This was mentioned in the First Edition by the Translator, as an Excuse for
To the Reader.

for the Propriety of his English. But since the Public has been so indulgent as to take off all the Copies of the first Four Volumes, so as to put him under a Necessity of enlarging the Number of the rest, and reprinting the first Four, he congratulates himself in thinking he has no farther Occasion to apologize on that Score. Animated by this Success, he applied himself with still greater Attention to the Revival of the Remainder, as also of the first Four Books before their Re-publication.
THE LIFE OF

Francesco Guicciardini,

Taken chiefly from Signior Domenico Manni of Florence.

Amongst the many Noble Families which adorn the City of Florence, that of the Guicciardini may be well placed in the first Rank, both for its Antiquity, and on account of the Great Men it has produced. Several of them have been sent on Embassies, and employed in the most important Posts of the State. They reckon sixteen Gonfalonieri, which was formerly the Supreme Dignity in the Republic, for the

A 4 Senatorial
THE LIFE OF

Senatorial Order was not instituted till the Year 1532, when Forty-Eight Senators were created with the Sovereign at their Head. The stately Palace of the Guicciardini still remains, and gives Name to the Street where it stands, near which is the Old Church of Santa Felicita, adorned with many of their Devices, and Altars officiated by Chaplains of their Nomination. They have been Lords of several Castles in Valdipesa ever since the Year 1450. That of Popiano was sold by Nicolo Guicciardini, in 1445, for Three Thousand Florins to Galeazzo Malatesta of Pesaro, and re-purchased into the Family, in 1449, by Jacopo and Piero, but now they have only the Presentation to the Chief Church.

FROM such noble Blood then sprung our Francesco. His Father’s Name was Piero, a famous Lawyer, and a valiant Officer, who was appointed Commissary General of the Florentines in 1501, and afterwards being sent Ambassador to Leo the Tenth, displayed such Eloquence in a Speech he made to the Pontiff, that the Audience
Audience affirmed, None but the Florentines were compleat Orators. This confirms what an Historian has writ, that our Francesco was endued with an hereditary Eloquence. For Jacopo, Piero's Father, was also a learned Man as well as a great General.

I have thought it necessary to make this Preamble, to give a greater Lustre to the Character of Francesco: For tho' one cannot well affirm that Virtue is hereditary, yet to have before our Eyes the glorious Deeds of our Ancestors, is a great Encouragement to endeavour to attain it: For this Reason Varro thought it commendable, and useful to the State, that Men, like Alexander, should imagine themselves Sons of some Deity, that, inspired with so high a Notion, they might disdain to attend to mean Employments.

Simona Gianfiliazzzi, the Mother of Francesco and seven other Children, was also descended of an antient and noble Family. As for the Time of his Birth, and some other Particulars relating to the Author's Life, they cannot be
be better ascertained, than by transcribing the Relation Francesco gives of himself, in a Manuscript of his own Hand-Writing, still extant, which is as follows.

"I Francesco Guicciardini, Doctor of Civil and Common Law, was born the 6th of March, 1482, in Florence, about Ten of the Clock: The Name of Francesco was given me, in Memory of Francesco Nerli, my Father's Grandfather by his Mother's Side: I was also Christened by the Name of Thomas, the Day I was born happening to be the Festival of Saint Thomas Aquinas. My Godfathers were M. Marsilio Ficino, the greatest Platonic Philosopher then in the Universe, Giovanni Canacci, and Piero del Nero, both likewise Philosopher. In the Year 1498, about the End of November, I began to study the Civil Law, and that Year at Florence I heard the Institutes from M. Jacopo Modesti of Carmignano, for that Study was lost in Pisa. Rinieri Guicciardini, my Uncle, was Archdeacon of the Metropolitan
THE AUTHOR

"politan Church of Florence, and Bishop of Cortona; his Benefices yielded him near Fifteen Hundred Ducats a Year, and most People imagined, when he was taken ill, that he would make over to me his best Benefices, which I very much desired, not from an Inclination to lead an idle Life, but because I thought, that being young, I might be in the Way of obtaining rich Preferments in the Church, with Hopes some time or other to be made a Cardinal. Rinieri was not inclined to make Renunciation, yet he would have made it in Reversion, especially if my Father, for whom he had a great Regard had pressed him to it. But tho' he had Five Sons, he did not care that any of them should take to the Church; because he thought the Discipline very much neglected, and therefore chose rather to lose the present Opportunity of preferring a Child that Way, than to fully his Conscience, by making a Son of his a Priest, with a View to Grandeur and Riches: This was the true Reason that guided him, and I was
THE LIFE OF

"was obliged to submit. The 15th of
"November, 1505, I received my De-
"grees in the Chapter of St. Lawrence,
"in the College of the Students at Pisa,
"erected in 1497: But I chose only to
"be Doctor of the Civil Law, because
"I thought the Cannon of little Im-
"portance: My Sponsors were M. An-
tonio Malagonelli, M. Francesco Pepi,
"and M. Vittorio Soderini, and the same
"Morning I read my Lecture." So far
Guicciardini's Manuscript.

In the 23d Year of his Age, he was
appointed a Professor of the Institutes at
Florence, with a competent Salary for
those Days, and soon established such a
Character, that he was consulted and pre-
ferred to all other Lawyers his Co-tempo-
raries. Antonio Cioffi gives him the
Name of Clarissimus Jurisconsultus, [a most
eminent Lawyer.] Many of his Opinions
are yet extant, and are preserved in the
famous Library of Sig. Carlo Tomaso
Strozzi, a Gentleman, to whom all Lovers
of Arts and Erudition are very much
indebted.

IN
In the Year 1506, Guicciardini married Maria, Daughter of Alemanno Everardo Salviati, without Comparison the greatest Man in Florence. In 1507, he was chosen by many Cities of the State for their standing Counsellor, and two Years after made Advocate of the Florentine Chapter, which was a very honourable Employment, both for its Dignity and because it had always been filled with the most learned Counsellors of the City. In 1509, he was elected Advocate of the Order of the Camaldoli, and continued in this Way of Life until the Year 1511, when the supreme Magistracy thought proper to make use of his Talents in a more public Manner.

The French and Spaniards had entered into a League against the Italians, and the Florentines were very much perplexed, not being determined whether they should engage in the League, or remain neutral. On this Occasion they appointed our Francesco Ambassado to Ferdinando King of Spain, to treat about this and several other im-
important Affairs; as he mentions in the 10th Book of his History. He left Florence in January, 1512, and after a prosperous Journey came to Burgos, where the King resided, and remained two Years at his Court. A large Field was here opened for his Improvement in the Management of Affairs: Many Events happened in that Time, which came within his Province to negotiate; such as the taking and plundering of Ravenna and Prato by the Spaniards, the depoing of Piero Soderini, and the Restoration of the Family of the Medici. What concerned these and other Negotiations was transacted by him with universal Applausé, and the Republic had such an Opinion of his Capacity, that, though several Occurrences happened within that Time, they never sent any other Minister. The King was also entirely satisfied with his Behaviour; a Proof of which was the great Quantity of fine-wrought Plate, he made him a Present of at his Departure. On his Return, at Piacenza he heard the melancholy News of his Father's Death, which was something alleviated by the unusual Marks
Marks of Honour and Respect paid him when he came to Florence.

On the 13th of December, 1515, Leo the Tenth made his pompous Entry into Florence, accompanied by a great Number of Cardinals. Guicciardini had been deputed by the Republic to go and receive him at Cortona, where the Pope, taken by his engaging Behaviour, or convinced, on this Occasion, of the Truth of what Fame had spread of his Abilities, the Day after his Arrival, of his own accord, in a Congregation of Cardinals, declared him Advocate of the Consistory. When he came to Florence, he conferred indeed the fame Dignity on Vincenzo Paleotti of Bologna, a learned Lawyer, who was Counsel to the King of England, and on Lancellotto Politi of Siena, afterwards Archbishop of Consta. But what is here said, is to shew that Guicciardini was the first who received this Honour, and that, by the Recommendation only of his own Merit. The Pope's Favours did not stop here; for not long after he sent for him to come to Rome, with a View of employing him where
THE LIFE OF
where he might best display his Talents. In 1518, he gave him the Government of Modena and Reggio, in that perilous Time a Place of Trust that required vast Circumspection, which he shewed himself Master of, by deluding with a prudent Dexterity the Person who, relying on his Youth and Unexperience in Military Affairs, endeavoured to make himself Master of Reggio.

In 1521, Guicciardini's good Conduct in his Office obtained him the Government of Parma, from whence Bocchi writes he drove away the French, and confirmed the Parmesan in their Obedience and Submission, which proved a very difficult Task; for it was when the Holy See was vacant by the Death of Leo, and when the People he commanded were full of Fears, disheartened and unarmed. He retained the same Post under Adrian the Sixth, to whom he discovered the dangerous Designs of Alberto Pio da Carpi, and got him removed from the Government of Reggio and Rubiera. Giulio de' Medici, who took
the Name of Clement the Seventh, as soon as he was exalted to the Pontificate, confirmed him in that Government. In the Year 1523 he prevented the Duke of Ferrara from seizing on Modena; in Acknowledgment of which the Pope made him Governor of that Place, and President of Romagna, with an unlimited Authority. This was a Place of great Dignity and Power, yet a very laborious and dangerous Situation, considering the Circumstances of the Times, the Enmities and Factions then running so high: But his Prudence not only overcame all these Difficulties, but in the Midst of them he found Means to contribute to the Convenience and Delight of the Inhabitants, by embellishing their Towns, that lay almost in Rubbish, with good Houses and magnificent Edifices. This rendered his Name so acceptable to those People, that they were overjoyed when, after a further Promotion of Guicciardini, they understood he was to be succeeded in his Government by his Brother. This happened the 6th of June, 1526, when the Pope by a Brief declared him Lieutenant
General of all his Troops in the Ecclesiastical State, with an Authority over his Forces in other Parts also that were under the Command of any Captain General; wherefore Girolamo in his Ninth Book writes, "When, in 1527, the Citizens of Ravenna had Reason to fear the entire Destruction of their Country, Guicciardini, Commander of the Pope's and all the Confederate Forces, came to our Aid." There is an original Letter from the Duke of Milan, still preserved in the Family, directed, Illystrissimo Domino Francisco Guicciardino Locumtenenti Pontificio & tanquam Patri honor: In Casbris Sanctissime Ligeæ; and ends De V. S. come filio Francesco 2do Sf. Visconte Duca di Milano; and another from the King of France, with this honourable Address, A mon Cousin Francesco Guicciardini, Gouverneur Gen. du Pape.

Guicciardini, according to Bocchi, was excellent both in the Cabinet and Camp; and, as Scipione Amirato observes, it was impossible he should be otherwise, when one considers the different Employments.
ments and Negotiations he was trusted with, and the many Consultations, both Civil and Military, at which he was present. *Possession* writes, that he was very well versed in all Affairs concerning Peace or War; and *Benedetto Varchi* in his History has this Paragraph, "Francisco Guicciardini, besides his Nobility, besides his Riches, besides his Degrees, besides his having been Governor and Lieutenant General of the Pope, was also highly esteemed not only for his Knowledge but also for the Experience he had in Civil Affairs and political Transactions, a Subject he talked and judged of extremely well." *Domenico Mellini*, in the Description he gives of Queen Giovanna of Austria's Entry into Florence, calls him a Man of Prudence, and well versed in the Management of grand Affairs relating to Government. *Sansevino* thus confirms all that had been said by others: "The Pope and other Princes in the Alliance were so sensible of his Integrity and Abilities that, by their Authority, he opened all their Letters that passed through his Hand whilst he was in the Field, and
corrected and altered their Orders as he thought the Exigency of Affairs required." Bocchi in another Place calls him one of the greatest Men in Italy; which indeed Guicciardini has proved himself to be in the two excellent Books he has written, intitled, Political and Military Advertisements.

No Wonder if a Man of such Parts was courted by all the Learned: It were to be wished, that we could look into his Correspondence; but as his Letters, by fatal Negligence, have perished, our Curiosity in this Point can only be satisfied by some written to him; a Part of these are from Cardinal Pietro Bembo, Secretary to Leo X. and are to be seen in his printed Letters; and others from Bernardo Tasso, amongst which is that famous Sonette in his Works.

Arno ben puoi il tuo Natio soggiorno
Lasciar nell'Appeninno, &c.

It appears from the Letters of Bembo that he possessed the agreeable Art of engaging
gaging the Affections both of private Persons and Princes: All our Histories make mention of the Pains he took, in the Year 1527, to quell a dangerous Insurrection in Florence, when the Army of the League was there, under the Constable of Bourbon, at which Juncture that City would probably have been sacked, and a great Part of the Nobility murdered, if Francesco, by his Interposition, Counsel, and smooth Speeches, had not prevented it.

Some Authors, tho' of no great Note, have ventured to tax Guicciardini with Prolixity, but they are much outweighed by those of a superior Judgment. Scipione Ammirato, the elder, in his fine dedicatory Epistle to the Great Duke of Tuscany, expresses himself thus: "Guicciardini explains the Causes and Reasons of Things so justly, praises the good Actions, and blames the bad, so free from Malice, Prejudice, or Envy, and lays before the Eyes of the Readers the Customs and Qualities of Persons in such proper Colours, and all this " with
THE LIFE OF

"with such Decorum and Majesty, that
he creates rather Wonder and Astonishment, than Hopes of equaling,
much less surpassing him: He seems
to have been the only one, that in this
corrupt and flattering Age understood,
and was thorough Master of what be-
longs to the Office of an Historian: He
banished all human Prejudices, and seating himself on the most venerable Chair
of Truth, like a severe Censor, who
is to pass Judgment, not on Citizens, but
on all the mighty Kings and Princes on
Earth, condemns one, blames another,
absolves a third; others he exalts with
the highest Encomiums, equalling them
in a manner with celestial Beings. It
is not then to be wondered, that his
History, translated into all the best
Languages, flies all over Europe, ad-
ding Courage to the Brave, reprimanding the Poltroons, counselling
Repablics, admonishing Princes, re-
straining Subjects within Bounds, and
instructing Mankind in general."

BERNARDO SEGNI writes, that he was the
the chief Favorite of Pope Clement; that, in 1531, he made him Governor of Bologna, and was the first Layman who had been sent to govern that City. He was in this Post when the Pope made his splendid Entry into Bologna, on the 8th of December, 1532, where he was met on the 13th of the same Month by Charles V. Our Historian assisted at the pompous Coronation of the Emperor, on St. Matthias’s Day, with several Princes that came to this Solemnity, from whom he received many Civilities, every one courting his Company, for the Benefit they received from his instructive Conversation.

One Day the Emperor, being informed that Guicciardini attended his Levee, gave immediate Orders for his being admitted into his Dressing-Room, and conversed with him on the Subject of the History in which he was engaged. In the mean Time one of the Courtiers informed his Majesty that a Murmur was risen amongst several Persons of Quality, and Officers of the Army, who, for many Days together, had been desiring an Audience, without being
being allowed that Honour. The Emperor, holding Guicciardini by the Hand, entered the Drawing-Room, and thus addressed the Company: "Gentlemen! I am informed that you think it strange that I gave Admission to Guicciardini before you; but I desire you would consider, that in one Hour I can create an Hundred Nobles, and a like Number of Officers in the Army, but I cannot produce such an Historian in the Space of Twenty Years. To what Purpose serve the Pains which you take to execute your respective Functions in the Camp or in the Council, if Historians, for the Instruction of your Descendants transmit not an Account of your Conduct to Posterity; who are they, that have informed Mankind of the heroic Actions of your Ancestors, but Historians? It is necessary then to honour them, that they may be encouraged to convey the Knowledge of your illustrious Deeds to Futurity. Thus, Gentlemen! you ought neither to be offended nor surprised at my Regard for Guicciardini, since you have as much Interest in his Province as myself."

By
By Letters writ to him by Pietro Bembo, we are informed, that Guicciardini lived sometimes at Bologna, and sometimes at Florence, according as the Affairs of the Public required. In February, 1532, he sent a Letter to Florence, containing some Instructions; and, in April, he was ordered by the Pope to come and reform the State, and put Alessandro in Possession of that Government. He obtained from Clement, when he was at Bologna, a Brief, in which were contained many Privileges, both Spiritual and Temporal, for himself, and his Wife, and their nearest Relations. Notwithstanding his prudent Government, Varchi observes that there were several in Bologna dissatisfied with his Severity, and in general they disliked to have a Layman for their Superior; but this must be said in his Excuse, that in those tumultuous Times he was obliged to keep every one, without Exception in Subjection, by which Means he quieted that turbulent City, which he could not have effected by Mildness. He was in this Government at the Death of Clement VII.
in 1534, when he despised the impending Danger that he was threatened with by his Enemies for his Severity who concealed their Anger in the Pope's Life-time, but now seemed determined to take their Revenge. As he was not only a wise, but also a courageous Magistrate, he raised immediately a Thousand Men, punished some of the Mutineers, and provided for the Safety of himself and his Friends, in doing of which he put in practice this Doctrine, contained in his Fourteenth Precept. "He who does not understand how to govern Cities, and People, ought to be taught, That by punishing a Few he may quiet the rest." And in his Fifty-seventh Precept, he says, "Man cannot well be governed without Severity, because the Malignity of Human Nature requires it; but at the same Time Care should be taken to instruct, that Rigor is not pleasing to him that punishes, but made use of out of Necessity, and for the public Welfare."

After the Death of Clement, Guicciardini was resolved to quit that Government,
ment, as he apprehended the People would no longer submit to his Commands; but the Senate having considered that many Disorders might happen, if they were left without a Governor in the Time of the vacant See, they beseeched him to conti- nue, promising him he should have all the Assistance requisite; to which he at last consented.

But several Noblemen were highly dissatisfied with him and among the rest Galeazzo Casselli and Girolamo Pepoli, who till now had been Fugitives. As soon as Clement was dead, they came into Bologna at Noon-day, accompanied by several of their Friends, and by some out-lawed Persons, well-armed. This Manner of proceeding was very displeasing to the Governor, who looked upon it as done in contempt of his Person, and therefore meditated how to revenge the Affront. One Evening two proscribed Felons, under Pepoli's Protection, were taken up by the Officers as they were walking the Streets, and carried to Prison: Guicciardini, without any farther Process, ordered
ordered them to be immediately executed. Count Girolamo Pepoli, in great Wrath, got a Number of his Friends together, and was going in quest of the Governor to seek his Revenge; but the Senate sent some of their Members to Pepoli, to desire him to return to his House, and not occasion a Tumult, which he complied with for fear of disobligeing the Senate.

So far Pompeo Vizzani, an Historian of Bologna; who also relates that Guicciardini ever after owed the Bolognesi a Grudge. Remigio adds, that as soon as Guicciardini was apprised that a new Governor was appointed, he resolved to quit the Town; and though the Pepoli had threatened his Destruction, because he had hanged two of their Bravo's, yet he took with him but a few Horsemens, besides his own Servants; and as it was his direct Road, he would not avoid passing by the Palace of the Pepoli; but, contrary to the Expectation of every Body, they remained quiet, without giving him any Disturbance in the Journey.
After this happened the tragical and unexpected Death of the Duke of Florence, on which occasion the Senate assembled, and our Francesco, who was in all the secret Conferences, had Influence enough to procure the Election of Cosmo, Son of Giovanni de' Medici, which gave Occasion to Giorgio Vassari to place him next to the Duke, in his fine Painting in the old Palace, representing this Election. Whilst this Prince governed, Guicciardini lived retired, without meddling in public Affairs, unless when his Advice was required. All he now desired was a quiet Recess, that he might have Leisure to continue his History, already begun, to which he was earnestly sollicited by Jacopo Nardi, who was himself a famous Historian. But in the Midst of his Retirement, Pope Paul III. coming from Nice, passed through Florence; where, first in Person, then by Letters, and, at last, by means of Cardinal Ducci, he earnestly endeavoured to persuade, I may say, pressed him, to come to Rome: But he resisted all Entreaties, and all the
the advantageous Offers that were made him, which entirely discredits what Var- 
chi has writ of his Avarice and Am-
bition. But as many are apt to judge of 
inward Motives from outward Appearances, 
they imagined his Refusal proceeded from 
his being married, and without Sons, 
which made it impracticable, either for 
him, or his Descendants, to become Pre-
lates or Cardinals. He might also consider 
that, as there was no good Harmony be-
tween his Master and the Pope, it would 
not be decent in him to quit the former, 
and serve the latter. But the chief Reason 
seems to have been the natural Desire that 
Men, fatiated with Busines, have for the 
Sweets of Retirement; on which being 
fully determined, he disengaged himself 
from the Pope's Sollicitations in a handsome 
Manner, and gave himself up entirely to 
to the finishing of his History at Emma, his 
delightful Country-house, often mentioned 
by the Historians, because it was his, and 
memorable even then for the Encampment 
and Quarters of the Prince of Orange, at 
the Siege of Florence, in 1529.
Our Author enjoyed but a short Time the Tranquility and Peace of Mind he expected to find in his Retirement: For he died the 27th of May, 1540, in the 59th Year of his Age, and, as reported, of Grief. For the Duke, in whose Election he had so much interested himself, put in practice all the Methods he could devise, to oppress the remaining Spirit of Liberty in his Country, which he effected by impoverishing his Subjects. In the Time of the Republic, no Nobleman was qualified for any Post in the Government, till he had made himself Member of one of the several Trading Companies in Florence*. This Regulation making it no Disgrace for a Gentleman to keep a Shop in the Wholesale way, the Trade of Florence was become so extensive, as to render it one of the richest Cities in Europe. At Pisa is shewn to this Day the Place, from whence they say the Florentine Gallies set out, once every

* Noblemen in Italy are no more than what we call the Gentry; and though there is a very great Number of Marquisses and Counts, yet, as in Italy, there is no Precedence amongst Gentlemen, they claim no particular Rank.
every Year, with Woolen Goods for England, which they reached, by coasting along the French, Spanish and Portuguese Shores.

Duke Cosimo, to lessen this Trade, promoted the Noblemen to Places of Honour and Profit, without requiring the aforesaid Qualification, and erected the Order of St. Stephen from which all Traders were excluded. In the Institution of this Order, he followed the Plan of that of Malta, the most material Difference between the two consisting only in the Article of Celibacy; for like them the Knights of St. Stephen make Proof of their Birth, fight against the Turks, and enjoy Commenderies. As the sanguine Duke knew the Passion of Mankind for transmitting their Titles to their Posterity, he made a Decree, That any Gentleman who would erect a Commenderie upon his Estate of no less Value than Ten Thousand Crowns, He, and his eldest Heirs Male, should enjoy it with the Title of Commendeurs. But in Failure of Male Issue, such Commenderies should devolve to the Order, which in the Course of
of so many Years has greatly enriched it. The Grand Master, who is now the present Emperor, has all these Commanderies in his Disposal. The Duke, to allure his Gentry into this new Order, endowed the Knights with many valuable Privileges, and amongst the rest that of no Executions being performed to take Place against either their Persons or Effects. These Privileges, together with a natural Passion the Italians, as much as any other Nation, have for Titles, induced great Numbers of the Tuscan Nobility to retire from Trade, whereby many Noble Families are impoverished, and rendered dependant on the Sovereign. These and the like Measures

† The Great Duke Cosimo the Third, when on his Travels, was treated in England with a particular Regard by several Noblemen and Gentlemen, to whom he afterwards sent Presents of Wine during his Life, and when any of them, or their Family, came into his Dominions, he never failed shewing them Marks of his Gratitude. In the Year 1712, on the Arrival at Florence of the Honourable Thomas Clifford, eldest of the Grandsons to the Lord of that Name, who had been High Treasurer when the Great Duke was in England, his Royal Highness conferred on him the Order of St. Stephen; and, as I well remember, Sir Henry Bedingfield, Bart. was to have received the Cross, and have been installed at that Juncture, had his Time permitted him to stay in Florence, till her Majesty's
fures were so grievous to Guicciardini, that, as Bernardo Segni writes, he died of a broken Heart, and in Despair, because the Affairs of his Country were so ill conducted: Others have reported that, unable to bear the Sight of the deplorable State to which Florence was reduced, he prevailed on one of his intimate Friends to administer him Poison. But Remigio, Rondinelli, Giovanni Imperiali, and several other authentic Historians, intirely clear him from that Imputation, and assures he died of a violent Fever *.

He Majesty's Permission could be procured, as it had been for the other. On the Death of the said Thomas, the Honourable Henry Clifford, his younger Brother, was knighted. We have also the Commendeur Cosimo Nevil, whose Father Count Migliorucci, descendent of a very ancient Tuscan Family, erected a Commenderie on his Estate, to which the present Commendeur Cosimo Nevil his Son by one of the Heiresses of the Nevils of Holt, is intitled.

* There are still existing several Republican Families in Florence, and I myself have heard some detest the Memory of Guicciardini for contributing to enslave his Country by espousing the Interest of the Family of the Medici, and think that he was so far from taking to Heart the Exercise of an arbitrary Administration, that he might probably have had a Hand in forming the Plan of the Order of St. Stephen; which, however, was not confirmed till after his Death.
THE AUTHOR

He was buried with Honour, but without Pomp, having expressly ordered that no Shew or Funeral Oration, as was customary, should be made, nor any Inscription put upon his Grave; which last was observed till the Year Sixteen Hundred and Twenty, when the Family repaired the great Chapel, and the following Inscription was ordered to be engraved.

Francisco Guicciardino Senat.
Peri F.

Vigentem ætatem Rebus maximis
Agendis impendit
In conscribenda præclara Historia
Vergentem
Cujus Negocium an Ocium
Gloriosius incertum
Nisi Occii Lumen Negocii Famam
Clariorem reddisset.

Francesco was tall, and of a venerable Aspect; he had large Shoulders, a plain Face, a strong and robust Constitution. The Family have a Picture of him, that seems to have been drawn in those Days.
Days; such another is in the House of Signor Nicolo Panciatici: One of them probably is that mentioned by Giorgio Vasari, in the Third Part of his Lives of the Painters, where he says, "At that Time I painted several Pieces, and amongst the rest the Picture of Messer Francesco Guicciardini, who was just returned from Bologna, at his Country House near Montici, which pretty well resembled him, and was admired." One of his Pictures is to be seen in the Great Duke’s Gallery, in the left Wing, amongst the famous Historians, and another in the right, amongst the Men of great Learning. There is also in the Museum of Sig. Carlo Tomaso Strozzi, a Brass Medal, struck in those Days, which seems to have a good resemblance; on the Backside is represented a Rock, without any Inscription, alluding to his Constancy and Intrepidity. In general those who make mention of him agree, that he was a great Professor of the Law, Learned, Upright, and Incurrupt: Of this latter he gave a sufficient Proof, by his leaving so little Wealth, after the numberless Opportunities he had of accumulating
accumulating Riches. He was of a quick and high Conception, of singular Judgment, had a good Memory, was profound and prudent in his Counsels, efficacious in Persuading, eloquent in Speech, and had a peculiar Talent in describing the Characters of Men. He was choleric, but not rash, affable, but no Lover of Jests, preserving ever a certain Gravity. He wrote several Books, as the Sacking of Rome, Considerations on State Affairs, Counsels and Admonitions, some Letters, several Law Cases, and an Epistle in Verse, which makes Crescimbeml place him amongst the Tuscan Poets. As soon as his History appeared in public, it was immediately translated into Latin, and has had several Editions in most of the European Languages; an unquestionable Argument of the Author's extraordinary Merit.

Enough has been said of his History; to which I shall only add the Testimony of the late Lord Bolingbroke, who in his Third Letter On the Study of History, calls him the Admirable Historian; and in his Fifth says of him, I should not scruple to prefer
prefer Guicciardini to Thucydides in every Respect.

Francesco Guicciardini left a Wife, who lived till the Year 1559, and Three Daughters. Two married into the Family of the Capponi, and the other into that of Ducci. He had Three Brothers, Luigi, Jacopo, and Girolamo: From Jacopo came the famous Author of the Commentaries of Europe, from 1529 to 1560, who also wrote a Description of the Low Countries, &c. His Name was Lodovico, and lies buried at Antwerp. From his other Brother, the Senator, Girolamo is descended, in a direct Line, Francesco Maria Gaetano, who was a Gentleman of the Bed-Chamber to his late Royal Highness the Grand-Duke Cosmo.
Francesco Guicciardini's

HISTORY

OF

The Wars in Italy.

BOOK I.

THE CONTENTS.

Causes which produced the Italian Wars. Expedition of Charles the Eighth, King of France, into Italy. Expulsion of Piero de' Medici from Florence. Rebellion of Pisa. Conquest of Naples.

Propose to relate what past in our Memory in Italy, since the French, invited by our own Princos, came with powerful Armies and
and interrupted her Repose: A Subject, for its Greatness and Variety highly memorable, and full of melancholy Events; Italy for a long Series of Years having laboured under all such Calamities as the Almighty is wont, in his Displeasure, to inflict on wretched Mortals for their impieties and Wickedness. From the Knowledge of so many, so various, and so important Incidents, every one may draw Instructions of some sort or other, conducive both to his own and to the Public Good. By numberless Examples it will evidently appear, that human Affairs are as subject to Change and Fluctuation as the Waters of the Sea, agitated by the Winds: And also how pernicious, often to themselves, and ever to their People, are the precipitate Measures of our Rulers, when actuated only by the Allurement of some vain Project, or present Pleasure and Advantage. Such Princes never allow themselves Leisure to reflect on the Instability of Fortune; but, perverting the Use of that Power which was given them to do good, become the Authors of Disquiet and Confusion by their Misconduct and Ambition. Before
THE WARS IN ITALY.

Before I proceed to give my Reader an Account of the Troubles in Italy, together with the Causes from whence so many Evils were derived, it will not be improper to observe, that our Calamities affected us with so much the greater Terror and Sensibility, as the Minds of Men were perfectly at Ease, and the Country at that Time in a State of profound Peace and Tranquillity. It is certain that, for above a thousand Years back, at which Period the Roman Empire, weaken'd by a Change of her antient Institutions, began to decline from that Pitch of Grandeur, to the attaining of which the most amazing Virtue and good Fortune had equally contributed, Italy had at no Time enjoy'd a State of such compleat Prosperity and Repose, as in the Year 1490, and some time before and after. The People also had taken Advantage of this Halcyon Season, and been busied in cultivating all their Lands, as well Mountains as Vallies; and being under no Foreign Influence, but governed by their own Princes, Italy not only abounded with Inhabitants and Riches, but grew renowned for the Gran-
THE HISTORY OF
deur and Magnificence of her Sovereigns, for the Splendor of many noble and beautiful Cities; for the Seat and Majesty of Religion, and for a Number of great Men of distinguished Abilities in the Administration of public Affairs, and of excellent Accomplishments in all the Sciences, and in every noble Art: She had also no small Share of military Glory, according to the Knowledge and Practice of Arms in those Days.

A happy Concurrence of Causes had preserved her in this flourishing Condition. Amongst the rest, common Fame ascribed no small Share to the Virtue and active Spirit of Lorenzo de' Medici: A Citizen of such distinguished Merit in the State of Florence, that the whole Affairs of that Republic were conducted as he thought proper to advise or direct. And it was indeed to the Happiness of her Situation, the Ingenuity of the People, and the flourishing State of the public Credit, and her Opulency, that this Commonwealth chiefly owed her Power and Influence; for the Extent of its Dominion was not great.

Lorenzo,
THE WARS IN ITALY.

Lorenzo, by Marriage, had made a strict Alliance with Pope Innocent the Eighth; which gave him still greater Credit and Authority with the Princes of Italy. He knew how destructive it would prove, both to himself and the Republic of Florence if any of them should increase his Dominions at the Expence of his Neighbours; and was therefore ever watchful to prevent the most minute Cause of Strife or Misunderstanding among them, lest the Balance of Power, which then subsisted in Italy, should suffer any Alteration.

Ferdinando of Aragon, King of Naples, was in the same Disposition: A very sagacious Prince, and highly esteem'd; tho' formerly he had often discovered an ambitious and turbulent Spirit. He was instigated, at this very Time by Alfonso, Duke of Calabria, his eldest Son, to resent the Injury done to Giovanni Galeazzo Sforza, Duke of Milan, who had married Alfonso's Daughter. The Duke had been excluded from the Administration of all public Affairs by his Uncle Lodovico Sforza;
Sforza; who through the Weakness and
dissolute Behaviour of Bona, this young
Prince's Mother, had procured for him-
sell the Tuition of him. Having enjoy'd
the Regency Ten Years together, and,
by little and little, rendered himself also
Master of the Fortresses, Army, Treasure,
and whatever supported the State; he at
length refused, under Pretence of his
Nephew's Want of Capacity, to resign
his Office; continuing to govern, (tho'
his Kinsman was above Twenty Years old)
not as Guardian, or Regent, but with all
the Formality and Actions of the Prince,
tho' he did not assume the Ducal Title.
Ferdinando, however, remained attentive
to his first Object, which was the Pre-
servation of the public Peace: And, there-
fore, would neither gratify his own
warlike Disposition, nor the just Re-
sentment of his Son, at the Hazard of
so invaluable a Blessing. But he was the
more cautious of creating any Divisions in
Italy, because he had perceived, in some
late dangerous Commotions, that he was
hated by his Subjects; particularly by a
Party among his Barons, who were still
attached
attached to the old French Interest; and, as he apprehended, would, in case of any Rupture, invite them to invade his Dominions. To this Motive may be added, a Desire he had to counterbalance the formidable Power of the Venetians, which at that Time alarmed all Italy; and he was sensible, that his Union with the other Powers, with the States especially of Milan and Florence, was requisite for that Purpose.

Lodovico Sforza, tho' of a turbulent and ambitious Temper, could not but be pleased with the same Measures. For the Venetian Power was as much dreaded by the Sovereigns of Milan, as by other Princes. Besides, it was much easier for him to preserve his usurped Authority in a Time of Peace and Tranquillity, than amidst the Confusion and Casualties of War. And tho' he was always apprehensive of Ferdinando and Alfonso, yet he could depend upon the peaceable Disposition of Lorenzo de' Medici, who was also jealous as well as himself, of the King of Naples. He was persuaded,
moreover, that the Animosities which
then subsisted between Ferdinando and the
Venetians, rendered an Union between
them impracticable: And being satisfy'd
that he would find it dangerous to act
without, and difficult to procure an Alli-
ance, he thought himself secure from any
Attempt that could be made against him
from that Quarter.

There was then the same Inclination
for Peace in Ferdinando, Lodovico, and
Lorenzo; partly from the same, and partly
from different Motives: So that a Con-
federacy many Years before contracted,
in the Name of Ferdinando, King of
Naples, Giov. Galeazzo, Duke of Milan,
and the Republic of Florence, for the
mutual Defence of each other's Domi-
nions, was with Ease corroborated and
confirmed. This League, of some Years
standing, as I observed, but interrupted
by various Accidents, was renewed for
Twenty-five Years, in 1480, and acceded
to by all the inferior Powers of Italy. The
chief Design of the contracting Parties
was to keep down the Power of the Ve-
netians,
THE WARS IN ITALY.

The Venetians, who were without question superior to any of the Confederates separately, but not able to cope with them when united. Their Senate seemed to consider themselves, and acted, as a Body, that had little or no Connection with the other People of Italy; widening every Breach, and cherishing and fomenting Discord amongst them, in hopes of attaining, by these Means, the Sovereignty of Italy. The whole Tenor of their Councils and Conduct manifested their Design: But it appeared most plainly, when, upon the Death of Filippo Maria Visconti, Duke of Milan, they attempted, under the plausible Pretence of preserving the Liberties of the Milanese, to make themselves Masters of that Duchy: And in a more recent Instance, when with open Violence they endeavoured to seize the Dukedom of Ferrara. This Confederacy produced the intended Effect, so far as to restrain the Ambition of the Venetians, but it did not unite the Confederates in a sincere and solid Friendship among themselves. Their Envy and Emulation of each other made them watchful of every Motion,
THE HISTORY OF

A. D. 1490.

Motion, and jealous of every Measure, that they conceived might any way increase the Power or Credit of their Neighbours. This Precaution, however, did not make the Peace less secure: On the contrary, it created a most ardent Impatience in them all to quench immediately those Sparks which, if neglected, might break out into a general Conflagration. Such then was the State of Affairs; these were the Foundations for the Tranquility of Italy; so connected, and counterpoised, that there was not only no Appearance of a present Change, but the most discerning Person could not devise, by what Counsels, Accidents, or Powers, such a Peace could be disturbed.

In April 1492, Lorenzo de' Medici was taken off by a premature Death; not being quite Forty-four Years of Age. His Death was a grievous Stroke to his Country which, by means of his Reputation, Prudence, and a Genius which naturally disposed him to all honourable and excellent Undertakings, wonderfully flourished in Riches, and in all those Blessings and Ornaments
THE WARS IN ITALY.

Ornaments which in human Affairs are the usual Attendants of a long and secure Peace. His Death was indeed lamented by all Italy, not only on account of his Zeal and Sollicitude for the public Security, and for his great and successful Diligence in moderating and curbing the frequent Jealousies and Difensions of Ferdinando and Lodovico Sforza, Princes of equal Ambition and Power.

LORENZO's Death was followed a few Months after by that of Pope Innocent Eighth; Death of which laid the Foundation of further Calamities. The Public had been but little benefited by him: Yet he was commendable in one Particular; which was, that after he had soon laid down the Arms he had unsuccessfully taken up, at the Commencement of his Reign, against Ferdinando, at the Instigation of his discontented Barons, giving himself up entirely to Indolence and Ease, he never would concern himself, nor suffered any that depended on him to intermeddle in any Project that might disturb the Happiness of Italy.

Vol. I. D Tō
To Innocent succeeded Roderigo Borgia, of Valenza, a Royal City in Spain. He was an antient Cardinal, and one of the most considerable Prelates in the Court of Rome. His Election was owing partly to the Disputes that arose between the two Cardinals, Heads of Factions, Ascanio Sforza, and Giuliano of San Piero in Vincola, but chiefly to a Simony unknown in former Times: For Borgia openly corrupted many of the Cardinals, some with Money, and others with Promises of profitable Places and Benefices, of which he had many at that Time in his Power; and they, without any Regard to the Precepts of the Gospel, were not ashamed of making a Traffick of the sacred Treasures, under the Name of divine Authority, and that in the most high and eminent Seat of the Christian Religion.

Cardinal Ascanio had the principal Hand in this detestable Work, and was employed as Agent for such abominable Contracts. He influenced several with Hopes of Preferment, and also
also by his bad Example: For his Heart being corrupted by an immoderate Thirst of Riches, he bargained, for the Price of his Iniquity, to have the Vice-Chancellorship, (the most profitable Post in the Pope's Disposal) the Revenues of divers Churches and Castles, and even the Pope's own Family Palace, with all its magnificent Furniture of an immense Value. But divine Justice overtook him; for he became an Object of Scorn and Hatred to all Mankind, who were fill'd with Horror at an Election procured by such black and enormous Artifices; especially as Borgia's impious Life was everywhere notorious *. The King of Naples, we are assured, upon hearing the News, diffembled his Grief in public, but with Tears, (which he was not accustomed to shed at the Death of his Children) told his Queen, that this Creation would prove fatal to Italy, and a Scandal to Christendom: A Prognostic worthy of the Prudence of Ferdinando!

* Ascanio was carried Prisoner into France, and after his Return, according to Giovio, was poisoned.
THE HISTORY OF

A D. 1492.

ALEXANDER the Sixth, (for so he would be call’d) was endowed with wonderful Acuteness, and extraordinary Sagacity; had a surprising Genius in suggesting Expedients in the Cabinet, an uncommon Efficacy in Persuasion, and in all Matters of Consequence an incredible Application and Dexterity. But these great Qualities were abundantly over-balanced by his Vices. For he was of very impure Manners, Insincere, Shameless, False, Faithless and Irreligious, without Probity, insatiably covetous, immoderately fond of Dominion, barbarously cruel, and ardently solicitous, at any Rate, to exalt his Children, who were numerous, and amongst them some (that he might not want Instruments to execute his villainous Designs) as bad as himself*.

The Death of Lorenzo de' Medici occasioned a Change of no less Importance in Florence, than that of Innocent to the Church. Piero, the eldest Son of Lorenzo's three Sons, succeeded, without Oppo-

* Cesare, Francesco, Giulio, and Lucretia, were the Names of his Children.
The Wars in Italy. 15

Opposition, to his Father's Greatness *: A. D. 1492. But neither his Age nor Understanding any ways qualify'd him for so important a Charge; nor was he capable of proceeding with that Moderation in his domestic and foreign Concerns, nor had he that Prudence to temporise with his Allies, for which his Father was so remarkable: who by his Conduct, whilst living, had improved both the Republic and his own Condition, and, dying, left every one convinced, that principally thro' his Means the Peace of Italy had been preserved.

Piero no sooner undertook the Administration of the Republic, than he swerved from his Father's Counsels, and not consulting the principal Citizens, without whose Concurrence seldom any Resolutions were taken in Matters of Importance, suffered himself to be intirely directed by Virginio Orsini, his Relation; Piero's Wife and Mother being both of the Orsini Family. At Virginio's Persuasion he contracted so great a Friendship with

*D Lorenzo's three Sons were Piero, Giovanni who was afterwards Pope Leo the 10th, and Giuliano.
with King Ferdinando and his Son Alfonso, on whom Virginio depended, as gave Lodovico Sforza great Cause to fear, that whenever the Aragonians * should think proper to break with him, they would also, thro' the Interest of Piero, have the Assistance of the Florentines. This Correspondence, the Source and Origin of all the ensuing Evils, tho' in the Beginning carried on very privately, did nevertheless create Suspicions in the vigilant and penetrating Mind of Lodovico.

By antient Custom all Christian Princes were used to send Ambassadors to pay their Obedience to the new Pontiff, and adore him as Vicar of Christ on Earth. Lodovico Sforza, who had a Propensity of affecting to appear superior in Prudence and Contrivance to others, had proposed that all the Ambassadors of the League should enter Rome the same Day, and present themselves in a Body to the Pope in Consistory, and one, in the Name of all, should make a formal Harangue. This

* The first of the then reigning Race of Neapolitan Kings was King of Aragon, and from him his Descendants were called Aragonians.
This, he suggested, would convince all Italy, there was so much Unity and Benevolence amongst them, that they would appear as a Body under one Head, and give great Reputation to the League; and that such a Conduct was then necessary, not only Reason, but a fresh Example seemed to demonstrate. For the late Pope, grounding his Hopes on the Divisions of the Allies, which he inferred from their separate Counsels, and their paying him Obedience at different times, had ventured to attack the Kingdom of Naples.

Ferdinando very readily approved of this Scheme of Lodovico, as did also the Florentines; Piero not contradicting in Council, out of Deference to their Authority; but he murmured at it in private. He was deputed by the Republic for one of their Ambassadors, and had determined to make a magnificent and almost Royal Appearance, but perceived, that by entering Rome and presenting himself before the Pope with the other Ambassadors, the Splendor of his Pomp in so great a Crowd would
would be much eclipsed. In which ju-
venile Vanity he was confirmed by Gentile
Bishop of Arezzo, his Colleague, who,
in regard to his Episcopal Dignity, and
of his Profession of those Studies which
they call Humanity, had expected to
make the congratulatory Oration to the
Pope, in the Name of the Florentines,
and was extremely mortified that, by this
unusual and unexpected Method, he
should be debarred from displaying his
Talents in so august and solemn an
Assembly. Piero, incited partly by his
own Levity, and partly by the Bishop's
Ambition, but unwilling that Lodovico
should know that he opposed his Motion,
requested the King to represent to him,
that upon Consideration he had Reason to
think the Ceremony could not be per-
formed in common without Confusion,
and therefore advised him to consent that
each City in conformity to past Usage
should proceed separately. The King
was willing to gratify him; but not so
far as to take all the Blame and Displeasure
of Lodovico upon himself; and therefore
he satisfied him more in the Effect than
he pleased him in the Manner of accomplishing it: For he frankly owned that he had no other Cause for disagreeing to what he had before consented but the Importunities of *Piero de' Medici*. Lodovico shewed more Discontent at this sudden Change, than the Nature of such a Trifle seemed to require; and complained very bitterly that it being known to the Pope, and the whole Court of *Rome* that he was the Author of the first Resolution, it should now be retracted on purpose to make him contemptible in the Eyes of the World. But he was much more displeased to find, by this little and insignificant Accident, that *Piero* held private Intelligence with *Ferdinando*; of which he was much more convinced by what ensued.

*Franceschetto Cibo* of *Genoa*, a natural Son of *Innocent* the 8th, was in Possession of *anguillara, Cervetri*, and some other small Castles in the Neighbourhood of *Rome*. After the Death of his Father, he went to live in *Florence*, under the Proteetion of *Piero de' Medici*,
THE HISTORY OF

A. D. 1492. Medici, whose Sister, Maddalena, he had married. He was no sooner arrived, than Piero persuaded him to sell those Castles to his Friend Virginio Orsini for Forty Thousand Ducats. Ferdinando was at the Bottom of this Affair, and secretly lent the best Part of the Purchase-Money, not doubting but it would turn to his Advantage to have Virginio Orsini, who was an Officer in his Army, and also his Relation, Master of such strong Places near Rome. For he ever considered the Power of the Pontiffs as a very likely Instrument to disturb the Quiet of his Kingdom, which was an antient Fief of the Roman Church, and extends itself for a great Number of Miles along the Borders of the Ecclesiastical State. He remembered the Troubles they had occasioned both to his Father and himself; and being sensible of the Disputes too apt to arise on account of Limits, Tributes, Collation of Benefices, Appeals of his Barons, besides other Cavils common to all neighbouring Princes, especially between a Vassal and the Lord of the Fief, he always made it a principal Point to keep under his Power and
THE WARS IN ITALY. A. D. 1492.

and Influence all, or, at least, the chief of the Roman Barons, and more so now, that he imagined Lodovico Sforza had too great an Ascendant over the Pope's Counsels, by means of his Brother, Cardinal Ascanio. Some thought he was apprehensive that the Ambition and Hatred of Pope Calixtus the 3d, who was Alexander's Uncle, might be hereditary. Calixtus, out of an immoderate Desire of aggrandizing his Nephew Piero Borgia, intended, after the Decease of Alfonso, Father to this Ferdinando, to have sent an Army to dispossess him of his Kingdom, which he pretended was reverted to the Church: And he would have executed this Scheme, had he not been prevented by Death; ungratefully forgetting, as Men are but too often unmindful of Benefits, that it was through Alfonso, in whose Kingdom of Aragon he was born, and whom he had long served as his Minister, that he had been invested with so many Ecclesiastical Benefices, and chiefly through his Interest had been created Pope.
CERTAIN it is, that great Men do not always discern and determine right; the Weakness of human Understanding will sometimes betray itself by Signs. Ferdinando, though reputed a Prince of great Prudence, did not sufficiently consider the Consequence of this Purchase, which could be to him of little Benefit, in Comparison of the great Mischiefs it might produce, by provoking those to enter on new Schemes, whose principal Business and Interest it was to preserve Peace and Tranquility. The Pope, enraged at this Encroachment on the Pontifical Authority, pretended, that these Castles by their Alienation without his Knowledge, according to the Ecclesiastical Law, devolved to the Apostolic See. Then, publishing to the World the Purposes for which they were bought, he filled all Italy with his Complaints against Ferdinando, Piero, and Virginio; protesting at the same time he would, to the utmost of his Power, preserve the Dignity and Rights of the Holy See.

LODOVICO
THE WARS IN ITALY.

Lodovico Sforza, who was ever jealous of Ferdinando's Actions, and had vainly persuaded himself, that Alexander might be directed by his and Ascanio's Counsels, considered the Diminution of the Pope's Grandeur as his own: But what gave him the most Uneasiness, was the convincing Proof he now had of the Friendship and strict Union between Piero and Ferdinando. To obviate the dangerous Consequences, and to ingratiate himself with his Holiness, he incited him by all he could suggest to preserve his own Dignity, putting him in mind that he ought not so much to regard what was transacting at present, as to reflect how highly it affected his Honour that the Majesty of that eminent Degree to which he was exalted should be so openly despised by his own Vassals in the very first Days of his Pontificate. That it was not to be supposed that the covetous Devise of Virginio, the Importance of the Castles, or any other like Reason, had induced Ferdinando to this Step, but only his Inclination to try the Patience
THE HISTORY OF Patience and Spirit of his Holiness by Injuries which at the first View appeared but small, but if tamely suffered, would encourage him to attempt every Day still greater Provocations. That the present King had the same Ambition as his Pre-decessors, who were ever Enemies to the Roman Church, had often carried their Armies against the Popes, and more than once seized on Rome. Had not the same Ferdinando twice sent his Son, at the Head of his Troops, to the Gates of that City? Had he not been almost continually in Enmity with the Popes? And what incited him at present against his Holiness in particular, was not only the Example of the other Kings, not only his natural Ambition of Dominion, but also a Desire of Revenge for the Injuries he had received from his Uncle Pope Calixtus. He begged of him to give serious Attention to what he said, and not to put up with the first Affront, unless he could fit down content with his pompous Titles and external Marks of Veneration; for by tamely submitting, he would incur the universal Scorn of Mankind, and give Encourage-
ment to farther Encroachments, and more dangerous Plots: Whereas, if he exerted himself on this Occasion, he would establish his Reputation, and preserve the Majesty, Grandeur, and Veneration due to the Roman Pontiff. To Persuasions he added what was still more efficacious, for he instantly lent him Forty Thousand Ducats, and provided Three Hundred Men at Arms, to be maintained between them, but to be disposed of as his Holiness should think proper. To avoid, however, embroiling himself in new Troubles, he solicited Ferdinando to dispose Virginio to find out some fair Means for appeasing the Pope, hinting to him the fatal Consequences which would ensue from so inconsiderable a Beginning. But with more Freedom and Earnestness he admonished Piero de' Medici, reminding him how often Lorenzo his Father, equally a Friend to himself and Ferdinando, had impartially composed their Disputes; whereby he greatly contributed to the Preservation of the Peace and Tranquillity of Italy. He therefore intreated him to imitate his illustrious Parent, rather than, by entering into
into new Schemes, give Occasion to, may urge some Potentate to pursue Measures prejudicial to the general Good. He represented to him how greatly the long Friendship between the Houses of Sforza and Medici had contributed to their mutual Prosperity and Reputation, and laid before him the Injuries his Father, his Ancestors, and the Republic of Florence had sustained from the Aragonians; and how often Ferdinando, and Alfonso before him, had both by Fraud and Arms attempted to make themselves Masters of Tuscany. These Remonstrances did more Harm than Good. For Ferdinando thought it beneath him to yield to Lodovico and Alfonso, from whose Instigations he persuaded himself that the Indignation of the Pope proceeded, and being pressed also by his Son Alfonso, he secretly persuaded Virginio to take Possession of the Castles, without Delay, by Virtue of his Contract, promising to support him against any Opposition. But, with his usual Artifice, he proposed to the Pope several Plans for an Accommodation; and at the same time privately counseled Virginio to agree on no other Terms than keeping
THE WARS IN ITALY.

keeping Possession of the Castles on satisfying his Holiness with a Sum of Money. Hence Virginio taking Courage, several times refused those Conditions, which Ferdinando himself, not to incense the Pope too far, earnestly pressed him to accept.

Lodovico, finding all his Endeavours to detach Piero from Ferdinando's Interest frustrated, and that thro' his Obstinacy he was likely to be deprived of the Friendship of the Republic of Florence, which had ever been his chief Dependance, alarmed at the imminent Danger, thought it high Time to consult his Safety. He was satisfied the Aragonians eagerly desired to remove him from the Government of his Nephew; for tho' Ferdinando, Master in the Art of Simulation and Dissimulation*, kept himself on the Reserve, Alfonso, a Man of a very frank and open Temper, still freshly exclaimed at the Oppression of his Son-in-law; and uttered, with

* Simulation, for instance, is when a wicked Man puts on a Mask of Goodness, and Dissimulation when an Enemy conceals his Hatred within his Breast.
THE HISTORY OF
A. D. 1492.

more Passion than Prudence, several injurious Words with Menaces. He was also informed how Isabella, the Wife of Giovanni Galeazzo, a Woman of a masculine Spirit, was ever soliciting her Father and Grandfather, that, if they were not to be moved by the Shame of the Indignity offered to her Husband and herself, they would take some Concern at least for their Lives, of which they and their Children stood in Danger *. But what most affected Lodovico, was the Temper of his People, who were not only exasperated at the unusual Taxes he had raised, but detested him for his Treatment of Giovanni Galeazzo, their rightful Lord. And tho' he laboured to render the Aragonians suspected to the People of Milan of a Design to make themselves Masters of that Dutchy, as belonging to them of antient Right by the Will of Filippo Maria Visconti, who bequeathed it to Alfonso Father of Ferdinando, and that, to facilitate this Design, they endeavoured to remove him from

* In Giovio, and Corio, a Letter to this Purpose from Isabella to her Father and Grandfather is to be seen at Length.
THE WARS IN ITALY.

from the Government; yet he found this Artifice not sufficient to moderate the general Hatred, but that it rather confirmed the Public in the Opinion, that the detestable Ambition of Government is capable of leading Men to the Commission of all Kinds of Wickedness. Wherefore after he had for some time revolved in his Mind the present State of Affairs, and the dangerous Situation he was in, he directed all his Endeavours to provide himself with new Supports and Alliances, which he thought might be easily effected: For knowing that the Pope was provoked against Ferdinando, and that the Venetians were desirous that the Confederacy, which for so many Years had baffled all their Designs, should be dissolved, he proposed to both to enter into a League with him for their common Benefit. But Revenge, and every other Passion in Alexander's Breast, gave way to the immoderate Ambition of seeing his Children exalted. Other Popes, to conceal their Infamy, were wont to term them Nephews; but he took Delight in letting all the World know they were his Children. As at present
present no readier Way offered to gratify his high Views for their Preferment, he solicited Ferdinando to give one of the natural Daughters of Alfonso in Marriage to one of his Sons, and for her Portion some rich Territory in the Kingdom of Naples. 'Till Alexander was excluded from all Hopes of succeeding in this Match, he gave rather his Ear than his Heart to Lodovico's Offers. But had they been accepted of at that Time, the Peace of Italy would not, perhaps, have been so soon disturbed. Ferdinando was not averse to the Match; but Alfonso, abhorring the Pope's Pride and Ambition, would never give his Consent; wherefore, without shewing any Dislike to the Alliance, they raised Difficulties concerning the Dowry, and so eluded the Pope's Request, at which Alexander was so provoked, that he resolved at once to engage with Lodovico and the Venetians; being incited thereto by Ambition, Rage, and in some measure by Fear. For not only Virginio, who was very powerful in the Ecclesiastical State on account of the Protection of the King of Naples and the Florentines,
THE WARS IN ITALY.

and for his many Followers among the Guelph Party, but also Prospero and Fabritio Colonna, Heads of that noble Family, were Officers in Ferdinando's Army; and the Cardinal of San Piero in Vincola, a Person of great Authority, suspecting the Pope had a Design against his Life, was retired to Ostia, of which Place he was Bishop, and had declared for Ferdinando, tho' he had been formerly his professed Enemy, and had instigated, first his Uncle Pope Sixtus, and then Innocent against him.

The Venetians, tho' pleased at these Misunderstandings, were not yet so forward to enter into the new League as was expected, on account of their Distrust of Alexander's Sincerity, which became every Day more and more suspicious. They also considered how they had been often betrayed by the Popes Sixtus and Innocent, his immediate Predecessors. From the last they had suffered many Inconveniences, without reaping any Benefit; and Sixtus, in the greatest Heat of the War against the Duke of Ferrara, which
THE HISTORY OF

A. D. 1492.

which he himself had pressed them to
undertake, changing his Mind, employed
not only his spiritual but also his temporal
Arms, in conjunction with the rest of
the Italians, against them. Yet the Sollici-
tations of Lodovico, who had been inde-
fatigable in treating with the particular
Members, prevailed at length on the
Senate; and in April 1493, a new Con-

League between the Pope, Lodovico, and the Venetians.

federacy was formed between the Pope, the Venetians, and Giovanni Galeazzo, Duke of Milan (whose Name was made use of in all public Transactions) for the

common Safety, and particularly for the
Support of Lodovico in the Government.
It was stipulated that the Venetians and
the Duke of Milan should each of them
send immediately Two Hundred Men at
Arms to protect the Ecclesiastical State,
and to assist him with these, or if needful
with greater Forces, to dispossess Vir-

ginio of the Castles *.

These Proceedings greatly alarmed all

* The Armies in those Days consisted of three different Corps, Men in heavy Armour on Horseback, Light Horse, and Infantry.
THE WARS IN ITALY.

all Italy, especially as the Duke of Milan had abandoned a League which for Twelve Years had been the Pledge of its Security. For in that Confederacy it had been expressly stipulated, that no one of the Confederates should enter into any new Alliance without the Approbation of all the contracting Parties; wherefore that Union being now dissolved, in which consisted the Safety of the Whole, and the Minds of Princes full of Suspicions and Resentment, who could not but foresee, that, to the universal Detriment, Fruits must grow up conformable to these Seeds?

As soon as Alfonso Duke of Calabria, and Piero de' Medici were apprised of this Alliance, they judged it the best Way to be before-hand, and therefore willingly hearkened to Prospero and Fabritio Colonna; who, at the secret Instigation of the Bishop of Ostia, offered to seize on Rome by Surprize, with the Help of the Ghibelline Faction, and their own Men, provided the Orsini would assist them, and the Duke of Calabria could be, at the same time, within three Days March of that City.
THE HISTORY OF

City. But Ferdinando, now become more willing to pacify the Pope, by correcting his former precipitate Measures, than to provoke his farther Rage, would by no means agree to a Scheme that must produce greater Evils; and resolved, in good Earnest, to try how to compromise the Affair of the Castles; being persuaded that, when this Obstacle was removed, Matters would easily return into the same peaceable Channel. But by removing the Causes, the Effects that sprung from them are not always removed. For, as it frequently happens that Resolutions taken out of Fear seldom appear sufficient to the Fearful, thus Lodovico imagined he had not applied Remedy enough to his Danger, and began to reflect, that the Pope's Interest and that of the Venetians being different from his, he could not rely on them for any Length of Time, and might therefore be brought into great Streights. The Fear of this induced him to attempt a Cure of the present Malady at all Events, without considering how dangerous it is to give a stronger Dose than the Nature of the Disease, or the Constitution.
The constitution of the Patient will admit: And, as if plunging into greater Difficulties could only free him from the first, since he could not rely on his own Forces, or his Friendship with the Italians, he resolved on inviting Charles the Eighth, King of France, to invade the Kingdom of Naples, to which he laid Claim from the antient Rights of the House of Anjou.

The Kingdom of Naples, in the Bulls and Investitures of the Roman Church improperly called Sicily on this Side the Faro, is a most antient Fief of the Church of Naples. It was unjustly seized by Manfredi, a natural Son of the Emperor Frederic the Second, and was by Urban the Fourth, with Sicily, given in Fief, under the Name of the Two Sicilies (one on this Side, the other on the other Side the Faro) in the Year 1264, to Charles Count of Provence and Anjou, Brother to that Lewis King of France, who, famous for his Exploits, but more so for his Piety, deserved to be inrolled amongst the Saints. This Charles by Force of Arms got Possession of those Dominions, the Title of which
which had been conferred on him by the Authority of the Church, and left it to his Son Charles the Second. To him succeeded Roberto, and to him, who left no male Issue, Giovanna, Daughter to Charles Duke of Calabria, who died before his Father. Giovanna, for her Weakness, and dissolute Course of Life, was very much despised; and the Descendants of Charles the First by Charles the Second (who left several Children) endeavoured to dethrone her. The Queen, to procure Assistance, adopted for her Son Lewis Duke of Anjou, Brother to that King Charles, whom the French thought proper to distinguish by the Name of Sage, for gaining many Battles without running much Risque. This Lewis marched into Italy with a powerful Army, where he found Giovanna taken off by a violent Death, and Charles, called Durazzzo, a Descendant of the first Charles, placed on the Throne. Lewis was very successful, but in the Midst of his Victories died of a Fever in Puglia: So the Family of Anjou, by the aforesaid Adoption, got only Provence, which till then had been possessed.
The Wars in Italy.

Poised by the Kings of Naples, Descendants of the first Charles. From this Adoption arose the Claim of the Dukes of Anjou to the Kingdom of Naples. And the Popes, whenever they had any Quarrel with the Neapolitan Kings, invited the Anjouins to invade their Dominions; which was often done, but without Success.

To Charles Durazzo succeeded his Son Ladislas, who dying without Issue in 1414, the Crown came to his Sister Giovanna the Second, a Name inauspicious to that Kingdom as well as to both these Queens: For she, likewise, giving herself up to Lasciviousness, put the Reins of Government into the Hands of those she intrusted with her Person. This Deportment gave Pope Martin the Fifth an Opportunity of sending for Lewis the Third, Count of Provence, to invade her Dominions: But she extricated herself at that Time from all Difficulties, by adopting Alfonso King of Aragon and Sicily, with whom, nevertheless, she afterwards quarrelled, and cancelled her Deed upon the
THE HISTORY OF the Pretext of his Ingratitude. And then calling to her Aid and adopting the same Lewis, who by War had constrained her to make the first Adoption, she got the better of Alfonso, expelled him her Kingdom, and reigned peaceably the Remainder of her Days. Dying without Issue she left her Dominions by Will, as was reported, to René, Duke of Anjou, and Count of Provence, Brother of the adopted Lewis, who died within a Year of his Adoption. But many of the Barons being dissatisfied with the Succession of René, and spreading a Report that the Will was forged by the Neapolitans, a considerable Party of the Barons and People recalled Alfonso. This produced the bloody Wars between René and Alfonso, that for so many Years tore to Pieces so noble a Kingdom, which alone, in a manner, supported all the Expences. Hence, from contrary Inclinations, arose the Aragonian and Anjouin Fractions, not to this Day wholly extinguished; their Claims and Pretensions still varying in Process of Time as the Popes, influenced more by Ambition or by the Necessity of the
THE WARS IN ITALY.

the Times than by Justice, granted In-
vestitures.

Alfonso fought several Battles with Rene, and being more powerful, as well as a better Soldier, came off always victorious. Dying without legitimate Issue, he left the Kingdom of Naples, as an Acquisition of his own, and not belonging to the Kingdom of Aragon, to this Ferdinando, his natural Son, without mentioning his Brother Giovanni who succeeded him in the Kingdoms of Aragon and Sicily. Giovanni, Rene's Son, with the Assistance of the principal Barons, gave Ferdinando a great deal of Trouble at the Beginning of his Reign: But at last by his Valour and good Fortune he defeated them, and had nothing more to fear during the Life of Rene, who survived his Son several Years. Rene died without Issue male, but by Will made Charles, his Brother's Son, his Heir; who likewise having no Issue bequeath'd all his Dominions to Lewis the Eleventh, King of France. And tho' the Duke of Lorrain, Son of a Daughter of Rene, laid claim to
his Grandfather's Patrimony, Lewis took immediate Possession of Provence: As for his Right to Anjou it was not disputed, being a Fief of France not inheritable by Females. The Pretensions of the Anjouins to the Kingdom of Naples, by this Will, devolved to Lewis, whose Son, Charles the Eighth, was a very powerful Adversary to Ferdinando; as indeed any King in his Situation had it in his Power to prove, for the Kingdom of France had never been in a more flourishing Condition since the Time of Charles the Great, for the Number of its Inhabitants, the Glory and Power of its Arms, its Riches and Authority, its Dominions being lately extended in all the three Parts into which the Antients divided Gaul*. Forty Years before, Charles the Seventh, after many and dangerous Battles, had added to his Sovereignty Normandy and Guyenne, which had been possessed by the English: Lewis the Eleventh, in his latter Years, was in Possession of Provence, Burgundy, and almost all Picardy; and Charles the Eighth, by Marriage, became Master of Brittany.

* This ancient Division of Gaul is to be seen in the Beginning of Caesar's Com. Pliny lib. 4. Strabo lib. 4.
Charles wanted no Inclination to attempt the Conquest of the Kingdom of Naples as his Right. A fond Ambition had taken Root in him, by a Kind of natural Instinct from a Child, and was continually cultivated by his favourite Attendants. They flattered his Vanity by suggesting that he had a fair Opportunity of surpassing the Glory of his Predecessors, since the Acquisition of Naples would facilitate the Conquest of the Turkish Empire. Charles's Designs being no longer a Secret, Lodovico Sforza thought it an easy Matter to persuade him to what he was already inclined. He placed also no small Confidence in the Interest and Acquaintance which the Family of Sforza had contracted in the Court of France, for both he and his Brother before him had by many Demonstrations of Affection, and repeated kind Offices, continued a Friendship, begun in Francesco their Father's Time, who thirty Years before having received from Lewis the Eleventh, who always abhorred meddling with the Affairs of Italy, the City of Savona in Fief,
THE HISTORY OF

Fief, together with all his Pretensions on Genoa, formerly in subjection to his Father, never failed to support that Prince with his Council and Assistance in all his Dangers. Lodovico, to render his Solicitations of greater Weight, and thinking it too dangerous to be singular in kindling so great a Combustion, applied to the Pope with Arguments proper to gratify both his Ambition and Resentment, endeavouring to convince him, that neither the Friendship, nor Arms of any of the Italian Powers, would enable him to revenge himself on Ferdinando, or procure Preferments for his Children. Alexander embraced the Scheme, from a natural Love of Novelty, or to frighten the Aragonians into what he could not obtain by fair Means: On which he concerted Measures with Lodovico, and they very secretly dispatched Agents to found the Inclinations of the King of France and his Privy Council. And flattering themselves they would not be averse to the Proposals, Lodovico was wholly bent to execute his Design, and sent to the French Court publicly, tho' under another Pretence, Charles
Lodovico Sforza makes a Tender to your most Christian Majesty of his Treasure and Forces, to assist you in the Acquisition of the Kingdom of Naples. And if any one should, for particular Reasons, suspect his Faith and Sincerity in this Proposal, I am persuaded that Person will renounce his ill-grounded Suspicion, and entirely change his Opinion, when he comes to reflect, with the least Attention, on the antient and perpetual Obligations which Lodovico himself, his Brother Galeazzo, and their Father Francesco, first lay under to Lewis the Eleventh your Father of most glorious Memory, and afterwards to your Majesty. And much greater Cause will such a Person have for his Change of Sentiments,
if he considers, that from this Enterprize
many Disadvantages may arise, and but little
Hopes of any Profit can possibly result to
Lodovico: Whilst the Fruits of Victory
to your Majesty will be a vast Increase of
Glory, the additional Dominion of a fine
Kingdom, and an auspicious Opportunity
for the unbounded Extent of your Fame
and Empire. A just Revenge for the
Plots and Injuries suffered from the Araga-
gonians is all that Lodovico can propose to
himself. If, on the other Hand, this At-
tempt, however promising, should not
succeed, your Majesty's Greatness would
nevertheless remain undiminished. But in
such a Case, every one knows that Lodovico,
hated by many, and despis'd by all,
for such a Miscarriage, could find no Re-
medy to the Dangers which must ensue.
What Room then can there be for suspec-
ting the Counsel of a Prince, whose Cir-
cumstances, whatever be the Event, are so
unequal and disadvantageous with regard
to those of your Majesty? The Motives
that induce you to so glorious an Expedi-
tion are so evident of themselves, that they
admit of no Doubt. The Justice of the
Cause,
THE WARS IN ITALY.

Cause, the Facility of the Conquest, and the vast Fruits of the Victory, which are all the Arguments that are principally to be considered, concur in a most ample Manner. It is well known to all the World that the lawful Title is, for several good Reasons, solely vested in the House of Anjou, of which your Majesty is the legitimate Heir: And the Succession is justly claimed by the French Monarchs, as Descendants from Charles, who first of the Blood Royal of France obtained that Kingdom by the Authority of the Roman Pontiffs, and by his own Valour. And the Conquest is as easy as it is just: For who knows not how inferior in Forces and Authority the King of Naples is to the first and most powerful King in Christendom? How great and formidable is the Name of the French all over the World! And what a Terror are your Arms to all Nations! The petty Dukes of Anjou never attacked the Kingdom of Naples without putting it in very great Danger. It is still fresh in Memory, that Giovanni, Son of René, had in his Hands the Victory against this Ferdinando, when it was wrested from him by Pope Pius.
THE HISTORY OF

A. D. 1492

Pius with the more powerful Assistance of Francesco Sforza, who, as every one knows, acted in that Affair by the Direction of your Royal Father. What then may not be performed by the Arms and Authority of so mighty a King, who has, besides, greater Opportunities, and lesser Difficulties than attended René and Giovanni? For those Princes, who then obstructed the Victory, can with the greatest Ease annoy the King of Naples: The Pope by Land, on account of the Neighbourhood of the ecclesiastic State, and the Duke of Milan, from the Conveniency of Genoa, by Sea. Neither will you have any Opposition from the rest of the Italians: For the Venetians will not expose themselves to Dangers and Expences, nor deprive themselves of the Friendship they have for a long Time cultivated with the Kings of France, for the Sake of preserving Ferdinand the most bitter Enemy of their Greatness. Nor is it credible that the Florentines will depart from their natural Attachment to your Family: And were they inclined to it, of what Consequence would that Opposition be to so great a Power? How often has that warlike Nation of
of the *French*, in Spite of all *Italy*, passed the *Alps*, and as often, with inestimable Glory and Felicity, returned with Victory and Triumph! And when was the Kingdom of *France* so glorious, so happy, so powerful, and in so calm and settled a State of Peace with all its Neighbours, as at present? Had the Times been thus propitious in your Father's Days, he would, without Doubt, have undertaken this Expedition. Nor are the Difficulties which your Enemies have to struggle with less increase than your Advantages over them. The *Anjouin Party* is still powerful in that Kingdom. Great Dependance is to be laid on the many Princes and Nobles unjustly banished of late Years. Besides, so provoking have been the Injuries that *Ferdinando* has, on all Occasions, offered to the Barons and People, and even to those of the *Aragonian Faction*; so great has been his Faithlessness, so in satiable his Avarice, and the Examples of Cruelty of him and his eldest Son *Alfonso* so horrible and notorious, that no one doubts but the whole Kingdom, moved by an implacable Hatred against them, and the never-fading Memory of the Liberality, Sin-

*VER.*
ty, Humanity, and Justice of the Kings of France, would, with infinite Alacrity, rise in Arms at the News of your Coming. The Resolution then itself is sufficient to make you victorious, and no sooner shall your Troops have passed the Alps, and the Fleet be got together in the Port of Genoa, but Ferdinando and his Children, terrifed with the Consciouſneſs of their own Wickedneſs, will think more of the Means to escape, than how to defend themselves. Thus with all desirable Eafe and Success you will recover to your Family a Kingdom, tho' not to be compared, in Greatneſs, to France, yet a Kingdom extensive and rich, and much the more to be valued for the infinite Profits and Advantages that from thence will redound to your Country. Those I could enumerate, were it not known that the French Generofity proposes to itself higher Ends, and that the more worthy and exalted Conceptions of so glorious and magnanimous a King are directed, not to his own Interesi, but to the Good of the whole Christian World. And what fairer Occasion, what Opportunity more inviting can there be for this Purpose, what
what Situation can be more commodious, or better chosen for making War upon the Enemies of our Religion? Every one knows that in some Places the Sea is but seventy Miles wide between the Kingdom of Naples and Greece; the latter a Country oppressed and torn to Pieces by the Turks, and longing for nothing more than to see the Christian Banners displayed. How easy will it then be to penetrate into the very Bowels of the Turkish Empire, and to take even Constantinople, the Seat and Head of that Monarchy! And to whom can it more properly belong, than to yourself, most potent King, to apply your Mind and Thoughts on so holy an Enterprize? Of whom is it more requested than of you, to whom God has given wonderful Strength and Power, who have the Title of most Christian, and have before you the Examples of your glorious Predecessors, who have often marched Armies out of this Kingdom, sometimes to deliver the Church of God, oppressed by Tyrants, sometimes to invade the Infidels, and to recover the most holy Sepulchre of Christ, by which they have exalted the Name and Majesty of the Kings
THE HISTORY OF
A.D. 1493.

Kings of France, to the highest Degree of Renown. By such Counsels and Means, with such Actions and Ends, did that most heroic Charles obtain the Title of Great, and became Emperor of Rome; and as you bear his Name, so now an Opportunity offers of bearing his Surname and Glory. But why do I lose Time with these Arguments? as if it were not more convenient, and more according to the Order of Nature, to regard Preservation before Acquisition? How must it stain your Character, with all these Advantages, to suffer any longer Ferdinando to enjoy such a Kingdom, possessed by Kings of your Blood in a constant Succession of near Two Hundred Years, and rightfully and manifestly belonging to yourself! Who knows not how much it concerns your Dignity to recover it, and how holy an Undertaking it would be to free those People, who are your natural Subjects, and adore your Name, from the excessive Tyranny of the Catalans? This Undertaking then is most just, easy, necessary, and no less glorious and sacred; especially, as it paves a Way to a Project worthy of a most Christian King.
King of France. Nothing is more evident than that your Honour and Dignity are highly concerned in the Recovery of your Right; and that it will be an Act of Piety to deliver those People who are your natural Subjects, and adore your glorious Name. Be assured then, O most magnanimous King! that not only Men, but God himself has openly called you to this Expedition, by presenting you with the surest Prospect of compleat Success, from such great and manifest Opportunities at the Beginning. And what greater Happiness can any Prince enjoy than to find those Resolutions which tend to his own Glory and Greatness, accompanied with such Circumstances and Consequences, as make it evident that they are not only conducive to the public Benefit and Safety, but much more to the Promotion and Exaltation of the whole Christian Commonwealth?

This Proposition of Lodovico met with no ready and cheerful Reception from the great Men of France, especially from those of the greatest Authority for their Nobility and the Opinion of their Prudence. The War
THE HISTORY OF

War now proposed would, according to their Sentiments, be attended with many Difficulties and Dangers not to be avoided in conducting Armies into foreign Countries at a great Distance from France, and against Enemies esteemed very powerful. For Ferdinando was everywhere celebrated for his consummate Prudence; and his Son Alfonso was in no less Reputation for his Valour, and Skill in the military Art:

And as the former had oppressed, in the Course of Thirty Years Reign, a great Number of Barons, it was thought he had accumulated immense Treasures. They considered that the King was not capable himself of conducting so important an Enterprise, and that those in whom he confided were but weak in Counsel, and unexperienced in the Management of Affairs both civil and military. To this they added the Want of Money, large Sums whereof would be necessary to carry so great a Project into Execution; and the dilingenuous Artifices of the Italians to allure the King: For nobody could believe that any of them, especially Lodovico, noted above all the rest for breaking his Faith, would
would endure to see the Kingdom of Naples in the Power of France. Therefore they judged it difficult to make that Conquest, and much more so to preserve it. They considered how the King's Father, a Prince, who always regulated his Conduct by the Reality, not by the Appearance of Things, never would hearken to any Proposals concerning the Affairs of Italy, nor regard the Right to the Kingdom of Naples devolved on him, but constantly asserted, that to send Armies beyond the Alps, was only purchasing Troubles and Perils at the Cost of immense Treasures and French Blood. That it was first necessary to adjust Differences with the neighbouring Princes; for, besides sundry Occasions for Quarrels and Jealousies that subsisted with Ferdinand, King of Spain, many Injuries between France, and Maximilian King of the Romans, and Philip his Son, Arch-duke of Austria, required Reparation, and could not be compromised without yielding to something very detrimental to the Crown of France; and their Emulation was such, that even then their Reconciliation would be more in Show than
than in Sincerity; for what Conventions, though never so strong, could be able to
insure us that, if our Army meets with
any Accident in Italy, they will not invade
the Kingdom of France? Nor was it to be
expected that Henry the Seventh, King of
England, would be less biassed by the na-
tural Aversion of the English towards the
French, than by the Peace concluded a
few Months since; since it was manifest
that he came into it, rather because the
King of the Romans had not complied
with those Engagements that encouraged
him to lay Siege to Boulogne, than for any
other Reason.

These and such like Objections were
raised amongst the Great Men, and debated
sometimes among themselves, and some-
times before the King, to dissuade an Italian
War; but above all James Graville, Admiral
of France, who, though less regarded than
formerly at Court, had yet by his established
Reputation for Wisdom preserved his Au-
thority with the People, with singular Ve-
hemence opposed this Undeartking. But
Charles, who was but Twenty-two Years
old,
old, and by Nature of little Understanding in human Actions, being inflamed with a Thirst of Conquest and Glory, founded rather on Levity and sudden Impulse, than Maturity of Counsel, greedily listened to the Proposal, and would not hearken to the wholesome Advice of his prudent Ministers. Induced either by his own Inclination, or by his Father's Example and Precepts, he reposed but little Trust in the Great Men of the Kingdom, but, as soon as he came out of the Tuition of his Sister Anne, the Duchess of Bourbon, he would no longer hearken to the Counsels of the Admiral, and of others who had the principal Management in that Administration, but committed his Affairs to the Direction of some Persons of mean Condition, and almost all of them trained up in the Service of his Person; Part of whom, as the Counsels of Princes are often venal, were gained by Lodovico's Minister, who was assiduous in corrupting them, some with costly Presents, some with Hopes of great Estates in the new-conquered Country, and others with Expectations of Ecclesiastical Preferments.

All
THE HISTORY OF

All of these unanimously encouraged their Prince to follow his Inclinations. At the Head of these was Stephen Vers, a Man of mean Extraction in Languedoc, educated with him in the Palace, and created by him Seneschal of Beaucaire: This Man was supported by William Briffonette, who was first from a Merchant made General of France, and afterwards Bishop of St. Maló. He was not only put at the Head of the Administration of the Royal Revenues, in France called the Finances, but through Stephen's Interest was consulted in Affairs of the greatest Importance, tho' very little versed in Matters of State. These were assisted by the Solicitations of Antonello of San Severino, Prince of Salerno, and Bernardino, of the same Family, Prince of Bisignano, with several other outlawed Barons of the Kingdom of Naples, who had resided several Years in France, and had been continually soliciting Charles to this Enterprize, by laying before the Ministry the extreme Disaffection, or rather Desperation of the Neapolitans in general, and the numerous Dependants and Followers which they promised themselves in that Kingdom.
Some Days passed in Suspense before the final Resolution was taken. Not only the Ministry were dubious, but also, tho' stimulated by a Desire of Glory and Empire, yet, restrained by Fear, was sometimes irresolute, sometimes inclined to take a Resolution contrary to what he had before determined. After some Struggle, however, his Inclination, and the unhappy Fate of Italy prevailed: When deaf to all pacific Counsels, and unknown to any one, except Beaucaire, and the Bishop of St. Malo, he signed a Convention with Lodo-vico's Ambassador; but the Conditions were kept very secret for several Months. The chief Articles were these: That whenever the King should think proper, either to conduct in Person, or send an Army into Italy, for the Conquest of Naples, Lodo-vico should give him a Passage through his Dominions, and supply him with Five Hundred Men at Arms, at his own Expense: That he should give him Liberty to equip what Vessels he pleased in the Port of Genoa, and also lend him Two Hundred Thousand Ducats before he left France.
France. On the other hand, the King engaged to defend the Dutchy of Milan, and particularly to preserve Lodovico in his Authority, and to keep for that Purpose Two Hundred Lances in Asti, a City belonging to the Duke of Orleans, as long as the War should last: At the same time, or not long after, the King with his own Hand signed a Writing, in which he promised to confer upon Lodovico the Principality of Taranto, as soon as he should be in Possession of the Kingdom of Naples.

It is certainly worth while to consider here the Variety of Times, and of worldly Affairs. Francesco Sforza, Father of Lodovico, a Prince of rare Prudence and Valour, tho' an Enemy to the Aragonians, for the provoking Injuries he had received from Alfonso, this Ferdinando's Father, and an antient Friend of the Anjouins, yet when Giovanni, Son of Rene, in the Year Fourteen Hundred and Fifty Seven, attacked the Kingdom of Naples, assisted Ferdinando with so much Expedition, that the Victory was chiefly attributed to his Conduct. The only Reason which induced him
him to act in this Manner, was the Danger he thought the Milanese would be subject to, if a French Prince, whose Dominions were so near his own, should get Possession of so powerful a State in Italy. The same Motive had prevailed, not long before, on Filippo Maria Visconti, to abandon the Anjouins his hitherto Favourites, and set at Liberty Alfonso his Enemy; who being taken at Gaeta by the Genoese in a Sea-Fight, had been brought, with all the Nobility of his Kingdom, Prisoners to Milan. On the other Hand, Lewis, the Father of Charles, tho’ often invited by many, and with the favourablest Opportunities, to assert his Right to the Kingdom of Naples, and earnestly solicited by the Genoese to come and receive them for his Vassals, as his Father Charles the Seventh had done before, yet had constantly refused to meddle with the affairs of Italy, as a Scheme which would be attended with great Expence, many Difficulties, and prove, in the End, pernicious to the Kingdom of France.*

* Paolo Emilio writes, that when Roberto of San Severino solicited Lewis XI. to come into Italy, Lewis replied,
At present the Opinions of Men are various, though, perhaps, the same Reasons, without any Variation, subsist. Lodovico invites the French to pass the Mountains, without dreading from a powerful King of France, in Possession of the Kingdom of Naples, that Danger which his very warlike Father apprehended from a little Count of Provence: And Charles is eager in carrying a War into Italy, preferring the Rashness of vulgar, unexperienced Ministers, to the Example of his Father, a King of Sagacity and long Experience. Certain it is, that Lodovico was, at this Time, encouraged to invite the French by his Father-in-Law, Ercole d'Este, Duke of Ferrara, who was ardently desirous to recover the Polefive of Rovigo, a Territory contiguous to, and very important for the Safety of Ferrara. The Polefive had been taken from him in a War with the Venetians which lasted Ten Years, and he was persuaded he could no otherwise compass his Design, than by involving all Italy in Confusion and Bloodshed. Besides this, it was ed, he had observed that none of his Predecessors had ever been able to preserve the Conquests they had made in that Country.
THE WARS IN ITALY.

was a common Opinion that though Ercole professed a great Friendship for his Son-in-Law, he yet owed him, in private, a violent Grudge: For in that War, though all the rest of Italy had declared in his Favour against the Venetians, Sforza, who then governed the Milanese, for his own Ends, obliged the other Potentates, who were much superior in Strength, to make a Peace, and in the Articles gave the Polesine to the Venetians; and therefore as Ercole could not avenge himself of so great an Injury with Arms, he determined to do it by giving him pernicious Counsels. But when the News of what was in Negotiation beyond the Mountains, tho' from uncertain Authority, began to spread over Italy, the Minds of Men were variously agitated. To those who considered the Power of France, the warlike Inclination of the People, and the Divisions among the Italians, it appeared of the utmost Consequence. Others, reflecting on the King's Youth, his narrow Capacity, the natural Indolence of the French, and the Difficulties that attend great Enterprizes, were of Opinion, that this being rather the Effect
of juvenile Rashness, than founded on Maturity of Counsel, though it threatened a Combustion, would vanish into Smoak.

Ferdinando himself, against whom this Enterprize was levelled, did not seem to be much alarmed: He gave out, that if the French intended to attack him by Sea, they would find his Fleet no ways inferior to theirs, his Ports well fortified, and in his immediate Possession: So that none of his Barons were in a Condition to favour the Landing of an Enemy, as the Prince of Rossano and other Grandees had done, at the Invasion of Giovanni d'Anjou. As for the Expedition by Land, it would create many Jealousies, and was too long and tedious: For an Army must march through all Italy, before it could arrive at his Dominions; and therefore every one had Cause to fear, and perhaps Lodovico more than any other, tho' he might pretend to the Contrary, by endeavouring to shew that the common Danger only concerned others; because the State of Milan, lying so near France, the King had a fair Opportunity, and perhaps a greater Desire to make
make himself Master of it. And as the Duke of Milan was so nearly related to the King in Blood, how could Lodovico promise himself, that his Majesty would not deliver him from his Oppression; particularly, as it was known, that Charles had, some few Years before, declared he would not suffer his Cousin Giovanni Galeazzo to be so unworthily abused. Again the Aragonian Affairs were not in such a Condition as, by their Weakness, to tempt the King to invade their Dominions. The Kingdom of Naples was well provided in many Respects, had a flourishing Body of Troops, abounded in Horses fit for War, was well stored with Ammunition and Artillery, with all Sorts of warlike Provisions, and with Plenty of Money and Means of procuring what more might be required. Besides, the King did not want for experienced Officers to put at the Head of his Armies, and had a Son, the Duke of Calabria, of known Reputation for his Valour and Conduct for many Years together, in all the late Commotions of Italy. He did not also doubt of the Assistance of the King of Spain, who was doubly related to
to him, as being his Cousin, and Brother to his Wife: And he was very certain, that King would never suffer the French to establish themselves in the Neighbourhood of Sicily. With this Sort of Reasoning Ferdinand thought proper to amuse the Public, magnifying his own, and diminishing his Enemy's Forces, and Opportunities of hurting him. But, as he was a Prince of singular Prudence, and great Experience, he was inwardly very much affected: He well remembered the Trouble the French had given him in the Beginning of his Reign; and seriously considered he had to do with a powerful and warlike Nation, and much superior to his, in Cavalry, Infantry, Fleets, Artillery, and Treasure: A People, who, for their King's Glory, were ever willing to encounter Danger. On the contrary, his Subjects were jealous of all his Undertakings, and his whole Kingdom, in a manner full of Hatred against the Aragonians, or greatly inclined to his Rebels; the Majority commonly desirous of a Change of Government, and readier to follow the Fortune of an Invader, than adhere to their Alle
THE WARS IN ITALY.  

Allegiance: * His Troops were not in the good Condition he had boasted, nor the Money accumulated sufficient for his Defence; and the Tumults, when the War was once commenced, would disable him from raising any further Supplies: He had Enemies in all Parts of Italy, without one single true Friend. For what State had not felt the Weight of his Arms, or been cajoled by his Artifices? Nor from Spain, according to the Custom and Condition of that Nation, had he any thing more to expect than ample Promises, and Appearances of vast Preparations, which would end in small and retarded Succours. His Fears were increased by several Predictions, prognosticating Calamities to his Family, which came to his Knowledge, at different Times, from old Papers, and from Persons, who, though ignorant of present Affairs, yet would pretend to foretell what was to come. These Things in Prosperity are little regarded, but too much in Adversi-

* Livy, Lib. i. Dec. 4. The Neapolitans abstain from Rebellion only when they are at a Loss to find a Power that will accept of their Allegiance.
Adversity. † Disturbed by so many Reflections, and the Danger appearing without Comparison greater than any rational Hope of Safety, he found he had no other Remedy, than by some Composition to induce the King of France to lay aside all Thoughts of invading him, or by removing some of the Causes which incited him to make War.

Federigo, the second Son of Ferdinando, was married to a Sister of King Charles's Mother, by whom he had a Daughter called Carlotta, who was educated at the French Court, where Ferdinando had sent Ambassadors to treat about a Match for his Grand-daughter with the young King of Scotland. Ferdinando took this Opportunity of joining to them Camillo Pandone, who had before been his Agent at Paris, with Instructions to use their best Endeavours, by bribing, privately, the King's Ministers, with Gifts and Promises, to

† It was pretended, that St. Cataldo, above 1000 Years before, had writ a Book of Prophecies concerning the Affairs of Naples; and at this Juncture had appeared to the Sacristan of the Church, where he was buried, and informed him where he might find the old Manuscript.
to turn his Mind from the Italian Expedition; and if that Method was not sufficient, they were commissioned to offer his Majesty an annual Tribute, and any other Submission that might procure Peace.

He next made a diligent Use of all his Authority to compromise the Affair of the Castles with the Pope, laying all the Blame on Virginio's Obstination, and revived the Treaty of the Marriage which had been before negotiated. But his chief Design was to pacify and assure himself of Lodovico Sforza, Author and Promoter of all these Evils. He well knew his violent Resolutions had proceeded more from Fear than any Thing else; and, therefore, preferring his own Security to that of his Grand-Child, he took several Methods to assure him that he would leave the Decision of Giov. Galeazzo's Affairs, and his Pretensions to the Dukedom of Milan to himself, without any Regard to the Persuasions of his Son Alfonso, who, encouraged by Lodovico's natural Pusillanimity, pressed his Father to force him from his new Alliance by Terror and Threats; with-
without conceiving, that the Timorous are as often driven into precipitate Counsels by Despair, as the Rash, for want of reflecting on the Dangers they undertake. After many Difficulties raised, more by Virginio than the Pope, the Dispute about the Castles was terminated, Don Federigo, who was sent for this Purpose to Rome, being present at the Conferences. It was agreed that Virginio should pay over again to Alexander the Sum he had before paid to Franceschetto Cibo for the Purchase of the Castles; and a Match was concluded between Madama Sances, Federigo's natural Daughter, and Don Giuffre, the Pope's youngest Son, though neither, as yet, of a proper Age for Wedlock.

The Condition were, that Don Giuffre, in a few Months, should go to Naples, and receive in Dowry the Principality of Squillaci, with a yearly Income of Ten Thousand Ducats, and have the Command of an Hundred Men at Arms in Ferdinand's Army. This confirmed the Public in the Belief that Alexander's particular Reason for sending to treat in France, was to frighten the King
The Wars in Italy.

King of Naples into his Measures. Ferdinando endeavoured to persuade the Pope to enter into an Alliance with him for the common Defence: But Alexander raised so many Difficulties, that all he was able to obtain, and that with the greatest Secrecy, was a Brief for a defensive Treaty between them two only, for the Protection of each other's Dominions, in Case they should be attacked. As soon as these Articles were signed, the Venetian and Milanese Troops, who came to the Pope's Aid, were dismissed.

Ferdinando flattered himself he should have equal Success in treating with Lodovico Sforza, who very artfully soothed the Allies; sometimes making them believe, he never intended to favour the Inclinations of the French, which might prove so dangerous to all Italy: At other Times, he alleged the Necessity he was under, of giving a Hearing to the King's Proposals, on account of the Fief of Genoa, and the ancient Confederacies between his Family and that of France: Then sending separately to Ferdinando, the Pope, and Piero
THE HISTORY OF

di Medici, he gave each to understand, that he would use all his Interest to mitigate the King's fiery Temper. In this Manner he thought proper to amuse them, lest they should fall upon him before the French were in Readiness; and he was the more readily believed, as every one thought it impossible he should not at least have considered his own Risque in inviting so potent a King into Italy, and recede from all his Engagements. The whole Summer was spent in these Negotiation, which were carried on so dexterously by Lodovico, that Charles took no Sort of Umbrage; whilst Ferdinando, and the Florentines, neither despaired of, nor totally confided in, the Performance of his Promises.

All this while they were laying in France, with great Sollicitude, a solid Foundation for the Execution of this new Enterprize, on which the King, contrary to the Consent of almost his whole Nobility, was every Day more determined: And that he might meet with no Obstacles, he composed all Differences with Ferdinando and Isabella, joint King and Queen of Spain;
THE WARS IN ITALY.

Princes, in those Days, of great Reputation, for their Prudence, and for having settled a firm Peace in their Realms, which had before been very turbulent; as also, for having lately, after a Ten Years War, dispossessed the Moors of Africa, of the Kingdom of Granada, which they had possessed for near Eight Centuries, and brought it under the Banner of Christ.

It was stipulated in this Convention, consolidated with public Oaths in the sacred Temples, that neither Ferdinando nor Isabella, in both whose Names Spain was then governed, directly nor indirectly, should give any Aid to the House of Aragon, make any new Affinity with them, or in any way whatsoever oppose this Expedition of Charles, who, to obtain these Obligations, began with a certain Loss for the Hopes of uncertain Gain, for he restored, without any Money Perpignan, and all the County of Roussillon, which had been mortgaged long since to Lewis his Father, by Giovanni, King of Aragon, the Father of Ferdinando. This Concession very must disgusted the French Nation: For
A.D. 1493. that Province being situated at the Foot of the Pyrenean Mountains was, according to the antient Division, Part of Gaul, and hindered the Spaniards from invading France on that Side.

For the same Reasons, Charles made Peace with Maximilian, King of the Romans *, and his Son Philip, Arch-duke of Austria, who had several old and new Occasions given for their Enmity. These began when Lewis, Charles's Father, took Possession of the Dutchy of Burgundy, the Province of Artois, and many other circumjacent Countries, after the Death of Charles, Duke of Burgundy, and Earl of Flanders. For this Seizure was the Occasion of grievous Wars between Lewis and Maria, only Daughter of Charles, who, soon after her Father's Death, married Maximilian, and Philip her Son by him, who, Maria being dead, was lately come into Possession of his Mother's Patrimony. But now, more at the Desire of the Flemings, than by his own Inclinations,

* The Historian calls Maximilian King of the Romans, though he was then Emperor; which Title was never given to the Emperors by the Italians in those Days, till they were crowned by the Pope in Rome.
THE WARS IN ITALY. 73

clinations, Maximilian made Peace with the French: To corroborate which, Margaret, Philip's Sister, though under Age, was espoused to Charles; but, after she had been kept several Years at the French Court, was repudiated, to make Way for Anne, the only Daughter of Francis Duke of Bretany, and Heiress to that Dutchy. Maximilian, at the same Time, was doubly injured, in his Daughter's Match, and in his own; for he had already espoused Anne by Proxy: But now finding himself unable to carry on the War he had entered into on this Account; that the Regency of Flanders, by whose Counsels and Authority that Country was governed, was determined not to break with France, in their Prince's Minority; and observing that Spain and England had laid down their Arms, which they had taken up against France, he also agreed to a Peace; in Consequence of which, Charles restored all the Artois, except the Forts, which he also engaged to deliver up at the End of Four Years, when Philip would be of Age to confirm this Agreement. The Reason given for parting with Artois,
A.D. 1493. Artois, was, that at the Peace made with Lewis, it had been on all Sides agreed that Artois should be considered as Margaret's Dowry, who had hitherto been kept in France, but was now sent back to Philip her Brother. Charles having thus secured Peace with all his Neighbours, fixed his Resolution of prosecuting his Expedition against Naples in the following Year; and gave Orders in the mean time for providing all Necessaries, to which he was constantly solicited by Lodovico.

As the Ambition of Mankind rises from one Step to another, so Lodovico, not satisfied with securing himself in the Government of Milan, now aspired at nothing less than to be created Duke, which he thought might be easily compassed, if the Aragonians were depressed. To give some Colour of Justice to this premeditated Piece of Iniquity, and more firmly to establish himself, he married his Niece, Bianca Maria, Sister of Giovanni Galeazzo, the present Duke, to Maximilian, who, after the late Death of his Father Frederic, had succeeded him in the Empire, Lodovico.
THE WARS IN ITALY.

Lodovico agreeing to give her in Portion Four Hundred Thoufand Ducats, at different Payments, and the Value of Forty Thoufand more in Jewels, and other Things. Maximilian, on the other Side, pleased more with the Money than the Alliance, to the Prejudice of his new Brother-in-law, Giov. Galeazzo, engaged to invest Lodovico and his Descendants in the Dukedom of Milan; as if that State had been without a legitimate Duke ever since the Demife of Filippo Maria Visconti. The new Deed of Investiture was to be drawn in a most ample Form, and signed, on the laft Payment of the Dowry.

The Visconti are a noble Family in the State of Milan, which during the bloody Feuds between the two Faotions of the Guelfs and Ghibellins expelled the Guelfs out of Milan; and, as it commonly happens at the End of Civil Wars, from being only Chiefs of a Party in one Quarter of the Town, made themselves Masters of the whole City. Some Years after, according to the Custom of Usurpers, they were defirous of possessing, in a legal Manner,
THE HISTORY OF
Manner, what they had obtained by Force; and with ample Titles making more illustrious their Family: Wherefore they found Means of acquiring from the Emperors, who now began to make their Name more than Power known in Italy, first the Title of Captains, then Vicars of the Empire; and at last Giovanni Galeazzo Visconti, who stiled himself Count Virtù (an Earldom conferred on him by his Father-in-law, John King of France) obtained from Wenceslaus, King of the Romans, the Dignity of Duke of Milan, for himself, and his Heirs Male. His two Sons, Giovanmaria and Filippomaria, one after the other succeeded him: They both died without Issue; and Filippomaria, by his last Will, left the Dutchy to Alfonso, King of Aragon and Naples, in Consideration of the Friendship contracted with him, at the Time he freed him from his Confinement: And also, because he imagined that the Dutchy, being defended by so powerful a Prince, ran no Risque of falling under the Dominion of the Venetians, who plainly manifested their Design on that State. But Francesco Sforza, a Man of great
great Power, and very much esteemed for his Knowledge and Experience in Civil and Military Affairs, by Force of Arms got Possession of the State, which he claimed in Right of his Wife, *Bianca Maria*, a natural Daughter of the last Duke *Filippo Maria*. In getting Possession of this Dutchy many Accidents concurred in his Favour; and especially that of having it in his Power to break his Word with those who had joined him, on his Promise of not attempting the Sovereignty. *Francesco*, for a small Sum of Money (as was reported) might have procured the Invesiture from the Emperor *Frederic*; but being confident he was able to support his Power by the same Means he had acquired it, he despised that Sort of Right: Thus the Dukedom descended to his Son *Galeazzo* without Invesiture, to whom succeeded this *Giovanni Galeazzo* his Grandson. *Lodovico* now acting an unnatural Part against his living Nephew, and an injurious one to the Memory of his deceased Father and Brother, asserted they had governed without a Title, and therefore the Dukedom was revolved to the Empire, and procuring
procuring for himself the Investiture from Maximilian, filled himself not Seventh, but Fourth Duke. However, this Transaction was known but to few till the Death of his Nephew. He was wont to say, in Imitation of Cyrus, the younger Brother of Artaxerxes, King of Persia, that he preceded Galeazzo his Brother, not in Age, but as being born after his Father was Duke; and found Means to obtain the Opinion of many Civilians in his Favour. This Reason, amongst others, was given in the Imperial Diploma; and, under a ridiculous Notion of palliating Lodovico's Ambition, by way of Clause it was added, That it was not the Custom of the Holy Roman Empire to grant Investitures to any that were in Possession of their Dominions by any other than the Imperial Authority; and that Maximilian had therefore rejected the Petition Lodovico had made for the Investiture in Behalf of his Nephew, because, without any previous Application to him, he had been acknowledged Duke by the People of Milan.
THE WARS IN ITALY.

A. D. 1493.

The King of Naples was in Hopes, that this new Match would produce a Diffension between Charles and Lodovicò, imagining it could not be agreeable to the former, that the King of the Romans, his Enemy on so many Accounts, should be supplied by the latter with so large a Sum of Money, and their Interest by this Affinity united. He also expected, that Sforza, on this Alliance, would take Courage, and boldly recede from the Engagement he had entered into with Charles. Lodovicò was sagacious enough to encourage that King, and the rest of the Italians, in these Notions, and at the same time maintain his Interest both with the Kings of the Romans and France. Ferdinando also applied to the Venetians, who, he had Reason to think, were not fond of having their Power eclipsed by the Arrival in Italy of so potent a King: And the Spanish Sovereigns promised him large Succours, in case their Remonstrances and Authority did not meet with Success in preventing the intended Invasion.
The King of France, on the other hand, that he might remove all Difficulties and Obstacles on this Side the Mountains, as he had on the other, sent Peron de la Bosche, a Person well versed in the Concerns of Italy (where he had formerly been with Giovanni d'Anjou) to notify to the Pope, Venetians and Florentines, his Resolution of passing the Alps, in order to recover the Kingdom of Naples, inviting them to join him. But he received only general Answers; every one refusing, as yet, to declare his Sentiments, as the War was not to be commenced till the Year following. Charles required of the Florentine Ambassadors, who, by Ferdinando's Approbation, had been sent to his Court, to clear their Republic from the Imputation of being partial to the Aragonians, that he should be promised a safe Passage and Provisions for his Army through their Dominions, on their paying for all Necessaries; and that, as a public Token of their Friendship, they should accompany his Troops with an Hundred of their Men at Arms. They remonstrated how dangerous such
such an Agreement might prove, before they could be supported by his Army; affirming, he might always be sure of their City, from the natural Propension of the Florentines to his Nation: But the French so ardently insisted on their Compliance, that they were constrained to promise, being threatened otherwise with a Suppression of their Commerce, which at that Time was very considerable in France. It was soon discovered that Lodovico was at the Bottom of these Counsels; and was also the sole Guide and Director of all that concerned the French Interest in Italy.

Piero de Medici endeavoured to get Ferdinando's Consent that his Republic might comply with these Demands; which, he said, in the Main, were insignificant; and that he might find it more to his Interest, that the Republic should be on good Terms with Charles, which might, perhaps, enable them to be his Mediators to bring about some Composition, whereas they could be of no Service to him in being declared Enemies to France. Next, he endeavoured to make him sensible, how
odious he should be rendered to his Country, if the Florentine Merchants should be banished France. He added, that for the common Good, which was the chief Ground of all Alliances, it was often necessary for each Confederate patiently to bear with some Inconveniencies, to prevent much greater. But Ferdinando being sensible, how much his Reputation would be diminished, and his Safety endangered, in case the Florentines were to separate themselves from his Interest, would, by no means admit of these Reasons; and bitterly complained, that Piero's Steadiness and Faith, on which he had repose his chief Dependance, should so soon, contrary to all his Expectations, be shaken. Wherefore Piero being determined, above all Things, to preserve the Friendship of the Aragonians, contrived several Excuses to protract the Answer, so instantly required by the French King; and at last let him know, he would send new Ambassadors with the final Determination of the Republic.
At the latter end of the Year, the good Intelligence between the Pope and Ferdinando began to decline; either because Alexander, by raising Difficulties, expected to reap greater Advantages; or, in order to bring under his Obedience the Cardinal of San Piero in Vincola. This Cardinal was retired into the Kingdom of Naples, and the Pope insisted on his Return, offering, for a Pledge of his Security, the Faith of the sacred College, of Ferdinando, and of the Venetians. His Absence created Alexander a great deal of Uneasiness, on Account of the important Castles of Ostia, Ronciglione, and Grotta Ferrata, which he held in the Neighbourhood of Rome, and besides, he was a Man of great Authority, and had many Adherents in the Roman Court; was by Nature desirous of Novelties, obstinate, and difficult, tho' at the Risque of any Danger, to be dissuaded from any Resolution once taken. Ferdinando took great Pains to excuse himself, by assuring the Pope, that he could not induce the Cardinal to comply; not being able to persuade him, that any Security was equal to the Danger he apprehended.
THE HISTORY OF

A. D. 1494.

prehended. He then complained of his hard Fate, in being obliged to sustain the Blame of other People's Faults: Thus he had been accused of advancing Money to Virginio for the Purchase of the Castles, tho' they were bought without his Participation, and it had been through his Interest that Virginio had come to a Composition, and he himself had advanced the Money which was paid to his Holiness on that Account. But these Excuses were so far from being admitted by the Pontiff, that he bitterly complained, and almost threatened him with his Resentment: This induced People to believe, that little Stress was to be laid on their late Reconciliation.

In this Disposition of Minds, and Confusion of Affairs, tending to new Commo tions, began the Year 1494, (according to the Roman Style:) * A Year most unfortunate for Italy! and, indeed, the first of many miserable Years: For it opened a Door to innumerable and horrible Calamities;

* In Florence, the Author's Country, the Year began on Lady-Day.
ties; which, by divers Accidents, have spread, and been sensibly felt, in many Parts of the World.

In the Beginning of this Year, Charles, more than ever averse to any Composition with Ferdinando, ordered the Neapolitan Ambassadors, as the Ministers of an Enemy, immediately to quit the Kingdom of France. Much about the same Time, Ferdinando, oppressed more with Anxiety of Mind than Age, was seized with a Cæ- tarrh, which suddenly carried him off. He was a Prince celebrated for his Industry and Prudence; which being accompanied with good Fortune, he preserved himself in a Kingdom, not long since acquired by his Father, in spite of many Difficulties which he met with in the Beginning of his Reign, and advanced it to a higher Pitch of Greatness, than it was known for many Years before, under any of the Kings his Predecessors. A good King, if he had continued to govern by the same Maxims with which he began: But, in Process of Time, when he found himself firmly established, either changing his Manners,
Manners, as is usual with almost all Princes who know not how to resist the Impulses of unlimited Authority, rather, according to the universal Opinion, discovering his natural Temper, till then very artfully concealed, he became noted for Breaches of Faith, and such excessive Cruelty, as his own Creatures thought deserving the Name of Barbarity.

It was allowed that the Death of Ferdinand was a Loss to the common Cause of Italy. For, besides that he would have attempted any Expedient to prevent the Passage of the French, it was not doubted but that it would be more difficult to induce Lodovico Sforza to place any Confidence in the haughty Temper of Alfonso, than to have disposed him to renew his Friendship with Ferdinand, who had been often known, in former Times, readily to condescend to his Will, in order to avoid all Occasions of Contention with the State of Milan. And among the rest we are assured

*Ferdinando, the 25th of Jan. 1494, was 70 Years old, and had reigned 35 Years, 6 Months, and 25 Days.
THE WARS IN ITALY.

fured that when Isabella the Daughter of Alfonso was conducted to her Husband, Lodovico fell in Love with her, and was desirous to obtain her of her Father for himself, and, for that Purpose, operated so effectually, as it was then believed throughout all Italy, by Means of Inchantment and Sorcery, as to render Galeazzo, for many Months, incapable of consummating Matrimony. Ferdinando would have consented to his Desire, but Alfonso opposed it; whence Lodovico, excluded from that Hope, married another, by whom he had Sons, and turned his Thoughts on transferring the Duchy of Milan on himself and his Heirs. Some have also wrote, that Ferdinando, who was willing to undergo any Fatigue, and suffer any Indignity to avert the impending War, was determined, as soon as the Season permitted, to go on board his Gallies to Genoa, and from thence by Land to Milan, and there comply with every Thing Lodovico should require, and bring back his Grand-Daughter to Naples, in hopes of mitigating him, not only by his Offers, but also by his publickly acknowledging him for the sole Author of his
his Safety, it being well known how ardently Lodovico desired to be thought the Arbiter and Oracle of Italy.

Alfonso, at his first Coming to the Crown, sent four Ambassadors to the Pope, who had given Intimations of returning to his former Inclination of embracing the Friendship of the French; for at that King's Request, by a Bull signed by the whole College of Cardinals, he had engaged to create the Bishop of St. Malo a Cardinal; and, in Concert with Lodovico, taken Prospero Colonna, and other Commanders of Men at Arms, into his Pay. Yet the Offers made by the new King, who, at any Rate, thought it necessary to gain him, and his Protection, were such, that Alexander could not withstand them.

An Alliance was then publickly concluded between Alfonso and the Pope, for the Defence of their respective Dominions; engaging to assist each other with a certain

* Corio is of Opinion, that the Pope created the Bishop of St. Malo a Cardinal, in hopes of preventing, th'o' his Interest, the King's Expedition into Italy.
THE WARS IN ITALY.

89

tain Number of Men. Alexander promised to give Alfonso the Inveftiture of his Kingdom, with the same Diminution of the Tribute, which, by other Popes, had been granted only for Ferdinando's Life; to send an Apostolic Legate to crown him; and create Lodovico, the Son of Don Henrico, natural Brother of Alfonso, a Cardinal; who was afterwards called the Cardinal of Aragon. The King, on his Part, was to pay the Pope immediately Thirty Thousand Ducats, and provide, in the following Manner, for his three Sons: To give Possessions in his Kingdom, to the Value of Twelve Thousand Ducats a Year, to the Duke of Candia, the first of the seven principal Offices that became vacant, and, during his Holiness's Life, a Regiment of Three Hundred Men at Arms, to be employed in the Service of either Party, as Occasion should require: Don Giuffre, as a Pledge of the Pope's Sincerity, should reside at the King's Court; and, besides the Appointments agreed on at the former Convention, should be made Protonotary, which is one of the seven great Employments: And as for Caesar Borgia, whom he had
had lately created a Cardinal, he was to be endowed with rich Benefices in his Kingdom. *Alexander*, in order to qualify *Cæsar* for the Purple, had, by false Witness, proved him to be a legitimate Child of another Gentleman; it not being customary to promote Bastards to that Dignity.

*VIRGINIO ORSINI*, who was present at this Convention, and had the King's Credentials engaged, that *Alfonso* should assist his Holiness in recovering the Castle of *Ostia*, in case the Cardinal of *San Piero in Vincola* should refuse to return to *Rome*. But the King affirmed that this Promise had been made without his Consent or Knowledge, thinking it might prove highly detrimental in so dangerous a Juncture to have that Cardinal his Enemy; for he had great Influence in *Genoa* on which, at the Instigation of that Prelate, he designed to make an Attempt. Besides, he was, perhaps, afraid of carrying Matters too far, lest the Cardinal should in such turbulent Times enter into Plots about Councils, or other Affairs prejudicial to the Holy See: So he tried all Means to reconcile
THE WARS IN ITALY.

reconcile him to the Pope; who would hearken to nothing, unless he returned to Rome. The Cardinal, on the other side, was as obstinately determined not to trust his Life, as he used to express himself, in the Hands of Catalans; and therefore rendered all the Pains and Desires of Alfonso ineffectual: For, after feigning to come into all that was proposed, he departed suddenly one Night on board an armed Brigantine from Ostia, which Place he left well garrisoned, and after staying a few Days at Savona, and then at Avignon, where he was Legate, he proceeded to Lyons, whither Charles had transferred his Residence, in order to make with more Conveniency and the greater Vigour the necessary Preparations for the intended Expedition, which he gave out he would conduct in Person, by whom he was received with great Demonstrations of Joy and Honour, and here he joined all those who were concerting Measures for disturbing the Repose of Italy.

ALFONSO, Fear becoming a good Master to him, continued to make Lodo-
THE HISTORY OF

92

A D. 1494. Vico the same offers his Father had done:
Sforza, according to his Custom, craftily amused him with vain Hopes; and endeavoured to persuade him, that he was under a Necessity of acting with the utmost Dexterity and Caution in regard to France, left the War, designed against others, might begin in his own Dominions. But, on the other hand, he never ceased to solicit the Preparations in France; and, to do it the more effectually, he sent, at the same time, to the French Court (but, as he pretended, at Charles's Request) Galazzo da San Severino, a Person he confided in, and a great Favourite of his, having married his Daughter, to settle better all the Particulars, and see that what was resolved on might be put in Execution without Delay. By Lodo-

vico's Advice, the King dispatched four Ambassadors to the Pope; Everard Aubigni, a Scotch Officer; the General of France; the President of the Parliament of Provence; and Peron de la Bafche, the same Person who had been sent thither the Year before. These Ministers pursuant to their Instructions, the principal of
which were drawn up in Milan, published in all Places wherever they passed the Right which the King of France, as Successor of the House of Anjou, on the Failure of the Line of Charles the First, claimed to the Kingdom of Naples, and his Resolution to pass the same Year in Person into Italy, not with an Intent to seize on what appertained to others, but purely to obtain what justly belonged to himself, though the ultimate End which he had in View was not so much the Acquisition of the Kingdom of Naples, as the Opportunity that Conquest would afford him of turning his Arms against the Turks for the Increase and Advancement of the Christian Name*. At Florence they represented the great Confidence which the King repose in that City, which had been rebuilt by Charles the Great, and was always favoured by the Kings of France; and

* To this Day the Italians in general exult whenever a Christian Potentate declares War against the Turks: And it is customary for the Emperor and the Venetians to send Ambassadors, on such Occasions, to collect Money from all the Italian Powers. I myself, on the Taking of Belgrade by Charles VI. have seen as great Rejoicings at Florence, as if it had been an Acquisition made by the Great Duke of Tuscany.
and lately by the present King's Father, Lewis XI. in the unjust Wars raised against the Florentines by Pope Sixtus, Ferdinando, lately deceased, and his reigning Son Alfonso: They put the People in Mind of the vast Profits which the Florentine Nation made by their mercantile Commerce in the Kingdom of France, where they were favoured and cared for as if they had been Natives, by which Example they might expect to reap the same Profits, and meet with the like kind Treatment in the Kingdom of Naples when the King should be in Possession of it: A Treatment they had never met with from the Aragonians, from whom they had ever suffered Injuries and Losses. They then pressed them to give some Demonstration of their Conjunction with his Majesty in his Enterprise; but if, for any just Reason, they did not think proper to declare themselves, that they would at least agree to give a free Passage through their Territories to the French Army, and furnish them with Victuals on their paying for them.
In this Manner did they treat with the Republic, but made use of other Arguments with Piero de' Medici. They reminded him of the many Favours and Honours conferred by Lewis XI. on his Father and on his Ancestors: How, in troublesome Times, he had often countenanced them in order to preserve their Grandeur, and in Token of Benevolence, he had permitted them to quarter the Arms of the House of France. That, on the contrary, Ferdinando, not satisfied with openly attacking them with his Arms, had been also wickedly concerned himself in civil Conspiracies, in which his Uncle Giuliano had been assassinated, and his Father Lorenzo dangerously wounded.

The Ambassadors not obtaining a positive Answer at Florence, proceeded to Rome, where laying before his Holiness the antient Merits, and constant Devotion of the House of France towards the Apostolic See, which were abundantly attested by antient and modern Records, and, on the contrary, the Contumacy and frequent Acts of Disobedience of the Aragonians, they
they demanded the Investiture of the Kingdom of Naples for Charles, as his lawful Right, proposing and making many Offers, if he would favour an Expedition, undertaken as much by his Holiness's Authority and Persuasion, as by any other Motive.

The Pope's Answer was, That as the Investiture had been given, by so many of his Predecessors, three Times successively to the House of Aragon, (Alfonso being expressly named in that of Ferdinando's) it was not reasonable to grant it to Charles, until it was judicially determined that he had the best Claim, to which the Investiture granted to Alfonso, could be of no manner of Prejudice, because this Clause, without Prejudice to any one's Right, was purposely inserted in the Deed: That the Kingdom of Naples was a direct Dominion of the Holy See; and he hoped the present King would imitate his Ancestors, who were ever the chief Defenders of the Church's Rights, and not assault it with open Violence, as he threatened, but proceed in a legal and judicial Manner, as became
came the Dignity of his Person: And as he himself was the Supreme Lord of the Fief, and sole Judge of the Cause, he might depend on making out his Claim to have Justice done him: That this was all a Most Christian King ought to require from a Roman Pontiff, whose Province it was to appease and extinguish Animosities, not to foment Wars between Christian Princes. He then expatiated on the Difficulties and Dangers that would attend his joining his Majesty, by reason of the Vicinity of his Territories to those of Alfonso and the Florentines, as the last would be seconded by all Tuscany, and the Dependance on the King of Naples of so many Barons was very great, some of whose States extended to the very Gates of Rome. But he artfully dropped Expressions, which might create some Hope, tho' he was in himself fully determined not to quit his Alliance with Alfonso.

At Florence the Inclination was strong in Favour of the House of France, on account of the Commerce of so great a Number of Florentines in that Kingdom, and...
from an inveterate, tho' false, Notion that
their City had been rebuilt by Charlemain,
after it had been destroyed by Totila, King
of the Goths; for the strict Conjunction of
their Guelf Ancestors, for a long Time to-
gether, with Charles the First, King of
Naples, and with many of his Descendants
Protectors of the Guelfs in Italy; and for the
Memory of the Wars, which first old Al-
fonso, and afterwards Ferdinando, in the
Year 1478, made with their Republic,
when he sent his Son Alfonso with an Ar-
my against them. On these Considerati-
ons, the Commonalty of the People were
for granting a Passage to the King, and
many also of the most knowing among the
Citizens, and those of the greatest Author-
ity, were of the same Mind. They thought
it very imprudent to involve the State in a
dangerous War, for their Neighbours Quar-
rels, by opposing so powerful an Army,
headed by the King of France in Person,
who entered Italy with the Assistance of
the State of Milan, and if not with the
Consent, at least without the Contradiction
of the Venetian Senate. To confirm their
Opinion, they had the Authority of Cosimo
THE WARS IN ITALY.

A. D. 1494.

de' Medici, deemed one of the wisest Men of his Age in Italy; who, in the War between Giovanni d' Anjou and Ferdinando, though the latter was supported by the Pope, and the Duke of Milan, had always counselled their Republic not to oppose Giovanni. They also revived the Memory of Lorenzo Father of Piero, who at every Report of the Return of the Anjouins was always of the same Opinion as Cosmo; and, terrified at the Power of the French, after this very King was become Master of Bretany, used to say that he foresaw great Calamities coming upon Italy, if ever the King of France should become sensible of his Strength. But Piero de' Medici, taking his Measures more from Inclination than Prudence, and presuming too much on his own Opinion, thought this mighty Storm would blow over, and spend itself in Noise and Blustering, rather than in working any real Effect. He therefore listened to the Persuasions of some of his Ministers, who were suspected to have been corrupted by Alfonso, and being determined to persist in his Friendship with the Aragonians, his Power
Power was so great in Florence, that all were obliged to submit to his Will.

I have it from good Authority, that Piero, not content with inheriting the Power his Father had exercised in the Republic, tho’ such, that he had the Nomination of all the Magistrates, and nothing of Moment could be transacted without his Approbation, yet aspired to a more absolute Sovereignty, and intended to take upon him the Title of Prince; without wisely estimating the Circumstances of the City, which at that Time being powerful, and abounding in Riches, and which had now, for several Ages, been amused with a Shew of a Republic, in which the better Sort of Citizens, being accustomed to participate in the Government, were rather like Colleagues than Subjects, it was not likely that they would submit to so great and sudden a Change without much Violence. Piero therefore being sensible that it was necessary to lay some extraordinary Foundation for the Support of his ambitious Desires, in order to secure himself of a powerful Defence for the Preservation of his new Prince.
The Wars in Italy.

Principality, entered into boundless Engagements with the Aragonians, and resolved to run the same Fortune with them. And it happened that a few Days before the Arrival of the French Ambassador at Florence, it was discovered that Lorenzo and Giovanni de' Medici, young Men of great Wealth, and very nearly related to Piero by Blood, having fallen out with him on Occasion of some youthful Trick which he had played them, had by means of Cosmo Rucellai, Cousin German of Piero, entered into some Negotiations with Lodovico Sforza, and through his Introduction with the King of France, which were directly levelled against the Greatness of Piero. For this Offence they were taken into Custody by the Magistrates, but came off with a very flight Punishment, being only confined to their Country Houses, the Moderation of the Citizens, tho' not without great Difficulty, prevailing on Piero to content that the Rigour of the Laws should not be exercised upon his own Blood. As he was, however, convinced by this Accident, that Lodovico Sforza was intent on procuring his Ruin, he judged it the more necessary
necessary for him to persevere in his first Resolution.

An Answer was then given to the Ambassadors in kind and respectful Terms, but not conclusive according to their Expectations; representing, on one hand, the natural Affection of the Florentines to the House of France, and their immense Desire of satisfying so glorious a King; on the other shewing the Impediments that lay in the Way, since nothing could be more unworthy of Princes or Republics, than not faithfully to observe their Engagements, the express Violation of which they could not avoid, if they consented to his Demands, considering that there still subsisted the Confederacy, which, by the Authority of King Lewis his Father, they had contracted with Ferdinando, with a Promise, that after his Death it should take Place in Alfonso, and with an express Condition that they should be obliged not only to the Defence of the Kingdom of Naples, but to refuse a Passage through their Territories to any Power that should offer to invade it: That they were extremely for-
THE WARS IN ITALY.

ry that it was impossible for them to take any other Resolution, but hoped that the King, out of his consummate Wisdom and Justice, knowing their very good Disposition, would ascribe their not promising to answer his Expectations to Impediments of so just a Nature. The King was highly provoked at this Answer, and ordered the Ambassadors immediately to depart out of France, and expelled from Lions, at the Instigation of Lodovico Sforza, the Managers of the Bank of Piero de' Medici, but not the rest of the Florentine Merchants, that this Distinction might be interpreted at Florence, as an Acknowledgement that his Majesty resented this Injury as a particular Act of Piero, in which the Generality of the Citizens were unconcerned.

While all the other Italian Potentates were thus divided, some in Favour of the King of France, others in Opposition to him, the Venetians alone were determined to stand neutral, and wait, at leisure, the Issue of these Commotions, either because they

* The Family of the Medici got immense Wealth by Trade, and were, by far, the greatest Bankers in those Days.
they were not displeased to see Italy embroiled, in hopes that a long war exhausting the other Powers might give them an opportunity of enlarging their own Dominions, or because their greatness securing them from all apprehensions of falling an easy prey to the conqueror, they judged it an imprudent step to make the quarrels of other people their own without apparent necessity. Ferdinando, however, was continually soliciting them, and the King of France, both the year before and at this present juncture, had sent to Venice Ambassadors, who had represented to the Senate the friendship and benevolence that had always subsisted between the House of France and their Republic, and had been corroborated by mutual affectionate returns and kind offices on all occasions: That the King being desirous to improve this disposition intreated that most wise Assembly to vouchsafe to assist him in his undertaking with their counsel and favour. To this representation they had prudently and briefly answered, that the Most Christian King was a Prince of such great wisdom, and had about him such
such Numbers of grave and moderate Counsellors, that it would be too pre-
sumptuous for any one to undertake to advise him; adding that the Venetian Se-
nate should rejoice at every prosperous Event that might attend him out of a Re-
spect which they had always entertained for the Crown of France, and were therefore extremely sorry that they were in no Condition to make their Deeds correspond with the Readiness of their Inclinations. For the Apprehensions under which they were continually held by the Grand Turk, who wanted neither Will nor very fair Opportunities to attack them, laid them under a Necessity of keeping Garrisons in many Islands and maritime Towns on his Frontiers at a prodigious Expence, for which Reason they could not in Prudence think of involving themselves in other Wars.

But the Speeches of these Ambassadors, and the Answers made them were of little Significancy with respect to the Pre-
parations both by Sea and Land which were carried on in every Quarter. For Charles had sent Pierre d'Urfé, his Grand
Ecuyer,
Ecuyer, to Genoa, of which City the Duke of Milan had made himself Master by Means of the Faction of the Adorni and of Giovan Luigi dal Fiesco, in order to fit out a powerful Fleet of Ships and Galleys, besides other Vessels which he caused to be equipped in the Ports of Villafranca and Marseilles, whence it was publicly talked in his Court that it was designed to attack Naples by Sea, as Giovanni Son of Rene had formerly done in his War against Ferdinando. Many, however, in France still believed that these mighty Preparations would prove of no Service, grounding their Opinion on the King’s weak Capacity, the mean Abilities of his Counsellors, and the Want of Money; but the Ardor of the King could not be controled. At the Persuasions of some who were most intimate with him, he had assumed the Title of King of Jerusalem and of the Two Sicilies, claimed at that Time by the Neapolitan Kings, and was ardently intent on making Provisions of War, collecting Money, reviewing his Men at Arms, and concerting Measures with Galeazzo di San Severino, who was privy to all the secret Counsels.
The Wars in Italy. 107

Counsels and Resolutions of Lodovico A. D. 1493.

Alfonso, on the other hand, who had not neglected making Preparations both by Sea and Land, resolving no longer to suffer himself to be cajoled by Lodovico's fair Promises, thought it more expedient to terrify and distress him, than to fatigue himself in vain Endeavours to mollyfy and secure him on his Side. He therefore ordered the Milanese Ambassador to quit Naples, recalled his own from Milan, and put under Sequestration the Revenues of the Duchy of Bari, which had been for many Years enjoyed by Lodovico by Donation of Ferdinando; and not content with these rather Indications of open Enmity than real Hostilities, he determined to be the first Aggressor, and applied all his Thoughts to deprive the Duke of Milan of the City of Genoa, an Enterprize, in the present Juncture, of the greatest Importance. For a Revolution in that City could not fail of creating great Uneasiness to Lodovico in his Government of Milan, and the King of France would be de-
prived of an Opportunity of molesting Naples by Sea. With this View he secretly treated with Cardinal Pagolo Fregofo, who had been formerly Doge of Genoa, and had many Partisans of the same Family, and with Obietto dal Fiesco, both Heads of strong Parties in that City and in its Rivieras, and also with some of the Maleconteuts of the Adorni, who were all Fugitives on some Account or other. Alfonso therefore resolved to make an Attempt for their Restoration, being often heard to say, that Preventions and Diversions were the best Means to overcome an Enemy. He designed also to march in Person at the Head of a potent Army into Romagna, in order to pass from thence with all Expedition into the Territory of Parma, where, by declaring for the Cause and setting up the Standard of Giovan Galeazzo, he was in Hopes that the People of the Duchy of Milan would make an Insurrection against Lodovico. And though it might be difficult for him to succeed, he judged it highly for his Advantage that the War should commence at a great Distance from his own Kingdom, and a
Matter of no small Importance towards a Decision of the War, that the French should be overtaken by the Winter in Lombardy, by which, he imagined, that, according to what is practised only in Wars in Italy, where the Armies are not used to take the Field till the latter End of April, they would be obliged, in order to avoid the Rigour of the Season, to take up their Quarters in the Country of their Friend till Spring, in which Interval of Time he was in Hopes that some Opportunity might offer for his Preservation.

He also sent Ambassadors to Constantinople, to demand Assistance, as in a Case of common Danger, of Bajazet, the Ottoman Prince of the Turks, on account of what was publicly reported that it was the Intention of Charles, after he had conquered Naples, immediately to pass into Greece. This was a Danger which he knew Bajazet could by no means despise, for the Fame of the Expeditions of the French Nation into Asia against the Infidels in Times past had infused into the Turks no small Terror of their Arms.
While these Things were in Agitation on all Sides, the Pope sent his Troops to Oria under the Command of Nicolo Orsini, Count of Pitigliano, who, assisted by Alfonso both by Sea and Land, made himself Master of the Town without Difficulty, and having begun to batter the Castle, the Governor, by the Interposition of Fabritio Colonna, and with the Consent of Giovanni della Rovere, Prefect of Rome, and Brother of the Cardinal of San Piero in Vincola, gave up the Place after a few Days Resistance. By the Capitulation the Pope was obliged not to prosecute, either with Centuries or Arms, the Cardinal nor Prefect, without fresh Provocation; and Grotta Ferrata, which the Cardinal had left in the Hands of Fabritio, was to continue in his Possession with the same Rights, on his paying 10,000 Ducats to the Pope.

But Ludovico Sforza, whom the Cardinal, when he passed from Savona, had made acquainted with the secret Negotiations which Alfonso, by his Counsels and Mediation,
THE WARS IN ITALY.

A. D. 1494.

ation, was transacting with the Exiles of Genoa, having represented to Charles the great Obstacles that might result from thence to his Designs, induced him to give Orders for the March of 2000 Swifs to Genoa, and for the immediate Passage of 300 Lances into Italy. Aubigni who was returning from Rome, but had Orders from the King to ftop at Milan, was to take the Command of these Lances, and hold himself in Readines either for the Security of Lombardy, or to proceed forwards as Necessity or Occafion required, in Conjunction with 500 Men at Arms, lifted at the same time into the King's Pay, under Giovvan Francesco da San Severino, Count of Gajazzo, Galeotto Pico, Count of Miranda-la, and Ridolfo da Gonzaga, besides 500 others whom the Duke of Milan was obliged to furnish. Lodovico, not forgetting his usual Arts, ceafed not to affure the Pontiff, and Piero de' Medici, of his Disposition to procure the Peace and Security of Italy, feeding sometimes one, sometimes the other with Hopes that he would soon make it appear by evident Demonstration.
It is hardly possible that a very strong Affeveration should not leave some Doubt in the Minds of those who are determined to believe the contrary: And therefore tho' no longer Credit was given to Lodovico's Promises, the Execution of those Enterprizes that had been concerted was, however, by this means, in some measure retarded. For both the Pope and Piero de' Medici would have been extremely pleased with making an Attempt on Genoa, but because such a Step would amount to a direct Attack upon the State of Milan, the Pope being requested by Alfonso to lend him his Gallies, and to join his Forces with his in Romagna, agreed to unite their Troops for their common Defence in Romagna, but not to proceed any farther; but as to the Gallies he made some Difficulty, alledging that it was not yet a proper Time to drive Lodovico to so great a Degree of Despair. The Florentines were also requested to afford a Receptacle and Refreshments to the Neapolitan Fleet in the Port of Livorno, but hesitated for the same Reason, and because, as they had excused themselves from com-
complying with the Demands of the King of France, under Pretence of their Confederacy with Ferdinando, they were by no means disposed to take any further Steps, than those to which they were bound by their League, till they were forced by Necessity.

The State of Affairs now admitting of no further Delay, the Fleet, at last, under Admiral Don Federigo, set Sail from Nufolle, and Alfonso in Person, assembled his Army in the Abruzzi, with a Design to pass into Romagna. But before he proceeded he thought it necessary to have a Conference with the Pope, who was equally desirous of it, in order to settle what Measures were to be taken for their common Safety. On the thirteenth of July they met one another at Vicovaro, a Town belonging to Virginio Orsino, where they held a Conference which lasted three Days, and afterwards parted with mutual Satisfaction. In this Meeting it was resolved, by Advice of the Pope, that the King should proceed no farther in Person; but that his Army, which, as he affirmed,
confisted of little less than a Hundred Squadrons of Men at Arms, reckoning twenty Men to a Squadron, and above 3000 Archers with Cross-bows, and light Horse, should, Part of them, commanded by himself, post themselves on the Frontiers of the Abruzzi, for the Security of the ecclesiastic State, and of his own Dominions; that Virginio should remain in the Territory of Rome, to observe the Colonna's, who had given Umbrage, and made it thought proper to dispose of 200 of the Pope's Men at Arms, and Part of the King's light Horse in Rome; and that Ferdinando Duke of Calabria (which is the Title of the eldest Son of the Kings of Naples) a young Prince of vast Hopes, should take his March into Romagna with Seventy Squadrons, the Remainder of the light Horse, and the greater Part of the ecclesiastical Troops, which last was granted only for acting on the defensive. The young Duke was to be attended into the Field, as Moderators of his Youth, by Gianjacopo da Trivulzi, General of the King's Army, and Count Pitigliano, both famous and expert Commanders, the last
THE WARS IN ITALY.

of whom left the Pope’s to enter into the King’s Service. It was imagined that the Duke’s Presence, if the Army advanced into Lombardy, would be of great Service to the Cause, since he was allied by a near and double Relation to Giovanni Galeazzo, who was the Husband of Isabella his Sister, and Son of Galeazzo, Brother of Ippolita, who was his Mother.

But one of the most important Concerns that came under Consideration between the Pope and Alfonso was the Affair of the Colonna’s, who gave manifest Suspicions that they were forming some new Plot. For Prospero and Fabritio having served the late King, and obtained of him States and honourable Privileges, Prospero, who, since his Decease, after many Promises to Alfonso to keep his Post in the Army, had, by means of Cardinal Ascanio, engaged himself in common to the Pope and the Duke of Milan, would not afterwards consent, tho’ solicited, to throw up Lodovico’s Commission, and remain solely in the Pope’s Pay: And Fabritio, who had continued in Alfonso’s Service, seeing the Pope
Pope and the King incensed against Prospero, made a Difficulty of attending the Duke of Calabria into Romagna, if the Concerns of Prospero and of the whole Family of the Colonna's were not by some proper Method first settled and secured. This Pretence served as a Colour for their Scruples, but in secret they were both influenced by their extraordinary Friendship with Cardinal Ascanio, who had a few Days since left Rome to avoid the Pope's Jealousy, and retired into their Territories, and by the Hopes of greater Emoluments, but much more by their Refentment against Alfonso for bestowing the first Place in his Court, and the most ample Share of his Prosperity on Virginio Orsino, the Head of the contrary Faction, which altogether induced them to enter into the French Service. And to conceal their Intention, till they thought they might declare their new Engagements with Safety, they pretended to desire an Agreement with the Pontiff and Alfonso; who insisting that Prospero should take the whole Command under them, since otherwise they could not be secure of his having left the Service of the Duke of Milan, treated conti-
THE WARS IN ITALY.

continually with them. But the Colonna's, in order to prevent coming to a Conclusion, started from time to time fresh Objections against the Conditions that were proposed.

While this Treaty was in Hand Alexander and Alfonso had different Views: The Pope wanted to seize on the Castles which the Colonna's posessed in the Roman Territory, and was glad of an Opportunity to attack them; but the King, having no other View than his own Preservation, was loth to have recourse to Arms but as the last Remedy. But he durst not presume to oppose the Pontiff's ambitious Desire, and therefore they resolved to force Submission by Hostilities, and the Number of Troops and Order of Attack were settled between them; but a Tryal was to be first made whether some Way might not be found within a few Days for an Accommodation.

These and many other Negotiations were transacted on all Sides, till at last the Sailing of Don Federigo on the Expedition to Genoa gave a Beginning to the Italian War. This Admiral had certainly under his
his Command the greatest and best provided Fleet that for many Years had failed on the Tuscan Sea; for it consisted of Thirty-five light Gallies, Eighteen Ships of War, and a great Number of smaller Vessels, was furnished with a large Quantity of Artillery, and had on board Three Thousand Foot for making a Descent. Confiding in these mighty Provisions, and in the Exiles whom he carried with him, Federigo left Naples with vast Hopes of Success. But the Delay of his Departure, occasioned by Difficulties common to all great Movements, and in some measure by the artful Hopes given by Lodovico, and afterwards their stopping in the Ports of the Senese in order to enlist Five Thousand Men, had rendered difficult an Enterprize which a Month before would have proved very easy. For the Enemy having had Time to make powerful Provisions, the Bailiff of Dijon was already entered into Genoa with Two Thousand Swifs in the Pay of the King of France, and, besides a great Number of Ships and Gallies equipped in the Port, there were arrived Part of the armed Vessels designed from Marseilles.

Lodovico
Lodovico also, sparing no Cost, had dispatched thither Gasparo da San Severino, surnamed Francassa, and Antonmaria his Brother with a Body of Foot. And that he might make as much Use of the Hearts and Affections of the Genoese, as of the Assistance of foreign Troops, he secured to his Interest, with Gifts, Pensions, Promises, and various Rewards, the Good Will of Giovan Luigi dal Fiesco Brother of Obietto, the Adorni, and many others, both of the Nobility and popular Party, who were best qualified for keeping the City in Order; and, on the other hand, he summoned a great Number of Partisans of the Exiles from Genoa and all the Towns of the Rivieras to Milan. To these Preparations, great and powerful in themselves, the Presence of Lewis Duke of Orleans added new Life and Reputation.

That Nobleman arrived about the same time that the Aragonian Squadron was discovered on the Sea of Genoa, and made his Entry into that Town with a Commission from the King of France, after he had held a Conference at Alexandria, on Matters relating to the common Cause, with Lodovico
THE HISTORY OF

A. D. 1494.

vico Sforza, who very joyfully received and treated him with great Honour, but as his Equal, little imagining (as the Affairs of Mortals are wrapt up in Obscurity) how soon his Dominions would be in his Power, and his Life lie at his Mercy.

These Apprehensions and Precautions occasioned the Aragonese, who had before designed to present themselves with their Fleet in the Port of Genoa, in Hopes that the Friends of the Exiles would raise some Commotions, to change their Resolution, and determine to attack the Rivieras. But after various Debates whether it were most advisable to attack the Eastern or Western Riviera, it was at last agreed to follow the Opinion of Obietto, who promised himself great Assistance from the Inhabitants of the Eastern Riviera, and to sail directly to the Town of Porto Venere. But the Place being defended by Four Hundred Foot dispatched thither from Genoa, and the Inhabitants animated by the Presence of Giovan Luigi dal Fiesco, who was arrived from Spezia, they were repulsed in an Assault which lasted several Hours:
THE WARS IN ITALY. 121
A. D. 1494.

Hours: Losing therefore all Hopes of making themselves Masters of the Town, they failed off, and retired into the Port of Livorno, in order to take in Provisions, and augment the Number of their Foot; for being assured that the Towns of the Riviera were well provided, it was thought necessary to act with a greater Force. Here Don Federigo receiving Advice that the French Fleet, which was inferior to his in Gallies, but superior in Ships of War, was preparing to fail out of the Port of Genoa, sent back his Ships to Naples, that he might the more readily by the Swiftness of his Gallies disengage himself from the Enemy, if they should come and attack him with their Gallies and Ships in Conjunction; though he was not without Hopes of defeating them, if by Accident or Design their Ships should be separated from their Gallies.

In the mean time the Duke of Calabria was marching with a Land Army towards Romagna, with an Intention to advance from thence into Lombardy, according to the first Resolutions. But to secure
THE HISTORY OF

A. D. 1494.

a free Passage, and leave no Impediments behind him, it was necessary to assure himself of the Friendship of the State of Bologna, and of the Cities of Imola and Forli; for Cesena, a City immediately subject to the Pope, and the City of Faenza subject to Aflorre di Manfredi, a Child, in the Pay and governed under the Protection of the Florentines, were very ready to furnish the Aragonian Army with all Conveniencies. Forli and Imola were under the Government of Ottaviano, Son of Geronimo Riario, with the Title of Vicar of the Church, but under the Tutelage and Direction of his Mother Caterina Sforza. The Pope and Alfonso had for several Months been treating with this Lady about taking Ottaviano into their common Pay, with an Obligation comprehending the Defence of his States. But the Treaty was never perfected, partly because of the Difficulties which she interposed in order to obtain better Conditions, and partly because the Florentines, persisting in their first Resolution not to proceed against the King of France beyond the Obligations under which they stood to Alfonso,
THE WARS IN ITALY.

Alfonso were determined not to concur in the Expence, and their Consent was necessary because the Pope and the King refused to be at all the Charges; but much more because Caterina declared that she would not endanger those Cities, unless the Florentines as well as the others obliged themselves to defend the States of her Son. A Conference which Ferdinando, in marching with his Army to Romagna by the Way of Marecchia, had with Piero de' Medici at Borgo a San Sepolcro removed these Difficulties. For they had no sooner met than the Duke, by Commission from his Father Alfonso, made an Offer to Piero of himself and his Army to be employed, wholly at his Discretion, in all Affairs relating to Florence, Siena and Faenza. Piero flushed with those Offers became as hot and forward as ever, and returning to Florence was pleased, though dissuaded by the wisest of the Citizens, that the Republic should give its Consent to this Treaty, because Ferdinando with the utmost Earnestness insisted on it. Ottaviano, being taken into Pay at the joint Expence of the Pope, Alfonso, and the Florentines,
within a few Days after the City of Bollogna acceded to their Alliance, by means of hiring in the same Manner Giovanni Bentivoglio, by whose Authority and absolute Will it was governed, and to whom the Pope promised, under the Guaranty of the King and Piero de' Medici, to create his Son Anton Galeazzo, then Apostolical Protonotary, a Cardinal. The Taking these Lords into Pay gave great Reputation to Ferdinando's Army, and would have given it much greater, if on this Success he had immediately entered Romagna. But such was the Slowness of the Aragonians in marching from the Kingdom of Naples, and the Diligence of Lodovico Sforza, that as soon as Ferdinando arrived at Cesena, Aubigni and Count Galeazzo, General of Sforza's Troops, with Part of the Army appointed to oppose the Aragonians, were passed through the Bolognese without Obstacle, and entered into the Territory of Imola. Hence Ferdinando, disappointed of his first Hopes of falling into Lombardy, was necessitated to fix the Seat of the War in Romagna, where, though the other Cities were in the
THE WARS IN ITALY.

the Aragonian Interest, yet Ravenna, and Cervia, which were subject to the Venetians, observing a Neutrality, and the little Country adjacent to the Po, being in the Possession of the Duke of Ferrara, the French and Milanese Troops wanted for no Conveniency.

But Piero de' Medici, not in the least reclaimed from his Rashness by the Miscarriage of the Enterprize on Genoa, nor the Obstacles that presented themselves in Romagna, entered into a private Convention with the Pope and Alfonso, unknown to the Republic, in which he obliged himself to oppose the King of France with open Arms, and not only consented that the Neapolitan Fleet should be allowed a Reception, and to take in Provisions, in the Port of Livorno, with Liberty to lift Soldiers in any Part of the Florentine Dominions, but transgressing all Bounds of Moderation caused Annibale Bentivoglio, Son of Giovanni, in the Pay of the Florentines, to join the Army of Ferdinando, with his Regiment, and that of Asllore Manfredi, as soon as he entered the Territory of Forli, be-

L 2.  fides
sides which he sent him 1000 Foot with Artillery.

The like Disposition seemed to continue in the Pope, who, besides his warlike Preparations, did not think it enough, first to exhort Charles, by a Brief, not to pass into Italy, but to proceed in a judicial Way, and not by Force of Arms, but afterwards, by another Brief, sent him positive Orders to forbear under Pain of the ecclesiastical Censures: And, by means of the Bishop of Cagliari, his Nuntio at Venice, used all his Endeavours, in Concert with the Neapolitan Ministers, who resided there for that Purpose, and those of the Florentines, who acted somewhat more cautiously, to engage that Senate, out of Regard to the public Safety of Italy, to oppose the French with Arms, or at least to make lively Representations to Lodovico, that they were highly dissatisfied with his new Measures. But the Doge, in the Name of the Senate, answered, that it was not the Part of a wise Prince to draw a War into his own Dominions, to save those of his Neighbours; and, accordingly, it was agreed to
M94-

THE WARS IN ITALY.

act in a Manner, that neither Party might have just Reason from outward Appear-
ances, or real Effects, to take Offence.

The King of Spain, being pressed by the Pope and Alfonso, promised to send his Fleet, with a great Number of Troops into Sicily, in order to succour, if it should be needful, the Kingdom of Naples. And because the King complained of the Want of Money, to hasten the Expedition, Alfonso sent him a certain Sum, and Alexander gave him Leave to employ, for this Purpose, the Money collected by the Authority of the Holy See, under the Name of the Croifade, in Spain, which was never known to have been made Use of, but against the Infidels, who, indeed, had little Cause to fear at present: For Alfonso had before dispatch-
ed several Messengers to Constantinople, and now sent Camillo Pandone, who, by the Pope's Orders, was privately accompanied by Giorgio Bucciardo, a Genoese, a Person who had formerly been sent thither by Pope Innocent. Bajazet received them with infinite Demonstrations of Respect and Honour, and soon dispatched them,
promising a powerful Assistance, which he afterwards confirmed by an Ambassador sent on Purpose to Naples: But his Promises were never performed, either because the Distance was so great, or because it was not an easy Matter for Turks and Christians to repose any Confidence in one another.

Alfonso and Piero, finding that neither by Land nor Sea they had hitherto met with any Success against Lodovico, resolved to try if they could deceive him by his own Craft and Arts: But their Stratagems miscarried as well as their Force. It was the Opinion of many, that Lodovico, in his Heart, with regard to his own Safety, could not be desirous that Charles should conquer Naples; but that his Design was, when he had made himself Duke of Milan, and brought the French Army into Tuscany, to interpose his Mediation for some Agreement, by which Alfonso should acknowledge himself tributary to the Crown of France, and give the King a Security for the same; and perhaps dismember from the Florentines the Towns they possessed.
felled in the Lunigiana; and then prevail with the King to return into France. In this Manner he would humble the Florentines, diminish the Strength and Authority of the King of Naples, and secure himself in the Sovereignty of the Milanese, without running those Risques he had Reason to fear from a conquering French Army. That he hoped, as Winter was approaching, the King might meet with such Difficulties as would retard the Course of his Victories, so as not to be able to proceed any farther than Florence till Spring: And as he was apprized of the impatient Temper of the French, the Want of Money, and the Dittile of many of the Courtiers to this Expedition, he trusted that, in the mean Time, an Accommodation might be effected. But whatever were Lodovico's first Designs, certain it is, that, tho' he had in the Beginning used all his Endeavours to detach Piero from the Aragonians, he now tampered, very secretly, with him, and encouraged him to persevere in his Alliance with Alfonso, promising that he would so manage Matters, that the King of France should either not pass, or, if he did, should
soon return without attempting any thing on this Side the Mountains. This Negotiation was carried on by his Minifter residing in Florence, who was commiſioned never to ceafe preſling this Point. Lodovico was either sincere, or being bent on Piero's Destruction took this Method to compleat it, leaving him no Room for a Reconciliation with the King of France. Piero gave Notice of these Negotiations to Alfonſo, who counſelled him to communicate them to the King of France: Wherefore Piero, feigning himself indisposed, after concealing the French Minifter where he might over-hear the Conference, fet for Lodovico's Ambaſſador; then repeating what the Ambaſſador had before proſpered, together with his Promifes, said it was owing to his Master's Authority, that he had fo obstinately refuſed the King of France's Offers; and, grievously com- plaining that he should be fo earnest in folliciting the King to come into Italy, concluded, That since Lodovico's Actions were not conformable to his Promifes, he was under a Necessity to take a Resolution not to involve himself in fo great a Danger.
Danger. The Milanese replied, That he had no Reason to doubt of his Master's Faith, if on no other Account, yet at least because it would prove equally dangerous to him if the King of France should conquer Naples; exhorting him with the most powerful Persuasions to persist in his Sentiments, for by departing from them he would be the Cause of reducing himself and all Italy into Slavery. The French Ambassador informed the King with what he had heard, and assured him that he was betrayed by Lodovico. But this cunning Device was not attended with the Effect proposed by Alfonso and Piero; on the contrary some of the French Ministry themselves having informed Lodovico of what had passed, he became more enraged than ever against Piero, and pressed the King, with great Earnestness, not to lose any farther Time.

Now not only the vast Preparations by Land and Sea, but also Heaven and Men seemed to prognosticate grievous Calamities to Italy; For all those who made a Profession of having attained, either by Skill
A Report of several Prodigies.

And with no les Terror to Mankind it was confidently reported that several Prodigies had happened in different Parts of Italy: That three Suns, in the Night, had appeared in Puglia, in the Midst of the Firmament, surrounded with Clouds full of dreadful Thunder and Lightning: That in the Territory of Arezzo Bands of Men in Armour, on huge Horses, accompanied with a terrible Noise of Drums and Trumpets, had been plainly seen to pass through the Air for several Days together: That, in divers Parts of Italy, the sacred Images and Pictures had visibly sweated: Women and Animals had produced several Monsters: And that many other Accidents, that seemed contrary to the ordinary Course of Nature, had happened in divers Parts: Whence the Populace, already alarmed with the Apprehensions of the Power and Fierceness of the
THE WARS IN ITALY. 133.

the French, were under the greatest Con-

f tarnation. They were told, that History was full of the Devastations committed by them in former Times: How they had plundered all Italy, and destroyed Rome with Fire and Sword: And that Asia, and all Parts of the World, some time or other had felt the Weight of their Arms.

These Fears, produced by Celestial Signs, Predictions, Prognostics, and Prodi-
gies, were every Day increase with the News they received of their Effects being at Hand: For Charles, fixed in his Resolution, was now come to Vienne in Dauphine, and could neither be dissuaded from going personally into Italy by the Intreaties of his whole Kingdom, nor retarded by the Want of Money; there not being, at that Time, a Sufficiency for the present Exigencies, without pawning, and that for no considerable Sum, certain Jewels he had borrowed of the Duke of Savoy, the Marchionefs of Montferrato, and some other Noblemen of his own Kingdom. All the Money of the Finances, and what Lodovico had left him, had partly been ex-
pended.
pended in fitting out his Fleet, on which great Dependance had been laid, and the rest inconsiderately dissipate at Lyons amongst his Favourites. Nor could he, easily, procure a fresh Supply: For, in those Days, Princes were not accustomed to extort Money from their Subjects, as they have since been taught to do, by immoderate Avarice and Ambition, without any Regard to human and divine Laws.

In this Disorder, and on so slender a Foundation, Charles undertook this important War, hurried on rather by Impetuosity and Rashness, than guided by Prudence and Counsel. But, as it often happens at the Entrance upon the Execution of new, great, and hazardous Exploits, how maturely soever projected, that Men are apt to frighten themselves with the Difficulties they raise in their Minds; so now, when the King was just setting out, and in Motion towards the Alps, a great Murmur spread over the Court, some complaining of the common Difficulties attending such an Expedition, others of the Perfidiousness of the Italians, and, above,
above all, of the Treachery of Lodovico Sforza, against whom they might be the more exasperated, as they had, perhaps, heard that a Sum of Money expected from him was not arrived: And not only those who had ever opposed it began now boldly to exclaim, but even some of those who had been the principal Promoters, and, amongst the rest, the Bishop of St. Malo, began visibly to waver. These Clamours, coming at last to the King's Ears, raised such a Commotion in all the Court, and in his own Breast, and such an Inclination to stop all Proceedings, that he suddenly gave Orders for the Troops to halt; wherefore several Officers, who had already set out, returned back, supposing there would be no Expedition to Italy. And it was thought that would have been the Case, if the Cardinal of San Piero in Vincola, a fatal Instrument then, before, and after, of all the Calamities of Italy, had not interposed, and with the Authority and Vehemence of his Speech melted the almost frozen Spirits of the Army, and brought the King back to his former Resolution. He not only refreshed the King's Memory.
ry with the Motives which had induced him to engage in so glorious an Undertak-
ing, but laid also before him the Scorn with which he would be treated by the whole World, if through his Levity so noble a Design was not carried into Exe-
cution.

Speech of the Cardinal of San Piero in Vincoli.

"To what Purpose, said he, has your Majesty weakened your Barrier by the Restitution of the Towns of Artois, to your exposing the Frontiers of your Kingdom on that Side? For what Reason have you opened a Door to the King of Spain to enter your Kingdom, by parting with Roussillon, to the great Dissatisfaction of your Nobility and People? Such impor-
tant Concessions were never made by Prin-
ces, but to free themselves from the ut-
most Dangers, or with a View of obtaining some signal Advantage. But what Danger has appeared? What Necessity for changing your Resolution? What Re-
ward could be expected, but of purchasing much greater Shame, and even that at a very dear Rate? What new Accidents, what Difficulties have arisen? What Dan-
gers
The Wars in Italy.

Glers have been discovered since the publication of this Enterprize to the whole World? On the contrary, are not the Hopes of Victory rather manifestly increased every Hour, the Foundation on which the Enemy built all their Hopes of Defence now failing them? For the Aragonian Fleet, after making a vain Attempt on Porto Venere, is shamefully fled back into the Port of Livorno, without obtaining any Advantage against Genoa, defended by so many Soldiers, and by a Fleet more powerful than their own; and a few of your Troops, posted in Romagna, have been able to prevent Ferdinando from advancing into Lombardy. With what a Panic, then, must your Adversaries be seized when they hear that the King himself, at the Head of so vast an Army, has passed the Alps! What Tumults will arise in all Parts! With what a Terror will the Pope be affected, when, from his Palace, he views the Arms of the Colonna's at the Gates of Rome! How confounded Piero de’ Medici, to see those of his own Blood rise up against him, and his City loudly calling on the Name of the French, and ardently
ardently desirous of recovering their Liberties infringed by him! Nothing will be able to retain your Majesty’s Rapidity till you arrive on the Frontiers of the Kingdom of Naples, where your Approach will diffuse the same Tumults and Terrors, and nothing else will be seen but Flight or Rebellion. Can there be any Apprehension of a Want of Money? None surely: For as soon as the Noise of your Arms, and the Thunder of that impetuous Artillery is heard in Italy, the Italians with strive who can bring the greatest Quantities. And, besides, if any one should offer to resist, the Spoils, the Prey, the Riches of the Conquered will maintain the Army. For the Italians, being accustomed rather to a Show of than a real War, will not have Vigour enough to sustain the French Fury. What Fears then, what Confusion, what Dreams, what Spectres of Danger have possessed your Royal Breast? Where is the Magnanimity, where is the Fierceness, with which you boasted, but four Days since, that you could overcome all Italy united together? He desired he would consider, that Things now were
were gone too far to recede; since his Towns were alienated, Ambassadors admitted, sent, and dismissed; the necessary Expences and Preparations made; his Intentions public, and he come in Person so near the Foot of the Alps. The State of his Affairs was now such, that, tho' the Expedition were to appear never so hazardous, it could not be avoided; there being no Medium, in his present Situation, between Glory and Infamy, Flight and Triumph, or his being a King the most eﬆeemed, or the most despifed in all the World. Why, then, should he hesitate one Moment to proceed, and gather the Fruits of those Victories already prepared for him?"

This was the Substance of the Cardinal's Speech, which according to his Nature, was delivered more with efficacious Reasonings, and expressive Gestures, than with ornamental Words; and had such Effect on the King, that he would not hearken to any but those who encouraged the War, and departed that very Day from Vienne, accompanied by all the Flower of his
his Nobility and Officers, excepting the Duke of Bourbon, who was left Regent, and the Admiral, with some others, who were made Governors, and left to take Care of the most important Provinces. The March was ordered into Italy by Monginevra, a much easier Pass than that of Monsenii, over which of old Hannibal, with immense Trouble, made his Way.*

The King arrives at Asti.

The 9th of September, 1494, Charles arrived at Asti; bringing with him into Italy the Seeds of innumerable Calamities, horrible Events, and Changes in all Scenes of Affairs: For from this Passage derived their Origin not only Changes of States, Subversions of Kingdoms, Desolations of Cities, and most cruel Slaughters; but also new Fashions, new and bloody Ways of making War, and Diseases unknown till those Days: Besides, the Foundation and Arts of Government, which connected the Union of our Princes, have been ever since so unhinged, that they could never after be reinstated; so that a Door was left open for strange Nations,

* The Road to the Foot of Monsenii, or Monsenis, was not passable for Wheel-Carriages, till made so by a Duke of Savoy in the last Century.
Nations, and Armies of Barbarians to invade and oppress us. And for our greater Unhappiness, that our Shame may not be lessened by the Valour of the Conqueror, as to the Man who by his Coming was the Author of our Miseries, it must be owned, that tho’ he was so amply endowed with the Gifts of Fortune, yet he was no ways favoured by Nature either in Body or Mind: For certain it is that Charles, even from his Youth, was of a weak and infirm Constitution; short, and very ugly, if you except some Sprightliness and Majesty in his Eyes; and his Limbs were so disproportioned, that he had rather the Appearance of a Monster than a Man. He was not only ignorant of the polite Arts, but hardly knew the Figures of the Letters: A Soul aspiring after Dominion, for which of all Things he was the least qualified, for he was ever imposed upon by his Courtiers, with whom he knew not how to preserve either Majesty or Authority. Indolent in every thing that required Trouble, and what he undertook was conducted with little Prudence or Judgment. If anything appeared in him worthy of Praise, if tho-
THE HISTORY OF

roughly examined, it was yet farther from Virtue than Vice: For he had an Inclination to Glory, but then he acted rather by Impulse than Counsel. He was liberal, but inconsiderate, without Measure or Distinction; steady, sometimes, in his Resolutions; but oftener from an ill-grounded Obstinacy than Constancy; and what many called Goodness, deserved rather the Name of Coldness and Weakness of Mind.

The Day he arrived at Asli Fortune began to shew herself propitious with a most joyful Omen, and welcomed him with a Piece of good News from Genoa. For Don Federigo, after retiring from Porto Venere, and refreshing himself, and recruiting at Livorno, had returned into the same Riviera, and landed Obietto dal Fiesco with Three Thousand Foot. That Commander, with little Difficulty, took Rapalle, a Town Twenty Miles distant from Genoa, and began to make Excursions all over the Country. This Beginning was an Affair of no small Importance in such a Town as Genoa, infected with Parties,
where the least Commotion was very dangerous. Wherefore those who governed that City, that the Enemy might make no farther Progress, sent the Brothers San Severini, and Giovanni Adorni, the Governor's Brother, with the best Part of the Troops, by Land against Fiesco, a sufficient Guard being left at Genoa: And the Duke of Orleans *, with a Thousand Swiss, embarked in the Fleet, which consisted of Eighteen Gallies, Six Galleons, and Nine large Vessels. As soon as they all met near Rapalle, they very briskly attacked the Enemy, who defended the Bridge in the Suburbs that leads into a small Plain, which extends itself as far as the Sea.

The Aragonians, besides their own Forces, were defended by their Situation, those Places being rendered stronger by their Ruggedness than by military Fortifications, and therefore the first Attack did not promise Success: For the Swiss, not having Room to extend themselves, began to give Way; till the brave Country People,

* The Duke of Orleans was married to Anne, the King's Sister.
people, who were Friends to the Adorni, and knew how to fight in those craggy Mountains, crowded in from all Quarters; and at the same time the Artillery from the Fleet, which had approached as near as it could to the Shore, beginning to take the Aragonians in Flank, they began to open; and when they were driven from the Bridge, Objetto, whose Partisans had not stirred to his Succour, hearing that Luigi dal Fiesco was near them with a good Body of Foot, for Fear of being attacked in the Rear, was, according to the Custom of Exiles, the first that ran away towards the Mountains, and his Example was followed by the rest. There were killed, in fighting and in the Pursuit, above a Hundred Men; doubtless a great Slaughter, if we consider the Manner of fighting in Italy in those Days. *Amongst the many Prisoners was Giulio Orsini, who was in the Service of Alfonso, and had followed the Army with Forty Men at Arms, and some Cross-Bows on Horseback, Frigofino, Son of the Cardinal

* Objetto, after being stopped and searched three times in his Flight, said facetiously to his Son, Let us strip, and be as naked as Adam, and then we shall pass on unmolested. The Bishop of Nebis.
The Wars in Italy.

Fregoso, and Orlandino of the same Family. This Victory entirely secured Genoa: For Don Federigo, immediately after landing the Troops, to avoid fighting with the French Fleet in the Gulph of Rapallo, put out to Sea, and despairing, for the present, of any farther Advantage, retired again to Livorno; and tho' he raised here some Recruits, and laid several Projects for attacking some other Place in the Rivieras, yet, as commonly one sinks in Courage and Reputation when the Beginning of an Enterprize miscarries, he became so disheartened, that he did not venture to make any further Attempt worth Notice, giving just Reason to Lodovico to boast how with his Industry and Cunning he had baffled the Designs of his Enemies, whose tardy Motions were the sole Cause of the Preservation of Genoa, and this was procured by his Artifices, and vain Hopes given them.

Lodovico Sforza and Beatrice his Wife, with great Pomp, and attended with a most honourable Company of many Ladies of Quality, celebrated for Beauty, from
different Parts of the Milanese, came to meet the King on his first Coming to Aсти; as did also Ercole, Duke of Ferrara. Here, after some Conferences on the common Affairs, it was resolved, without Loss of Time, to march the Army: And that this might be done with greater Speed, Lodovico, who was in no small Concern for fear the Army, as the hard Season was approaching, should take up its Winter Quarters in the Dutchy of Milan, lent the King another Sum of Money, of which he was in no small Want. But Charles falling sick of the Small-Pox, stayed near a Month in Aсти, during which Time the Army was quartered in that City, and in the neighbouring Towns. This Army, as near as I can recollect from the different Accounts, besides the two Hundred Gentlemen of the King's Guard, computing the Swifs that went to Genoa with the Bailiff of Dijon, and those with Aubigni in Romagna, consist of 1600 Men at Arms, each of whom was attended with two Archers, and four Horsemen, that is to say, six Horses to each Lance, this being the Name the French give to their Men at
THE WARS IN ITALY.

at Arms, six Thousand Swifs, and six Thousand Foot of his own Kingdom, Half of whom were of the Province of Gascony, which, according to a Notion of the French, abounds with warlike Foot more than any other Part of France. To join this Army there arrived by Sea at Genoa a great Quantity of Field Pieces and battering Cannon, such as in Italy had never hither-to been seen. This Plague had its Origin many Years before in Germany, and was first brought from thence by the Venetians, about the Year 1380, at which Time the Genoese were at War with them, when the Venetians were beat by Sea, and so dejected for the Loss of Chioggia, that if the Genoese had not let slip so fine an Opportunity, but had taken proper Counsel, they might have given them what Conditions they pleased. The largest Pieces of the Artillery we are speaking of, were called Bombarde: And from that Time were spread through Italy, and made use of in Sieges. Some of them were made of Iron and some of Brafs, but they were of so large a Size, that, on account of the little Experience of the Artillery-men, and Clumsiness of their Car-

riages,
riages, they were moved from Place to Place very slowly and with great Difficulty; and for the same Reason were very unhandy when placed against the Walls of a Town. The Intervals between the Firings were so long, that a great deal of Time was lost, and little Progress was made in comparison to what we see in our Days. This gave Time to the Besieged to cast up Ramparts, and Fortifications behind the Breaches at their leisure. But, notwithstanding all these Impediments, the Violence of the Saltpetre, of which Gunpowder is made, was such, that when these Instruments were set on Fire, the Balls flew with so horrible a Noise, and stupendous Force, even before they were brought to their present Perfection, that they rendered ridiculous all the Instruments, so much renowned, invented by Archimedes and others, and used by the Ancients in Sieges of Towns. But now the French brought a much handier Engine, made of Brass, called Cannon, which they charged with heavy Iron Balls, smaller without Comparison than those of Stone made use of heretofore, and drove them on Carriages with
with Horses, not with Oxen, as was the Custom in Italy; and they were attended with such clever Men, and on such Instruments appointed for that Purpose, that they almost ever kept Pace with the Army. They were planted against the Walls of a Town with such Speed, the Space between the Shots was so little, and the Balls flew so quick, and were impelled with such Force, that as much Execution was done in a few Hours, as formerly, in Italy, in the like Number of Days. These, rather diabolical than human Instruments, were used not only in Sieges, but also in the Field, and were mixed with others of a smaller Size. Such Artillery rendered Charles's Army very formidable to all Italy; formidable besides, not for the Number but Valour of the Soldiers. The Gens d'Armes* were almost all Subjects of France, and not of the mean Sort, but Gentlemen, and were not enlisted or dismissed at the Discretion of the Officers, nor paid by them, but by the Ministry. Their Companies were not only compleat, but themselves, their Arms, and their Horses, all in good Order; to effect

* The Historians sometimes calls the Lances Gens d'Armes.
effect which their Income was sufficient. They served cheerfully, and with Emulation; inspired not only by an Instinct of Honour which is nourished in the Breast of Persons of Birth, but also because they had Reason to expect a Reward for their valiant Actions, both in Time of Peace and War; for Things were so ordered, that by different Steps they arrived to the Post of a Captain. The Officers of the Lances, who were all Barons, Nobles, or at least Gentlemen, were also mostly Subjects of France, and had the same Incitement to Glory. When any one of them was at the Head of a Hundred Lances, no Captain being allowed to command above that Number, he was at the Height of his Wishes, and all he had then to do, was to behave in such a Manner as to merit his Prince's Approbation, and therefore lay under no Temptation to go into another Service, either to gratify Ambition or Avarice, and was free from any Emulation of being at the Head of a greater Company than his own.
The Italian Militia were quite the Reverse, in which many of their Men at Arms, being a Mixture of Peasants, People in low Life, and Subjects of different Potentates, and entirely dependant on their Captains, with whom they agreed for a Salary, and in whose Power it was to retain or dismiss them, were generally Persons that had neither natural nor acquired Parts to enable them to act gallantly. The Captains were very seldom Subjects of the Prince they served, but had often a different Interest, and separate Views, were full of Piques and Jealousies, their Service not commonly limited to a certain Time, and being entirely Masters of their own Companies they seldom kept the Number they were paid for compleat. Nor were they satisfied with what was just, but took all Occasions to impose upon their Masters by exorbitant Accounts; never long settled, but when tired with one Service they passed into another, and tempted by Ambition, Avarice, or any Thing that concerned their Interest, were not only unsettled but often treacherous. Nor was there
there less Difference between the French and Italian Infantry: For the Italians were not used to fight in firm, ranged Battalions, but being dispersed in the Field, on any Danger, often retired to take Advantage of Banks and Ditches. But the Swis, a very warlike Nation, who by long Experience, and by gaining many glorious Victories, have revived the Fame of the antient Valour, moved to the Charge in regular Battalions of a certain Number of Men in a Rank, and without ever breaking their Array, refisted the Impression of the Enemy like a Wall that cannot be shaken, and almost impenetrable, wherever they had Room to extend their Battalions. The French and Gascon Foot ob- served the same Order and Discipline, but did not fight with the same Valour.

While the King was detained by Sickness at Asi, fresh Disturbances arose in the Neighbourhood of Rome. For tho' Alfonso had yielded to all the immoderate Demands of the Colonnas, yet no sooner had Aubigni, with the French Troops, en- tered Romagna, than they pulled off the Mark,
THE WARS IN ITALY.

Mark, declared themselves Soldiers of the King of France, and after corrupting some of the Spanish Garrison got Possession of the Cittadel of Ofilia. The Pope took this Opportunity to complain of the injurious Dealing of the French to all the Christian Potentates, especially to the King of Spain, and Senate of Venice; of which latter he made a fruitless Demand of the Succours with which they were bound to assist him by the Confederacy contracted between them but the last Year: And turning his Thoughts, with a firm Resolution, on preparing for War, he cited Prospero and Fabritio to Rome; and, on their Refusal to appear, ordered their Palaces in Rome to be razed: Then, joining his Troops with Part of those of Alfonso, commanded by Virginio on the River Teverone near Tivoli, he ordered them to invade the Territories of the Colonnas, who had not above Two Hundred Men at Arms, and a Thousand Foot. But the Pontiff afterwards mistrusting that the French Squadron, which was reputed to be failed from Genoa to the Relief of Ofilia, would put in at Netuno, a Town of the Colonnas, Alfonso as-
fembled at Terracina all the Troops which
the Pope and he himself had in those
Parts, and laid Siege to Nettuno, expecting
to be soon Master of the Place. But the
Colonnas making a vigorous Defence, and
the Regiments of Camillo Vitelli of Citta di
Castello, and of his Brothers, who had late-
ly entered into the French Service, being
arrived in their Territories without Oppo-
sition, the Pope recalled to Rome Part of his
Troops which were in Romagna with Fer-
dinando, whose Affairs did not proceed with
the same prosperous Course as they seemed
to take in the Beginning. For when he
was arrived at Villafranca between Forli
and Faenza, and from thence was proceed-
ing along the main Road towards Imola,
the Enemy's Army, which was posted near
Villafranca, and inferior in Strength, retir-
ed between the Wood of Lugo and Colom-
bara, near the Fossato of Genivolo, which
is by Nature a very strong Post, belonging
to the Duke of Ferrara, from whose Coun-
try they were supplied with Provisions.
Hence Ferdinando being deprived of all
Means of attacking them without great
Danger, on account of the Strength of
their Situation, decamped from Imola, and
advanced to post himself at Toscanello, near
Castiell San Piero, in the Bolognese. For be-
ing desirous to come to a Battle, he endea-
voured, by making a Shew as if he intend-
to march towards Bologna, to lay the En-
emy under a Necessity of quitting their
Camp for one less strong, in order to pre-
vent him from advancing forwards. But
their Army, after taking up their Quarters
for some Days in the Neighbourhood of
Imola, entrenched themselves on the River
Santerno, between Lugo and Sani' Agata,
with the Po behind them, in a Camp
strongly fortified. Ferdinando the next
Day advanced to the same River near
Mordano and Bubano, within Six Miles of
their Camp; and the Day following he
approached within one Mile of them, in
Order of Battle; but after waiting some
Hours, to no Purpose, in a wide Plain,
very commodious for an Engagement, and
seeing the manifest Danger of attacking
them in their Entrenchments, he went and
posted himself at Barbiano, a Village of
Cotignuola, keeping no longer towards
the Mountains as he had formerly done,
but flanking the Enemy, having always the same Intention of constraining them, if it were possible, to come out of their almost impregnable Situation. Hitherto the Affairs of the Duke of Calabria appeared to proceed much to his Reputation, for the Enemy openly declined to engage, defending themselves rather by the Strength of their Entrenchments than by the Force of their Arms, and in some Skirmishes the Aragonians had rather the Superiority. But the French and the Sforzescan Army increasing daily by the Arrival of the Troops which at first remained behind, the State of the War soon began to be altered: For the Duke's Ardour being restrained by his Governors, who would not permit him to fight under so much Disadvantage, he retired to Sant' Agata, a Town of the Duke of Ferrara, where being in an Enemy's Country he entrenched himself, for his Foot were also diminished, and by the Pope's recalling part of the Men at Arms of the Church, his whole Army was much lessened. But a few Days after, on hearing that Two Hundred Lances, and a Thousand Swifts, who had
had been sent by the King as soon as he came to Asfi, were on the Road, and ready to join the Army, he decamped, and fortified himself in the Cercia of Faenza, which lies between the Walls of the Town, and a wide Ditch about a Mile distant, that surrounds that City, and renders the Situation very strong. He was no sooner retired from Sant' Agata, than the Enemy came, and encamped on the same Spot that the Aragonians had quitted.

Both Armies, without Doubt, in their Turn shewed much Resolution, when one saw the other inferior; but now their Forces were near equal, each avoided trying the Fortune of a Battle; so that, what rarely happens, the same Conduct pleased both Armies: The French thought they had gained the End for which they had passed from Lombardy, if they prevented the Neapolitans from advancing farther, that having been the sole Motive for marching out of Lombardy; and Alfonso, thinking it no small Advantage if he retarded the Progress of the French till Winter, had given positive Orders to his Son, Giovan Jacopo
THE HISTORY OF
A. D. Trivulzi, and Count Pitigliano, not to
1494. trust to Fortune the Fate of Naples, without a very fair Opportunity, since the Loss of that Army would be followed with that of the Kingdom.

But all Alfonso's Precaution could not secure him; for Charles, whose violent Spirit was not to be restrained by Seasons or Difficulties, as soon as his Strength permitted, put himself in Motion with his Army, and arriving at Pavia, lodged in the Castle, where Giovanni, Duke of Milan, lay dangerously ill. The Duke was Cousin-german to the King, they being the Sons of two Sisters, Daughters of Lewis the Second, Duke of Savoy, and the King passing thro' that City, and taking up his Quarters in the same Castle, paid his Kinsman a very kind Visit. As Lodovico was present, the Conversation was general: Charles only expressed his Sorrow for his bad State of Health, and advised him to cheer himself with Hopes of a Recovery; but all perceived the inward Compassion his Majesty and Attendants had for him, every one assuring himself that the Life of the unhappy
happy Youth was drawing near its End, through the Treachery of his Uncle. And their Pity was much heightened by the Presence of Isabella his Wife, who anxious not only for her Husband, and her Infant Son by him, but also extremely concerned at the Danger of her Father and her other Relations, threw herself in a most miserable Manner, before all the Company, at the King’s Feet, and with a Flood of Tears begged he would have Compassion on the Distresses of the Aragonian Family. Charles, moved with her Youth and Beauty, seemed to pity her; but, as it was impossible to put a Stop to so great a Movement on so slight an Occasion, he answered that his Enterprize was in such a Forwardness as laid him under a Necessity to proceed. From Pavia the King advanced to Piacenza, and while he stayed there he received the News of Giovanni Galeazzo’s Death. On this Advice Lodovico, who had accompanied him thither, returned immediately with all Speed to Milan, and assembled the Ducal Council, when the leading Men, suborned by him, delivered it as their Opinion, that, for the Dignity of that State in such perilous Times
Times as threatened Italy, it would be very pernicious that the Son of Galeazzo, a Child of Five Years old, should succeed his Father: That it was necessary to have a Duke of consummate Wisdom, and it was their Duty, for the Sake of the Public Safety, and, out of Necessity, to dispense with the Disposition of the Law, as the Laws themselves permitted them to do, and to constrain Lodovico to give his Consent, that, for the universal Benefit, the Ducal Dignity, which in such Times was a most oppressive Burden, should be transferred on himself.

Under this Colour, Honesty giving Way to Ambition, Lodovico, tho' he pretended to make some Resistance, the next Morning assumed the Titles and Ensigns of the Dukes of Milan, protesting first in private that he received them as belonging to him by the Investiture of the King of the Romans.

It was published abroad, that the Death of Galeazzo had proceeded from an immoderate Use of the matrimonial Bed: But it was universally believed thro' Italy that
that no natural Infirmity, nor Incontinence was the Cause. And Teodoro of Pavia, one of the Royal Physic- cians, who was present when the King made his Visit, affirmed that he had observed most manifest Symptoms of Poison. And if that was the Case, no one doubted but Lodovico was the Author, as one who, not being content with being the Governor of Milan with absolute Authority, but eagerly desirous, according to the common Ambition of great Men, to make himself more illustrious by Titles and Honours, and much more induced by imagining that the Death of the lawful Prince was necessary for his own Security, and the Succession of his Children, had determined to transfer and establish the Ducal Power and Name on himself. For the Perpetration of this Piece of Villainy, his Ambition must have offered Violence to his natural Temper, which was generally mild, and by no means sanguinary. It was the common Opinion, that he had meditated this Wickedness from the Time he invited the French into Italy; being persuaded that, whilst the King was with such a numerous Army in the State of Milan,
Milan, none would dare to shew his resentment of so horrid a Deed. Others thought it a new Project owing to a Fear left the King, as the French are quick in their Counsels, should proceed in a precipitate Manner to free Giovanni Galeazzo from so deplorable a Subjection, either moved by Consanguinity, or Compassion for his Age, or thinking it more for his Interest that the Dukedom should be governed by his Cousin than by Lodovico, whose Faith several great Men about the King were continually endeavouring to render suspected. But Lodovico having procured the Investiture the Year before, and taking great Care to have the Imperial Privileges expedited a little before the Death of his Nephew, it seemed rather a premeditated and deliberate than a sudden Act springing from the present Danger.

Charles rested some Days at Piacenza, not without some Thoughts of repassing the Mountains. The Want of Money, and no new Alteration in the Affairs of Italy appearing in his Favour, made him doubtful of Success, to which his
his Suspicion of the new Duke did not a little contribute; it being rumoured that, though at taking Leave of him he had promised to return, it was never his Intention to be so good as his Word. Nor is it unlikely that the villainous Practice of Poisoning, being almost unknown to the Nations beyond the Mountains, but frequent in many Parts of Italy, Charles and all his Court, besides their Jealousy of Lodovico's Infidelity, could not hear his Name mentioned without Horror; and that the King thought himself very much injured, in that he should have procured his Arrival as a Protection to perpetrate with Impunity so detestable a Murder. However it was at last resolved to march forwards, Lodovico continually pressing, and promising to return to the King in a few Days; for it did not at all answer his Purpose, that the French should remain in Lombardy, or return suddenly into France.

Lorenzo and Giovanni de' Medici, who had stole away privately from their Country Houses, presented themselves to the King the Day he left Piacenza, and solicited
THE HISTORY OF

...soldicited his Majesty to approach with his Army to Florence, giving him abundant Assurances of the Inclinations of the Florentine People to the House of France, and no less of their Hatred to Piero de’ Medici, against whom the King’s Anger was not a little increased by some new Provocations. For his Majesty had sent an Ambassador from Asti to Florence with Proposals of great Advantages, if they would grant him a Passage through their Dominions, and abstain from assisting Alfonso, with a Multitude of Threatenings if they persevered in their Resolution; and to strike a greater Terror, the Ambassador was to quit Florence abruptly if they did not instantly comply. As they were at some Loss to find an Excuse for their Delay, he was answered; That the principal Citizens concerned in the Administration were at their Country-Houses, as usual in that Season, and therefore they could not satisfy him on so sudden a Demand; but that by an Ambassador, whom they would soon send on purpose, his Majesty should be acquainted with their Intentions.
IT had been unanimously resolved in the royal Council, that it was more advisable to conduct the Army by the Road that leads through Tuscany and the Territory of Rome directly to Naples, than by that which goes through Romagna and theMarca, and over the River Tronto into the Abruzzi; not because they doubted of driving the Aragonians before them, who could hardly defend themselves against Aubigni, but because it seemed beneath the Greatness of so mighty a King, and the Glory of his Arms, that since the Florentines and the Pope had declared against him, he should give Occasion to the Public to imagine he avoided that Rout out of Fear that he should not be able to force his Way thro' their Dominions. They had also a much better Reason for choosing that Road, which was, the Danger of making War in the Kingdom of Naples, and leaving Tuscany and the Ecclesiastic State, hostile Countries, on their Rear. The Way then through Tuscany was chosen, and it was resolved to pass the Appennines by the Mountain of Parma, and not by the direct Road of Bologna.
This was done to gratify Lodovico, who was bent on making himself Master of Pisa, and had advised this Rout from their first setting out from Asli.

The Van was conducted by Monseigneur Gilbert de Mompenfier, of the Bourbon Family, a Prince of the Blood Royal of France. The King followed with the Rest of the Army, and passed by Pontremoli, a Town belonging to the Dutchy of Milan, and situated at the Foot of the Appennine, on the River Magra, which divides the Country of Genoa, antiently called Liguria, from Tuscany. From Pontremoli Mompenfier entered the Country of the Lunigiana; Part of which was subject to the Florentines, some Castles belonged to the Genoese, and the rest to the Marquises Malefina, who enjoyed their little Dominions, some under the Protection of the Dukes of Milan, some under that of the Florentines, and others under that of the Genoese. Here Mompenfier was joined by the Swiss who had served at the Defence of Genoa, and the Artillery that was brought by Sea to Spezie. Then
Then approaching Fivizzano, a Castle of the Florentines, whither they were conducted by Gabriello Malaspina, Marquis of Fosdinovo, a Friend of the French, they took it by Storm. The Town was plundered, and all the foreign Soldiers, with many of the Inhabitants, were put to the Sword. This Manner of Fighting was quite new to the Italians, and filled them with Amazement and Terror: They had been long accustomed to see their Wars carried on with Pomp and Magnificence, which gave their Armies rather an Appearance of Shew and Grandeur than of Danger and Blood.

The Florentines made their principal Resistance in Sarzana, a small City, which they had well fortified, but not provided sufficiently against so powerful an Enemy as was necessary: For the Commander was not a Man of Note and Authority, nor was the Garrison numerous, but also already shamefully discouraged and alarmed at the Approach of the French Army: Yet it was thought the Town would not be easily taken, especially the Cittadel; and much
THE HISTORY OF

A. D. 1494.

much less Sarzanello, a Fort well supplied, and situated on the Mountain above Sarzana: For the Army could not stay long in that desolate Country, pent up between the Sea and the Mountains, they had little Provisions, and the Places were distant from whence they might be timely procured. This had an Appearance of distressing the King's Affairs: For though he might leave Sarzana behind, and assault Pisa, or go to Lucca, where the Government, by the Duke of Milan's Interest, had privately agreed to receive him, and from thence proceed through another Part of the Florentine State; yet Charles could not bear the Thoughts of leaving behind him the first fortified Town that opposed him, and imagined his Reputation would be so much diminished, as to encourage a Resistance wherever he came. But by good Fortune, or by Ordination of another and higher Power (if the Imprudence and Faults of Men deserve such Excuses) a sudden Remedy offered itself against this Impediment; for Piero de' Medici had no greater Courage nor Constancy in Adversity, than Moderation and Prudence
THE WARS IN ITALY.

Prudence in Prosperity. The Florentines were every Day more and more apprehensive of the Mischiefs arising from their Refusal to comply with the King, not so much for the Consequences of a fresh Edict, by which all their Merchants in general had been banished France, as for the Dread they had of the King's Power, which was greatly increased since he passed the Alps, and which he had exercised with so much Cruelty at Fivizzano. On these Considerations every one detested the Rashness of Piero de' Medici, who trusting more to himself and the Counsels of rash and arrogant Ministers, bold in Times of Peace, but dejected and useless in Times of Danger, than to those of trusty and experienced Citizens, ever Friends to his Father, had, without any Necessity, so inconsiderately drawn upon them the Arms of a most powerful King of France, become more so by the Assistance of the Duke of Milan. They had the greater Reason to be alarmed, because Piero was quite ignorant of military Affairs; their Capital and State not fortified, and so unprovided with Soldiers and Ammunition, that they were in
in no Condition to defend themselves against so formidable an Enemy. Nor did it appear that any of the Aragonians, for whom they had exposed themselves to so much Danger, were engaged, except the Duke of Calabria against a small Body of French in Romagna: That, in consequence, their abandoned City was left exposed to the Rage and Vengeance of a Prince, who had taken so much Pains not to be under a Necessity of doing them Hurt. This Disposition, almost universal, was heightenened by many noble Citizens, who highly disliked the present Government, and could not bear that one Family should assume the Power of the whole Republic. These augmenting the Fears of those who were disposed to be fearful, and giving Boldness to those who were fond of Alterations, had exasperated the People to such a Degree, that it was expected the City would soon be in a Tumult; to which the People were the more incited by the Pride and immoderate Proceedings of Piero, who, in many Instances, had departed from the civil and mild Behaviour of his Ancestors, and was on that account
account, from his Youth, become odious in general to the People. We are well assured that Lorenzo, his Father, who had studied his Temper, was often known to have complained to his most intimate Friends, that he forewore the Imprudence and Arrogance of his Son would occasion the Ruin of his Family.

Piero, then, terrified at the Danger he had before so rashly despised, and finding himself disappointed of the Succours promised him by the Pope and Alfonso, who were grieved for the Loss of Olija, and whose Thoughts were employed on the Siege of Nettuno, and in providing against their Fears of the French Army, took a precipitate Resolution to seek amongst his Enemies that Safety he feared was not to be found any longer amongst his Friends. He had indeed his Father's Example before him; who in the Year 1479, being reduced to great Straits in the War which Pope Sixtus and Ferdinando were waging against the Florentines, went to Naples, and brought back Peace to his Country, and Safety to himself. But it is doubtles very danger-
ous to follow Examples, if the same Reasons do not correspond, not only in general but also in all particular Circumstances, if Things are not conducted with equal Judgment, and if, besides all other Foundations, the same Fortune has not its Share in them.

Piero, having left Florence with this Resolution, had soon Notice that the Horse of Pagolo Orsini, and Three Hundred Foot, sent by the Florentines to reinforce the Garrison of Sarzana, had been routed by a Party of the French, who had passed the Magra, and the greater Part of them killed or taken Prisoners. Till he could procure a Pafs he stopped at Pietra Santa, whither the Bishop of St. Malo, and other Courtiers resorted, and conducted him in Safety to the Army the same Day that the King, with the rest of his Forces, had joined the Van that lay before Sarzanello, and battered it, but with little Hopes of taking it.

Piero, being introduced to the King, was favourably, to all Appearance, though not heartily received by him; but he found Means...
THE WARS IN ITALY.

Means to mitigate, in a great measure, his Indignation, by submitting at once to all his vast and unreasonable Demands. He agreed that the Fortresses of Sarzana, Sarzanello, and Pietra Santa, which were the Keys of the Florentine Dominions on that Side, with the Citadels of Pisa and Livorno, Places of great Importance to the State, should be delivered to the King, who, by a Writing under his own Hand, should be obliged to restore them, as soon as he should be possessed of the Kingdom of Naples. He also engaged that the Florentines should lend the King Two Hundred Thousand Ducats, after which they were to be admitted into his Confederacy, and be under his Protection. These Articles, promised only by Word of Mouth, were to be drawn up in Writing in Florence when Charles, as he intended, passed throt' that City. But the Consignment of Sarzana, Sarzanello, and Pietra Santa, was not deferred, but they were immediately by Piero put into the King's Hands, as were a few Days after, by his Orders, the Citadels of Pisa and Livorno. The French themselves were amazed at his easy Compliance with Things.
Things of such Importance; for the King, without Doubt, would have been content with easier Terms.

It may not be improper to relate, here, the Repartee of Lodovico Sforza, who came to the Army the Day after Piero arrived. Piero told him that, out of Respect to his Person, he had gone out to meet him, but that he had deceived him by mistaking the Way: Lodovico very readily answered, "It is certain that one of us mistook, but perhaps it was you;" reproaching him as it were with having incurred so many Disasters and Dangers by neglecting his good Counsels: But we shall find in the Sequel, that they both mistook the right Road; but to the greater Shame and Unhappiness of him, who, seated in a higher Station, made Profession of being a Guide to all the rest by his Prudence. Piero's Compliance not only secured Tuscany to the King, but also removed all Obstacles in Romagna, where the Aragonians were already declining; it being difficult for those who were threatened with imminent Dan-
WHILST Ferdinando remained secure in the strong Lines of the Cerca of Faenza, whither he had retired with his Army, the Enemy returned towards Imola, after they had tried in vain, with Part of the Army, to possess themselves of the Castle of Bubbanso; for as it was of a small Circumference, the few in Garrison were sufficient to defend it, and the Country about it lying low was all overflowed. They took however by Assault the Castle of Mordano, which was a strong and well garrisoned Fortress; but the violent Force of the Artillery, and the Bravery of the French in the Attack was such, that tho', in passing the Ditches full of Water, several of them were drowned, yet the Besieged could not withstand their Fury, and they exercised indeed so much Cruelty in putting to the Sword the Inhabitants of all Ages and Sexes, that they filled all Romagna with great Fear and Horror. Caterina Sforza was so alarmed that, despairing of Succours, to avoid the present Danger, she capitulated with the French, promising
mising them all Conveniencies in the States belonging to her Son. Wherefore Ferdinando suspecting the Affections of the Firentines, and thinking it very dangerous to remain between Imola and Forli, especially as he was apprised of Piero’s Journey to Sarzana, retired under the Walls of Cefena, shewing great Marks of Fear in his March: For to avoid passing by Forli, he conducted the Army a more difficult and round-about Way over Hills, by Castro Caro, a Fort of the Firentines. A few Days after the News came that Piero had made a Treaty with the French, on which the Troops of that Republic immediately withdrew, and then Ferdinando directed his March towards Rome.

At the same Time Don Federigo, leaving Livorno, retired with the Fleet towards the Kingdom of Naples, where Alfonso began to find it very necessary, for the Defence of his own Kingdom, to recall those Forces he had sent with such great Hopes to attack the Dominions of other Princes: But his Affairs began to take as bad a Turn nearer Home; for he miscarried
ried in his Enterprize on Nettuno, and had brought his Army to Terracina, at the same Time that the French Fleet, commanded by the Prince of Salerno and Mons. de Serenon, appeared before Oflia. But they gave out they had no Orders to attack the Pope's Territories, and therefore landed no Men, nor seemed to have any Quarrel with the Pope, notwithstanding that Charles a few Days before had refused to admit to his Audience Cardinal Piccolomini of Siena sent to him as Legate.

When the News of Piero de' Medici's Convention arrived in Florence, every Breast was fired with high Indignation to see the Dominion of the Republic so diminished, and its Reputation so grievously wounded: Beside their Vexation for so great a Loss, they could not brook that Piero, without any Precedent from his Ancestors, without consulting the Citizens, and without any Decree or Authority of the Magistracy, should have alienated so valuable a Part of the Florentine Dominions. Nothing but Complaints and Murmurs against him were heard from the Citizens,
Citizens, who excited one another to recover their Liberties, whilst Piero's Adherents, struck with Terror, did not dare to take up Arms, or even offer any Thing in his Defence. The Republic was not able to defend Pisa and Livorno, and tho' they were not confident that they could remove the King from keeping those Fortresses, yet, to separate the Counsels of the Government from those of Piero, that at least it might not be taken for granted that the Power of the Public was vested in a private Person, they immediately sent a numerous Ambassy to his Majesty, chusing the most disaffected to the Grandeur of the Medici. Piero, well imagining that this was the first Step towards a Change of Government, took Leave of the King under a Pretence of seeing executed what he had agreed to, but in reality to endeavour with his Presence to put a Stop to those growing Disorders.

At the same Time that Charles moved from Sarzana towards Pisa, Lodovico returned to Milan, having first, with a Sum of Money, obtained the Investiture of Genoa
THE WARS IN ITALY.

Genoa for himself and Descendants, tho' it had been a few Years before granted to Giovanni Galeazzò and his Heirs: Notwithstanding which he departed dissatisfied, because the King had refused, contrary to his former Promise, to let him put Garrisons of his own Men into Pietra Santa and Sarzana, which, as they might facilitate his Acquisition of Pisa, a Project ever in his Thoughts, he pretended did belong to Genoa, but had been unjustly feized by the Florentines a few Years before.

As soon as Piero arrived at Florence, he found the Minds of most of the Magistrates exasperated against him, and even a Coldness in his best Friends; angry, no doubt, that he had so imprudently transacted Matters of the utmost Consequence contrary to their Advice.

The Citizens, in general, were highly incensed, and the next Day, the 9th of November, as he was going into the Palace where the supreme Magistracy resided, he was ordered by Jacopo Nerli, a noble and wealthy Youth, who at the Head of some others of the
the Magistracy stood armed at the Gates, not to enter. This Report being spread all over the Town, the Populace in an Instant took up Arms, and were the more enraged upon hearing that, at Piero's Instance, Pagolo Orsini was coming with his Men at Arms to his Assistance. Piero, destitute of Courage and Counsel, finding he could not get Admittance into the Palace, returned to his own House, where being informed that the Magistracy had declared him a Rebel, he flew with the greatest Precipitation to Bologna, whither he was followed by his two Brothers, Giovanni the Cardinal, and Giuliano, who were also attainted.

Giovanni Bentivoglio, who governed Bologna, expecting to find in others that Constancy of Mind, which he was not afterwards Master of himself in his Adversities, at the Sight of Piero reproached him bitterly for his Cowardice; upbarring him also with the bad Example he gave to others who had oppressed the Liberty of their Country, by retiring so shamefully, and relinquishing so much Power and Authority
authority without striking a Blow. Thus, thro’ the Rashness of an inconsiderate Youth, the Family of the Medici fell for the present from an almost sovereign Power, which they had exercised in Florence, for sixty Years successively; a Power first exercised, and by Permission, in a manner, of the Republic, by Cosimo, Piero’s Great Grand-Father, a Citizen of singular Prudence, and immense Riches; for which he was renowned in all Parts of Europe, but more so for his Magnificence, Liberality, and truly Royal Soul: For as he had more at Heart the immortalizing his Name, than providing for his Descendants, he expended above Four Hundred Thousand Ducats in building Churches, Monasteries, and other sumptuous Edifices, not only in his own Country, but in many other Parts of the World. His Grand-Son Lorenzo, a Man of excellent Abilities, and a great Statesman, was not less generous, tho’ not so rich; and had a more absolute Power, tho’ his Life was of a shorter Duration. The Italians, in general, and several foreign Princes, paid a great Regard to the Wisdom of his Counsels, the Want
Want of which more clearly appeared soon after his Death, for with him all Friendship and Concord in Italy seemed to expire.

The same Day the Change of Government was made in Florence the Pisans in a popular Manner presented themselves before the King, and, supported by some of the Courtiers, who affirmed their Request was just, begged his Majesty to restore them to their Liberty, which had been usurped by the Florentines, under whose cruel Treatment, and arrogant Dominion they had long groaned. The King, not rightly weighing the Importance of their Petition, but following the Advice of some of his Council, answered, contrary to his Agreement at Sarzana, that they should be satisfied. On which the People immediately took up Arms, pulled down from the public Places all the Florentine Standards, and very eagerly asserted their Liberty. The King, however, inconsistent with himself, hardly knowing what he had granted, ordered the Florentine Magistrates to remain, and exercise their usual Jurisdiction,
THE WAR IN ITALY. 183

Jurisdiction, and at the same time gave the old Castle to the Custody of the Pisans, keeping for himself the new Citadel of much more Importance.

These Events at Florence and Pisa confirm the Proverb, "That Men, when their ill Fate approaches, lose that Prudence which would have enabled them to prevent their evil Destiny." The Florentines, always distrustful of the Faith of the Pisans, though they had Reason to expect this Revolution, did not summon, as they usually did on the least Occasion, great Numbers of the principal Men of Pisa to come to Florence; nor did Piero de’ Medici, in so great a Danger, fortify the Market Place and the Palace with foreign Guards, as had been often practised on trivial Accidents, which Provisions would have put an effectual Stop to these Changes. But in these Affairs of Pisa, it is manifest that the Authority of Lodovico, who had carried on private Intelligence for this Purpose with some Pisans that were banished for their private Misdemeanors, gave Rife to this
this Revolt of the Pisans, who are by Na-
ture very great Enemies of the Florentine
Name. And the same Day Galeazzo San
Severino, his Minister, who accompanied
the King, incited the People to this Tumult,
which Lodovico expected would soon re-
duce that City to his Obedience; little
thinking, in how short a Time after, this
Revolution would prove the Occasion of
all his Miseries.

It is likewise well known, that some
of the Pisans communicating the Night
before their Intentions to the Cardinal of
San Piero in Vincola, he, who, perhaps,
ever before had been the Author of pa-
cific Counsels, very gravely told them,
they ought not to be carried away with a
superficial Notion at the Beginning of
Things, but should maturely weigh what
Consequences they might in Process of
Time produce. He observed to them that
Liberty was precious, and much to be
coveted, nay at all Events to be procured,
when there was any Appearance of main-
taining it: But that Pisa, a City depopu-
lated and poor, was not in a Condition to
defend
THE WARS IN ITALY. 185

A. D. 1494.

defend itself against the superior Force of the Florentines: That it was a very fallacious Way of reasoning to promise themselves that the Authority of the French King would be sufficient to preserve them: For allowing the Florentine Money to be less prevailing than it was, yet the Articles of Sarzana were so much in the King's Favour, that he could not continue to assist them for any Time: Besides, the French were not always to be in Italy, and if from past Events we may form Conjectures of the future, it would be very imprudent to hazard being exposed to continual Dangers, without a Prospect of continual Resources to oppose them, and with uncertain Hopes to enter into a certain War with a more powerful Neighbour, without being able to assure themselves of any real Succours; because they depended on the Will of others, and, what is more, upon many various Accidents to which human Affairs are liable: And should they even obtain them, this would not avert, but rather increase the Calamities of a War; for they would be then annoyed by the Soldiers of the Enemy, and
and burthened by those of their Friends; for these last would consider, that they did not fight for their own, but for the Empire of another; the Consequence of which must be, that they would only change one Slavery for another: For no Prince would chuse to be at the Trouble and Expence of a War, which, on account of the Riches and Vicinity of the Florentines, who, whilst they had any Spirit left, would never cease to molest them, could not be carried on without vast Difficulty. During this Confusion, Charles departed from Pisa towards Florence, not well determined in himself how to act with the Pisans. He halted at Signa, Seven Miles from Florence, to give Time for allaying the Tumults in that City, where the People had not laid down their Arms since the Expulsion of Piero de' Medici; and that he might be joined by Aubigny, for whom he had sent, in order to make his Entry into Florence with the greater Terror; and had ordered him to leave behind the Artillery at Castro Caro, to dismiss the Five Hundred Italian Men at Arms, which were
THE WARS IN ITALY.

were in his Pay in Romagna, and also of the Duke of Milan; so that of Sforza's Men the King was accompanied only by Count Gajazzo, and Three Hundred Light Horse.

By many Indications it was conjectured, that the King's Intention was to induce the Florentines by the Terror of his Arms to yield him the absolute Dominion of their City; nor could he sufficiently disguise this Design to their Ambassadors, who several times made their Application to him at Signa to settle the Manner of his Entry, and put the finishing Hand to the Treaty in Agitation. Charles was, no doubt, greatly irritated against the Florentines, and highly resented the Opposition made, though it was plain the Republic had no Hand in it, and the City had been very solicitous to vindicate itself against the Charge: But their Justification was not admitted, because his Ministers, as was imagined, thought it would be an Error in Politics to lose the Opportunity of seizing on so important a Town; whilst others, moved by Avarice, expecting to enrich
THE HISTORY OF

enrich themselves with the Plunder, fomented the King's Indignation. And the whole Army was clamorous, and eager to have them punished as an Example to others for being the first in Italy who had presumed to resist the Power of France. There were not also wanting several of the chief Men in his Council, who persuaded him to restore Piero de' Medici, particularly Mons. Brescia, Brother to the Duke of Savoy, who was induced by private Tyes of Friendship and Promises; so that the King, either moved by the Persuasions of those Counsellors, in Opposition to the Bishop of St. Malo, or hoping to terrify the Florentines into a Compliance with his Will, or that he might have the fairer Opportunity of taking what Part he thought fit on any sudden Emergency, wrote a Letter to Piero, and ordered Mons. Filippo to write him another, inviting him to come into the Neighbourhood of Florence, where, in consideration of the good Disposition he had shewn in delivering up the Forts, and of the Friendship which had subsisted betwixt their Fathers, it had been resolved to reinstate him.
him in his Authority. The Letters did not find him at Bologna, as the King had imagined; for Piero, affronted at the rough Speeches of Bentivoglio, and apprehensive of being pursued by the Duke of Milan, and, perhaps, by the King of France, attended by his ill Fate, was departed for Venice, whither the Letters were forwarded by the Cardinal his Brother, who had stayed at Bologna.

In Florence they were very jealous of the King's Intentions; but as they found themselves without Forces, or Hopes to make an Opposition, it was thought advisable, as less dangerous, to admit him into the Town, hoping by some means or other to appease him. To be prepared, however, against all Events, they ordered many of the Citizens to fill their Houses privately with Country People of the Florentine Dominions, and, dissembling the Reason, commanded the General Officers in their Pay to come into Florence with a good Number of their Soldiers, and all their Subjects, both in Town and Neighbourhood, to be alert and ready to take up Arms.
Arms at the Toll of the great Bell of the public Palace.

The King made his Entry in great Pomp, at the Head of his Army, on Horseback, the French and the Florentines vying with each other in Magnificence. His Majesty appeared like a Conqueror, his Horse as well as himself in Armour, with his erected Lance resting on his Thigh. A Treaty was immediately set on Foot, but attended with many Difficulties: For besides the immoderate Regard professed by many of the King's Followers to Piero de' Medici, and the exorbitant Demands of Money, Charles openly required the Dominion of Florence; alleging that, by coming in that armed Manner, he had gained it lawfully according to the Rules of War practised by the French. At last he receded from this Point, but yet insisted upon leaving behind him Deputies of the long Robe, a Name given in France to Doctors and gowned Men. By this Means, according to the French Institution, he might have pretended to be invested with a perpetual
THE WARS IN ITALY.

petual Kind of Jurisdiction. On the contrary, the Florentines were most obstinately bent to preserve their Liberty entire in spite of all Dangers. In treating with such different Views and Interests, the Spirits of each Party became more and more heated and irritated, yet neither of them shewed any Inclination to decide the Controversy by the Sword. For the Florentine People, who had Time out of Mind applied themselves to mercantile Affairs, and knew little of military Exercises, and had within their Walls a very powerful King with so great an Army, composed of strange and fierce Nations, stood in vast Awe and Dread. On the other hand, the French were under no small Apprehensions of a very numerous People, who had shewn greater Signs of desperate Boldness on the Day that the Government was changed than could have been imagined: Besides, it was rumoured, that at the Toll of the great Bell an innumerable Multitude of Men was to pour in upon them from all the circumjacent Country; and the mutual Fear in which they stood one of another being augmented by
by false Reports, each Side tumultuously ran to Arms, but never came to Blows nor gave any Provocation.

The King's Scheme concerning Piero de' Medici did not succeed: For Piero, divided betwixt the Hopes of being restored, and Fear of being delivered up to his Adversaries, produced his Letters to the Venetian Senate, desiring their Advice. Nothing certainly is more necessary, and at the same Time more dangerous in weighty and momentous Reflections, than to ask Advice; not is it to be doubted but that Counsel is less necessary to the Prudent than to the Imprudent; and yet that the Wise reap very considerable Advantage from Advice. For where is the Man of such consummate Prudence, as always to consider and understand every thing of himself, and amidst a Contrariety of Reasons to discern always the best? Again, what Assurance has he who demands Counsel of being faithfully advised? For he who gives Counsel, if he be not very faithful or affectionate to the Person who consults him, will be induced not only on every interesting
ing Occasion, but by every small Advantage, for every slight Satisfaction, frequently to direct his Advice to the End which best answers his Purpose, or suits his Temper; and those Motives being oftentimes unknown to him who wants Advice, it requires a good Share of Prudence to discover the Perfidiousness of such Council. This was the Case of Piero de' Medici, for the Venetians apprehending that his Return would facilitate the King's Designs to reduce the Affairs of the Florentines to his own Management, which, for their own Interest, would be extremely disagreeable to them, and consulting themselves rather than Piero, effectually persuaded him not to trust his Person in the Power of the King, who thought himself injured by him. And to work upon him the more effectually to follow their Advice, they offered to take the Charge of his Affairs, and to lend him, when the Times would permit, their Assistance for restoring him to his Country. And not content with this, if it be true what was afterwards reported, they very secretly placed a Guard upon
But in the mean Time the Animosities in Florence increased on all Sides, and were almost come to an open Rupture: The King would not recede from his last Demands, and the Republic was resolved not to give the intolerable Sums he required, nor consent to allow him any Sort of Jurisdiction or Pre-eminence in their State.

These Difficulties, thought unsurmountable without the Force of Arms, were at last removed by the Courage and Resolution of Piero Capponi, one of the Citizens appointed to treat with the King; a Man of great Spirit, and highly esteemed in Florence on account of these Qualifications, and because he was by Birth of an honourable Family and descended from Persons who had born a considerable Sway in the Republic. Capponi and his Colleagues being one Day in the King's Presence, while one of the royal Secretaries was reading over the immoderate Articles which
which were proposed as the ultimate Propositions on the King's Part, he fell in a Passion, and violently snatching the Paper out of the Secretary's Hand, tore it to Pieces before the King's Face; adding in a high Tone of Voice, "Since you demand such dishonorable Conditions, found your Trumpets, and we will found our Bells:" By which he intended as much as if he had said in plain Words, "Let the Differences be decided by Arms."

With this Speech, and with the same Air of Indignation, followed by his Colleagues, he abruptly left the Room. Certain it is, that these Words, from the Mouth of a Citizen known to Charles and the whole Court, for but a few Months before he had been the Florentine Ambassador in France, struck them all with such Astonishment, especially as they did not believe that he durst be so bold without a Cause, that they called him back, and desisting from those Demands which had been refused, an Agreement was made between the King and the Florentines, to the following Purport: That, all past Offences being forgiven, the City of Florence should be regarded
garded as a Friend and Confederate, and receive perpetual Protection of the Crown of France: That the King for his Security should keep in his Hands the City of Pisa, and the Town of Livorno, with all their Forts, but be obliged to restore them without any Expence to the Florentines, as soon as he should have finished his Enterprize on the Kingdom of Naples; which was understood to be finished, whenever the King should have reduced the City of Naples, or made a Composition by a Peace, or by a Truce for at least two Years, or should, for any other Reason, withdraw his Person out of Italy: That the Governors should at present take an Oath to restore the said Places, on any one of the above-mentioned Events; and that in the mean Time, the Dominion, Jurisdiction, Government, and Revenues of the said Towns should belong to the Florentines as before: The same Conditions to be observed with regard to Pietra Santa, Sarzana, and Sarzanello; but as to the Pretensions of the Genoese on those Places, it should be left to the King to procure a Decision of their Differences either by Agreement or by Justice,
Justice, but if they were not terminated by him within the above-mentioned Time, he should restore them to the Florentines: That the King might leave in Florence two Ambassadors without whose Intervention nothing should come under Debate concerning the said Enterprize while it lasted, nor should the Republic have any Power to choose a Captain-General of their own Troops, within the said Term, without his Participation. That all the other Towns which had been taken, or had rebelled, should immediately be restored to the Florentines, who were permitted to recover them by Force of Arms, if they should refuse to receive them: That within fifteen Days they should present the King with a Subsidy of 50,000 Ducats towards his Expedition, 40,000 more in March, and 30,000 in June: That the Rebellion of the Pisans, and all other Offences committed since, should be pardoned: That Piero de' Medici, and his two Brothers should have their Attainder reversed, and their Effects restored, on condition that Piero should not approach within a Hundred Miles of the Borders of the Republic,
THE HISTORY OF
A. D. 1494.

(this was designed to prevent his settling in Rome) nor his Brothers within a Hundred of the City of Florence. These were the principal Articles of the Convention between the King and the Florentines, which, after Stipulation according to Form of Law, were published with great Ceremony in the Cathedral in Time of Divine Service, where the King, at whose Instance this was done, and the Magistrates of the City, prostrated before the high Altar, solemnly swore to observe them, in the Presence of the Court and all the People of Florence.

Two Days after Charles left Florence, where he had stayed ten Days, and proceeded to Siena. This City was in Confederacy with the King of Naples, and the Florentines, and had submitted to their Authority till the Journey of Piero to Sarzana obliged the Citizens to consult their own Safety amongst themselves. The City of Siena is populous, has a fertile Territory, and, next to Florence, had long obtained the Name of the most powerful State in Tuscany: It was governed by its own Magistrates, but in such a Manner, that the Citizens
Citizens were rather amused and pleased with the Name of Liberty, than enjoyed the Effects of it: For the People, divided into a Multitude of Factions or Bodies, by them called Orders, submitted to that Party which, according to the Events of the Times, or by Favour of foreign Potentates, was most powerful. At this Time the Order of the Monte del Nove was uppermost.

Charles, after staying a very few Days at Siena, left a Garrison, because that City was known in antient Times to be devoted to the Empire, and therefore suspected. He then directed his March towards Rome, growing every Day more and more insolent from his Successes, hitherto far beyond Expectation: As the Season was fair and favourable more than usual for the Time of the Year, he determined, without loss of Time, to pursue his good Fortune: He was now become terrible not only to his avowed Enemies, but also to his Allies, as well as to those who had given him no Sort of Provocation. For both the Venetian Senate, and the Duke
Duke of Milan, astonished at this Rapidity, imagined, especially, by the King's taking Possession of the Florentine Castles, and leaving a Guard in Siena, that his Thoughts did not terminate in the Acquisition of Naples: Therefore, to obviate the common Danger, they began to treat among themselves of a new Confederacy, which they would sooner have brought to Perfection, if, as many had expected, Charles had met with a greater Resistance at Rome.

It had been settled, that the Duke of Calabria, who was join'd by the Pope's Troops in the Neighbourhood of Rome, and by Virginio Orsini with the Remainder of the Aragonian Army, should make a Stand at Viterbo, to prevent the King from advancing; which Place was very proper for that Purpose, besides other Reasons because it was surrounded by the Pope's Territories, and lay near the States of the Orsini. But all the Country about Rome being in Confusion by the Excursions of the Colonias from the other Side the Tyber, and the Impediments which from Ostia were laid on Convoys
THE WARS IN ITALY. 201

the Convoys of Provisions which were used to be brought by Sea to Rome, the Duke had not Resolution enough to wait at Viterbo: Besides he doubted very much of the Pope’s Intentions; for ever since the Revolution of Piero de’ Medici’s Affairs, he had begun to listen to French Proposals, which were brought him by Cardinal Ascanio, who, before he would venture to come to Rome, insisted on the Pope’s sending to Marino, a Town of the Colonnas, his Son the Cardinal of Valenza, as a Pledge for his Security. Ascanio left Rome without bringing Alexander to any Determination: For he was divided between a Diffidence of the King’s real Intentions towards him, and the Fear of his Forces: Yet as soon as Charles was set out from Florence, he had begun again to treat of an Agreement, and sent to him the Bishops of Concordia and Terni, and Doctor Gratiano his Confessor, with Instructions to agree at the same Time for himself and for Alfonso. But the King’s Intention was different, for he was determined to agree only with the Pope, and therefore, changing his Mind, sent to him Mons. de la Tremouille, and the President Gannay.
Gannay. Cardinals Ascanio, and Prospero Colonna came to Rome on this Occasion: But the Pope, immediately on their Arrival, whatever might be the Cause, sent for the Duke of Calabria to come into Rome with his whole Army, and ordered them immediately to be arrested, and conveyed to the Mole of Adrian, formerly called Castle Crescentio, now Castle Sant' Angelo, demanding of them the Restitution of Ostia. During these Tumults the Aragonians secured the French Ambassadors: But they were immediately released by the Pope's Commands, as were also in a few Days Ascanio and Prospero, but with an Injunction to quit Rome that Instant. He then sent to the King, who had halted at Nepi, Cardinal San Severino, with a Commission to treat of his own particular Affairs, yet with a very irresolute Mind; sometimes he resolved to stay in Rome and defend himself, and then was pleased to see Ferdinando and the Generals fortify the weakest Places; at others, judging that Measure impracticable on account of the Want of Provisions, which were intercepted by the Garrison of Ostia, the
the incredible Number of Strangers, unsettled in their Opinions, and the various Factions amongst the Romans, he inclined to abandon that City, and obliged all the Cardinals to give it under their Hands to follow him: Then, alarmed at the Difficulties and imminent Dangers, he would shrink from his last Resolution, and again embrace a Scheme of Composition.

But whilst he was in this Uncertainty, the French made Excursions on this Side the Tiber all over the Country, seizing sometimes on one Village, sometimes on another; and their Progress was so rapid, that none of those little Places offered to make any Resistance, but all gave way to their Violence, and their Example was followed by others, who had very good Reasons for opposing them. Even Virginio himself, though bound by so many Ties of Faith, Obligations and Honours to the House of Aragon, being Captain-General of the royal Army, Great Constable of the Kingdom of Naples, and allied to Alfonso by a very near Affinity, his Son, Gian Giordano, being married to a
natural Daughter of the late King Ferdinando, and who had received of them States in their Kingdom, and so many Benefactions, yet, forgetting all these Favours, and that the Calamities of the Aragonians owed their first Rise to the espousing his Interest, thought it no Crime, if he remained himself in the Service of the King of Naples, to permit his Children to agree with the King of France. This was a surprizing Step, and which amazed the French, who were not accustomed to the subtle Distinctions of the Italian Soldiery. It was stipulated, that the King's Troops should be received, victualled, and have a free Passage through Virginio's Dominions that were in the Pope's Territories: And to deposite Campagnano with some other Villages in the Hands of Cardinal de Gurce, who promised to restore them, as soon as the Army should leave the Roman Territory: And Count Pitigliano, with others of the Orsini Family, came into the same Agreement.

As soon as these Conditions were signed, Charles quitted Nepi, and removed to Bracciano,
THE WARS IN ITALY. 205

ciano, the principal Town in Virginio's Jurisdiction; and though the Season was unfavourable, and the Difficulties were increased, he dispatched Monf. de Ligni and Ives d'Alegre, with Five Hundred Lances, and Two Thousand Swifs to Ostia, with Orders to pass the Tiber, join the Colonnes, who scoured all the Country, and force their Way into Rome; which they had good Reason to hope they might compass, by the Assistance of the Romans of their own Faction. By this Time Civita Vecchia, Corneto, and at last all the Roman Territory was reduced to the Devotion of the French, which so alarmed the Romans, that all the Court, and all the Roman People cried out eagerly for an Accommodation.

The Pope, therefore, having brought his Affairs to a very dangerous Crisis, and finding every Day less Probability of making an effectual Defence, would have willingly submitted; but then, considering he had been one of the first who incited the King to undertake this Expedition, and afterwards, without any Provocation, had employed
employed his Authority, Counsel and Arms to make an obstinate Resistance, he reasonably concluded, that the King would no more keep his Word with him, than he himself had kept his with the King. His Terror was increased on observing that the Cardinal of San Piero in Vincola, and many other Cardinals his Enemies, were in high Authority with Charles, at whose Persuasion, and in regard to his Name of Most Christian, together with the known Steadiness of the French in religious Engagements, and from the Expectations which are always greater from those who are known to us only by Name, he feared Charles would attempt to reform the Abuses in the Church, as was then the common Subject of Discourse. This Thought was above all Things terrible to Alexander, when he recollected in what an infamous Manner he had mounted the Throne, and how he had continued to exercise his Function by Manners and Arts entirely answerable to so detestable a Beginning. However, his Suspicions were somewhat abated by the Diligence and efficacious Promises of the King, who, above
above all Things desirous to hasten his March to Naples, was willing to remove all Difficulties that the Pope might give him, and therefore sent anew three Ambassadors, the Seneschal of Beaucaire, the Marshal de Gien, and the President Gannay. They endeavoured to persuade his Holiness, that it was not the King's Intention to interest himself in what concerned the Pontifical Power; but being desirous of entering Rome, demanded nothing more than what was necessary for his Security of passing forwards, and made Instances that he would freely consent to the King's Entrance into Rome, which he had much at Heart, not because it was not in his Power to effect it by Force, but because he might not lie under a Necessity of failing in the due Respect which his Ancestors had ever paid to the Dignity of the Roman Pontiffs: That immediately upon the King's Entrance he would find all their Differences converted into the most sincere Love and Friendship.

Alexander was greatly troubled at these Demands, to comply with which was,
was, in reality, to deprive himself at once of the Assistance of his Friends, and put himself entirely in the Power of an Enemy, by receiving him into Rome before he had settled his Affairs with him: Yet, at last, finding that of all the Dangers the consenting to these Demands was the least, he ordered the Duke of Calabria and his Army to quit Rome, having first obtained a Pass from the King of France, that he might retire with Safety out of the Ecclesiastical State. But Ferdinando, with Contempt refusing the Pass, marched through the Gate of San Sebastian the last Day of the Year, 1494, at the same Instant of Time that the French Army entered the Gate del Popolo, with the King at their Head, armed, with his Lance on his Thigh, in the same Manner that he entered Florence.

The Pope, full of Anxiety and Fear, had retired into Castel Sant' Angelo, accompanied by none of the Cardinals except Battista Orsini, Ulivieri, and Caraffa, a Neapolitan. But the Cardinals del Vincola, Ascanio, those of the Colonna Family, and
and Savelli, with many others, resorted to the King, and pressed him to move from the Pontifical See a Pope loaded with such Vices as rendered him odious and detestable to the whole World, and to procure another Election. They represented that it would not be less glorious for him to free the Church of God from the Tyranny of a wicked Pope, than it was for Pepin and Charlemagne, his Ancestors, to free the Popes of holy Life from the Persecution of their unjust Oppressors. They laboured to convince him, that this was not less necessary for his own Safety than desirable for his Glory. For how could he ever trust to the Promises of Alexander, a Man by Nature fraudulent, infatiable in his ambitious Desires, shameless in all his Actions, and, as Experience taught, bearing an implacable Hatred to the French; and that his Reconciliation at this Juncture was not voluntary, but extorted by Necessity and Fear. The King, induced by these Arguments, as also because the Pope, amongst other Conditions, refused to deliver up Castel Sant' Angelo, which was demanded as a Pledge for the
Performance of his Promises, twice gave Orders for the Artillery to be brought from the Palace of San Marco, where he lodged, and planted against the said Castle. But Charles was not inclined by Nature to offend the Pope; wherefore those had the greatest Sway in his Privy Council who had been corrupted by Gifts and Promises into Alexander's Interest, and at last a Treaty was concluded on these Conditions:

**THAT** there should be a perpetual Amity and Confederacy between the Pope and the King for their mutual Defence: That for his Security the Castles of Civita Vecchia, Terracina, and Spoleti (though this last was never given up) should be configned to him, but restored on the Reduction of Naples: That Alexander should bury in Oblivion all Injuries received from those Cardinals and Barons who were Subjects of the Church, give him the Inveftiture of the Kingdom of Naples, and deliver to him Gemin the Ottoman. It is, it seems, a cruel Custom among the Turks for a new Sovereign to establish his Empire with the Blood of his Brothers or nearest Relations. Wherefore
THE WARS IN ITALY. 211

Wherefore Gemin, after the Death of his Father Mahomet, to avoid the cruel Persecution of his Brother Bajazet, who wanted to destroy him, had retired to Rhodes, from whence he was sent into France, and at last put into the Power of Pope Innocent*. Bajazet, taking the Advantage of the Avarice of the Popes, in order to keep his Empire in Peace with the Christian Powers, paid annually to Alexander, under the Pretext of Alimony, and Charges of guarding him, Forty Thousand Ducats, as an Inducement not to set him at Liberty, or deliver him up to other Princes that might be his Adversaries. Charles’s Drift in demanding Gemin was to facilitate his Undertaking against the Turks, which, elated with vain Adulation, he had resolved on, as soon as he should have brought the Neapolitans under his Obedience. The King’s Officers had seized in Romagna the last Forty Thousand Ducats, remitted by Bajazet, which were in the Hands of the Prefect of Rome at Senigaglia: The King now

* Gemin fled to Rhodes for Shelter, but Pierre Dubuisson, the Grand-Master, on his Arrival, put him in Prison, and afterwards sent him well guarded into Provence, from whence he was carried to Rome,
now insisted that no Restitution should be required, or Censures inflicted on account of that Affair. By the last Article it was stipulated, that the Cardinal of Valenza should follow the King, as Apostolical Legate, for three Months; the Design of which was, that he should remain as an Hostage for the Performance of his Father's Engagements.

This Agreement being signed, the Pope returned to the Pontifical Palace of the Vatican, and with the Pomp and Ceremonies, usual on such solemn Occasions, for the Reception of great Kings, he received the King in St. Peter's Church, where, first on his Knees, according to ancient Custom, he kissed his Holiness's Feet, and then his Face. Another Day he assisted at the Pontifical Mass, and took his Place, which was after the first Cardinal Bishop, and, according to the antient Rites, served the Water when the Pope washed his Hands. Alexander, to perpetuate the Memory of this Action, had it painted in a Gallery of Castel Sant' Angelo. He also, at the King's Request, created Cardinals the Bishops
THE WARS IN ITALY.

Bishops of St. Male, and Mans, the last a Prelate of the Luxembourg Family, and gave him all the Demonstrations of a sincere and faithful Reconciliation.

CHARLES stayed in Rome about a Month, all the while sending Troops to the Borders of the Kingdom of Naples, which was full of Combustions: Before he left Rome, Aquila and the greatest Part of the Abruzzi had declared for him, and set up his Standard, and Fabritio Colonna had seized on the Districts of Albi and Tagliacozzo. Nor were there less Disturbances in other Parts of the Kingdom: For as soon as Ferdinando had quitted Rome, the Effects of the People's Hatred to Alfonso began to appear: The bad Usage they had so lately received from old Ferdinando was fresh in their Memory: They exclaimed vehemently against the tyrannical Oppression they had suffered under the late Kings, and of the Cruelty and Pride of Alfonso: They openly testified their Joy for the Arrival of the French; so that the Reliques of the old Anjouin Faction, tho' joined to the Memory of the
Imprisonment and Banishment of so many Barons at various Times by Ferdinand, a Conduct ever a powerful Inducement to effect Alterations in Governments, yet they were nothing in Comparison with other Causes; so ardent was the Disposition of all the People against Alfonso without other Motives.

As soon as the News of Ferdinand's quitting Rome reached Naples, Alfonso was seized with such a Panic, that, forgetful of the great Fame and Glory acquired by his long Experience in the Wars of Italy, and despairing to weather so great a Storm, he at once resolved to abandon his Kingdom, and renounce his Title and Authority, in favour of Ferdinand. He had, perhaps, some Hopes that himself, who was so odious, being removed, and his Son, a young Prince of great Expectation, become King; a Prince, who for his Goodness was no ways obnoxious, but rather loved by the People, such a Change might allay the great Eagerness of revolting to the French; a Measure which if anticipated might have pro-
produced some Effect, but being deferred to a Time in which Affairs were not only in a vehement Commotion, but on the Brink of Desolation, was no longer sufficient to prevent so great a Ruin.

A Report prevailed, (if we may give any Credit to such Reports without the Imputation of Superstition) that the Ghost of old Ferdinando appeared three different Nights to Jacopo, chief Surgeon to the Court, and first with mild Words, but afterwards with many Threats, ordered him to go to Alfonso, and tell him in his Name to relinquish all Hopes of resisting the French, it being decreed that his Progeny, after experiencing Misfortunes innumerable and various, should at last be stript of so famous a Kingdom, and the Family extinguished: That the only Cause was their numberless Enormities, especially that aggravated Barbarity which at Alfonso's Instigation he had committed near Naples, in the Church of San Leonardo in Chiaia, when he returned from Pozzuolo: As no other Particulars were mentioned, it was
was conjectured that Alfonso had privately persuaded him to put to Death in that Place several Barons, who had been detained a long Time in Prison. But be that as it will, certain it is, Alfonso, tormented both Day and Night with Remorses of Conscience, could get no Rest, the Ghosts of these murdered Barons representing themselves to him in his Sleep, with the People in a Tumult, ready to take Vengeance. Almost distracted with these Reflections, he resolved at once to quit his Kingdom; imparting the Secret only to the Queen, his Mother-in-law, who could not prevail with him to wait a few Days. In vain she pressed him to consult his Brother and his Son; he was obstinate, and went on board one of the four light Gallies which he had loaded with Treasure a few Days before he had compleated the first Year of his Reign: But he shewed in parting as much Fear, as if he had been surrounded by the French, and starting at the least Noife, as tho' Heaven and the Elements had conspired in League against him, he fled to Mazara, a Town in Sicily, given
given him some time before by Ferdinand do King of Spain.

The King of France, in setting out from Rome, received the News of this Flight: When he came to Velletri, Cardinal Valenza eloped from him, and tho' the Pope put on an Air of Resentment, and offered any Satisfaction, yet it was thought he escaped by his Direction, that he might have it in his Power to perform or not his late Agreement. From Velletri the Van marched to Monte Fortino, a Village in the Campaign of Rome, and subject to Jacopo Conti, a Roman Baron, who first followed Charles, but afterwards, out of Hatred to the Colonnas, guided more by Passion than Honour, went into Alfonso's Service. This Place, tho' strongly situated, was by the Force of the Artillery taken in a few Hours, and all the Inhabitants put to the Sword, except three of Jacopo's Children, and a few more, who got into the Citadel, but at the Sight of the Artillery planted against it delivered themselves up Prisoners. The Army afterwards proceeded to Monte San Giovanni, that belonged
longed to the Marquis of Pescara, seated on the Borders of the Kingdom of Naples, in the same Campaign, a Place by Situation strong, well fortified, and provided with a numerous Garrison: For there were Three Hundred foreign Foot, and Five Hundred of the Inhabitants determined to defend themselves to the last, which made People imagine the French would be detained here for some Days. But after firing the Cannon for a few Hours, they gave the Assault in the King's Presence, who was come thither from Veruli, with so much Bravery, that they overcame all Difficulties, and took it by Storm the same Day, and prompted by their own natural Fury, and also to set an Example to others not to make any Opposition, made a vast Slaughter, and, after perpetrating all Sorts of Barbarities, they exercised their Cruelties against the Edifices by setting them on Fire. This Manner of making War not having been practised in Italy for many Ages, filled the whole Kingdom with vast Consternation. For hitherto after a Victory, in what Manner soever gained, the Cruelty of the Conquerors
The quercors proceeded no farther than to strip the Soldiers, and then set them at Liberty, to plunder the Places taken by Assault, and make the Inhabitants Prisoners till they had paid what Contribution was demanded; but the Lives of those were always spared who were not killed in the Heat of the Battle. This was all the Opposition and Trouble the King of France met with in the Conquest of so noble and fine a Kingdom, in the Defence of which there was not the least Appearance of Virtue, Courage, Conduct, Thirst of Honour, Strength or Fidelity. The Duke of Calabria, who after leaving Rome was retired from the Frontiers of the Kingdom, and after his Father's Flight had been invited to Naples, where he assumed the Authority and Royal Title with the usual Solemnity, tho' not with the usual Pomp and Rejoicings, mustered his Army, that consisted of Fifty Squadrons of Horse, and Six Thousand Foot, all picked Men, under the most renowned Captains in Italy, and made a Stand at San Germano to hinder the Enemy from advancing; which Place he chose for its Situation, it being on one Side covered
The History of 
A. D. 
1495. 
covered by high and rocky Mountains, on the other protected by a marshy Ground full of Water, and in Front it had the River Garigliano (called Liris by the Antients) tho' not deep enough in that Place to prevent sometimes its being waded. The Narrows of the Passage of San Germano had deservedly gained it the Name of one of the Keys of the Kingdom of Naples: From hence he sent a Body of Troops to the Top of the Mountain to guard the Pass of Cancelle. But his Army, already frightened at the Name of the French shewed no Sort of Resolution; for some of the Leaders were more concerned for the Safety of their Persons and Estates, than for that of the Kingdom, which they considered as lost, whilst others, desirous of Novelty, began to waver, not only in their Fidelity, but in their Courage. Nor were they without Apprehensions that, the whole Kingdom being in a high Ferment, the People might make some dangerous Commotion. Their Courage being overcome by these abject Considerations, as soon as Monte San Giovanni was taken, hearing that Marshal Gie' was marching to-
wards them with Three Hundred Lances and Two Thousand Foot, they shamefully quitted San Germano, and in such Conf\-ternation, that they left on the Road Eight Pieces of large Cannon, and retired to Capua.

The new King, trusting to the Love which the Inhabitants of that Town had professed to the Family of Aragon, and to the Strength of the Situation, it being fronted by the River Vulturino, of a great Depth in that Place, hoped he should be able to defend it, and by keeping his whole Force together, without lessening his Army by Detachments for other Places, that he might be able to preserve Naples and Gaeta. The French did not follow him in an united Body, but dispersed; proceeding rather as if they were on a Journey than a March: Every one straggled where he thought he could get most Plunder, and advanced without Col\-lours, Order or Command; yet they kept so close to the Enemy, that commonly some of the French at Night took up their Quarters in the same Villages that had been
been quitted in the Morning by the Aragonians.

But at Capua there was neither more Resolution, or better Fortune: For no sooner had Ferdinando lodged his Army there (which, since the Retreat from San Germano, was very much diminished) than he received Letters from the Queen, acquainting him, that the Loss of San Germano had occasioned such a Tumult in Naples, that unless he came in Person there was Danger of a Tumult. Ferdinando, after promising to return to Capua the next Day, took with him a few Friends, and rode to Naples, in Hopes that his Presence would be sufficient to free him from this Danger: But Giovanni Jacopo Trivulzi, to whom he left the Care of the City, had already underhand desired the King of France to send him a Herald, under whose Convoy he might approach his Majesty with Safety, on whose Arrival he, with some of the Gentry of Capua, went to Calvi, where the King was just arrived; notwithstanding that many others in the Town, who were disposed
THE WARS IN ITALY. 223

disposed to preserve their Allegiance to Ferdinando, with high Words opposed this Procedure.

Trivulzi came in his Armour, and being immediately introduced to his Majesty in that Array, spoke in the Name of the Capuans and Soldiers to this Purpose: That Ferdinando, whom they had ever served faithfully, whilst there were any Hopes left, not being any longer in a Condition to defend them, they were come to a Resolution to follow his Fortune, provided they were allowed honourable Conditions; adding, that he did not doubt but he should be able to bring Ferdinando himself to him, if he could be assured of a Reception suitable to his Dignity. The King very thankfully replied, he accepted the Offers of the Capuans and Soldiers, and should with Pleasure admit Ferdinando, provided he was apprised that he would not think of retaining any, though ever so little a Part, of the Kingdom of Naples, but be content with receiving States and Honours in the Kingdom of France.
It is a Matter of Speculation what should induce Giov. Jacopo Trivulzi, a brave Officer, and one who valued himself on being reputed a Man of Honour, to commit so great a Transgression: He himself gave out, that he had acted by Ferdinando's Direction, to try if he could procure some Composition of his Affairs with the French King. But when he found he was totally excluded from all such Hopes, and that the Defence of the Kingdom by Force of Arms was now become impracticable, it seemed to him not only lawful, but commendable to provide in Time for the Safety of the Capuans and Soldiers. But the common Opinion was very different: He was thought to have been desirous of a French Conquest, expecting, after the Reduction of Naples, the King would turn his Arms against the Duchy of Milan: For Trivulzi was born of a very noble Family at Milan, and not thinking that Lodovico Sforza paid him a Regard suitable to his Merit, either on account of the immoderate Attention to those of the Family of the San Severini, or
or for some other Reason, was entirely disgusted with him: And for this Reason many had suspected that, even at the Time he was with Ferdinando in Romagna, he advised him sometimes to proceed with more Caution than, perhaps, the Occasion required.

Before the Return of Trivulzi, the King's Quarters in Capua had been plundered by his Soldiers, his Horses carried away, and the Men at Arms had begun to disperse themselves in different Places. Virginio and Count Pitigliano, after sending to the French Camp for a Pass for themselves and for their Men, retired with their Regiments to Nola, which Town had been given to the Count by the Aragonians. Ferdinando was returning to Capua at the Time promised, having for the present composed the Neapolitans with the Hopes he had given them of defending that City: He was already come within two Miles of Capua, ignorant of what had passed in his Absence, when the Citizens in general, being apprised of his Coming, took up Arms to prevent his Entrance,
Entrance, and by common Consent some of the Nobility were deputed to desire him not to advance any farther, and let him know, that as himself having abandoned their City, Trivulzi General of his Forces being gone over to the King of France, his Quarters plundered by his own Soldiers, Virginio and Count Piti-gliano having quitted him, and almost all his Army being dispersed, Self-preservation had put them under a Necessity of submitting to the Conqueror. Ferdinando, after begging in vain, with Tears in his Eyes, to be admitted, returned to Naples, fully persuaded the rest of the Kingdom would soon follow the Example of Capua, in which he was not mistaken; for Aversa, a City between Capua and Naples, sent immediately their Deputies to Charles, with whom, it was manifest, the Neapolitans began also to treat. Wherefore the unhappy Prince, finding it to no Purpose to oppose such an impetuous Torrent of bad Fortune, summoned several of the Nobility and of the People into the Square of Caste Nuovo, which was the royal Habitation, and harrangued them with these Words. "
THE WARS IN ITALY.

"I appeal to God, and to all those who have had any Intimacy with me, if the only Reason for which I desired to ascend the Throne, was not to convince the World how much I am displeased and affected with the tyrannical Government of my Father and Grand-Father, and to recover by my good Actions that Love they had lost by their severe Administration: The ill Fate of my Family has not permitted me to gather this Fruit, much more honourable than to be King: For to reign, often depends upon Fortune; but to be a King, and to have no other View in being so than the Good of the Subjects, depends only on personal Virtue. Our Affairs are now reduced into a very narrow Compass, and we have more Reason to complain that we have lost our Kingdom thro' the Infidelity and shameful Cowardice of our Officers and Armies, than our Enemies to boast they have gained it by their own Valour; and yet I should not be destitute of Hopes, if we could make but a little Stand; for the King of Spain, and all the Italian Princes are preparing to come powerfully to our Aid, they having now opened
opened their Eyes, and being convinced on what they had not before considered, that the Fire which has broke out in our Kingdom, if not extinguished in Time, will also extend to their States. For my Part I don't want Courage to terminate my Reign and Life at the same Time, with that Glory that becomes a young King, lineally descended from so long a Succession of Kings, and the Expectations you have hitherto been pleased to entertain of me. But as this cannot be attempted without exposing our common Country to very great Dangers, I am rather inclined to give Way to bad Fortune, and conceal my Courage and Ardour, than, by endeavouring to preserve the Crown, draw those Miseries on my People, to avoid which only, I desired to reign over them. I advise and intreat you to send and agree with the King of France; and that you may do it without any Prejudice to your Honour, I freely absolve you from your Homage, and the Oaths of Allegiance, which a few Days since you took to me: This I counsel you to do, that by your Submission and Readiness to receive him you may strive to mitigate the
THE WARS IN ITALY. 229
the natural haughty Spirit of the French. A. D. 1495.
If their barbarous Customs should render their Government hateful, so as to make you wish for my Return, I shall be at hand to assist you, and always ready to expose my Life in any dangerous Enterprise. But should you find their Administration mild, neither this City or Kingdom shall ever receive any Disturbance from me: The Felicity of my People will assuage my Sufferings, and I shall receive still a greater Satisfaction if I should know you retain in Memory that neither as Prince or King I ever injured any one: That I never gave any Marks of Avarice or Cruelty: That I am not unfortunate through my own, but by my Ancestors Misconduct: That I am determined that none of my Subjects shall suffer for any Attempts I might make to preserve or recover my Kingdom, and that I am more affected at losing the Opportunity of mending the Faults of my Father and Grand-Father, than at the Loss of my Authority and Royal State. Tho' an Exile, deprived of my Country and Kingdom, I shall not think myself entirely miserable, if I knew you were convinced that these are my real Sen-
Sentiments, and were persuaded I should have followed the Example of my Great-Grandfather old Alfonso, and not that of Ferdinando and this last Alfonso.

This Speech could not fail of being heard with Compassion, and drew Tears from many. But the Name of the two last Kings was so odious to all the People and to almost all the Nobility, and so alluring the Desire of a French Government, that the Tumult still continued as high as ever; and as soon as the King was retired into the Castle, the Mob began to pillage his Stables in the Square, an Indignity he could not support: Wherefore he courageously, with a few Courtiers, came out to stop them, and such was the Respect paid, tho' by a rebellious People, to the Majesty of a Royal Name, that they all desisting from their Plunder retired from the Stables; then returning into the Castle he ordered all the Ships in the Harbour to be sunk and burnt, that they might not be of Use to the Enemy.
He began by some Tokens to suspect that Five Hundred German Foot, who guarded the Castle, intended to make him a Prisoner; wherefore he took a sudden Resolution to make them a Present of all the Effects that were reposited therein, and whilst they were busy in dividing the Effects, having first set at Liberty all the Barons who escaped the Cruelties of his Father and Grand-father, except the Prince of Rossano, and Count Pepoli, he went out thro' the Postern, on board the light Gallies that waited for him in the Port. He was accompanied by Don Federigo, the old Queen Confort to his Grand-Father, Joanna her Daughter, and a few Domestics, and landed in the Isle of Ischia, called by the Antients Enaria, thirty Miles from Naples, repeating often the Words of the Psalmist, till he loft the Sight of Naples, "Vain is the Watch of those who guard a City that is not guarded by God." But meeting every where with Difficulties, he was obliged at Ischia to make a Trial of his own Virtue, as also of the Ingratitude and Unfaithfulness which are commonly met
THE HISTORY OF

met with by those who suffer under the
Frowns of Fortune: For the Governor
of the Castle refused to admit him, unless
he would come in accompanied only by
one of his Followers. He agreed to it,
but had no sooner entered the Gates than
he seized the Governor, with such Vio-
ence, that both he and the others were
so terrified at his Fierceness, and the
Impression of Royal Authority, that the
King soon had the Governor and Castle
at his Devotion. When the News was
spread of the King’s Flight, every one
gave way as to a most impetuous Torrent
to the sole Fame of the Conqueror; and
Virginio and Count Pitigliano, with-
out any Resistance, were made Prisoners
at the Place whither they had retired by
Two Hundred Horse of Ligni’s Regiment,
wh’ they had with them Four Hundred
Men at Arms. They submitted, partly
apprehending themselves comprized in
the Pafs which their Friends advised them
to procure from the King; and partly
being struck with the fame Panic as
the rest. They were sent Prisoners to
the
THE WARS IN ITALY.

the Castle of Mondragone, and all their Equipages and People were plundered.

In the mean Time the Neapolitan Ambassadors, sent to make a Tender of their City to the King, met him at Aversa. Charles very generously granted them many Privileges and Exemptions; and the next Day, which was the Twenty-first of February, he made his Entry into Naples, where he was received with so much Joy and Applause, that it would be in vain to attempt the Description; both Sexes, People of all Ages, Conditions and Factions, joining in their Expressions of Satisfaction, as if he had been the Father or first Founder of their City, without excepting those, who, themselves or their Ancestors, had been exalted or benefited by the Aragonian Family. In this joyful Manner they all accompanied him to the Cathedral, from whence, as he was not in Possession of Castel Nuovo, he was conducted to his Quarters in Castel Capuano, the old Habitation of the French Kings. The Rapidity and wonderful Success of this Expedition surpassed
ed the Example of *Julius Cæsar*. Charles conquered before he saw, and with so much Ease, that in his whole Expedition he was under no Necessity of spreading a Tent, or breaking a Lance: Many also of his Expences proved needless, for his Fleet, which was equipped at a vast Charge, tossed about and shattered by Storms, was driven to the Isle of *Corsica*, and did not arrive on the Coasts of the Kingdom till *Charles* was Master of *Naples*. Such were the Effects of intestine Broils, which so blinded the established Wisdom of our Princes, that, with the highest Reproach and Derision of the Italian Soldiers, and to the very great Danger and Infamy of all, a famous and powerful Part of *Italy* was alienated from the Empire of the *Italians* to the Subjection of an Ultramontane Nation. For old *Ferdinando*, tho' born in *Spain*, yet as he was from his Infancy bred up in *Italy*, where he had been either King or Son of a King, and all his Children and Grand-Children, being born and educated at *Naples*, were justly deemed *Italians*.

*The End of the First Book.*
Francefco Guicciardini's

HISTORY

OF

The WARS in ITALY.

BOOK II.

THE CONTENTS.


During these Transactions in Rome and the Kingdom of Naples, the Sparks of a small Fire, destined to kindle up at last a very great Combustion,
THE HISTORY OF

A. D. 1495.

Combustition, to the Detriment of many, but principally of him who, by too great a Thirst after Dominion, had raised and maintained it, diffused themselves in other Parts of Italy. For though it had been agreed, while the King of France was at Florence, that he should keep Possession of Pisa till the Acquisition of Naples, but that the Jurisdiction and Revenues should belong to the Florentines, yet, at his Departure from Florence, he had made no Provision, nor left any Orders for the Observation of such an Engagement. The Pisans, therefore, finding themselves favoured by the French Commissary and Garrison, and resolving never more to return under the Florentine Government, had turned out the Officers and all the Florentines that remained in the Place, imprisoned some, and seized on all their Goods and Effects, and broke out into downright Rebellion, both in Shew and Fact. Then, to confirm themselves in their Revolt, they not only sent Ambassadors to the King, after he had left Florence, to recommend to him the Defence of their Cause, but, resolving to use their utmost Endeavours to obtain Assistance wherever
could be had, sent, immediately on their Rebellion, others to Siena and Lucca, which Cities, being very great Enemies to the Name of the Florentines, were overjoyed to hear of the Pisan Rebellion, and therefore joined together in furnishing them with a Sum of Money, and the Senefe immediately sent them some Horse. The Pisans sent Ambassadors also to Venice, to found the Mind of that Senate, by whom they were favourably received, tho’ they returned without Hopes of Assistance. But their greatest Expectations were from the Duke of Milan, not doubting but, as he had been the principal Author of their Revolt, he would be disposed to maintain it. Lodovico, though he pretended the contrary to the Florentines, secretly endeavoured to animate the Pisans by enticing Motives and Offers, and privately persuaded the Genoese to furnish the Pisans with Arms, and to send a Commissary to Pisa with Three Hundred Soldiers.

The Genoese, on account of their great Enmity to the Florentines, which arose from the Displeasure which they conceived
ceived at their Acquisition of Pisa, and from the Purchase which they made afterwards of the Port of Livorno in the Time of their Doge Tomafo Fregoso, and was, in the last Place, increased when the Florentines wrested from them Pietra Santa and Sarzana, were not only prepared for such an Undertaking, but had already seized on most of the Towns which the Florentines possessed in the Lunigiana, and were now, under a Pretext of the King’s Letter obtained for the Restitution of some confiscated Goods, intermeddling in the Affairs of Pietra Santa.

The Florentines making their Complaint of these Proceedings at Milan, the Duke answered, that by Treaties subsisting between him and the Genoese, it was not in his Power to prohibit them. Yet he endeavoured to satisfy them with fair Speeches; and while he amused them with vain Hopes, ceased not to act a quite contrary Part, in Hopes that if Pisa was not recovered by the Florentines, he might easily reduce it under his own Dominion, which he most ardently desired on account of the Quality of that City, and the Commodiousness
of its Situation. Nor was this ambitious Desire new in him, but began as far back as when being expelled from Milan, soon after the Death of his Brother Galeazzio, out of a Jealoufly which Madonna Bona, Mother and Tutorefs of the young Duke, entertained of him, he resided on the Borders of the Pisan for many Months. He had, besides this, another Motive from remembering that Pisa, before it fell into the Hands of the Florentines, had been governed by Giovan Galeazzo Visconte, the first Duke of Milan. He imagined, therefore, that it would be a glorious Achievement to recover what had been possessed by his Ancestors, and he flattered himself that he could pretend some Colour of Right, as if it had not been lawful for Giov. Galeazzio to bequeath by Will Pisa, acquired indeed by him, but at the Expence, and with the Forces of the Dutchy of Milan, to Gabrielmaria, his natural Son, in prejudice of the Dukes of Milan his Successors. The Pisans, not content with freeing their City from Subjection to the Florentines, were solicitous to get into their Possession the Towns in the Territory of Pisa,
THE HISTORY OF

A.D. 1495. Pisa, which almost all of them, as is usuall in such Cases, following the Authority of the Capital, received the Pisan Commis-
saries in the Beginning of the Rebellion, the Florentines at first making no Oppo-
sition, because they were employed on Aff-
sairs of greater Moment, as they had not yet compounded Matters with the King, and expected, that, after his Departure from Florence, he would take Care, as he had obliged himself by a public and solemn Oath, to redress these Disorders. But after they saw that he delayed the Remedy, they sent out their Troops, and partly by Force, partly by Agreement, recovered all that had been seized, except Cacchina, Buti, and Vicopisano, into which Towns the Pisans, not being sufficient to make Resistance everywhere, had withdraw their Forces. Charles inwardly was not displeased with these Proceedings of the Pisans, whose Cause was openly fa-
voured by many in his Court, some in-
duced out of Compassion, from an Im-
pression made before on the Courtiers of their severe Treatment, and others in Op-
position to the Cardinal of St. Malo, who appeared
THE WARS IN ITALY.

appeared to favour the Florentines. But above all the Senechal of Beaucaire, corrupted with Money by the Pirians, but much more because he could not bear to see the exorbitant Grandeur of the Cardinal, took Occasion, according to the Changes which happen in Courts, to disagree with the Cardinal, from the same Motive which had before prompted him to promote his Interest that he might have him for an Associate in the Depression of others. This Party, not having the Regard due to the Honour and Faith of a great King, represented to him that it was more for his Advantage to keep the Florentines under this Distress, and to preserve the Pirians in their present State, at least till he had acquired the Kingdom of Naples. The Persuasions of those Men prevailed with him; and, pursuant to this Advice, Charles laboured to feed both Parties with various Hopes, and before he left Rome had the Florentine Ambassadors introduced to him, that they might hear in his Presence the Complaints which the Pirians had to make against them.
BURGUNDIO Lolo, a Citizen of Pisa, and an Advocate of the Consistory in the Court of Rome, was their Orator. He most bitterly complained, "That the Florentines had kept the Pisans in an unjust and cruel Slavery for Eighty Years: That their City, which with many glorious Victories had extended its Empire as far as the Eastern Parts, and had been one of the most powerful and magnificent Cities in all Italy, was now by the Cruelty and Avarice of the Florentines reduced to the utmost Desolation: That it was almost destitute of Inhabitants, because the greater Part of the Citizens, not being able to bear so heavy a Yoke, had, of their own Accord, abandoned Pisa; and that they had taken the most prudent Resolution, was demonstrated by the Miseries of those whom Love to their native Country had kept at Home: That by the heavy public Taxes, and the private Extortions of the Florentines, they were spoiled of almost all their Substance, and had no Way to support themselves, because, by an unparallelled Inhumanity and Injustice, they had been prohibited to exercise
ercise Merchandising, or Arts of any Kind except mechanic, and were excluded from all Posts and Offices in the Florentine Dominions, even those into which Strangers were admitted: That their Oppressors were determined to destroy their Name, and extirpate their Race from the Face of the Earth: To compass which they had purposely omitted keeping up the Dikes, and cleansing the Ditches in their Territory; a Thing ever carefully attended to when they were their own Masters, as it would have been otherwise impossible to have prevented every Year that raging Sickness with which they are now afflicted, the Ground lying low, and subject to frequent Inundations. This Manner of Governing had occasioned in all Parts the Ruin of beautiful Churches, Palaces, and private and public Edifices, erected by their Ancestors with Magnificence and vast Cost: That it was no Disgrace to ancient and renowned Cities, if after a Series of many Ages they fell at last into Slavery; for it was by Fate ordained that all Things in this World should suffer Change: Therefore the Remembrance of
THE HISTORY OF

of their Nobility and Grandeur ought rather to have excited the Compassion than the Rage of their Conquerors, especially as every one ought to reflect, that the same ill Fortune may, nay must some time or other, bring all Cities and Empires to an End. But the Florentines, far from acting on such Principles, have so inhumanly harassed the Pisans, that, not able any longer to bear so heavy a Yoke, they are determined to a Man to quit their Country, or lay down their Lives, sooner than return under so iniquitous, so impious a Government. He then desired with Tears (which he begged his Majesty would look on as the Tears of all the Pisans poured out in Floods) humbly prostrated at his Feet, that he would recollect with how much Piety and Justice he had restored the Pisans to their Liberty, so long unjustly invaded; and that, as became a resolute and magnanimous Prince, he would preserve the invaluable Benefit he had procured, and chuse rather the Name of Father and Redemer of their City, than, by delivering them up to a detested Slavery, that of Minister of the Rapaciousness and Cruelty of the Florentines.
THE WARS IN ITALY.

To this Accusation Francesco Soderini, then Bishop of Volterra, and afterwards Cardinal, one of the Florentine Ambassadors, replied with no less Vehemence, and endeavoured to prove, That the Title of the Florentines to Pisa was good and legal: He said, they had purchased it, in the Year 1404, of Gabriello Maria Visconti, the then lawful Possessor: That the Florentines had no sooner taken Possession, than the Pisans by Violence expelled them, and put them under the Necessity of undertaking a long War, the End of which proved as successful as the Cause was just, nor less glorious to the Florentines for their Mildness than Victory: For when it was in their Power to let them perish with Hunger, their Troops entered the Town more loaded with Provisions than Arms: That the Pisans had never made any great Figure on the Continent: They had not been able to conquer even the petty State of Lucca, which lay so near them, but were always straitened within a very narrow Compass of Land. As for their maritime Power, it had been of no Duration: For by divine Justice
Justice, inflicted on them for their manifold Sins, infamous Deeds, and continued intestine Divisions, long before Pisa was bought by the Florentines, it was fallen from its Grandeur and Riches, depopulated, and become so weak, that one Jacopo Appiano, a mean Scrivener of the Territory of Pisa, had found Means to make himself Lord of it; and, after enjoying for several Years an absolute Dominion, left it as an Inheritance to his Children: That very little Advantage accrued to the Republic from that City, which was only convenient, as being near the Sea; for the Revenues were inconsiderable, and the Customs so small and trifling, that they hardly exceeded the necessary Expences; and the most that was collected was from foreign Traders, and by the Advantage of the Port of Livorno: Nor were the Citizens of Pisa excluded from Trade, civil Arts, or Employments more than any of the Inhabitants of the other Cities of their Dominion, who thought themselves happy under a moderate and mild Government, and desired not to change Masters, because they had not the Arrogance and the
THE WARS IN ITALY.

the Obstinacy so natural to the Pisans, that their Perfidiousness was become a standing Proverb all over Tuscany. If, after they were conquered, many voluntarily and hastily abandoned their Country, that must be attributed to their Pride, which would not permit them to accommodate their Spirits to their Strength and their Fortune, and not to the Administration, which was ever just and mild: Nor was Pisa, under the Florentines, diminished in Riches or Inhabitants: On the contrary, the Republic had, at a vast Expence, regained the Port of Livorno, without which that City would have been deprived of all Conveniences and Emoluments; and by making Pisa an University for the public Study of all the Sciences, by continually taking Care of the Ditches, and by many other Ways endeavoured to increase the Inhabitants. The Truth of this was so notorious that no false Complaints or Calumnies were capable of obscuring it. None found Fault with any one for desiring to mend his Fortune; but then it was the Duty of every one to bear with Patience what his Fate had allotted him: Otherwise all Sovereigns
ties and Empires would be thrown into Confusion, by making it lawful for every Subject to endeavour to set himself free. The Florentines, he said, did not think it necessary to take the Pains to direct Charles the most Christian King of France how to act according to his Duty in this Affair, for they assurred themselves, from his consummate Wisdom and Justice, that he would not suffer himself to be influenced by such vain Complaints and Calumnies, but would put himself in Mind of what he had promised before his Army was received into Pisa, and what he had so solemnly swore in Florence, considering that the greater and more powerful a King is, the more glorious it will be for him to employ his Power for the Preservation of Faith and Justice.

King of France favours the Pisans. It was manifest that Charles lent a more favourable Ear to the Pisans, and for their Benefit desired that there should be either a Suspension of Arms till the Neapolitan War was finished, or that till such Time the Florentines would consent to have all the Pisan Territory put into his Hands, assur-
ing them that, as soon as he was posses of Naples, he would without Delay execute all he had stipulated at Florence. But the Florentines, who now distrusted every Thing the King said, constantly refusedit both these Expedients, and insisted with great Earnestness on the Performance of his Promises.

Charles, to make a Shew as if he designed to content them, but with a real Intent to get out of them Seventy Thousand Ducats before the due Time of Payment, when he departed from Rome, sent the Cardinal of St. Malo to Florence, pretending to the Florentines that he had given him a Commission to grant Satisfaction for their Demands, but gave him private Instructions to feed them with Hopes till he had got the Money, and then at last to leave Things in the same Situation as he found them. The Florentines, tho’ strongly suspicous of the French, yet paid Forty Thousand Ducats, of which the Term of Payment was nearly expired; and the Cardinal, as soon as he had received the Money, went to Pisa, promising to restore to
to the Florentines the Possession of that City, but returned without Effect, alledging for his Excuse that he had found the Pisans so obstinate that his Authority was not sufficient to dispose them, and he had no Power to constrain them, because he had received no such Commission from the King, and that it did no way become him, who was a Priest, to take any Resolution from which might result an Effusion of Christian Blood. He took Care, however, to put fresh Troops into the new Citadel, and would have done the same in the old Citadel, had the Pisans consented to it. The Spirits and Forces of these People increased every Day, for the Duke of Milan judging it necessary that there should be a larger Garrison in Pisa, and a Commander of some Experience and Valour, sent thither Lucio Malvezzo with a Reinforcement of Troops, though with his usual Arts covering himself with the Name of the Genoese: And embracing all Occasions of fomenting the Troubles of the Florentines, that it might be more difficult for them to attack the Pisans, he joined with the Senese in hiring Jacopo d'Appiano
At this Juncture the Florentines were under no less Anxiety and Concern on account of their intestine Commotions. For, in order to settle the Government of the Republic on a new Foundation, they had, immediately after the Departure of the King from Florence, held a Parliament, which, according to their antient Custom, is an Assembly of the whole Body of the Citizens, in the Square of the public Palace, where every one freely and openly spoke his Sentiments on Matters proposed by the chief Magistrates, and had constituted a Kind of Polity which, under the Name of popular Government, tended in many Respects rather to put the Power in the Hands of a Few than to leave it free for universal Participation. This creating Uneasiness in many of the Citizens, who had
had proposed to themselves a greater Latitude, and the private Ambition of some of the principal Citizens concurring in the same View, it had been necessary to enter on a new Debate concerning the Form of Government; on which as the principal Magistrates, and most creditable Persons were one Day consulting, Pagol Antonio Soderini, a knowing and very reputable Citizen, made a Speech, as we have heard, in Substance as follows.

"It would certainly be very easy, most worthy Citizens, to demonstrate that the Writers on civil Affairs have not been so free of their Praisés on a popular Government as on that of a single Prince, or one under the Administration of the Nobles: Yet as the Desire of Liberty is of long standing, and in a manner natural in this City, and the Conditions of the Citizens suited to Equality, a very necessary Foundation of popular Governments, it ought, doubtless, to be preferred by us before all others. But this Dispute might seem superfluous, since, in all the Consultations that have been held for some Days past, it
it has been always determined, by universal Consent, that the City should be governed in the Name and by the Authority of the People. But the Diversity of Opinions arises from hence, that some Persons would freely accede in the Regulation of the Parliament to those Forms of a Republic by which this City was governed before its Liberty was oppressed by the Family of the Medici; others, of which Number I confess myself to be one, judging that a Government so regulated has in many Respects rather the Name than the Effects of a popular Government, and apprehensive of the Accidents which have frequently resulted from the like Governments, desire a more perfect Form, and such as is adapted to preserve the Harmony and Security of the Citizens; Blessings which neither Reason, nor Experience of Times past will suffer us to expect in this City, unless under a Government entirely depending on the Power of the People; but that Power must be reduced under due Order and Regulation, which consists principally in two fundamental Points: The first is, that all Places of Honour and Profit,
Profit, both in the City and throughout its Dominions, be from Time to Time bestowed by a general Council of all those who are by our Laws qualified for a Share in the Government; and no new Laws to pass without the Approbation of this Council. Hence, as it will not be in the Power of private Citizens, or any particular Conspiracy, or secret Intelligence, to bestow Places of Dignity and Authority, so none will be excluded from them by the Passions, or at the Pleasure of others, but they will be distributed according to the good Qualities and Deserts of Men; whence it will be the Care of every one, by Virtue and good Manners, and by rendering himself useful both in a public and private Capacity, to open himself a Way to Honours; as, on the other hand, every Person will think himself obliged to abstain from Vices, and doing Mischief to others, and, in short, from all such Actions as will render him odious in a well regulated City; nor will it be in the Power of One or a Few, by new Laws, and with the Authority of the Magistracy, to introduce another Government, because he can make
no Alteration in the present without the Consent of the Universal Council.

The second fundamental Point is, that Resolutions of Importance, that is, such as concern Peace or War, the Examination of new Laws, and, in general, all Things necessary to the Administration of such a City and Dominion, be debated by Magistrates particularly appointed to those Charges, and by a more select Council of prudent and experienced Citizens, deputed by the popular Council. For the Knowledge of State Affairs not falling within the Capacity of every one’s Understanding, it is necessary that they should be managed by such as are equal to the Charge. Besides, such Matters often require Dispatch and Secrecy, and therefore cannot come under the Consultations or Resolutions of the Multitude. Nor is it necessary for the Preservation of Liberty that such Affairs should be debated in very large Assemblies; for Liberty remains secure while the Distribution of Offices, and enacting new Laws depend on universal Consent.

Provision then being made with relation to these two Points, the Government becomes truly
THE HISTORY OF

truly popular, the Liberty of the City well
founded, and the laudable Form of the
Republic fixed and durable. There are,
indeed, many other Requisites which tend
to make the Government of which we
have been speaking more perfect, but
may more properly be deferred till another
Opportunity, that we may avoid too much
perplexing at first the Minds of Men still
labouring under Doubts and Jealousies
from the Memory of the late Tyranny,
and who, not being accustomed to debate
on free Governments, cannot thoroughly
understand what Resolutions it may be ne-
ceffary to take for the Preservation of Li-
berty. There are also some Particulars,
which being of less Moment may safely be
deferred to a more convenient Season, and
a more favourable Opportunity. The
Citizens will be more and more in Love
with this Form of a Republic, and being
by every Day's Experience rendered more
capable of knowing the Truth will desire
to have the Government continually po-
lished, and brought to entire Perfection.
In the mean time it will support itself by
the two fundamental Props aforesaid;
and how easily these may be provided, and the Advantages they will produce, is not only demonstrable by many Reasons, but will appear most evidently by Example. For as to the Government of the Venetians, though it belongs only to the Nobles, yet these Nobles are no other than private Citizens, and are so numerous, and of such different Qualities and Conditions, that it cannot be denied to partake in a great measure of a popular Form of Administration, and that it may in many Particulars be imitated by us: And yet it is founded chiefly on those two Bases, on which that Republic has for so many Ages preserved, together with its Liberties, Union, and civil Concord, and is advanced to so great a Height of Glory and Grandeur. Nor has the Union of the Venetians proceeded from their Situation, as many imagine; for in that Situation may possibly arise, and sometimes have actually arisen, Contentions and Seditions; but a Form of Government so well modelled, and so well proportioned in all its Parts, could never fail of producing such precious and admirable Effects. Neither ought we to be
THE HISTORY OF

A. D. 1495.

less moved by our own than by foreign Examples, but then we are to consider them in a contrary Light, for our City had never a Form of Government like to this, which has been the Cause that our Constitution has been always subject to frequent Changes, sometimes trampled on by the Violence of Tyrannies, at others suffering terrible Breaches from the ambitious and covetous Contentions of a Few, and sometimes shaken and endangered by the unbridled Licentiousness of the Multitude. And whereas Cities were built for the Quiet, and happy Living of the Inhabitants, the Fruits of our Governments, our Happiness, our Repose, have been Confiscations of Goods, Banishments, and Beheadings of our miserable Citizens. The Regulations introduced into the Parliament differ not from those of former Times in this City, which produced nothing but Contentions and Calamities, and after infinite Vexations, both public and private, at last ended in Tyrannies. These and no other were the Causes that of old moved the Duke of Athens to oppress the Liberty of our Ancestors; encouraged by these alone
alone Cosimo de' Medici, in later Times, subverted our Freedom. Nor does it deserve our Wonder, for when the Disposal of Offices, and the Enacting of Laws are daily transacted without Need of the common Consent, but depend on the Will of a lesser Number, the Citizens, in such a Situation, will be no longer intent on promoting the Good of the Public, but to gratify their Desires and private Ends, Parties will arise and particular Combinations, followed by Divisions of the whole City, the Plague and most certain Destruction of all Republics and Empires. How much more prudent then is it to avoid those Forms of Governments which, from Reason and Example among ourselves, we may be assured are pernicious, and to embrace such as, by Reason and Example of others, we may be satisfied are salutary and happy! For the mere Force of Truth obliges me to say that, in our City, a Government, constituted in such a Manner as that a few Citizens shall be invested with an immoderate Authority, will be a Government of a few Tyrants, who will be so much more pernicious than a single Tyrant,
Tyrant, as an Evil becomes greater and does more Mischief the more it is multiplied. And, if there were no other Causes, the Difference of Opinions, with the Ambition and various Desires of Men, would not afford any Hopes of a lasting Agreement; and Discord, which is highly pernicious at all Times, would be more so in the present Juncture, when you have sent into Exile so powerful a Citizen, are deprived of so important a Part of your State, and when all Italy is in the greatest Danger from a foreign Army within its Bowels. It has been very rarely, and perhaps never absolutely in the Power of the whole City to regulate itself according to its Discretion; but since by the divine Favour you have Power now put into your Hands, Heaven grant that you may not, to your own infinite Prejudice, and to the eternal Disgrace of the Florentine Prudence, lose the Opportunity of laying the Foundation of a free Government, so well regulated, as not only to render yourselves happy while it lasts, but to promise you its Perpetuity, and to leave for an Inheritance to your Children and Posterity such a Treasure,
THE WARS IN ITALY. 261

sire, and such a Happiness, as neither you nor your Progenitors ever possessed or knew." Such was the Speech of Pagol’ Antonio, to which Guid’ Antonio Vespucci, a famous Lawyer, and a Man of bright Parts, and of singular Dexterity, made the following Reply:

"If a Government, most worthy Citi-
zens, modelled according to the Form pro-
posed by Pagol’ Antonio Soderini, could produce the desired Effects with the same Ease as is delineated, he must certainly be a Man of a very corrupt Taste, who should desire any other Government in our Country; he would be a very bad Citizen, who was not ardently in Love with the Form of a Republic, in which Virtue, Merit, and Worth were the chief Recommendations to Notice and Honour. But I cannot comprehend what Grounds we have to hope that a Government wholly placed in the People will produce such great Benefits. I know well what Reason teaches, what Experience shews, and what the Authority of able Men confirms, that in so great a Multitude there are not to be found
that Prudence, that Experience, and that Order from which we can promise ourselves that the Knowing shall be preferred to the Ignorant, good Men to bad, Men of Experience to such as never had the Management of any Business. For as from a Judge of no Skill or Capacity we can expect no righteous Sentence, so from a People full of Confusion and Ignorance cannot be hoped, unless it be by Chance, any prudent or reasonable Choice or Resolution. And can we believe that in public Governments what can hardly be discerned by wise Men, who mind no other Business, should be known and distinguished by an unskilful and inexperienced Multitude, composed of Persons of so great a Variety of Talents, Conditions and Customs, and Men wholly taken up with the Business of their particular Callings? Not to mention that the immoderate Conceit which every one will have of himself, will excite them all to the Desire of Honours. Nor will Men be content in a popular Government with acquiring the honourable Benefits of Liberty, but will all aspire to the principal Degrees, and to intermeddle
in Debates on Affairs of the highest Importance and Difficulty. For the Modesty of giving Place to one who has more Knowledge, or more Merit, reigns less among us than in any other City; but persuading ourselves that of Right we ought all to be on a Level in every Respect, the Posts of Virtue and Worth, if left in the Power of the Multitude, will be confounded; and this ambitious Desire diffusing itself thro' the greater Part, will put more Power into the Hands of the less knowing and less deserving, for being many more in Number, they will have the greatest Power in a State constituted in such a Manner that Opinions are counted not weighed. What Security then will you have that, content with the Form that you would introduce at present, they will not quickly confound the Schemes, so wisely projected, by new Inventions, and imprudent Laws? Wise Men in such a Case have no Power to resist, and those Accidents are at all Times dangerous in such a Government, but will be much more so now, because it is the Nature of Men when they part from one Extreme, in which they have been held by Violence,
Violence, to run wilfully to the other Extreme, without stopping in the Middle. Thus he who gets free from a Tyranny runs head-long, if not stopped, into an unbridled Licentiousness, which may also justly be called a Tyranny; because a People too resembles a Tyrant, when it gives to the Undeserving, and takes away from the Meritorious; when it confounds Degrees and Distinctions of Persons: And its Tyranny is perhaps the more pestiferous, in proportion as Ignorance is the more dangerous, as it has neither Weight, nor Measure, nor Laws, than Malignity, which at worst is directed by some Regard, is restrained by some Bridle, and confined within some Bounds. Let not the Example of the Venetians move you, for, as to them, their Situation is of some Moment, and the inveterate Form of their Government is of great Weight; and Affairs there are regulated in such a Manner, as that the important Resolutions are more in the Power of Few than of Many; besides, their Parts not being by Nature perhaps so acute as those of our People, they are much easier to be quieted and contented. Nor is the Venetian...
Venetian Administration directed only under the Influence of those two fundamental Points which have been considered, but a perpetual Doge, and many other Regulations, greatly contribute towards its Perfection and Stability; whereas if any one should attempt to introduce such Regulations into this Republic, he would meet infinite Contradictions, because our City is not just now founded, nor is this the first Time of her Institution, and therefore inveterate Habits being often repugnant to the public Welfare, and Men suspecting that, under a Colour of preserving Liberty, some would seek to erect a new Tyranny, they are not easily disposed to receive Benefit from wholesome Advice: Thus in a Body infected and over-run with corrupt Humours, Medicines have not that kindly Effect which they operate on Bodies cleansed from those noxious Juices. From these Causes, and from the Nature of human Affairs, which commonly decline and alter for the worse, it is more to be feared that those imperfect Regulations, with which you propose to begin, will in Process of Time be entirely disorder'd, than to be hoped that either by Time or Opportunities
ties they will be brought to Perfection. But have we not Examples of our own, without seeking them from others? Was ever this City under the absolute Government of the People without being full of Divisions, without being shaken in every Part, and falling into Factions, which have at last made Way for a sudden Revolution in the State? And if we must needs look out for foreign Examples, why should we not remember that a Government wholly popular was the Cause of so many Tumults in Rome, that, had it not been for the military Skill, and Love of Arms, the Life of that Republic would have been but of a short Date? Why can't we put ourselves in Mind that Athens, a most flourishing and most powerful City, lost its Empire, and afterwards fell under Slavery to its own Citizens and to Foreigners, by no other Means than by managing the weighty Matters of State according to the Resolutions of the Multitude? But I see no Reason why it should be said that, in the Method already introduced into the Parliament, Liberty is not preserved intire: For all Affairs are referred to the Disposition of the Magistrates, who are not perpetual, but
THE WARS IN ITALY.

but changed, nor elected by Few, a but, being approved by many, have, according to the antient Custom of the City, their Election determined by Lot. How then can they be appointed by Facions, or at the Will of particular Citizens? We shall have a much greater Certainty that the most important Affairs will be examined and directed by the most knowing, most experienced, and the graveft Persons, who will manage them with an Order, Secrecy and Maturity quite different from thofe of the People, who are incapable of fuch Matters, and are sometimes moft profufe in Expences where there is the leaft Need, and at other Times, when there is the greatest Neeffity, to close and niggardly, as oftentimes, for the Sake of faving a very small Sum, to run thernselves into vaft Expences, and Dangers. The Weakneff of Italy, and in particular of our own Country, are, as Pagol Antonio has obferved, highly worth our Concern. How imprudent then would it be for us, when we have Need of the moft skilful and experienced Physicians, to put ourselves into the Hands of thofe who have leaft Skill and
and Experience! It is your Duty to consider, in the last Place, that you will keep your People in greater Quietness, and more easily induce them to take such Resolutions as are beneficial to themselves, and to every Individual, by giving them a moderate Share of Power and Authority; for, by referring every thing absolutely to their Disposal, there will be Danger of their becoming insolent, and too difficult and refractory to the Counsels of your knowing and well disposed Citizens."

In this Consultation, at which attended no extraordinary Number of Citizens, the Opinion of those who were for entrusting the Power of the Government in fewer Hands would have prevailed, if human Counsels had not been over-ruled by the Interposition of divine Authority from the Mouth of Girolamo Savonarola of Ferrara, a Friar of the Order of Predicants. This Man, having for many Years together expounded the Word of God in public at Florence, and, besides his singular Learning, acquired a vast Reputation for Sanctity, had obtained with the greater Part of the People
THE WARS IN ITALY.

People the Name and Credit of a Prophet. For, at the Time when in Italy no other Sign appeared but of the greatest Tranquillity, he had often predicted in his Sermons the marching of foreign Armies into Italy, which would so terrify the People, that neither Walls nor Armies would be able to resist their Power; protesting that what he said, and many other Things which he was continually foretelling, was not by human Argumentation, nor by Knowledge of the Scriptures, but merely by Divine Revelation. He had also given some Hints of the Change of the Florentine Government, and at this Juncture, publicly inveighing against the Form settled in the Parliament, affirmed it was the Will of God that a Government entirely popular should be established in such a Manner, as not to leave it in the Power of a few Citizens to alter either the Security or the Liberty of the rest. The Reverence which was paid to so great a Name, joined to the Desires of Multitudes, had such an Influence, that those who were of different Sentiments could by no means resist so violent an Inclination: And, therefore,
fore, after this Affair had been debated in several Consultations, it was finally determined that a Council should be formed of the whole Body of the Citizens, not admitting the Dregs of the Commonalty, as it was reported in many Parts of Italy, but only those who, according to the antient Laws of the City, were qualified to participate of the Government. This Council was to have nothing under their Consultation or Disposition but the Election of all the Magistrates for the City and its Dominions, passing the Bills for raising Money, together with all the Laws before prepared by the Magistrates and other more private Councils. And to remove all Occasions of civil Discord, and for the better securing every one from Apprehensions, following the Example of the Athenians, it was by a public Edict prohibited to take any Notice of past Offences or Misdemeanors committed with relation to State Affairs. On this Basis, perhaps, might have been erected a well regulated and solid Constitution, if at the same time all those Regulations, which wise and prudent Men even then foresaw would
THE WARS IN ITALY.

would have been necessary, had been introduced. But as this could not be effected without the Consent of many who, remembering Things past, were full of Suspicions, it was agreed, for the present, only to settle the Grand Council, as the Bulwark of their new Liberty; and put off what was wanting to some other Opportunity, when what was necessary for the public Welfare would by Experience become known to those who were now incapable of discerning it by Reason and Judgment.

Such were the Broils in the Affairs of Tuscany. But in the mean time the King of France, after the Acquisition of Naples, to compleat his Victory, applied himself principally to two Things: One was the Reduction of its two Castles Nuovo and dell' Uovo; for the Tower of San Vicentio, built to guard the Port, he had already taken with Ease; the other, to reduce to his Obedience the Remainder of the Kingdom. In compassing this, Fortune accompanied him with her usual Favours; for Castel Nuovo, the Habitation of the Neapolitan
THE HISTORY OF

A. D. Neapolitan Kings, situated on the Sea Shore, by the Bafeness and Avarice of Five Hundred Germans in Garrison, after a slender Resistance, surrendered, on their being permitted to retire safe, and loaded with what Treasure they could carry away *. Great Plenty of Provisions was found in the Castle, which Charles inconsiderately distributed amongst some of his People, without reflecting what might be the Consequence.

Castel dell'Uovo is founded on a Rock in the Sea, formerly joined to the Land, till separated by Lucullus, and is now united to the Shore by a narrow Bridge. It lies at so small a Distance from the Town, that the Artillery might play upon it, and damage the Walls, but could not make any Impression on the Rock; however, after a few Days Siege, the Garrison agreed to surrender, if not succoured in eight Days: And the Officers and Men at Arms, who were going to subdue the rest of the Kingdom, were met by

* Giovio writes that the royal Treasure, carried away by the Germans, exceeded the Value of a Million of Golden Ducats.
by the Barons and Deputies of the Towns several Days before they could have reached them all, contending who should be first to receive them. This remarkable Readiness, whether it proceeded from Inclination or Fear, it had this Effect, that the Governors of most of the Fortresses gave them up without Resistance, and the Citadel of Gaeta, though well provided with all Necessaries, after a weak Defence, surrendered at Discretion; so that in a very few Days, with a wonderful Facility, Charles made himself Master of the whole Kingdom, excepting the Isle of Ischia, the Citadels of Brindisi and Gallipoli, in the Province of Puglia; and, in Calabria, the Citadel of Reggio, situate on that Point of Italy which faces Sicily. But the City of Reggio submitted to Charles, and Turgia and Mantia erected at first the French Standard, but the Inhabitants of these two last Places, on being apprised that their Towns were disposed of to Favourites, revolted again to their former Lord, being determined not to subject themselves to any one under the King. Their Example was soon followed by the Town
THE HISTORY OF

Town of Brindisi, whither Charles had sent no Troops, because the King, out of Negligence, had paid no Regard to their Deputies whom they had sent to Naples to capitulate, for he neither dispatched them, nor would hardly give them a Hearing. This Treatment gave an Opportunity to those who held out for Ferdinando in the Forts, to bring that City back to the Devotion of the Aragonians, by voluntary Consent of the Citizens. Those of Otranto also, who had declared for France, none repairing to receive them, did not continue in the same Disposition. But all the Barons and great Men of the Kingdom came to pay their Homage to their new Sovereign, excepting two or three, who retired into Sicily, after their Estates had been confiscated and given away by Charles, and Alfonso Dacalo, Marquis of Pescara, left Governor of Castel Nuovo, who followed Ferdinando, as soon as he discovered the treacherous Designs of the Germans, to surrender the Castle.

Charles, to secure this vast Acquisition by way of Treaty, before taking Castel Nuovo.
**THE WARS IN ITALY**

**Nuovo,** had sent a Paix to Don Federigo, in order to have a Conference with him. **Federigo** had resided in *France*, in the Reign of *Lewis XI.* for several Years, and, for his Affinity to the Royal Family, was very agreeable to the *French Court*. *Charles* intimated to him that if *Ferdinando* would give up what remained unconquered, he would grant him such Revenues in *France*, as might prove a sufficient Recompence for what he still preserved. But *Federigo*, being apprised of his Nephew’s Intentions not to accept of any Terms, but such as would constitute him intire Master of *Calabria*, very calmly replied, Since God, Fortune, and the Will of all the People, had concurred to bestow on his moit Christian Majesty the Kingdom of *Naples*, *Ferdinando* would not repfift this fatal Dispo-fition, nor be any ways ashamed to sub-mit to fo great and mighty a Prince, but, like the rest, be under his Obedience, and at his Devotion, provided some Part of the Kingdom, hinting at *Calabria*, was affign-ed him: If this was granted, he should there pafs his Days, not as King, but as one
one of his Barons, and adore the Clemency and Generosity of a Monarch in whose Service, some time or other, he hoped to have an Opportunity of shewing that Resolution which his ill Fortune had not permitted him to exercise in his own Behalf. He observed that nothing could be more glorious than such a Concession: It would be parallel to the memorable Deeds of the ancient Heroes, who, by such noble Acts of Resignation, had rendered their Fame immortal, and obtained from the People divine Honours. A Counsel not less safe than honourable: For, after Ferdinand's Submission, the Kingdom would be settled without any Danger of a Change of Fortune, whose Property it is, wherever Victories are not secured by Moderation and Prudence, to stain and obscure, by some unforeseen Accident, the Glory of the Conqueror. But Charles, judging it by no means adviseable to give up to his Competitor any Part that might endanger the rest, Federigo was dismissed without coming to any Agreement.
When Ferdinando heard of the surrender of the Castles, he left the Care of the Citadel of Ischia to Inico Davalo, who, as well as his Brother Alfonso, was an Officer of Valour and uncorrupt Fidelity, and retired into Sicily with the fourteen ill-armed light Gallies he had taken with him from Naples, to be there at hand on any Occasion. Charles, in order to deprive his Enemies of a Receptacle from whence they might conveniently annoy the Kingdom, sent to Ischia the Fleet, which by this Time was arrived in the Port of Naples. The Town was abandoned on their Appearance, but it was not thought proper to attack the Fort, that being too well fortified. This put the King on sending for other Vessels from Provence and Genoa, for taking of Ischia, and securing the Seas, which were sometimes infested by Ferdinando. But neither Diligence nor Counsel were equal to Fortune; for he shewed great Coolness, Negligence, and Confusion in all his Actions, and the French were become more insolent than usual by so much Prosperity, and, giving themselves up
up to Feasting and Pleasures, left to Chance Matters of the greatest Moment, whilst those who were in Favour attended to nothing else but to obtain, privately of the King, what Advantage they could make of the Victory, without any Regard to the Dignity or Interest of their Prince.

About this Time died at Naples Gemin the Ottoman, to the great Concern of the King, who expected he would have been very useful in the War he intended to make upon the Turks. It was firmly believed that his Death proceeded from a slow Poison, given him by the Pope, which was to destroy him in a determinate Time, because he had in a manner been forced from him, by which he was deprived of the yearly Pension of Forty Thousand Ducats paid him by his Brother Bajazet. Thus he gratified his Revenge, by hindering others from reaping that Profit of which they had deprived him, or was mov'd by Envy to the Glory of Charles, and perhaps feared that, if he prospered against the Infidels, he would turn his Thoughts, as many, out of private Interest, were continually stimulating him
on reforming the Church, which was so totally degenerated from the ancient Customs, that the Authority of the Christian Religion daily declined, and every one expected it would do so more and more during this Pontificate, acquired by very bad Arts, and administered by worse perhaps than were ever known in the Memory of Man. Nor were there wanting those who believed (for the very corrupt Disposition of this Pope made the greatest Iniquities credible) that Bajazet, on hearing of the King of France's Expedition into Italy, had with a large Sum of Money bribed Alexander, by the Means of Bucciarbo, to put Gemin to Death. But Charles did not for this give over the Thoughts of his Turkish Enterprize, but, with more Heat, than Prudence or Counsel, sent into Greece the Archbishop of Durazzo, a Native of Albania, who had given him Hopes, through his Interest, with some Exiles, to create Commotions in that Province. However, new Incidents obliged him to turn his Mind on other Objects. It has been already said that an eager De-

armed at
gether Progress.
together with the Fear of Piero de' Medici and the Aragonians, induced Lodovico to procure this Invasion of the French. But after obtaining his ambitious Desires by their Coming, and seeing the Aragonians so reduced as to be hardly in a Condition to keep their Persons out of the Enemy's Power, he was seized with a second Fear, much stronger and juster than the former, which was the imminent Slavery of himself and all the Italians, in case the Kingdom of Naples should be added to the Power of France. He was in Hopes the King would have met with more Difficulties in the Florentine State, but observing how easily he had allied with that Republic, and with the same Facility had overcome the Opposition made by the Pope, and entered the Kingdom of Naples without any Obstacle, he thought his Danger daily increased in proportion to the great Progress that the King made.

Also the Minds of the Venetians, who had hitherto kept steady to their first Resolution of being neuter, and with great Circumspection
THE WARS IN ITALY.

on had abstained not only from acting, but from all Appearances which might render them suspected of any Inclination to favour one Side more than the other. For this Reason they had not appointed their Ambassadors Loredano and Domenico Trevišano to compliment the King till he had passed the Alps, and then detained them till he was arrived at Florence. But now, alarmed at this Torrent of Prosperity, and seeing the King like Lightning make his Way through all Italy without Resistance, they began to consider their Neighbours Danger as their own, and that their Ruin would quickly be followed by that of their Republic. His seizing on Pisa, with other Castles of the Florentines, and leaving a Garrison in Siena, and in the Towns of the Ecclesiastical State, were shrewd Tokens that Charles's Designs reached farther than the Kingdom of Naples; wherefore they willingly listened to Lodovico Sforza's Proposals, who, as soon as the Florentines had complied with the King, began to treat with, and invite them to join him in putting a Stop to the common Danger. And it was thought, that if Charles had met with
with any Difficulties in the Roman Territory, or in his Entrance into the Kingdom of Naples, they would have jointly taken up Arms against him. But the Victory, following so suddenly, put an Obstacle to all that was treating to prevent it.

But now Charles, falling into Suspicion of the Proceedings of Lodovico, had, after his Conquest of Naples, taken into his Service Gianjacopo Trivulzi, and assigned him an Hundred Lances, with an ample Salary, because he was at the Head of the Guelf Party in Milan, and entirely disaffected to Lodovico. He next, with many fair Promises, brought into his Interest Cardinal Fregofo, and Objetto dal Fiesco, because they were powerful Instruments for raising Commotions in Genoa; and refused to grant Lodovico the promised Investiture of the Principality of Taranto, asserting he could not lay any Claim to that Promise until the whole Kingdom was entirely subdued. These Proceedings were very disagreeable to Lodovico, and gave him a Handle to lay an Embargo on Twelve Gallies that were equipping for the King.
THE WARS IN ITALY. 283

at Genoa; and also to order that no Vessels should be armed for the French Service in that Port. The King made great Complaints of this Usage, which he gave for a Reason of his not having been able to renew his Attack on Ischia with a greater Force.

Jealousies and Discontents thus daily increasing in all Parts, and the sudden Acquisition of Naples representing to Lodo- vico, and the Venetians, the Danger greater and nearer at hand, they were necessitated to defer no longer the Execution of their Schemes, and they engaged the more readily as they were sure of powerful Confederates: For the Pope, who was excessively terrified at the French, was not less ready to come into their Measures. But what the Senate and Sforza laid the greatest and most solid Foundation on was the Assistance of Ferdinando and Isabella Sovereigns of Spain. In their late Treaty with the King of France, they having engaged not to molest him in the Acquisition of Naples, solely with a View of inducing him to restore the County of Ross.
THE HISTORY OF

A. D. 1455,

had craftily left themselves at Liberty to act the contrary; for (if the Report be true which they gave out) there was added to the Articles of that Restitution a Clause, from which they inferred, that if the Pontiff, for the Interest of his Fief, should require them to assist the Kingdom of Naples, they were at liberty to do it without any Infringement of their Faith and Promises.

But be this as it will, certain it is that, as soon as they had recovered these Towns, they not only began to give Hopes of their Assistance to the Aragonians, and earnestly underhand intreated the Pope not to abandon their Cause, but exhorted the King of France, first in a friendly manner, as desirous of his Glory, and out of Zeal for Religion, that he would turn his Arms rather against Infidels than against Christians; and afterwards pressed the same with more Vehemence, and in Terms more suspicious, according to the Progress he made towards Naples. And that their Representations might be accompanied with greater Weight, and also to feed the Pope
THE WARS IN ITALY. 285

Pope and Aragonians with greater Hopes, under Colour of securing Sicily, they prepared a Fleet, which, however, did not arrive till Naples was lost; and, according to their Custom of promising more than they effected, this Armada had only on board Eight Hundred Gennets, and a Thousand Spanish Foot. They proceeded in this dissembling Manner till the Colonnes had seized on Oflia, and the Threats uttered by the King of France against the Pope gave them a more plausible Reason to discover what they had already conceived in their Minds. They then (which was before the King left Florence) publicly declared, by their Ambaflador Antonio Fonfeca, that, according to the Duty of Christian Princes, they would take under their Proteftion the Pope and the Kingdom of Naples, which was a Fief of the Roman Church. At the fame time they began to treat of a Confederacy with the Venetians and the Duke of Milan; and, after the Flight of the Aragonians, veryearnfthy follicited that, for the common Safety, they would join with them againft the French. At laft, in the Month of X 2 April,
A.D. 1495. April, in Venice, whither the Ambassadors of all those Princes had resorted, a Confederacy was concluded between the Pope, the King of the Romans, the King of Spain, the Venetians, and the Duke of Milan. By the Title of these Articles which were published, it appeared that the only Intent of this League was to protect each others Dominions, and all Princes were permitted to accede to it on reasonable Terms. But as they were unanimous in thinking it necessary that Charles should not keep Possession of the Kingdom of Naples, it was stipulated in the secret Articles, that the Spaniards who were come into Sicily should assist Ferdinando of Aragon in the Recovery of that Kingdom, that Prince having formed a Design of entering Calabria, relying on the Affections of those People: That the Venetians should at the same Time attack the maritime Coasts of the Kingdom with their Fleet: That the Duke of Milan, to prevent fresh Succours from France, should possess himself of Afr, where the Duke of Orleans was left with a few Troops; and that the Kings of the Romans and of Spain should be allowed
THE WARS IN ITALY.

followed by the other Confederates a certain Sum of Money, to enable each of them to enter France with a powerful Army. The Confederates wished also that all the Italian Powers would unanimously join them, and therefore pressed the Florentines and the Duke of Ferrara to enter into the same Confederacy. The Duke being requested before the Publication of the League, had refused to take up Arms against the King of France; yet at the same time, with an Italian Caution, permitted his eldest Son Don Alfonso to go into the Service of the Duke of Milan with an Hundred and Fifty Men at Arms, under the Title of Lieutenant-General of his Forces. Different was the Case of the Florentines, who were invited into the Confederacy with large Offers, and had very just Reasons to abandon the King: For as soon as the Treaty was divulged, Lodovico Sforza engaged, in the Name of all the Confederates, that the whole Strength of the League should oppose the King, if he offered to attack them in his Return from Naples, and also assist them whenever Occasion offered in recovering Pisa and L-
THE HISTORY OF

A. D. 1495.

On the other hand, the King, without any Regard to his Promises made in Florence, had neither put them in Possession of their Towns, nor after the Acquisition of Naples restored their Fortresses, paying greater Deference to the Counsels of those who favouring the Pisans persuaded him that, the Inflant his Majesty restored them, the Florentines would join the rest of the Italians, than to his Word and Oaths; and the Cardinal of San Malo very faintly opposed these Counsels, tho' he had received a large Sum of Money from the Florentines, because he did not care on their Account to enter into Disputes with the Great Men of the Court. The King had given Proofs of the small Value he set on his Faith, and on the Importance of the Adherence of the Florentines at such a Juncture; for when their Ambassadors complained of the Rebellion of Montepulciano, and desired him to oblige the Senese to restore that Town, he answered, as it were in Derision, "What can I do, if your own Subjects rebel, on account of their ill Usage?" Notwithstanding these Provocations, the Florentines
times would not suffer their Resentment to get the better of their Judgment where their Interest was concerned; but were determined not to hearken to the Proposals of the Confederates; being unwilling to give any fresh Occasion to provoke against them the French Arms at the King's Return, and they had also some Hopes of procuring the Restoration of their Towns when they treated with his Majesty in Person. Besides, they trusted little to the fair Promises of the Allies; being satisfied they were hated by the Venetians for the Opposition they had at different Times given to their Undertakings; and well knowing that Lodovico himself aspired after the Dominion of Pisa.

The Credit of the French was by this Time very much sunk in the Kingdom of Naples; for, by giving themselves up to Diversions, and leaving the Government to Chance, they had neglected to expel the Aragonians from the few Places they possessed, which might have easily been compassed, had they pursued their good Fortune. But the Affection of the People was
was much diminished, because though the King had given Marks of his Generosity on several Occasions by granting, in all Parts of the Kingdom, such Privileges and Exemptions, as amounted to above Two Hundred Thousand Ducats a Year, yet other Matters were not conducted with the Order and Prudence that were necessary: For Charles, averie to all Trouble, did not like to hear and redress Complaints, but left the Management of all weighty Affairs to his Ministers, who, either thro’ Ignorance or Avarice, threw every Thing into Confusion: The Barons were not treated with Humanity, nor rewarded: They were admitted with very great Difficulty to the King’s Presence; no Distinction was made between Man and Man, nor any Regard paid to Persons of Merit unless it were by Chance, no Pains taken to confirm the Disaffection of those who were naturally ill-disposed towards the Aragonians: Many Difficulties and Delays were interposed to protract the Restitution of the Estates and Effects of the Anjouin Faction, and other Barons expelled by old Ferdinando. No Favours were bestowed without Bribes or
extraordinary Methods, many were deprived of their Effects without Reason, many enriched without Cause, almost all Posts, and the Goods of many were distributed amongst the French, and, to the vast Displeasure of the Neapolitans, almost all the Crown Lands) such are called those which are under the King's immediate Dominion) were given away, and the greatest Part to the French.

These Proceedings were so much the more grievous to the Subjects, as they had been accustomed to the prudent and orderly Government of the Aragonian Kings, and had promised themselves great Matters from the new King. To this was added the natural Pride of the French, increased by the Easiness of their Victories, which inspired them with so great a Conceit of themselves that they held in Contempt all the Italians; and their Insolence and rude Behaviour in the Houses where the Men at Arms were quartered, as much in Naples, as all over the Kingdom, were become insupportable. This unexpected Treatment had entirely alienated the Af-
fections of the People, and converted their former Affection into violent Hatred; and, on the contrary, their Aversion to the Aragonians was turned into Compassion for Ferdinando, from whose Virtue they had Reason to expect great Achievements: They called to mind his Speech, delivered with so much Mildness and Resolution, the Day of his Departure; in short, Naples and the whole Kingdom wanted nothing but an Opportunity to replace on the Throne that Family whose Destruction they had desired. Even the so odious Name of Alfonso was becoming agreeable: They now calling that a just Severity which in his Father's Reign, whilst he attended to the domestic Affairs of the Kingdom was called Cruelty, and that Sincerity of an upright Heart, which they had many Years called Pride and Licentiousness. This is the Nature of the Commonalty, who are inclined to hope for more than they ought, and to put up with less than what is necessary, and are soon tired of the present; especially the Inhabitants of the Kingdom of Naples, who are remarkable
The Wars in Italy

remarkable above all the Italians for their Inconstancy and Desire of Change.

The King, before the Forming of the new League, was determined to return speedily into France, more out of Levity, and to please all his Courtiers, who vehemently wished it, than out of any prudent Motive; for in his new Kingdom many most important Affairs were not yet settled, concerning the Rights of the Princes and States, nor could the Victory be deemed compleat till the Whole was subdued. But when the King was apprized of this Confederacy of so many Potentates against him, he grew very uneasy, and advised with his Ministry what was proper to be done upon such an unexpected Event. Every one agreed that, amongst Christian Princes, for many Ages, there had not been formed so powerful an Alliance. It was chiefly resolved in his Council that they should hasten their Departure for France, for the longer they stayed, the greater Difficulties must arise by giving Time to the Confederacy to make greater Preparations, and it was already rumoured that
that at the Order of the Allies a great Number of Germans were to march into Italy, and that Maximilian would command them in Person: They advised, that a new Body of Troops should speedily march out of France to Ajli to preserve that City, and oblige the Duke of Milan to attend to his own Defence; where also they would be in Readiness to advance whenever his Majesty should think it necessary: In the same Council it was settled, that Diligence should be used, and great Offers made to the Pope, to separate him from the other Allies, and to dispose him to grant the Investiture of the Kingdom of Naples, to which, tho' he had absolutely agreed when his Majesty was in Rome, he had ever after refused it, even with a Declaration that this Concession should not prejudice the Claim of any other Prince.

But these weighty Matters and great Concerns did not put the Affair of Pisa out of the King's Mind, who wished, for many Reasons, to have the Disposal of that City in his Power. Therefore, as he apprehended the Citadel of that Town might be taken
taken from him by the Pisans assisted by the Allies, on the Return of the Pisan Ambassadors, who were at his Court, he sent by Sea a Body of Six Hundred French Infantry. They, like the rest of their Countrymen, who had been left in Pisa, soon conceived an Affection for the Pisans, and after receiving a Sum of Money, in hopes of Booty, they went to assist at the Siege of Librafatta. Lucio Malvezzi, with a Body of Pisans being informed that the Florentines had sent Part of their Troops against Montepulciano, had ventured a few Days before to lay Siege to that Castle, and on hearing the French approached, had, that very Morning before Day-light, raised the Siege, but now meeting with the French he returned to Librafatta, and took it in a few Days: For the Florentine Army, which was returning to its Succour, was retained by the Waters of the River Secchia, which were risen so high that they could not pass it, and they durst not venture to go by the Walls of Lucca, because that Republic was violently in the Interest of the Pisans. After the taking of Librafatta, the French who kept Garrison there, together
THE HISTORY OF

A. D. 1495.

together with the Pisans, over-run the whole Territory of Pisa, as declared Enemies to the Florentines, who made grievous Complaints to the King. But Charles made no other Answer but that on his Arrival in Tuscany he would perform all he had promised, advising them to wait with Patience for so little a Time.

But the King could not set out as soon as he was willing, for he had not so great an Army that when it was divided into two Parts he could conduct himself to Acli without Danger, considering the Opposition of the Allies, and at the same Time leave a sufficient Force to protect the Kingdom of Naples against such mighty Preparations. These Difficulties constrained him to diminish the Provisions necessary for his Safety, that the Kingdom might not remain destitute of Defence; and at the same time, not to manifestly endanger his Person, to leave fewer Troops behind him than were necessary for the Preservation of his Conquest. He then resolved to leave only one Half of the Swiss, Part of the French Infantry, Eight Hundred French Lances, and about Five
Five Hundred Italian Men at Arms, which had been inlisted, Partly by the Prefect of Rome, and partly by Prospero and Fabritio Colonna, and Antonello Savelli. These Commanders had been amply rewarded by the King in his Distribution of the Towns and confiscated Estates, especially the Colonnas; for on Fabritio Charles had bestowed the Territories of Albi and Tagliacozzo, lately possessed by Virginio Orsini; and on Prospero the Dutchy of Trajetto, and the City of Fondi, with many other Castles belonging to the Family of the Gaetani; as also Monte Fortino, with the neighbouring Villages, taken from the Family of the Conti: He therefore had Reason to expect that these and several other Barons, whom he had enriched, would exert themselves, and unite with his Troops, in case of Danger, as their own Interest would be concerned in supporting his, and especially the Princes of Bisignano and Salerno, which last he had restored to the Office of Admiral. Gilbert de Montpensier was appointed Lieutenant General of the whole Kingdom. He was in greater Repute for his Quality, being of the Royal Blood, than for his Va-
lour. Many other Officers of Note, to all of whom the King had given States and Provinces, were dispersed about the Kingdom: The chief of these were Aubigni, Governor of Calabria, created Grand-Constable; the Seneschal of Beaucaire, Governor of Gaeta, made Grand-Chamberlain; and Gratiano a Man of Valour and reputed a good Officer, to whom was committed the Care of the Abruzzi. The King promised to send them very speedily Reinforcements and Money; but he left them no other Provision than an Assignment of the daily Produce of the Finances, which was very precarious, the Aragonian Name gaining Ground in many Places. For, just before Charles's Departure, Ferdinando was landed in Calabria with the Spanish Soldiers that came with the Fleet into Sicily; many of the Inhabitants of those Districts immediately flocking about him, he soon made himself Master of the City of Reggio, the Castle having always held out for him: At the same time the Venetian Fleet, commanded by Antonio Grimani, a Person of great Authority in the Republic, appeared on the Coasts of Puglia. But neither these
these, nor any other Indications of a future Change, were sufficient to put off, or retard the King's Return. For, besides the Necessity which he had persuaded himself there was for his Departure, 'tis incredible what Eagernefs both he and all his Court expressed to return to France; as if Fortune, which had been sufficient to obtain him so great a Victory, was alone sufficient to preserve it.

The Islands of Ischia and Lipari, tho' near to Sicily, belonged to the Kingdom of Naples, and continued in Ferdinando's Posseffion. Reggio in Calabria was newly recovered, as was Terra Nuova, and its Citadel, with some other Forts and adjacent Villages in the same Province; Brindisi, whither Federigo had retired, Gallipoli, Mantia, and Turpia, were likewise in the Hands of the Aragonians.

Before the King left Naples he began to treat with the Pope on several Points, not without some Hopes of Success. Alexander's Agent, on this Occasion, was Cardinal San Dionigi, and Monf.
Franzi was the King's Minister. The Investiture of the Kingdom of Naples was what the King chiefly desired, and that if his Holiness had Reasons not to declare in his Favour, he would at least not join his Enemies, but admit him into Rome as a Friend. Alexander at first seemed willing to comply; but not being able to persuade himself to trust the King, and therefore not willing to separate himself from the Allies, or confer on him the Investiture, which he thought would not be Inducement enough for a sincere Reconciliation, and therefore diffident of the King's Mind, he interposed various Difficulties to his other Demands, and tho' the King submitted to the Investiture without Prejudice to any one's Right, he replied, he would first have the Right judicially examined. On the other hand, being desirous to prevent with an armed Force the King's Entrance into Rome, he desired the Venetians and Lodovico to send him a Body of Troops; and they dispatched to his Assistance a Thousand light Horse, and Two Thousand Foot, and promised him also a Thousand Men at Arms, which with
THE WARS IN ITALY.

with his own Forces he thought sufficient for his Purpose. But soon after they began to apprehend it would be very dangerous to send their Men so far from their own States whilst their Army was not yet all assembled, one Part of it being already employed against Asiti: Besides, they distrusted the Pope's Fidelity, on recollecting that, after sending for Ferdinando to come into Rome with his Army, he had obliged him to depart. On these Considerations they persuaded the Pope rather to retire into some strong Place, than, by undertaking the Defence of Rome, expose his Person to so great a Peril; for though the King should enter Rome, he would soon depart without leaving behind him any Troops. These Proceedings increased the Hopes Charles had conceived of prevailing on the Pope to enter into some Agreement with him.

The King then left Naples the 20th of May, but as he had not yet, with the usual Ceremonies, assumed the Title and Royal Ensigns, a few Days before his Departure he was solemnly crowned with great Pomp and
and Celebrity in the Cathedral, and received the Honours and Oaths of Allegiance paid on such Occasions to new Kings. Joviano Pontano made an Oration in the Name of the Neapolitan People. He was a Person very famous for his excellent Learning and Politeness, which gave no small Credit to his Speech; for having been long Secretary to the Aragonian Kings, they entertained so high an Opinion of his Merit, that they had made him Tutor and School-master to Alfonso. It was thought that, to keep up to the Rules of Oratory, or to render himself more agreeable to the French, he expatiated too copiously in Dilpraise of those Kings who had so much exalted him. So difficult it is to observe ourselves that Moderation and those Precepts with which Pontano, endued with so great a Stock of Learning, and writing so freely on moral Virtues, and making himself, by his astonishing Progress in all Sorts of Learning, the Wonder of the World, had acted the Part of a Dictator to all Mankind.

Charles
THE WARS IN ITALY.

Charles was accompanied by Eight Hundred French Lances, the Two Hundred Gentlemen of his Guard, Trivulzi with a Hundred Lances, Three Thousand Swiss, a Thousand French, and a Thousand Gascon Foot, and gave Orders to Camillo Vitelli and his Brothers to join him in Tuscany with Two Hundred and Fifty Men at Arms, and for the Fleet to return to Livorno. Virginio Orsini, and Count Pitigliano, followed without any other Guard than their Parole, but as they complained that they were unjustly made Prisoners, their Cause was laid before the Royal Council, where they alleged that when they surrendered, their Messengers had not only been granted a Pass from the King's Mouth, but that his Majesty, after it had been drawn out in writing had signed it with his own Hand: That they being informed of this by their Messengers, before the Pass was expedited by the Secretaries, under this Assurance, at the first Summons of a Herald, had erected in Nola the King's Standard, and delivered the Keys to the French.
THE HISTORY OF

French Officer, who came with a few
Horse, though they had with them above
Four Hundred Men at Arms, and could
easily have made a Resistance. They then
pleaded the ancient Attachment of the Fa-
mily of the Orsini, pleading how they had
ever been of the Guelf Party, that both
themselves and every one that had ever been
born, or should be born of that House, had
or would have engraved in his Heart the
Name and Ensign of the Crown of France,
for which Reason they had so readily ad-
mitted the King into their Dominions in
the Roman Territory; and therefore in-
tituled that, both in regard to their Behaviour,
and the King's Faith, it was neither reason-
able nor just that they should be detained
Prisoners. But they were sharply answered
by Ligni, whose Regiment had taken
them at Nola, that a Pass, though granted
and signed by the King, was of no Force
nor perfected till corroborated with the
Royal Seal, signed by the Secretaries, and
delivered to the Party: That this had e-
ever been the most ancient Rule and Stan-
dard of all Courts in Concessions and Pa-
tents. The Reason was, that unguarded
Expressions from the Prince, who is sup-
posed
posed to be continually engaged in a Multiplicity of Business, and might not be fully informed of Facts, should be regulated by this Form: That their Dependance on this Pass had not been their Inducement to surrender to so small a Force; they had acted out of Necessity and Fear, for it was not at that Time in their Power either to resist or fly, all the Country around them being in the Hands of the Conquerors: That what they alleged by way of Merit was false, and, if asserted by others, they ought to deny it out of Regard to their own Honour, it being well known to the whole World, that not voluntarily, but to avoid Danger, they abandoned, in their utmost Distress, the Aragonians, who in their Prosperity had loaded them with Favours, and opened the Gates of their Towns to the King, who having surprized them at a Time when they were in the Enemy's Pay, utterly averse to the French Interest, and without any just: Security given, the Rules of War had constituted them legal Prisoners. These Reasonings, supported against the Orsini by the Power of Ligni, and the Authority of the Colonnes, who, on account of their ancient Emulation and Diversity.
Diversity of Faction, openly opposed them, prevented the passing of any Sentence, and it was resolved they should follow the King, with Hopes, however, of their being set at Liberty as soon as they arrived at Asti.

But the Pope, tho' persuaded by the Allies to quit Rome, was sometimes inclined to reconcile himself with Charles, and continued to treat with him: Yet at last his Suspicions got the better, and two Days before the King entered Rome, tho' he gave his Majesty some Hopes of waiting for him, accompanied by the College of Cardinals, Two Hundred Men at Arms, a Thousand light Horse, and Three Thousand Foot, he retired to Orvieto, after leaving a sufficient Garrison in Castel Sant' Angelo, and the Cardinal of Sant' Anastasia his Legate, to receive and compliment the King, who entered Rome by Tuscan Peere, to avoid passing Castel Sant' Angelo, and took up his Quarters in the Suburbs, refusing to lodge in the Palace of the Vatican, which, by the Pope's Order, had been prepared for his Reception. Alexander removed from Orvieto to Perugia, as soon
soon as he was informed of the King's Approach to Viterbo, notwithstanding he had again promised to meet him in some convenient Place, between that Town and Orvieto; and had Charles taken that Rout and followed him, he was determined to retire to Ancona, and taking the Advantage of the Sea fail from thence to some Place where he might be in perfect Safety from being molested. The King, tho' highly provoked, restored the Citadels of Civita Vecchia, and Terracina, reserving only Ostia, which on his leaving Italy he put under the Care of the Cardinal of San Piero in Vincola, Bishop of that Place, and continued his March through the Ecclesiastical Dominions, as through a friendly Country, without committing any Hostilities, excepting at Toscanella, where his Van being refused Entrance, they took the Town by Assault, plundered it, and put many to the Sword.

Charles, after this, to no manner of Purpose, stayed six Days at Siena, without considering with himself, or giving Heed to the pressing Instances of the Cardinal of San
San Piero in Vincola and Trivulzi, who remonstrated how dangerous it might prove to give the Enemy Time to get ready, and unite their Forces. Nor did he make any sort of Amends for this Loss of Time, by any prudent Resolution. For in Siena a Consultation was held concerning the Restitution of the Fortresses of the Florentines, solemnly promised by the King at his Departure from Naples, and afterwards several times confirmed on his March; the Florentines not only being ready to pay the Thirty Thousand Ducats, which were the Residue of what was due by Agreement, but also to lend him Seventy Thousand more, and to send Francesco Secco, their General, to accompany him as far as Asli, with Three Hundred Men at Arms, and Two Thousand Foot. Hence the Necessity the King had for Money, the Prospect of augmenting his Army, and a Regard to his Royal Word and Oaths, induced almost every one of his Council earnestly to persuade him to give up all but Pietra Santa, and Sarzana, as they might be of Use to bring the Genoese into his Interest. But Fate had decreed that a Match should be left
THE WARS IN ITALY.

left behind, to set Italy once more in a Flame.

LIGNI, an unexperienced Youth, born of a Sister of the King's Mother, was very much in Favour: He, actuated by Levity, or angry that the Florentines had attached themselves to the Cardinal of San Malo, prevented this Restitution with no other Arguments than setting forth the Compassion due to the Pisans, making the Assistance of the Florentines appear despicable, and boasting that the French Forces were sufficient to beat all the Italian Armies united together. Ligni was seconded by Monf. de Pienes, who expected to be made Governor of Pisa and Livorno.

Another Council was held in Siena, concerning the Government of that City, for several of the Orders of the People and Reformers insisted on a new Form, that they might depress the Power of the Order del Monte de' Nove, and required that their Guard should be removed from the Town-house, and a French one placed under
der Ligni. This Demand was rejected in the Council as a Measure improper at that Juncture, and not durable for any Length of Time: But Ligni, who vainly expected to make himself Sovereign of Siena, prevailed on the King to take that City and its State into his Protection, except Montepulciano, his Majesty not thinking it proper to intermeddle in the Disputes between the Florentines and Senese concerning that Town. Hence, with the King's Approbation the Community of Siena, tho' it was not mentioned in the Capitulation, chose, with the King's Consent, Ligni for their Commander, and assigned him a Salary of Twenty Thousand Ducats a Year, Ligni engaging to leave a Lieutenant with three Hundred Foot to guard the Palace, which he did of those who were in the French Army. The Weakness of this Deliberation soon appeared; for not long after the Magistracy de' Novi recovered by Force of Arms their usual Authority, expelled this Guard, and dismissed Mons. de Lisle, whom Charles had left as his Ambassador.
All this while the Affairs of the Allies in Lombardy advanced very briskly. Lodovico had received from Caesar, with great Solemnity, the Inveffiture of the Dutchy of Milan, paid Homage in Public, and taken the Oath of Fidelity to the Ambassador who brought the Act, and, in concert with the Venetians, had made vast Preparations to obstruct the King's Return into France, or at least to secure the Dutchy of Milan, through a long Tract of which he was to travel: For this Purpose they both, after reviewing their Troops, made new Levies of Men at Arms, to be maintained, part at their separate Expence, and part in common. And, though with some Difficulty, they prevailed on Giovanni Bentivoglio to accept a Salary from both, on his obliging the City of Bologna to declare for the League. For the Security also of Genoa, Lodovico armed Ten Gallies at his own Expence: And the Pope, in concert with the Venetians, joined with him in the Charge of providing and maintaining Four large Ships. And being obliged by the Convention to lay Siege to Asli, he had
had already sent into Germany to enlist Two Thousand Foot, and ordered Galeazz- 
zo da San Severino, with Seven Hundred 
Men at Arms, and Three Thousand Foot, 
to undertake that Expedition. And 
as he was naturally very insolent in 
Prosperity, promising himself a sure Victo-
ry, out of Contempt, he sent the Duke of Or-
leans a rude Message, ordering him to uf-
urp no longer the Title of Duke of Milan, 
which Charles, the Duke’s Father, had as-
sumed after the Death of Filippo Maria 
Visconti; not to permit any more French 
Troops to come into Italy; to send back 
those with him; and, for his Security of the 
Performance of these Demands, to put 
Asti into the Hands of Galeazzzo da San Se-
verino, in whom his King might confide 
as much as in himself, having the Year be-
fore, in France, admitted him into the Fra-
ternity of his own Order of St. Michael. 
He then magnified and boasted of his 
Forces, of the mighty Preparations of the 
Confederates to oppose the King of France 
in Italy, and how the King of the Romans, 
and the Sovereigns of Spain were making 
ready to carry on a War beyond the Alps. 
The Duke of Orleans paying little Regard to 
these
THE WARS IN ITALY. A. D. 1495.

these vain Menaces, on the first Notice of the Negotiations for a new Confederacy, had attended to fortify Asti, and solicited earnestly for a Supply of Troops from France. And as the King had sent Orders for new Levies to reinforce his own Army, they were making hasty Marches over the Mountains, which enabled him to take the Field and act offensively. In the Marquisate of Saluzzo he took the Town and Castle of Gualfinara, possessed by Antonio Maria da San Severino, which obliged Galeazzo, who had before taken some small Castles, to retire with his Army to Anon, a Town of the Milanese near Asti, where he remained without Hopes of attacking, but also without Fear of being attacked.

Lodovico was naturally inclined to enter into very expensive Schemes, but when they were ripe for Execution was unwilling to part with his Money; a Conduet which exposed his Dominions, at this Juncture, to great Danger. For very few German Soldiers had enlisted when they found Money was scarce; and for the
the fame Reason the Troops which accompanied Galeazzo every Day diminished. Ou the other Hand, the Duke of Orleans's Army continually increased; for the French marched cheerfully out of France, to the Succour of the King's Person.

Orleans had already got together Three Hundred Lances, Three Thousand Swifs, and the like Number of Gascons. And though Charles had strictly ordered him not to undertake any Thing, that he might be ready on the first Notice to come and meet him; yet, as it is difficult to resist what appears beneficial, he resolved to lay hold of the Opportunity of seizing on the City of Novara, into which he was offered to be introduced by the Opizini Caccia, Noblemen of that City, who were greatly incensed against Lodovico for having usurped from them, and many other Citizens, certain Aqueducts, and other Possessions, by corrupting Witnesses to swear falsely before the Judges. The Duke of Orleans, after settling with the Opizini the Manner, accompanied by Lodovico, Marquis
Marquis of *Saluzzo*, in the Night passed the *Po*, at the Bridge of *Stura*, in the Marquis of *Montferrato's Dominions*, and, without meeting with any Resistance, was taken into *Novara* by the Conspirators; from whence he made continual Excursions with Parties of his Horse, as far as *Vigevano*; and it was thought, if he had marched directly towards *Milan* with the Army, he would have excited great Commotions; for as soon as the *Milanese* heard that *Novara* was taken, they seemed very much inclined to revolt. *Lodovico* was not less dejected in Adversity than elated in Prosperity, and as indeed Insolence and Timidity almost constantly meet together in the same Subject, so now *Lodovico*, with unprofitable Tears, discovered his Pufillanimity, when he found his Troops with *Galeazzzo*, on which only depended his Defence, durst not appear before the Enemy. But the Condition and Disorder of an Enemy not being always known to the Generals, for Want of such Intelligence, the fairest Opportunities in Wars are often lost, nor indeed did it appear probable that so sudden a Change could happen in a Prince of so much Power.
THE HISTORY OF

Orleans, to secure his new Acquisition, laid Siege to the Citadel, which the fifth Day agreed to surrender, if it was not succoured in Twenty-four Hours: But, during that small Interval, San Severino had Time to collect his Troops in Vigevano; and the Duke, to reconcile himself to his People, had by Proclamation taken off several Taxes which he had laid to increase his Army. The Duke of Orleans, however, approaching with his Troops to the Walls of Vigevano, offered the Enemy Battle; but Sforza's Men were terrified, and rather inclined to abandon the Town, and pass the River Tesino on a Bridge of Boats they had laid. When the Duke found he could not bring them to an Engagement he went to Treccas, and from that Time Lodovico's Affairs took a prosperous Turn, his Army increasing daily, both with Horse and Foot; for the Venetians, being content to take on themselves the Care of opposing the King, permitted him to recall Part of the Troops he had in the Parmesan, and sent him also Four Hundred of their Stradiotti. This prevented Orleans from advancing;
THE WARS IN ITALY.

vancing; and a Party of Five Hundred of
his Horse, that had made an Excur- tion to
Vigevoano, was repulsed with Loss by a Sal-
ly from that Town. San Severino, supe-
rior now in Strength, marched to Trecas, and
offered Battle in his Turn, and at last
having got together his whole Army,
which consisted of the Italian Foot, be-
sides a Thousand German Horse, and
Two Thousand Foot, lately arrived, he
encamped within a Mile of Novara, to
which Place Orleans was retired with all
his Forces.

The News of the Rebellion of Novara, put Charles, who was at Siena, on hasten-
ing his March: And to avoid every Thing
that might retard him, hearing that the
Florentines, admonished by their late Dan-
gers, and being under Suspicion, because
Piero de' Medici attended him, tho' they
had appointed to receive him in Florence
with the greatest Demonstrations of Ho-
nour, had for their Security filled the City
with Soldiers and Arms, he passed thro'
the Florentine Dominion to Pisa, leaving
Florence on his Right. At Poggibonsi he
was
was met by Girolamo Savonarola, who, according to his Custom, mixing the Divine Name and Authority with his Speeches, earnestly exhorted him to restore the Fortresses of the Florentines; to his Persuasions adding most grievous Threats that, if he hesitated to observe what he had so solemnly swore, laying his Hand on the Gospels, and, as may be said, before the Eyes of God, he would be punished by Heaven in a most severe Manner. The King, with his usual Inconstancy, then, and the Day following, at Castel Fiorentino, gave him different Answers; sometimes promising to restore them on his Arrival at Pisa; at others refusing, pretending his Oaths could not be binding, because he had previously engaged with the Pisans to preserve their Liberty; yet he constantly gave Hopes to the Republic's Ambassadors that he would restore them on his Arrival at Pisa. When he came thither this Affair was again proposed in Council; for News increasing every Day of the great Preparations of the Confederates Army, and of their being all joined near Parma, they began to consider the Difficulties.
The Wars in Italy.

Difficulties of passing thro' Lombardy, and therefore were desirous of the large Sum of Money and Auxiliaries offered by the Florentines. But this Advice was opposed by the same Persons who had opposed it at Siena; they said, if the Army should be put into Disorder by the Enemy, or meet with Difficulties in their March thro' Lombardy, it was better to be assured of the Town of Pisa, whither they might safely retreat, than to leave it in the Hands of the Florentines, who, when once in Possession of their Towns, would be as treacherous as the rest of the Italians had been; adding that, for the Preservation of the Kingdom of Naples, it was very convenient the King should be possessed of the Port of Livorno; for when he had altered, as he designed, and was to be hoped, the Government of Genoa, he would then, in a manner, be Master of all the Sea Coast from Marseilleilles to Naples.

Certain it is that these Reasons had some Weight with Charles, who was not of himself capable of choosing for the best. But he was much more moved by the Suppli-
THE HISTORY OF

plications and Tears of the Pisans; who, in great Numbers, presented themselves before him, with their Wives and little Children, and falling sometimes prostrate at his Feet, and sometimes, with miserable Cries, telling their Case even to the meanest of the Courtiers and Soldiers, with most bitter Lamentations, and miserable Wailings, deplored their future Calamities, the implacable Hatred of the Florentines, and the entire Desolation of their Country, which they should not have Cause to lament if the King himself had not given them their Liberty; for believing that the Words of the most Christian King of France were Words firm and stable, they had been the more emboldened to provoke the Enmity of the Florentines. With these Complaints and Exclamations they melted the Hearts of the very private Men at Arms, the Archers of the Army, and many also of the Swiss, who flocked in great Numbers, in a tumultuous Manner, to the King; and Salazart, one of the Pensioners, in the Name of the rest, addressed him, earnestly soliciting that, for the Honour of his own Person, for the Glory
THE WARS IN ITALY. 321

Glory of the Crown of France, for the Comfort of so many of his Servants, who were ready at all times to lay down their Lives for him, and who counselled him with more Fidelity than those who were corrupted with the Money of the Florentines, he would not deprive the Pisans of that Benefit he had himself procured them; and that Want of Money might not induce him to commit so infamous an Action, bid him rather take their Collars, Plate, and stop their Pensions and Pay. This Tumult had got to such a Head, that a private Archer was bold enough to threaten the Cardinal of St. Malo; others talked in high Terms to the Marshal Gicé, and the President Gannay, who, they knew, counselled this Restitution. Such a Variety of Counsels so distracted the King's Mind, that he kept the Affair in Suspense, and was at a Loss how to act: Sometimes he renewed his Promises to the Pisans, never to give them up; then he would send to the Florentine Ministers, who waited at Lucca, to let them know that, what for weighty Reasons he could not do then, he would perform as soon as he arrived at Z. 4. Afti,
THE HISTORY OF

A.D. 1495.

Asli, whither he desired the Republic would send their Ambassadors. He left Pisa, after changing the Governor of the Citadel, and placing therein a sufficient Garrison, as he did in the Castles of the other Towns; and being of himself very anxious to get Possession of Genoa, and at the same time instigated by the Cardinals of San Pietro in Vincola, and Fregoso, Objetto dal Fiesco, and many other outlawed Persons, who gave him great Hopes that with much Ease a Revolution might be brought about, he sent with them from Sarzana on that Enterprize Mons. Filippo, with a Hundred and Twenty Lances, and Five Hundred Foot, who were just arrived by Sea from France, contrary to the Advice of his whole Council, who blamed the Diminution of the Army: He also gave Orders that the Men at Arms of the Vitelli which were not come up Time enough to join him, should follow them; that a Body of Soldiers sent him by the Duke of Savoy, with some Exiles should enter the Western Riviera, and for the Fleet, now reduced to Seven Gallies, two Galleons, and two small
small Vessels, under Miolans, to go and assist the Land-Forces.

In the mean Time the Avant-Guard, conducted by Marshal Gic, was come to Pontremoli, where the Townsmen dismissed the Garrison they entertained of Three Hundred Men, and, at the Persuasion of Triculzi, surrendered on Condition they should not be molested in their Persons or Effects. But the Capitulation did them no Service, for the Swifs, to revenge the Death of about Forty of their Comrades killed by those of Pontremoli, on account of a Dispute risen by Chance, when the King's Army passed thro' the Lunigiana, entering furiously into the Town plundered and burnt it, and cruelly put all the Inhabitants to the Sword.

The Confederates, in the mean Time, were busy in getting together their Army in the Parmesan, which consisted of Two Thousand Five Hundred Men at Arms, Eight Thousand Foot, and above Two Thousand light Horse; the most of these last were of Albania, and other adjacent
THE HISTORY OF

Provinces of Greece, who had been brought into Italy by the Venetians, and retained their own Country Name of Stradiotti: The principal Part of this Army consisted of the Troops of that Republic; for those of Lodovico, who had employed almost all his Forces against Novara, did not exceed a Quarter of the Whole. Francesco Gonzaga, Marquis of Mantova, a very young Prince, from whom, on Account of his Valour and Thirst after Glory much more was expected than is from one of his Age, was declared Governor General of the Venetian Forces, amongst whom were many Officers of great Renown. Luca Pijano, and Marchione Trevisano, both Men of great Weight in the Senate, were sent as Proveditors. The Duke of Milan's Troops were commanded by Count Ga- jazzo, who had also the Title of Governor, and was Lodovico's principal Favourite, but in the Knowledge of military Affairs no Way equal to his Father Roberto da San Severino, for this Count acquired the Name of being rather a cautious than enterprising Officer. With him was appointed Commissary Francesco Bernardo Viscon-
ti, Head of the Ghibelline Faction in Milan, and, therefore, opposite to Gianjacopo Trivulzi. A Council of War being held, by the Generals and principal Officers of the Army, after some Debates whether it would not be proper to march to Formiuvolo, a small Village situated at the Foot of the Mountains, it was resolved, considering the Narrowness of that Place, to advance only, within three Miles of it, to the Abbey of Ghiarvoluola, which, being in an open Country, might, perhaps, entice the French to come into the Plain. This Resolution gave an Opportunity for the King's Van-Guard to lodge in Formiuvolo, for it had passed the Mountain long before the rest of the Army, which had been retarded on account of the Difficulty in moving the heavy Artillery over the rough Appennine; and the Difficulty would have been greater, if the Swiss, desirous to make Amends for the Injury done to the King's Honour in the Sack of Pontremoli, had not with immense Labour given their Assistance.
As soon as the Van arrived at Fornuevo, the Marshal de Gie sent a Trumpet to the Italian Camp, to demand, in the Name of the King, a Passage for the Army, which intending to hurt nobody, and to pay a reasonable Price for Provisions, was returning that Way into France. At the same time he sent a Party of Horse, to get Intelligence of the Condition of the Country and the Enemy's Army; but they were soon put to Flight by some Stradiotti, sent against them by Francesco Gonzaga: And it was thought, that if the Italians had then attacked the French Camp they might have easily routed their Van, which must have prevented the Royal Army from advancing. They had much the same Opportunity offered the next Day, notwithstanding that the Marshal, apprised of the Danger, was retired a little higher up the Mountain. But the Italian Commanders had not Resolution to march and attack them, deterred by the Strength of the Enemy's Situation, or imagining the Van to be more numerous, and the rest of the Army nearer than it was: Besides, it is cer-


tain that at that Instant the Venetians, by delaying to join their Troops in their Camp at Ghiaroula, were not yet all assembled; which makes it manifest that if Charles had not loitered without any Occasion at Siena, Pisa, and many other Places, he might have made his Way without Impediment or Opposition. Having at last joined his Van, he lodged with his whole Army the next Day at Fornuovo. The Confederates never thought it likely that the King, with an Army so inferior to theirs, would have attempted to pass the Appennine by the direct Road; and therefore they at first imagined his Design was to leave the most of his Men at Pisa, and with the Remainder embark on board his Fleet: And, even when they heard of his having begun his March they fancied that, to avoid them, he intended to pass through the Village of Valditara, and over the Mountain of Cento Croce, which is rugged and difficult, and so descend into the Tortonefè, in Hopes of meeting the Duke of Orleans in the Neighbourhood of Alessandria. But when they were convinced that he directed his March to Fornuovo, the Italian Army,
Army, whose Spirits hitherto had been kept up by the comfortable Speeches of so many General Officers, and by the Report of the small Number of the Enemy, began now to be a little discouraged: They considered the Bravery of the French Lances, and the Intrepidity of the Swiss, to whom without Comparison the Italian Infantry was inferior, their Dexterity in the Management of the Artillery, and (what most affects Men when they have taken a different Impression) the unexpected Courage of the French in approaching them with such unequal Forces. These Considerations had damped the Minds even of the Officers, and put them on consulting amongst themselves what Answer to give the Trumpet sent by the Marshal. It seeming very dangerous to some that the Fate of Italy should be left to the Discretion of Fortune: But to others it appeared infamous that the Italian Soldiery should betray such Fear of a French Army so much inferior in Number, as to suffer them to make their Way, before their Eyes, without Opposition. The Opinions being different, after many Disputes, it was agreed to
THE WARS IN ITALY.

To give Notice at Milan of the King's Request, and then to act as the Duke and the Ambassadors of the Allies, who resided there, should unanimously direct. The Duke and the Minister of the Venetians, whose States lay nearest the Danger, were both of the same Mind, that it was not prudent to block up the Road to a departing Enemy, but, on the contrary, according to the Proverb, make them a Silver Bridge: Otherwise it might so happen, (as could be proved by numberless Examples) that Necessity, converted into Despair, might open itself a bloody Passage through an Army indiscreetly offering to make an Opposition. But the Spanish Ambassador, whose Sovereigns ran no Risque, said, Fortune was to be tried, and insisted strenuously, almost in the Nature of a Protest, on not permitting the King to pass, and letting slip such an Opportunity of defeating his Army; for, if it passed safely, the Affairs of Italy would remain in the same perilous Situation, and even exposed to greater Dangers than before: For the King of France, by being in Possession of Asti and Novara, could command all Piedmont; and having behind him
him the Kingdom of France, a Kingdom so powerful and rich, the Swiss his Neighbours, always disposed to enlist under him in what Numbers he required, and finding himself increased in Reputation and Spirits, if the Allied Army, so much superior, should so vilely give Way, he would continue to oppress Italy with greater Fierceness: That his Sovereigns must of Necessity alter their Resolutions, if the Italians would not, or had not Courage to fight the French. But the safest Opinion prevailing in the Council, it was resolved to write to Venice, where they knew the Senate would be of the same Mind. But all Consultations were needless: For the Generals, after writing to Milan, considered that an Answer could not return in Time, and that it would be an infamous Reflection on the Italian Soldiery if they permitted the French a free Passage; so dismissing the Trumpet without any positive Answer, they determined to attack the Enemy as they advanced, and both the Venetian Provveditors concurred with the rest in this Determination, tho' Trevizano with greater Readiness than his Colleague.
On the other hand, the French came on full of Arrogance, and Resolution; and, as they had hitherto found no Resistance in Italy, were fully persuaded that the Enemy would not offer to oppose them, and, if they did, would soon be put to Flight; so despicable an Opinion they entertained of the Italian Arms! Yet when, from the Descent of the Mountain, they discovered the Encampment, observed the infinite Number of Tents and Pavilions, with the vast Tract of Land they covered (for, according to the Italian Custom, the Camp was formed on as much Ground as would have ranged the whole Army in Battle Array) and the great Number of their Enemies, who would hardly have come so near them, had they not been determined to fight, their Arrogance so far cooled, as to wish they might receive the happy News that the Italians were content to allow them a free Passage, and so much the more when they found themselves disappointed of the Assistance of the Duke of Orleans. That Duke, according to Orders, had promised to be on
THE HISTORY OF

the Third of July at Piacenza, with all
the Forces he could draw together to meet
the King: But on first Notice that Sforza's
Army, which opposed him, consisted of
Nine Hundred Men at Arms, Twelve
Hundred light Horse, and Five Thousand
Foot, he had now sent Word, that it was
impossible to advance without certain Dan-
ger before so powerful a Force, especially
as he had been obliged to diminish his own
Army by leaving Garrisons in Asti and
Novara. This Disappointment put the
King under a Necessity of altering his
Measures. Mons. Philippe D'Argenton
was lately come from Venice, where he
had been Ambassador: Before his Departure
he had promised Pisanò and Treviçano, the
then declared Provéditors, to use his best
Endeavours to dispose the King to Peace.
Charles now commissioned him to send a
Trumpet to these Provéditors, with a
Letter, intimating that he had something
to impart to them relating to the common
Welfare. They agreed to meet him next
Morning, at a convenient Place between
the two Armies. But Charles, either for
want of Provisions in the Situation he was
in, or for some other Reason, changing his Mind, determined not to wait in that Place for the Result of this Meeting.

The Fronts of the two Camps were not Three Miles asunder, both extended along the Bank of the River Taro; which deserves rather the Name of a Torrent than of a River: It rises in the Appennine Mountains, and, after running some time through a small Vale situated between two Hills, spreads in the great Plain of Lombardy, and then empties itself into the Po. On the Right of these two Hills, down to the Banks of the River, the Allied Army was posted: This Side was preferred by the Generals to the Left, where the Enemies were to march, to prevent them from turning towards Parma; because that City, being full of different Factions, was suspected by the Duke of Milan; and more so since the King had obtained Leave from the Florentines, even from the Time he was at Asli, to take Francesco Secco into his Service, whose Daughter was married into the noble and powerful Family of the Torelli in the Parmesan.
The Camp of the Allies was fortified with Ditches and Ramparts, and abounded with Artillery, under which the French could not avoid passing in their Way to Aful, for as they were to cross the Taro near Formova, that River only would separate the two Armies. The French had but little Rest all that Night; for the Italians ordered the Stradiotti to ride up to their very Camp, and they were so disturbed with these Alarums that they were often calling to Arms. There fell also a sudden and very heavy Rain, mixed with terrible Lightening, and many horrible Thunderbolts, which seemed to prognosticate some fatal Calamity: But the French were much more terrified than the Italians, not only for being in the midst of Mountains and Enemies, and in a Place where any unlucky Accident happening they had no hopes of saving themselves, and therefore, labouring under much greater Difficulties, had greater Reason to fear, but also because it was thought that whenever Heaven manifested its Anger, it was on some grand Occasion, and therefore seemed to
to point rather to that Part where was present the Person of a King of such great Power and Dignity. The Morning following, which was the 6th of July, the French began at Day-break to pass the River. The greatest Part of the Artillery preceded the Van, which the King supposed was to bear the greatest Shock, and had therefore placed in it Three Hundred and Fifty French Lances, Trivulzi with his own Hundred Lances, and Three Thousand Swis, who were the Sinews and Hopes of the Army; and with them on Foot Engilberto, Brother to the Duke of Cleves, and the Bailiff of Dijon, who had inlisted them: To these he added Three Hundred Archers on Foot, some Cross-Bows of his Guards on Horseback, and the best Part of his Foot. Next to the Van followed the main Body, in the midst of which the King was seated, in full Armour, on a mettle-some Courser; near him rode Mons. de la Tremouille, an Officer of great Renown in the Kingdom of France, who with his Counsel and Authority was to rule that Part of the Army:

A a 3

The
The Rear-Guard came after, conducted by Count de Foix, and lastly the Carriages. But Charles, still desirous of Peace, whilst his Troops were in Motion, ordered again Argenton to treat with the Venetian Pro-veditors. But on the Motion of the French, all the Italian Army having put themselves in Arms, and the Generals being determined to fight, they were so far advanced that the Vicinity of the two Armies did not admit of Time, nor so much as a Place for a Conference.

The light Horse began to skirmish, and the Artillery to roar from all Parts, all the Italians were come out of their Camp, and were extending their Squadrons along the Banks of the Taro in Order of Battle. The French, notwithstanding, continued their March, Part on the stoney Beach, for the Plain between was too narrow to contain their Squadrons, and Part on the Declivity of the Hill. As soon as the Van of the French was advanced over against the Enemy's Camp, the Marquis of Mantoua with a Body of Six Hundred Men at Arms, who were the Flower of the Allied Army,
a large Band of Stradiotti, some light Horse, and Five Thousand Foot, crossed the River beyond the Rear of the French, having before left on the Banks Antonio da Montefeltro, a natural Son of Federigo late Duke of Urbino, with a numerous Squadron, with Orders to pass and come to his Assistance if called, or to reinforce others on Occasion. He commanded another Body of light Horse, as soon as the Action began, to attack the Enemy in Flank, and the rest of the Stradiotti to pass the River at Fernuovo, and assault the Baggage, which for want of Men, or by Advice, as was reported, of Trivulzi, was left exposed without any Guard to any one that attacked it. At another Place Count Galeazzo, in order to fall on the Van, crossed the Taro with Four Hundred Men at Arms and Two Thousand Foot; amongst the first was a Company belonging to Don Alfonso d'Este, whose Father would not permit him to go in Person to the Army; he left also Count Annibale Bentivoglio, with Two Hundred Men at Arms, on the Banks, with Orders to pass the River and come to his Succour, if he should be called.

The
The Proveditors insisted that two large Companies of Men at Arms, and a Thousand Foot, should be left to guard the Camp, as a Body of Reserve against all Accidents.

The King observing so great a Force falling on his Rear, of which his Officers had not been aware, turned his Back to the Van, and with the main Body marched to the Assistance of his Rear, advancing in so much Hast at the Head of one of his Squadrons, that when the Battle began he found himself in the Front of the Enemy, and was amongst the first that engaged. Some have related that the Marquis of Mantua passed the Taro in a Sort of Disorder, occasioned by the Height of the Banks, and by Trees, Stumps and Shrubs, with which the Sides of Torrents are commonly overspread; and others add, that his Foot, by these Difficulties, and the Swelling of the River in the last Night’s Rain, entered the Battle too late, and that some did not pass at all. But be that as it will, the Assault given by the Marquis was very resolute and furious, and was answered
fwered with equal Fiercenesfs and Valour. The Squadrons from all Parts in charging mingled one among another, contrary to the Custom of the Italians, who used to fight Squadron against Squadron, and when one was tired, or began to give way, another took its Place, without coming to a general Engagement till the last, when altogether formed a large Squadron; so that most commonly a Battle lasted a whole Day, without any great Slaughter, and often, Night coming on, the Armies separated, without any certain Victory on either Side. The Lances being broke with the Fall of many Men at Arms and many Horses in both Armies, every one began with the same Fury to make Use of Iron Maces, Ponyards, and other short Arms; the Horses also with Kicks, Bites, and Shocks, fighting as well as the Men. In the Beginning of the Fight the Italians certainly gave very signal Proofs of their Courage, and the Marquis in particular, who, being followed by a stout Band of young Gentlemen, and by the Spezzate Lances (these are Soldiers of Valour, not belonging to any particular Company, and in
THE HISTORY OF

in separate Pay) encountering all Danger, omitted nothing that became a most courageous General. The French sustained with great Bravery this fierce Attack, but being overpowered by so great an Inequality of Numbers, they manifestly began to give way, not without endangering the King; for the Bastard of Bourbon, though he fought very gallantly, was taken Prisoner within a few Yards of him; and as his Majesty had imprudently brought himself into imminent Peril without a proper Guard, or with such Order as was necessary for so great a Prince, the Marquis thought he had as fine an Opportunity of taking the King, and, therefore, with many of his People, made all his Efforts to approach him, against whom Charles, with a Few about him, shewing great Boldness, defended himself nobly, tho' more by the Fierceness of his Horse than by their Assistance. In the midst of so great a Danger, he did not omit what Fears most commonly suggest in such difficult Situations; for finding himself abandoned by almost all his People, he had recourse to heavenly Assistance, and made a Vow to St. Dennis and St.
St. Martin, reputed particular Protectors of the Kingdom of France, that if he got safe with his Army into Piedmont, as soon as he reached his own Country, he would visit and bestow very costly Gifts on the Churches dedicated to their Names, one near Paris, the other at Tours; and that every Year he would, with the most solemn Feasts and Sacrifices, give Testimony of his Requests being granted by their Intercession. After making these Vows, his Vigour increasing, he fought with more Courage than his Strength or Constitution would permit. But the King’s Danger had so much inflamed those who were the nearest, that they all flew to cover their royal Master with their Persons, and kept back the Italians, till the main Battle, which had remained behind, came up, a Squadron of which charged so fiercely on the Enemy’s Flank, that it repressed pretty much their Fury; as did also the Death of Ridolfo Gonzaga, Uncle to the Marquis of Mantova, a very experienced Officer; in whose Face, whilst he was acting the Part of an excellent Captain, comforting and rallying his Men, and running from Place to Place where
where he saw the least Disorder, on lifting up his Helmet, a Frenchman thrust a Dagger: He fell from his Horse, and in the Confusion and Tumult, amidst so close a Multitude of very mettlesome Horses, could receive no Help, and failing amongst Men and Horses was rather suffocated by the Crowd, than killed by the Enemy. He was the more to be pitied, because both in the Council the Day before, and that very same Morning, judging it imprudent to put so much in the Power of Fortune, without any urgent Necessity, against the Inclination of his Nephew, he had advised to avoid a Battle.

The Fight, by so many different Accidents, varying, and no Advantage of any Importance appearing on either Side, it was more than ever doubtful who would conquer; so that Fear and Hope being in an Equilibrium, they fought with incredible Ardor on both Sides, each Individual presuming the Victory depended on his particular Strength and Valour. The French were animated by the Presence and Danger of their Sovereign: For that Nation
tion was ever remarkable for adoring their Kings, and revering them as something Divine, and they were in such a Situation that they had no Hopes of Safety but in a Victory. Several Motives also encouraged the Italians; the Hopes of Plunder, the Bravery and Example of their General, their prosperous Success in the Beginning of the Action, and the great Number of their Army, which assured them of being always succoured, which was not the Case with the French; for they were all either engaged, or expected every Moment to be attacked. But, as every one knows, in all human Actions the Power of Fortune is very great, and in military Affairs more particularly so, but immense, infinite, and inexpresisible in Battles; where an Order not well understood, or ill executed; where Rashness, or a vain Word even from the meanest Centinel, and innumerable other Accidents, not possible to be foreseen, or prevented by a General, often unexpectedly arise, and, in a Moment, transfer the Victory to those who seemed conquered. Thus Fortune, at this Instant, consistent with her usual Custom, effected what the Courage
THE HISTORY OF

Courage of Men, or the Force of Arms, hitherto had not been able to obtain: For the Stradiotti, who were sent to attack the Carriages, as related, began to seize them without any Difficulty: And some attended to carry off Mules, some Horses, some Harnefs, to the other Side of the River. At the Sight of so much Plunder, not only the Stradiotti who were appointed to attack the French in Flank, but even those who were engaged in the Battle, seeing their Comrades returning to their Quarters loaded with Spoils, incited by a Thirst of Lucre ran towards the Carriages to partake of the Prey, and their Example was followed by Numbers of both Horse and Foot, who in whole Companies, on the same Account, quit the Battle. Wherefore the Italians, not only deprived of their intended Succour, but the Number of the Combatants being diminished by so great a Disorder, and Antonio da Montefeltro not moving because, by the Death of Ridolfo Gonzaga, who had the sole Charge to call him in case of Need, none sent for him, were obliged to give way.
The French now began to gain ground apace, and nothing more supported the Italians, who visibly declined, than the Valour of the Marquis, who courageously fighting, still stopped the Force of the Enemy, animating his Men with his Example, and with his ardent Speeches, encouraging them rather to lose their Lives than their Honour. But it was not possible for a Handful of Men to resist such Numbers, which multiplied continually upon them from all Parts. So, after a great many had been killed and wounded, especially of the Marquis's own Regiment, they were obliged to fly in order to repass the River, which being swelled not only by the Rains that had fallen in the Night, but also by a Storm with Hail and Thunder, which arose while they were in the Action, the Passage was rendered very difficult. The French briskly pushed them to the Banks with great Violence, and with perpetual Slaughter, without making any Prisoners, and without stopping a Minute to strip or plunder. On the contrary Voices were continually heard, crying, Companions! Remem-
Remember Guignegate! Guignegate is a Village in Picardy, near Terouenne, where in the latter Years of Lewis XI. the French Army, already victorious over Maximilian, in a Battle against the King of the Romans, was afterwards routed by breaking their Ranks, and falling to Plunder.

Whilst the Battle was fighting with so much Bravery on this Side, the Van of the French presented itself with such Resolution against Count Gajazzo, who with Part of his Horse was come to attack them, that the Italians were greatly terrified, especially when they saw none of their People move to their Assistance, and they were broke, as one may say, by themselves; for after some few had been killed, and amongst the rest Giovanni Piccinino, and Galeazzo da Corregio, they fled back towards their main Squadron. Marshal Gie observing that, besides the Count's Squadron, there was on the Banks, on the other Side of the River, another Colonel with his Men at Arms in Order of Battle, would not permit a Pursuit; for which he was afterwards by some commended for
for his Prudence, by others, who, perhaps, considered less the Reason, than the Event, rather taxed with Cowardice than praised for Circumspection. For no one doubted but that, if he had followed the Enemy, both the Count and his Colonel would have fled, and filled the rest, on that Side the River, with such a Terror, that it must have been almost impossible to prevent their Flight. For when the Marquis of Mantoua, after the rest had fled, with a good Party of his Men, whom he kept close and in as good Order as he was able, had repassed the River, he found those on the Banks in Confusion, every one employed in saving himself and his Baggage; and the great Road, that leads from Piacenza to Parma, full of Men, Horses and Carriages, moving towards Parma. This Disorder was partly remedied by the Marquis's Presence and Authority, who immediately set about recalling and putting them in Order; but more so, by the Arrival of Count Pitigliano, who, during the universal Confusion on both Sides, taking an Opportunity to make his Escape, fled to the Italian Army, and raised their Spirits by

---

Vol. I. B b com-
comforting and assuring them that the Enemy was more disheartened and in greater Fear than themselves. It was generally believed that, had it not been for his Assurances, the whole Camp would with great Terror have broke up then, or, at farthest, the Night following. All the Italians retired into their Camp, excepting those who, terrified at the Confusion and Tumult (as on such Occasions will happen) or frightenated at the Swelling of the River, had fled, and were dispersed in different Places, many of whom, falling in with French Parties, were cut to Pieces.

The King, with the rest of the Army, joined his Van, and consulted his Officers about passing the River immediately, and attacking the Enemy’s Camp. Trivulzi was for it, as was Camillo Vitelli, who had sent his Regiment after those who were marching on the Enterprize of Genoa, and, with a few Horse, had followed the King in order to be present at the Battle. But it was more earnestly insisted on by Francesco Secco, who desired it might be observed that the high Road, which appeared
peared at a Distance, was full of Horse and Foot, who must either be the Enemy flying to Parma, or having first fled now returning to their Camp. But the Passage of the River was dangerous, and the Army being fatigued, Part in fighting and Part by standing on their Arms, it was resolved, at the Instance of the French Officers, to encamp: So they went above a Mile from the Place where they had fought, to a Villa called Medesa, situated on a Hill, and there formed their Camp, without any Division or Order, and with no small Inconvenience, for a great Number of their Carriages had been plundered by the Enemy.

Such was the Battle between the French and Italians on the River Taro, memorable for its being the first that, after a long Series of Years, had been fought in Italy with Slaughter and Bloodshed; for hither-to very few were killed in a Battle. The Loss of the French was not Two Hundred Men; but that of the Italians was above Three Thousand, amongst which were Three Hundred Men at Arms, Rimuccio Farnese.
THE HISTORY OF

Farnese, a Commander of the Venetians, and many other Persons of Note. Bernardino del Montone, another Commander of the Venetians was, by the Blow of a Mace on his Helmet, left for Dead. He was an Officer more regarded for the Fame of Baccio del Montone, his Grandfather, one of the first who gave Lustre to the Italian Soldiery, than for his own Condition or Merit. So much Bloodshed seemed the more astonishing to the Italians, as the Battle did not last above an Hour, and was fought with short Arms, little Use being made of the Artillery. Each Side laboured to obtain the Glory of the Victory, and the Honour of the Day; the Italians asserting their Camp and Carriages were safe, while the French lost many of theirs, and amongst other Things some of the King's Pavilions had been carried off. They also boasted that the French would have been cut to Pieces, had not their own People, who had been appointed to reinforce the Battle, fallen to Plunder; which indeed was not contradicted by the French. The Venetians, attributing to themselves the Glory, ordered all over their Dominions, and
and particularly at Venice, Illuminations, Fire-works, and other Marks of Joy.

Nor were there wanting afterwards private Persons who imitated the public Example:
For on the Tomb of Marchione Trevijano, in the Church of the Minims, after his Death, were engraved these Words: On the River Taro he fought prosperously against Charles King of France. The Victory, nevertheless, was universally adjudged to the French, on account of the great Dis-proportion of the Slain, of their driving the Enemy on the other Side the River, and because their Passage was no longer obstructed, which was all they contended for, the Battle being fought on no other Account.

The Day following the King remained in the same Camp, and, thro' the Means of Argenton, some Parley was had with the Enemy, and a Truce was agreed on till Night. On one hand, Charles wanted to secure a safe Return; for he knew that many of the Italians had not engaged; and seeing them keep their Camp, he thought to long a March through the Dutchy
Dutchy of Milan, with the Enemy in his Rear, would be dangerous: On the other, he was at a Loss how to resolve for Want of good Counsel; it being his Custom to despise the best, and often take the worst, in his Deliberations. The Italians were no less undetermined; for though they were at first greatly terrified, yet the same Night the Battle was fought some Proposals were made, and greatly encouraged by Count Pitigliano, for assaulting in the Night the Camp of the French, who were lodged without any Order or Fortification: But this Counsel, after some Debates, was rejected by many as too dangerous. It was currently reported all over Italy, at that Time, that the Troops of Lodovico Sforza had his secret Orders not to fight: For the Venetian Army being so powerful in his Dominions, it was thought he might have had a greater Dread of their Victory than of that of the French, to whom he wished neither Victory nor Defeat, and that, to secure himself against all Events, he had a Mind to keep his Army entire; which occasioned the Loss of the Battle to the Italians. This Opinion was supported
THE WARS IN ITALY.

supported by the Marquis of Mantova, and by the Venetian Commanders, to keep up their own Reputation, and was agreeable to all those who desired to have the Italian Arms in good Estimation. But I heard a Person of great Gravity, who was in Milan at that Time, and in the Secret of Affairs, confute this Report with great Warmth. He affirmed that almost all Lodovico's Forces were at the Siege of Novara, and that those he had at the Taro were insignificant as to the gaining the Victory, which the Allied Army would have obtained if their own Disorders had not hurt them more than the Want of a greater Number of Men. For many of the Venetians did not engage, and though Count Gajazzo sent only a Part of his Troops to the Battle, and those with a seeming Unwillingness, that might proceed from his knowing that the Van of the French was too strong, and therefore it was too dangerous to trust the Whole to Fortune. Those who well knew the Count would have sooner wondered to see him undertake a bold Action than a cautious one. Besides, Sforza's Troops were not altogether uselefs; for, though they did not
not fight, they prevented the Van from reinforcing the King, which put him under a Necessity of sustaining the whole Weight of the Battle, with the smallest and weakest Part of his Forces, to the great Peril of his own Person. Nor is this Opinion, if I mistake not, founded more on Authority than on Reason; for if Lodovico was so inclined, would he not have ordered his Generals to dissuade any Obstruction to the Passage of the Trench, considering that, if they were routed, his own Troops would have equally suffered by being so near the Enemy, though they had not joined them in the Battle? And by what Kind of Reasoning, Consideration, or Experience of Things could he promise himself that in the Battle Fortune would be so equal, that the King should neither defeat, nor be defeated? Nor would the Battle have been fought against the Advice of the Duke's Generals; because the Venetian Troops, sent into that State only for his Safety and Security, would not have disagreed with his Officers.
Charles the next Morning decamped with his Army before Day-break, without Sound of Trumpet, to conceal, as much as possible, his Departure. Nor did the Allied Army follow him that Day; which indeed was not in their Power had they intended it, on account of the Waters in the River, for more heavy Rains had fallen that Night, and made it impassable the best Part of the Day. Near Sun-set only Count Gajazzo, though not without Danger, the Torrent running very strong, crossed the River with Two Hundred light Horses, and followed the Enemy, who kept the high Road to Piacenza: He harassed them pretty much, especially the Day following: But the French, although fatigued, went on in good Order, being plentifully supplied with all Necesfaries by the neighbouring Villages, partly out of Fear of being plundered, and partly by the Means of Trivulzi, who, riding before the light Horse for this Purpose, prevailed on some with Threats, and others with his Authority, which was great in that State, and exceedingly so with the Guelphs. The Day
Day after the Departure of the French the Allied Army followed them; but none of the Commanders, and particularly the Venetian Proveditors, cared to run any farther Risque, and therefore kept at a Distance, without giving them the least Disturbance, which they might easily have done. For the second Day the French encamped on the other Side the River Trebbia, a little beyond Piacenza; but, for Conveniency of Quarters, Two Hundred Lances, the Swifts, and most of the Artillery, lay on this Side the River, between the Trebbia and the City of Piacenza. That Night the Rain swelled the Waters to such a Degree that, notwithstanding all Endeavours, it was not possible for either Horse or Foot to pass till late the next Day, nor then without a great deal of Difficulty, even when the Waters began to fall. Yet they were not attacked, either by the Army, which kept at a Distance, or by Count *Gajazzo, who had

*Giovisi accuses Count Gajazzo and his Brother Fracassa of Treachery, alleging they might have greatly molested the French, instead of which they supplied them with Provisions at Tortona, where they killed the King's Hand.
had entered Piacenza to keep the People from revolting, which he suspected, and not without some Reason. For if Charles had followed the Counfel of Trivulzi, and with displayed Colours proclaimed Francesco, the young Son of Giovanni Galeazzo, in all Probability that would have produced a Revolution in the Dutchy. So agreeable was the Name of the Person they looked upon as their legitimate Sovereign, so odious that of the Usurper, and of such Importance the Credit and Friendship of Trivulzi! But the King, intent only on getting forwards, would not give Ear to any thing of that Kind, and continued his March with all Speed, under no small Distress after the first Days for Want of Provisions, because as he proceeded he found the Towns better guarded, Lodovico Sforza having a good Number of Horse, and Twelve Hundred German Foot, detached from the Siege of Novara, Part in Tortona, under Gasparo da San Severino, surnamed Fracassa, and some in Alessandria.

Hand. Rembo says only that the Count, by keeping at so great a Distance from the Enemy, gave them an Opportunity of getting away without Loss.
The French, after passing the Trebbia, were harrassed in the Rear by Count Ga-
jazzo, who had added to his light Horse One Hundred German Foot of the Garri-
son of Piacenza: For the Venetian Provedi-
tors, admonished by the Risque they had run at the Taro, refused to send him, as he required, the Remainder of the light Horse, and Four Hundred Men at Arms. But the King, when he was near Alessa-
dria, turned higher up towards the Mount-
tain, where the River Tanaro is shallower, and without Loss of Men, or any other Damage, in Eight Days March came to the Walls of Asli. Charles entered the Town, and encamped his Army in the Field, with an Intent of augmenting it, and remaining in Italy until he had relieved Novara. The Confederates, who had followed him as far as the Tortonefe, finding it would be to no Purpose to follow any farther, joined Lodovico’s Forces in the Neighbourhood of Novara, which was in great Want of Provisions; for the Duke of Orleans and his People had not only ne-
glected to supply it, as they might have done
done in Abundance, in that very plentiful Country, but not considering the Danger till the Remedy was too late, without any Frugality, permitted his Men profusely to consume what Provisions were found in the Place.

About this Time the Cardinals and the Officers, who had been sent against Genoa, returned to the Camp, that Expedition having miscarried. For the Fleet, having on its first Arrival taken the Town of Spetie, from thence directed its Course to Rapalle, which was also easily taken. But a Squadron of eight light Gallies, and a Caraque, with two Biscayan Barks, failed from the Port of Genoa in the Night, and landed Seven Hundred Men, who, without any Difficulty, took the Suburbs of Rapalle, with the French who were in it; and then approaching the French Fleet, that was retired into the Bay, after a long Engagement, took or burnt all their Vessels; which, with the taking the Admiral Prisoner, rendered those Places more renowned for this Victory than for that of the preceding Year, when the Aragonians
THE HISTORY OF

A. D. 495.

A. D. ans were routed. Nor was this Loss of the French repaired by those who were sent by Land: For after marching along the Eastern Riviera, as far as the Valley of Bisagna, and Suburbs of Genoa, they found themselves deceived in their Expectations that the Town would rise; so on hearing of the Loss of their Fleet, they returned in a Sort of Flight, over those craggy and rocky Mountains, to the Vale of Pozzeveri, which lies on the other Side of the City, and from thence, though much increased by the Country People, and by others sent by the Duke of Savoy, they proceeded with the same Haste towards Piedmont. This Body of Troops would, without Doubt, have been routed and put to Flight, if those in Genoa had not been afraid of falling out, left in their Absence the Party of the Fregosi should attempt innovations. The Cavalry under Vitelli at Chiaveri, hearing the bad Success of those they were marching to join, returned in a disorderly Manner, and not without Danger, to Sarzana: And, excepting Spetie, all the Towns of that Riviera, which had been seized by the Exiles, as also in the Western
Western Riviera, the City of Ventimiglia, which had been taken by Pol Battiglia Fre-goso and other Malecontents, returned of their own Accord under the Obedience of the Genoese.

All this while there were as great Agitations in the Kingdom of Naples as in Lombardy, but with more Variety of Fortune. For Ferdinando, after taking Reggio, attended to the Recovery of the neighbouring Places, having with him about Six Thousand Men, comprehending the Volunteers who came from Sicily, and the Spanish Horse and Foot under Gonfaldo Ernando, one of the Aghilar Family of Cordova, a Man of great Courage, who had learned Experience in the Wars of Granada. On his first Arrival in Italy, by the boasting Spaniards he was called the Great Captain, to denote the supreme Power he had over them; which Name afterwards, by his Acquisition of several signal Victories, and great Skill in military Discipline was universally confirmed and perpetuated to him. This Army, which had put a great Part of the Country in Motion,
THE HISTORY OF

Motion, was met at Seminara, a Place near the Sea-Side, by Aubigni, with the French Men at Arms who were left to defend Calabria, and by the Horse and Foot sent him by the Lords of the Country attached to the French Interest. When they came to engage, Aubigni's regular Troops got the better of the Irregulars and Unexperienced: For not only the Italians and Sicilians in Ferdinando's Army were a Parcel of Men hastily levied, but the Spaniards also were Troops inexpert and raw. Yet for some Time they fought bravely, because the Valour and Authority of their Commanders, who omitted no Part of their Duty, kept up for some time the Spirits of their Men, who, on all other accounts, were inferior to the Enemy, Ferdinando particularly distinguished himself; for fighting in a Manner becoming his Valour, after having his Horse killed under him, he would doubtless have been slain or taken, if Giovanni di Capua, Brother to the Duke of Termini, who, having been his Page from his tender Years, was beloved by him in the Flower of his Age, had not dismounted from his Horse, and
and placed him on it, and, by a very memorable Example of the most distinguished Faithfulness and Love, exposed his own Life, for he was killed on the Spot. Gonzalo fled over the Mountains to Reggio, and Ferdinando to Palma, that lies on the Sea Coast near Seminara, where he embarked on board his Fleet, and went to Messina. But, not in the least dejected by his Adversities, he resolved to try his Fortune anew; for he was not only satisfied of the Affection of the whole City of Naples, but also of the Disposition of many of the principal Nobility and People, who privately desired him to return. Wherefore, not to give Time for his Friends thus disposed to grow cool on account of his Rout in Calabria, with great Speed he got together not only the Gallies that he had brought from Ischia, and the four his Father Alfonso went off with, but also those which came from Spain, and whatever other Vessels he could procure from the Towns and Barons in Sicily.
He would not be retarded for want of Forces to put on board, but since he could not get a sufficient Number for so great an Enterprize, he was under a Necessity to help himself more by Shows than by Realities. He failed then from Sicily with Sixty Ships of the Line, and Twenty smaller, attended by Ricajenjo, a Catalan, Admiral of the Spanish Fleet, a Man of great Courage, and Experience in Naval Affairs, but with so small a Number of fighting Men, that in most of the Vessels there were hardly any others but such as were necessary to work the Ships. But tho' Ferdinando's Forces were small, the Favour and good Will of the People were great: For he no sooner appeared off Salerno, than that City, and all the Towns along the Coast of Malfi and Caasa erected his Standard. He then failed on, and hovered two Days off Naples, expecting in vain a Commotion in that City: For the French ran immediately to Arms, and posting strong Guards in all proper Places put a Stop to the Rebellion, which was ready to break out; and they might have extricated themselves from all Danger,
ger, had they followed with Resolution the good Counsel given them by some of their Party, who, suspecting how ill the Aragonian Fleet was provided with Soldiers, persuaded Monpensier to fill the French Vessels that were in Port with Soldiers and Men that were fit to fight, and attack them. Ferdinando, after the third Day, despairing of any Change in the City, made off for Ischia; but the Conspirators, considering that, on account of their Plots being in a manner discovered, the Cause of Ferdinando was become their own, privately assembled, and, resolving to make a Virtue of Necessity, secretly dispatched a small Boat to recall him, desiring that to make the Attempt easier, and to give greater Courage to those who intended to rise in his Favour, he would land all or Part of his Men. The King failed back to Naples the Day following, which happened to be the same Day the Battle was fought on the Banks of the Taro: He approached the Shore, to land his Men at the Maddelena, a Mile distant from the City, where the little River Subeto runs into the Sea; a River which deserves rather the
THE HISTORY OF

A.D. 1495.

Name of a Brook, and would hardly have been distinguished by any Name at all, if the Neapolitan Poets had not thought proper to give it one. Monpensier, as ready to proceed with Rashness, where Caution was necessary, as he had been with Fear, where Courage the Day before was requisite, left the City almost destitute of Troops to oppose the Enemy's Landing; whereas the Neapolitans, rejoicing at an Opportunity which they could never have expected, immediately took up Arms, and gave Notice of their Rising by tolling the Bell of the Carmelites near the Walls of the City; and that being answered by all the other Bells the People soon gathered from all Quarters, took Possession of the Gates, and cried out aloud Ferdinando!* This sudden Tumult alarmed the French, who not thinking it advisable to remain between the Rebel City and Ferdinando's Troops, and fearing they should not be able to return into the City the same Way they came out, marched round the Walls, up a high, long, and very difficult Hill, intending

* The Neapolitans gave Notice to the King of their Rising by displaying a white Sheet. Giovio.
ing to get into the Town through the Gate that was very near Castel Nuovo. Ferdinando, in the mean time, entered Naples, and Horses being provided for himself and some of his Followers, he rode amidst them all over the Town, to the inexpressible Joy of all the Neapolitans, who accompanied him with repeated Shouts. The Women were never tired in covering him from their Windows with Thyme and sweet-scented Waters, and even many of the better Sort of them ran into the Streets to embrace him, and wipe off the Sweat from his Face; but at the same time nothing was neglected that was necessary for the Defence of the Town. The Marquis of Pescara, with the Soldiers who entered with Ferdinando, and the Neapolitan Youth, employed themselves in barricading and fortifying the Ends of the Streets, where they apprehended the French from Castel Nuovo might attack the Town. As soon as Montenfier had got together his Men in the Piazza before the Castle, he made all his Efforts to advance into the inhabited Quarters of the Town; but was so molested by the Cross-bows and
and small Artillery, and found all the Streets so well secured, that Night approaching he ordered his Troops to retire into the Castle, leaving, between useful and useless, at least Two Thousand Horses in the Square, as there was neither Room nor Provisions for them in the Castle. Yves d'Alegre, reckoned a brave Officer, ANTONELLO Prince of Salerno, and many other Persons of Distinction, both French and Italians, shut themselves up with Monpenfier; and tho' for several Days they made frequent Skirmishes in the Square and about the Port, and fired on the City with the Artillery, yet being always repulsed, they gave over all Hopes of recovering the Town with their present Force.

THE Example of Naples was immediately followed by Capua, Aversa, the Castle of Mondragone, and many neighbouring Towns; and the greatest Part of the Kingdom seemed ripe for a Change: But the People of Gaeta, at the Sight of some of Ferdinando's Vessels that made towards the Shore, having taken up Arms with
THE WARS IN ITALY.

with more Resolution than Strength, were defeated with great Slaughter by the French Garrison, and in the Heat of the Victory the whole Town was pillaged. At the same time the Venetian Fleet approached Monopoli, a City of Puglia, and after landing the Stradiotti, and a good Body of Foot, attacked it by Land. Piero Bembo, Commander of one of the Venetian Gal- lies, was killed by a Cannon Ball; nevertheless the Town at last was taken by Storm, which so discouraged the French Governor that he soon surrendered the Castle; and Pugliano also was given up by Composition.

Ferdinando, in the mean time, was bent on getting Possession of Castel Nuovo and Castel dell'Uovo, and hoped to reduce them soon by Famine; for Provisions were scarce, considering the Number of Soldiers that were therein; and, to render them still scarcer, he was constantly employed in making himself Master of the adjacent Posts. The French, to secure their Fleet, which was in great Danger in the Port, brought it between the Tower of San Vin-

C c 4 centio,
THE HISTORY OF

A.D. centio, Castel dell’Uovo, and Pizzifalcone; which Places were in their Hands: This Fleet consisted of Five Ships, Four light Gallies, a small Galliot, and a Galleon. They kept Possession of the Part behind Castel Nuovo, where the royal Gardens were situated, and extended themselves to Capella, and fortifying the Monastery of the Croce, they made Excursions as far as Piedigrotta and San Martino. Ferdinando having taken and fortified that Spot of Ground made Use of for Horse-Races, and made a covered Way along the Incoronata, took Possession of Mount Sant’ Ermo and the Hill of Pizzifalcone, in order to block up the Citadel, which was built on the Top of the Hill, and held out for the French, because by taking it he might from that high Place annoy the Enemy’s Fleet. The Troops of Ferdinando attacked those in the Monastery of the Croce; but receiving great Damage in their Approaches from the Artillery, and despairing to take that Place by Force, they endeavoured to get it by a Plot, which afterwards proved fatal to the Contriver: For a Moor in the Garrison
riffon having deceitfully promised the Mar-
quís of Pescara, who had been lately his Maister, to let him into the Place, and for that End having enticed him one Night to come and parley on the Top of a Ladder planted against the Walls of the Mo-
naftery, in order to settle the Time and Manner of entering the Place the same Night, he was by a double Treachery of the Black shot thro' the Throat by an Arrow from a Cross-Bow, and killed on the Spot.

The Desertion first of Prospero, and then of Fabritio Colonna, was of no small Importance to Ferdinando's Affairs. Tho' the Time they had inlifled themselves to the King of France was not expired, yet immediately after the Recovery of Naples they entered into Ferdinando's Service, al-
ledging for their Excuse, that their Salary had not been duly paid, and that Virginio Orsini and Count Pitigliano were highly carreful by the King, with too little Regard to their own Merit; a Reason not sufficient to counterballance the Greatness of
THE HISTORY OF

of the Favours they had received from him. But who knows whether that which ought in Reason to have been a Bridle to refrain them, was not a Spur to act the contrary; because the greater the Rewards of which they were in Possession, so much the more powerful, perhaps, was their Desire to preserve them, since they saw the Affairs of the French now on the Decline?

The Castle being thus blockaded, and the Sea at present secured, the Want of Provisions daily increased, and the only Hopes the Besieged had left were the Expectation of Succours by Sea from France. For as soon as Charles was arrived at Afli, Peron de la Basque was dispatched to Villafranca, a Port contiguous to Nizza, with Orders for a Fleet to be sent out immediately with Two Thousand between Gasccons and Swifs, and to carry with them Provisions. Mons. d'Arban was both General and Admiral; a good Land-Officer, but little versed in Sea Affairs! He failed to the Isle of Porezzo, where he discovered Ferdinando's Fleet, which consisted of Thirty Sail.
Sail of Ships, and two large Genoese Vessels; at the Sight of which he tacked about and went off, and was pursued to the Isle of Elba, but, with the Loifs only of a Biscayan Vessel, he got into Livorno, so terrified, that his Authority was not sufficient to prevent the greater Part of his Men from landing, and going to Pisa.

After this Retreat Monpensier and the rest, finding they could not subsist for Want of Provisions, and having sustained a Three Months Siege, agreed to return into Provence, if they were not succoured within Thirty Days, on Condition that the Effects and Persons of all those who were in the Castle should be secure, and Yves d’Alegre and Three more were delivered as Hostages for the Performance of this Convention. So short a Time could not admit of any Succour, but from the French in that Kingdom: Therefore Mons. de Perfi, with the Swiss that he commanded, and Part of the French Lances, accompanied by the Prince of Bismignano, and many other Barons, moved towards Naples, Ferdinando, aware of this,
this, sent Count Matalona to Eboli, with an Army, the greater Part of which was got together in haste, and consisted chiefly of his Friends and Adherents, which, tho' much superior in Number, at the Sight of the French at the Lake of Pizzolo near Eboli, turned their Backs and fled, without offering to fight; yet as they were not much pursued, they got with little Loss, first to Nola, and then to Naples. Venantio, the Son of Giulio Verano, Lord of Camerino, was taken Prisoner on this Occasion. The Conquerors marched on to relieve the Castle, and had got so much Credit by this last Victory, that Ferdinando was inclined once more to abandon Naples: But resuming Courage at the Intreaties of the Neapolitans, who, as much out of Fear on account of their Rebellion, as of Affection to his Person, pressed and prevailed on him to stay, he posted himself at Capella, and, to prevent the Enemy's Approach to the Castle, perfected a large Trench, already begun, from the Mountain Sant' Ermo to Castel dell' Uovo, and lined with Artillery and Soldiers all the Hills, as far as Capella, and beyond it.

Wherefore
Wherefore the French, though, by the Way of Salerno, they were come to Nocera thro' Cava, and by the Mountain of Piedigrotta had got into Chiaia near Naples, yet found all Places so well defended, and Ferdinando so resolute, and were so annoyed by the Artillery from Mount Pizzifalcone (so famous for the Delicacies and profuse Expences of Lucullus) which commands Castel dell'Uovo, that they durst not advance, or come near Capella; nor was it possible for them to remain in the Post they were in; for Nature, that has bountifully bestowed on that Coast all other Delights, had not provided it with fresh Water. This obliged them to retire sooner than they intended, and to march towards Nola, leaving at their Decampment two or three Pieces of Artillery, and Part of the Provisions they had brought to supply the Castle. Ferdinando, leaving the Castle besieged, encamped his Army in the Plain of Palma near Sarni.

Monpensier,

* At this Place there was a Battle fought between Marcellus and Hannibal.
MONPENSIER, by the Departure of Perse, despairing of any Relief, after leaving Three Hundred Men in Castel Nuovo, which was a sufficient Number both for the Provisions and for the Defence, and a Garrison in Castel dell' Uovo, embarked in the Night, with Five and Twenty Hundred Men, on his Fleet, and went to Salerno. Ferdinando complained greatly of this Proceeding, alledging that Montpensier ought not to have gone off with his Men from Castel Nuovo, before the Time of surrendering was expired, without giving up both the Castles; and he was disposed, as the Rigour of the Laws of War permitted him, to revenge this Injury and Breach of Faith with the Blood of the Hostages, when he found that the Garrisons refused to surrender at the Time stipulated. But after they had stood out above a Month beyond the Term, and were almost famished, those of Castel Nuovo surrendered on Condition the Hostages should be released. And a few Days after the Garrison of Castel dell' Uovo, for the same Reason, agreed to surrender the first
first Day of Lent, in case they were not relieved before that Time.

About this Time died at Messina Alfonso of Aragon, whose Glory and Fortune, which had rendered his Name so illustrious in all Parts when Duke of Calabria, were converted into the highest Infamy and Misery after he ascended the Throne of Naples. It is reported that, a little before his Death, he begged of his Son to permit him to return to Naples, where the Hatred, formerly conceived against him, was almost changed into Benevolence; but that Ferdinando, swayed more, as is customary with Mankind, by the Ambition of Reigning, than by Paternal Reverence, should return this Answer, no less pungent than witty, That the best Course for him would be to stay where he was till he had so settled the Kingdom that he might never more be obliged to abandon it. Ferdinando also, to strengthen his Interest by a closer Alliance with the King of Spain, obtained the Pope's Dispensation to marry his Aunt Giovanna, the Daughter of Ferdinando his Grand-Father,
WHilst the Sieges were carried on against the Castles of Naples, with Variety of Accidents in the Manner related, those in Novara were very much straitened; for the Duke of Milan had a powerful Army before it, and the Venetians were so earnest in assisting him, that it was thought they had seldom been less sparing of their Money than on this Occasion *. Hence, in a short Time, were assembled in the Camp of the Allies Three Thousand Men at Arms, Three Thousand light Horse, a Thousand German Horse, and Five Thousand Italian Foot: But the principal Strength of this Army consisted in Ten Thousand Lance-Knights, the Name by which the German Foot were commonly known. These were mostly in the Pay of the Duke of Milan, and were intended to oppose the Swifs: For the Italian Foot dreaded their very Name, being mightily funk

* The Venetians expended One Hundred Thousand Golden Ducats a Month to support this War. Alessandro Benedetti.
funk in Courage and Reputation since the Coming of the French. The Germans had many brave Commanders; the chief amongst them was George Petraplan, a Native of Austria, who some Years before had served under Maximilian King of the Romans, and established his Reputation at the Siege of St. Omer, a Town of Picardy, which he took from the French. Nor had the Venetian Senate only taken Care to send a great Number of Troops to this Siege, but farther, to put greater Spirits in their Soldiery, had promoted the Marquis of Mantoua from Governor to be Captain General of the Army, in Honour to the Valour which he had shewn in the Battle of the Taro; and, as an Example of great Gratitude for ever to be recorded, they not only increased the Pay of those who behaved gallantly in that Action, but gave Pensions or other Provisions to the Sons of many of the Slain, and Portions to their Daughters.

With this powerful Army the Siege was carried on; for the Confederates, who were determined mostly by what Lodovico
proposed, had resolved, by his Advice, not to run the Risque of a Battle, unless they were forced; but to fortify themselves in proper Places about Novara, and prevent its being supplied with Provisions, hoping that as there was a Scarcity in the Town, and great Quantities were wanting, that it could not hold out many Days: For, besides the Inhabitants and Peasants who had refor ted thither, the Duke of Orleans, between French and Savais, had above Seven Thousand chosen Men in it. Therefore Galeazzo da San Severino, giving over all Thoughts of taking by Force a Town defended by such Numbers, encamped with the Duke's Forces at Mygne, a Place very convenient to hinder Provisions coming from Vercelli. And the Marquis of Mantua, with the Venetians, immediately on his Arrival, took several Towns Sword in Hand; and a few Days after the Castle of Brionce, which was of some Importance, and put Troops into Camariano and Bol gari, that lay between Novara and Vercelli; and, the better to prevent the Entrance of Provisions, distributed the Army in proper
THE WARS IN ITALY.

proper Posts about Novara, and fortified all their Quarters.

On the other Hand, the King of France, to be nearer Novara, had removed from Asti to Turin, from whence he made frequent Visits to a Lady at Cheri, with whom he was fallen in Love; yet Gallantry did not take off his Attentions from providing what was necessary for the War, but he was continually pressing the March of his Troops from France, and with no less Eagernefs soliciting and waiting the Arrival of the Ten Thouſand Swifs, whom the Bailiff of Dijon was gone to inſtit, being fully determined, as soon as they had joined the Army, to make all possible Efforts to relieve Novara; but without them he would not venture to attempt any Thing of Conſequence. For the French Nation, though very potent in Cavalry, and noted for its great Quantity of Artillery, and Skill in managing it, yet was very weak in Infantry; because the Uſe of Arms and military Exercises having been encouraged only amongst the Nobility, the vulgar Sort, and the People in general,
THE HISTORY OF
A. D. 1495.

thro' a long Difufe of Arms, had no longer the antient warlike Spirit of that Nation, but addicted themselves to Trades, and to the Profits arising from them in Times of Peace. To encourage this Disposition, several of the last Kings had thought fit to disarm the People, and endeavoured to wean their Inclinations from military Exercises, induced to it by various Instances of popular Conspiracies and Rebellions in that Kingdom. The French, on this Account, could not trust to the Valour of their own Infantry, but went timorously to War, if they were not provided with a sufficient Body of Swifs; which Nation, ever unconquered and fierce, had greatly increased its Reputation for these Twenty Years last past: For being attacked by Charles Duke of Burgundy, who for his Courage and Power was a very great Terror to France and to all his Neighbours, in a few Months they gave him three Defeats, in the last of which he was found dead amongst the Slain; but whether killed in the Battle or Flight, or how he came by his Death, was never particularly known. It was therefore on ac-
count of their Courage, and because the French had no Sort of Emulation or Difference with them, or any Reason, for their own Interests, to be jealous of them, as they were of the Germans, that they instilled no other foreign Foot but Swiss, and made use of them in all important Wars. And well knowing how difficult and dangerous it was to succour Novara, surrounded by so vast an Army, and fight against such a Body of German Foot, who had the same Discipline as the Swiss, they never expected their Arrival with more Anxiety than at this Juncture.

The City of Vercelli is situated half-way between Turin and Novara: It was formerly a Member of the Duchy of Milan, but yielded by Filippomaria Visconti, during the long War in which he was engaged with the Venetians and Florentines, to Amadeo Duke of Savoy, to induce him to break his Alliance with them. Neither Side as yet had sent Soldiers into this Town; for the Dukes, Mother and Guardian to the young Duke of Savoy, was quite French by Inclination, but would not declare
declare openly for the King till he was more powerful, in the mean time amusing the Duke of Milan with smooth Speeches, and flattering Hopes. But when the King, who had now a numerous Army, removed to Turin, a City of the same Dutchy, he consented to the Entrance of French Troops into Vercelli, which, on account of its Situation, increased greatly his Hopes of relieving Novara when all his Troops were arrived. The Confederates indeed began to be doubtful of Success, and, therefore, in order to lay the better Foundation for Proceeding maturely amidst these Difficulties, Lodovico Sforza went in Person to the Army, accompanied by Beatrice his Wife, and constant Companion, as well in Affairs of Moment as in Diversions. At his Presence, and, as reported, principally by his Advice, after many Debates, it was unanimously concluded by the Generals that, for the greater Security of the whole Army, the Venetians should join the Sforzascan Troops at Magne, after leaving sufficient Garrisons in all the Places about Novara which might favour the Siege: That Bulgari should be abandoned, for
THE WARS IN ITALY.

for being only Three Miles distant from Vercelli, if the French should attack it with a great Force, they should be obliged either shamefully to lose it, or, contrary to what had been settled, put the whole Army in Motion to relieve it: That in Camariano, which lay Three Miles from the Quarters at Mugges, the Garrison should be augmented, and the whole Camp fortified with Ditches, Ramparts, and a great Quantity of Artillery; and that other Resolutions should be taken every Day, in which they were to be directed according to the Motions of the Enemy; and, lastly, not to omit cutting down the Trees, and destroying every thing, up to the Walls of Novara, that might be of any Use to the Besieged, or their Horses, of which there were a vast Number in the Town. These Things being settled, and a general Review made of the Army, Lodovico returned to Milan, to be at hand to make the necessary Provisions that from Time to Time would be required. And that the Spiritual Authority and Arms might be assistant to the temporal Forces, the Venetians and Sforza prevailed on the Pope
Pope to send one of his Mace-Bearers to Charles, commanding him in Ten Days to quit Italy with all his Army, and appointing him another short Time to withdraw his Troops from the Kingdom of Naples; and, in case of Disobedience, citing him to appear in Person at Rome, under the Penalty of spiritual Punishments, accompanied by the Threats usually denounced by the Church on such Occasions. This was a Step formerly taken by antient Popes in dangerous Junctures. Thus we read that with no other Weapons Adrian, the first of that Name, obliged Desiderio, King of the Lombards, who was marching with a powerful Army to create Disturbances in Rome, to return to Pavia, after he had advanced as far as Terni. But in our Days that Reverence and Majesty, which the Sanctity of the Lives of those Popes had secured them, being wanting, it was not at all likely that different Manners and Examples should produce the same Effects. Charles, therefore, treated this Order with Scorn, and made answer, That since his Holiness, at his Return from Naples, did not think proper to wait for him at Rome, whither he
he was going, in a devout Manner, to kiss his Feet, he wondered very much he should be so desirous of seeing him now: However, in Obedience to his Commands, he should apply himself seriously to force his Way to him; and, that he might not take so much Trouble in vain, he begged he would not be out of the Way.

Charles, about this Time, concluded a new Treaty at Turin with the Florentine Ambassadors, but not without a strong Opposition from the same Ministers who formerly had shewn themselves no Friends to that Republic, and who unluckily had now a greater Occasion to contradict them. For after the Florentines had recovered the Castles which lay on the Hills near Pifa taken from them in Charles's Return, and obtained Pontefacco, to which they had laid Siege, on Condition that the Soldiers should retire in Safety, contrary to this Capitulation, they had put to the Sword almost all the Gascons, as they marched out intermixed with the Pisans, and afterwards exercised many Instances of Inhumanity against the dead Bodies. This Barbarity
Barbarity was committed against the Will of the Florentine Commissaries, who with great Difficulty sav'd Part of the Men. But some Florentine Soldiers, when Prisoners in the French Army, had been very ill used, and took this Opportunity to gratify their Revenge. The Enemies of the Republic in the King's Court made a Handle of this Action to prove the innate Enmity of the Florentines to the French. This Affair retarded some Time, but, however, did not hinder the Conclusion of the Treaty; which at last was finished, but not out of any Regard to former Promises or Oaths, but from an urgent Necessity of Money, and of succouring the Kingdom of Naples. The Articles were, That, without any Delay, all the Towns and Ports of the Florentines which were in the King's Hands should be restored; they obliging themselves, within Two Years, on a valuable Consideration, to deliver up, if the King should require it, Pietra Santa and Sarzana to the Genoese, provided the City of Genoa should return under his Majesty's Command: That on this Consideration their Ambassadors should pay down
down the Thirty Thousand Ducats agreed upon in the Capitulation of Florence, but the Republic should have Jewels in Pledge for the Restitution of this Money, if their Castles, under any Pretex whatsoever, were not restored: That when they were given up they should lend the King Seventy Thousand Ducats; for the Payment of which the Generals of the Kingdom of France should be bound: This is the Title given to Four of the King's Ministers who collect the Revenue of the whole Kingdom: That they should send this Money into the Kingdom of Naples, and, in the King's Name, distribute it amongst the royal Forces, not excepting the Colonnas, if they had not made their Peace with Ferdinando; for though there was a strong Report of Prospero's Desertion, yet no authentic Account was arrived: That, provided they were not engaged in a War in Tuscany, they should send Two Hundred and Fifty Men at Arms into the Kingdom of Naples; and, if they had no other War but what concerned Montepulciano, they should send thither Vitelli with the Troops he had under his Command in the
THE HISTORY OF

A. D. 1495.

Pisan, who should not be obliged to stay any longer than the End of October: That the Pisans should have a general Indemnity, and the Florentines should immediately set about restoring their Effects, and give some Encouragement for their Improvement in Arts and Sciences: That, for a Security of the Performance of these Articles, they should deliver Six Hostages, of the principal Citizens of Florence at the King's Choice, who should remain for a certain Time at his Court. As soon as the Treaty was signed, the Thirty Thousand Ducats paid down, and the Jewels delivered in Pledge, Letters and Orders were dispatched to the King's Governors to restore the Forts, and the Thirty Thousand Ducats were immediately sent into Switzerland for the new Levies.

All this while the Hardships and Difficulties in Novara daily increased, but great was the Resolution of the Soldiers, and much greater the Obstinacy of the Novaresi, from a Conscionableness of their Rebellion, in defending themselves; for Provisions were become so scarce, that they were
THE WARS IN ITALY.

The wars in Italy were almost famished; and though Orleans had sent out of the Town the useless Mouths, that was not a sufficient Remedy. The French and the Swiss, who were not accustomed to such Inconveniencies, began daily to sicken; the Duke himself laboured under a Quartan Ague, and with reiterated Messengers and Letters pressed the King not to prolong the Succours; but as he had not as yet got together a sufficient Force, he could not so easily, and as soon as was necessary, give them Relief. The French, however, attempted several Times in the Night to throw in Provisions, and escorted them with large Parties both of Horse and Foot; but they were always discovered, and obliged to retire, and sometimes with no small Loss: And the Marquis of Mantua, to prevent all Entrance of Provisions, attacked the Monastery of San Francesco, which lies near the Walls of Novara, and having taken it, he put in it a Guard of Two Hundred Men at Arms, and Three Thousand German Foot. The taking this Post greatly eased the Army of its Fatigues, for it kept open the Road through which all their own
own Provisions passed, and stopped the Way from the Gate which leads to Mount Biandrina, the easiest Passage into Novara. The next Day he took the Bastion which had been erected by the French in the Suburb of San Nazzaro, and the Night following got Possession of the whole Suburb, and the other Bastion contiguous to the Gate, in which he put a Guard, and then fortified the Suburb, where Count Pi-tigliano, who had been hired with the Title of Governor by the Venetians, was wounded near his Girdle by a Musket-Shot, which had very like to have proved mortal.

By this Progress of the Enemy, the Duke of Orleans finding he could no longer defend the other Suburbs which, on his first retiring to Novara, he had fortified, ordered them to be set on Fire the Night following, and drew off all his Men, attending wholly to the Defence of the City, keeping up his Spirits in this Extremity of Hunger with the Hopes of a speedy Relief; for the Swifs were daily arriving, and the French Army, after passing the River
River Stejia, and putting a Garrison in Bolgari, encamped within a Mile of Ver-celli, in order to wait there for the Swifs, and it was believed that, on their Arrival, Novara would be succoured. But this must have proved a difficult Task; for the Italians were deeply entrenched in a strong Situation, the Road from Verceil to Nova-ra was full of Water, the Ditches deep and wide all over the Country, and Camariano, which was fortified by the Allies, lay between their Camp and Bolgari possessed by the French. By reason of these Difficulties, neither the King nor his Troops seemed eager to move; but yet if the whole Complement of the Swifs had arrived sooner, he would certainly have risked a Battle, the Event of which must have been very dubious on both Sides. Wherefore each being sensible of their Danger, there were not wanting secret Overtures of Peace between the King and the Duke of Milan, tho' with little Hopes of Success, on account of the Jealousies they entertained of one another; and because each, the more to keep up his Reputation, would seem indifferent. But Chance
THE HISTORY OF

A. D. 1495.

Chance opened a more expeditious Way to bring Affairs of so much Importance to a Conclusion.

The Marchioness of Monferrato died at this Time, and a Dispute arising about the Guardianship of her young Son between the Marquis of Saluzzo and the Marchioness's Brother Constantino, who was one of the ancient Lords of Macedonia, which had been seized many Years before by Mahomet the Ottoman, the King, desirous to prevent Commotions in that State, in order to settle the Regency according to the Inclination of the People, had sent Argenton to Casul Cervagio; and the Marquis of Mantoua at the same time had sent one of his Domestics to condole for the Death of the Marchioness. These two, in conversing, fell on a Discourse concerning the Benefit that would accrue to both Parties, if a Peace could be procured. The Conversation became so serious that Argenton was prevailed on to write to the Venetian Proveditors, reminding them of what he began to negotiate with them before at the Tara. They listened to him, and
and communicating their Sentiments to the Duke of Milan's Generals, at last it was agreed to apply to the King, who was come to Vercelli, and desire he would depute some of his Ministers to meet theirs, in order for a Conference in some convenient Place. The King consented, and the next Day the Deputies assembled at a Place between Bolgari and Camariano. The Venetians chose the Marquis of Mantova and Bernardo Contarini the Provveditore of their Stradiotti; the Duke of Milan, Francesco Bernardino Visconti, and the King of France sent the Cardinal of St. Malo, the Prince of Orange (who had lately passed the Mountains, and by the King's Commission had the principal Charge of the Army) the Marshal de Gie, Pienes and Argenton. The Deputies met several times, and Day after Day some of them passed and repassed between their respective Armies with the Result of their Conferences. The most material Point in which they disagreed was concerning the City of Novara: The King made no Difficulty of restoring it, but desired it might be done with the least Offence to
his Honour. He insisted it should be put into the Hands of one of the German Officers in the Italian Camp, who should receive it in the Name of the King of the Romans, as Liege Lord of the Dutchy of Milan: But the Allies insisted that it should be given up without any Condition. This Difficulty, and some others, could not be removed with the Expedition with-ed by the Besieged, who were reduced to the last Extremity; it being computed that, through Famine and the Sickness occasioned by it, about Two Thousand of Orleans's Men had perished. At last a Truce was made for Eight Days, and Leave given for the Duke of Orleans and the Marquis of Saluzzo to repair with a small Attendance to Vercelli, but on their Parole to return to Novara with the same Retinue, if the Peace was not concluded. As the Duke was to pass through the Enemy's Camp, the Marquis of Mantoua, for his Security, went to a Fort near Bolgari, in the Power of the Count de Foix. The Soldiers in Novara would not have permitted the Duke to leave the Town, if he had not assured them, on his Word, that he would return.
THE WARS IN ITALY.

return in Three Days, or that through his Means they should be allowed to come out; nor would they permit the Marshal de Gié, who was come to Novara to conduct the Duke out of the City, to take away his Nephew, but kept him in Pledge. They had by this Time consumed not only the Provisions that generally serve for the Preservation of human Life, but also the Flesh of unclean Animals, and other nauseous Foods, from which Men in that Extremity know not how to abstain.

As soon as the Duke of Orleans came to the King, the Truce was prolonged for a few Days, on Condition that all the French should quit Novara, and leave it in the Possession of the Townsmen, who were to take an Oath not to deliver it to either Party without their mutual Consent: That in the Castle there should remain a Company of Thirty French Foot, who should be daily supplied with Provisions from the Italian Camp. The French accordingly marched out, and were escorted by the Marquis of Mantoua, and Galeazzo da San Severino till they arrived where they were safe.
safe, but were so feeble and emaciated by Hunger, that many died a little after they were arrived at Vercelli, and those that survived were rendered useless during this War.

At this Time the Bailiff of Dijon arrived with the Remainder of the Swifs; and though he had demanded no more than Ten Thousand, yet he could not help bringing Twenty; for the News being spread of the Arrival of French Money, the People, that flocked from all Parts, made up that Number, and would be inlisted. One Half of these joined the Camp at Vercelli, and the other was quartered at Ten Miles Distance; for it was not thought quite safe that so many of that Nation should be together in the same Army: Had they arrived some Days sooner, it is probable the Treaty might have been interrupted: For, besides these, the King's Army consisted of Eight Thousand French Foot, Two Thousand Swifs of those who had served at Naples, and a Body of Eighteen Hundred Lances. But as Things had gone so far, and Novara was
was evacuated, the Treaty went on, tho' the Duke of Orleans, with many others, was strongly against it. Every Day the French Deputies, who were in the Italian Camp, attended the Duke of Milan, who was come in Person to be nearer at hand to treat of Matters of such Importance, tho' always in the Presence of the Ambassadors of the Allies. At last the Deputies returned to the King with the ultimate Conditions on which Peace might be made, which were as follows: That there should be a perpetual Peace and Friendship between the King and the Duke of Milan, but without any Prejudice to the Duke's other Alliances: That his Majesty should give his Consent that the Citizens of Novara should deliver up to him the Town, and his Men should evacuate the Castle: That Spezie and all other Places taken in this War by either Side should be restored: That the King might equip at Genoa, his Fief, what Vessels he pleased, and have the Benefit of all military Conveniencies of that City, provided they were not employed in Favour of the Enemies of that State; and
for the Security of this Article, the Genoese should give certain Hostages: The Duke of Milan should procure him the Restitution of the Vessels taken at Rapalle, and the Twelve Gallies detained at Genoa, and at his own Expence fit him out at present two large Genoa Ships (which with four of his own, already equipped, he designed to send to the Succour of the Kingdom of Naples) and the Year following be obliged to have in Readiness Three more in the same Order: That he should give a free Pass to what Troops the King should send through his Dutchy in their Way to Naples, on Condition that no more than Two Hundred Lances at a Time should pass; and in case the King returned himself, the Duke should accompany him with a certain Number of Men: That the Venetians for two Months might have the Liberty of acceding to this Peace, and if they did should withdraw their Fleet from the Kingdom of Naples, and give no farther Assistance to Ferdinando: If afterwards they violated their Engagements, and the King on that Account declared War, the Duke should assist him, and might keep Possession
fession of whatever Part of the Venetian Territory he could make himself Master:

That Lodovico, within the Month of March ensuing, should pay Fifty Thousand Ducats to the Duke of Orleans, for the Expences he had incurred during the Siege of Novara, remit Eighty Thousand Ducats of the Money he lent the King, when he first passed through his Dominions, and allow a further Term for the Payment of the Remainder: That Trivulzio's Estate should be restored to him, and his Outlawry reversed: The Bastard of Bourbon taken at the Taro, and Meaux at Rapalle, and all other Prisoners should be set at Liberty: The Duke should order Fracassa to depart from Pisa, with all the Troops he had lately sent thither, as also those of the Genoese, and should give no Obstruction to the Florentines in the Recovery of their Forts: That within a Month the Castelletto of Genoa should for Two Years, the Garrison being maintained at the common Expence, be put into the Hands of the Duke of Ferrara, who was come to the Italian Camp at the Desire of both Parties; but he should take
THE HISTORY OF

an Oath to deliver it any Time within that Term to the King of France, in case the Duke of Milan did not perform the Articles of this Treaty: Lodovico, on the signing of the Peace, should give Hostages to remain with the King, till the Castelletto was delivered to the Duke of Ferrara.

These Articles being referred to the King by his Ministers concerned in the Treaty, his Majesty laid them before his Council, where, amidst a Variety of Sentiments, M. de la Tremouille spoke to the following Purport:

"If the Subject under Debate concerned only the making new Additions to the Glory of the Crown of France by warlike Exploits, I should perhaps be less forward, O magnanimous King, to advise that your Royal Person should be exposed to new Dangers, tho' your own Example ought to have counselled you to the contrary. For, with no other Motive than the Thirst after Glory, you resolved, contrary to the Advice and to the Intreaties of almost your whole Kingdom, to pass the last Year
Year into Italy, in order to make a Conquest of the Kingdom of Naples, the Success of which Enterprize being crowned with great Honour and Renown, it is most manifest that the Question at present is not whether you ought to refuse the Opportunity of acquiring new Honour and Glory, but whether you ought to despise, and give over for lost what you have with so much Cost, and so great Danger acquired, and convert all this Honour into the greatest Ignominy and Disgrace, and will yourself contradict and condemn your own Resolutions. For you might, without any Reflection, have remained unactive in France, nor could that which now will be imputed by all the World to Timidity and Cowardice, be then ascribed to any other Motive than Negligence, and to an Age addicted to Pleasures. Your Majesty might, soon after your Arrival at Asl, with less Shame have returned back to France, and shown that you were not concerned for the Preservation of Novara: But now, since you have stopped here with your Army, and publicly declared that it was with an Intention to raise the Siege of No-

vara,
vara, and for that End have caused so many of the Nubiity to come from France, and, at an intolerable Expence, hired so great a Number of Swiss, who can doubt but that your own Glory and that of your Kingdom will be converted into eternal Disgrace if the Siege be not rais'd? But we have still a more powerful Motive, if in the Breast of magnanimous Kings there can possibly reside any greater and more ardent Incentive than a Thirst after Fame and Glory, or at least we have more necessary Reasons. For our Return into France, and consenting to lose Novara by Capitulation, is the same in Effect as losing the whole Kingdom of Naples, and abandoning to Destruction so many brave Officers and French Nobles, who remain for Defence of that Country, in Hopes, confirmed by your royal Word, of speedy Succours, and will be thrown into Despair of ever being relieved, as soon as they shall understand that you lie on the Frontiers of Italy with so great an Army, and so formidable a Force, under the Awe of the Enemy. Success in War depends in a great measure, as every one knows, on Reputation, and
and when this declines the Valour of the Soldiers declines with it, the public Credit is diminished, and the Revenues allotted to support the War are annihilated. On the contrary Side the Courage of the Enemy increases, their Doubts are removed, while on the other Hand all the Difficulties are infinitely augmented. When therefore our Army, by such melancholy News, abates of its Vigour, and the Enemy increases in Forces and Reputation, who can doubt but that we shall soon hear of a Rebellion of the whole Kingdom of Naples, and soon after, that our Army is defeated, and that an Enterprise, begun and conducted with so much Glory, will in the End yield us no other Fruit than Loss and inestimable Disgrace? For whoever persuades himself that this Peace is made with a sincere Intention, shews that he little considers the present Posture of Affairs, and that he knows but little of the Nature of those with whom it is negotiated, it being easy to conclude that, as soon as we have turned our Backs to Italy, not one Thing contained in these Articles will be observed, but that, instead of our receiving the stipulated
The History of

stipulated Succours, Assistance will be sent to Ferdiando, and those very Troops which will boast of having made us shamefully fly out of Italy, will march for Naples to enrich themselves with our Spoils. Such a Disgrace would be more tolerable, if there were any probable Reason for doubting of the Victory. But how is it possible for any one to entertain a Doubt of this Nature, who considers the Greatness of our Army, with the Advantages of the Country around us, and remembers that, when we were tired with the Length of the March, straitened for want of Provisions, very few in Number, and in the Midst of an Enemy's Country, we yet fought with such Fierceness and Resolution against a very numerous Army on the Taro, which River ran that Day with great Violence, more swelled with the Blood of our Enemies than with its own Waters, that we opened ourselves a Passage with the Sword, and, for eight Days together, rode on victorious through the Dutchy of Milan, which was all against us. We have at present double the Number of Horfe, and a much greater Number of French Foot than we had.
THE WARS IN ITALY.

had at that Time, and instead of Three Thousand we have Twenty-Two Thousand Swifs; whereas our Enemies, tho' reinforced with some German Foot, may be said to be but little increased in Comparison of us. For their Cavalry is much the same, they have the same Commanders, and having been once beaten by us with so great Loss, they will return to fight under a Terror. Besides, are the Rewards of the Victory perhaps so small that they ought to be despised by us, and not rather so considerable that they deserve our striving to obtain them tho' with some Danger? For we fight not only for the Preservation of the great Glory we have acquired, for the Preservation of the Kingdom of Naples, for the Safety of so many of our Officers and Nobles, but for the Empire of all Italy, which will be at Stake in the Field, where if we come off Conquerors, it offers itself as the Price of our Victory. For what other Troops, what other Armies have the Enemies left? They have their whole Force, and all the Generals that they could get together contained within their Camp. One Ditch that we may pass, one Rampart that
that we may force, will put us in Possession of so vast an Acquisition as the Dominion and Riches of all Italy, together with the Means of revenging ourselves for our manifold Injuries; which are two Incentives that used to fire the Spirit even of the Lazy and Pufillanimous. And if they should not be able to move our warlike and fierce Nation, we shall certainly have Reason to say that we are forsaken by Courage rather than by Fortune, who presents us with an Opportunity of gaining in so small a Field, and in so few Hours, Prizes so great and honourable, that greater and more honourable would exceed the Bounds of our own Wishes."

In contradiction to this Speech of Tre-mouille the Prince of Orange spoke as follows.

"If our Affairs, Most Christian King, were not reduced within such a narrow Compass of Time, but were at such a Pass as to give us Leisure to conduct our Forces with Prudence and Industry, and we were not necessitated, if we intend to continue the
the War, to proceed impetuously, and contrary to all the Precepts of the military Art, I also would be one of those who would advise rejecting an Agreement: For, to speak the Truth, there are many Reasons why we should not accept it, since it cannot be denied that the Continuation of the War would be very honourable, and highly conducive to the Success of our Affairs in Naples. But the Condition to which Novara and its Castle are reduced, where there is not a Day's Provision left, constrains us, if we intend to relieve it, to attack the Enemy without Delay. And even if we suffer it to be lost, with a Design of transferring the War into some other Part of the State of Milan, the Winter Season, which now approaches, is very inconvenient for making War in those low and watry Places. The Condition of our Army, which from the Nature and so great a Multitude of Swifts, if it be not soon put in Action, may prove more pernicious to ourselves than to the Enemy; the extraordinary Scarcity of Money, which renders it impossible for us to maintain ourselves for any long Time, lay
lay us under a Necessity, if we accept not
of the present Articles, to strive for bringing
the War to a speedy Conclusion; and that
can be done no other Way than by direct-
ly marching up and attacking the Enemy,
which, considering their Condition and
that of the Country, is a Step so dangerous
that Tremouille himself must acknowledge
that to proceed in this Manner would be
the highest Temerity and Imprudence.
For their Camp is so strong both by Na-
ture and Art, and they have had so long
a Time to intrench and fortify it; the cir-
cumjacent Places, which they have gar-
risoned, are so commodious for their De-
fence, and so well fortified; and the
Country, from the Inclosures of the Ditches,
and the Impediments of the Waters so
difficult for Cavalry, that whoever puts
himself on his March in full Array in
order to come up with them, and does
not make his Approaches Step by Step, by
dislodging them Place after Place from
their fortified Avenues, and gain Ground
upon them, as we say, Inch by Inch,
seeks to run himself into very great and
unavoidable Danger. For by what Rea-
soning,
THE WARS IN ITALY.

Toning, by what Rules of War, by what Example of excellent Generals, ought we to run violently on attacking so numerous an Army, in so strong a Camp, furnished with such a Quantity of Artillery? It would be necessary, unless we would leave the Event wholly to Chance, to dislodge them from their strong Situation, by taking Possession of some Post, that might command their Camp, or intercept their Provisions. But nothing of this, as far as I can judge, is to be expected but by proceeding maturely, and with Length of Time, which, every one knows, we are not in a Condition to wait: Not to mention that our Cavalry is neither so numerous, nor so full of Spirits, as some perhaps persuade themselves, many, as is well known, being sick, many without Permission returned into France, and the greater Part of those who remain tired with the long Service, and more desirous to go into Quarters than to fight: And the great Number of Swifs, who are the principal Strength of our Army, is perhaps as prejudicial to us as a small Number would be uselefs. For what Man, who is ex-

Vol. I.  F f experienced
experienced in the Nature and Manners of that Nation, and knows how difficult it is to keep so large a Body of them in Order, will be Security for them that they shall not raise some dangerous Tumult, especially if the War be protracted to a considerable Length, when on account of the Payments, in which they are insatiable, and of other Accidents, a thousand Occasions might arise to put them out of Humour? Thus must we be at a Loss whether their Assistance will serve us as a Remedy or as a Poison; and under this Uncertainty how can we settle our Counsels, with what Spirit can we resolve on any bold and grand Enterprise? None doubts that Victory would be more honourable, and more conducive to the Defence of the Kingdom of Naples, than Agreement. But in all human Actions, and especially in Wars, it is often requisite to accommodate Resolutions to Necessity, and not out of a Desire to obtain a Part which is too difficult, and almost impossible, to expose the Whole to most manifest Danger: Nor is it lest the Part of a valiant General to perform the Office of a prudent than of a courageous
THE WARS IN ITALY.

A. D. 1495.

courageous Commander. The Enterprise of Novara has not been your principal Undertaking, but only indirectly concerned your Majesty, since you pretend no Right to the Dutchy of Milan: Nor did you leave Naples with a View to make a Stop, and carry on a War in Piedmont, but to return into France, in order to re-establish your Finances and your Military, that you might with the greater Vigour be enabled to succour the Kingdom of Naples. That Country in the mean time, by the Succour of the Fleet which is failed from Nizza with the Troops commanded by Vitelli, and by the Auxiliaries and Money of the Florentines, will defend itself so well, that it may with Security wait the Arrival of those powerful Supplies which your Majesty will take care to provide when you are once returned into France. I will not affirm, with some, that the Duke of Milan will observe this Treaty; but as he and the Genoese are to give Hostages, and the Castelletto is to be put in your Hands, according to the Tenor of the Articles, you will at least have some Security, some Pledge. Nor will it also be much to be wondered
wondered at, if the Duke, to avoid being the first who will feel the Weight of your Arms, should desire to live in Peace. Besides, it is the Nature of Leagues, where many Parties are concerned, not to have that Firmness and that Harmony which might exclude all Hopes of its Dissolution, or the Disunion of some Members from the rest, among whom every small Breach that we might make, every little Gap we see, will enlarge itself to make Way for our easy and secure Victory. To conclude, I advise your most Christian Majesty to an Agreement, not because it is advantageous and laudable in itself, but as it is the Part of wise Princes, in difficult and troublesome Deliberations, to approve as easy and agreeable that which is necessary, or at least attended with less Difficulty and Danger than any of the rest."

The Duke of Orleans passed his Censures on this Speech of the Prince of Orange, and with such Sharpness, that both he and the Prince, transported with violent Passion, proceeded from hot to abusive Words, and Orleans gave the
THE WARS IN ITALY.

the other the Lyon before all the Council. The Inclinations, however, of most of the Members, and of almost the whole Army, were for accepting Peace, the Desire of returning into France being so strong in all, and in the King as much as the rest, as to suppress all Sense of the Danger of the Kingdom of Naples, and of the Disgrace they would incur by suffering Novara to be lost before their Eyes, and by departing out of Italy on Terms which, for the Uncertainty of their Performance, were highly iniquitous. This Resolution was promoted with so much Heat by the Prince of Orange, as to create in many a Suspicion that, at the Sollicitations of the King of the Romans, to whom he was much devoted, he had no less Regard to the Interest of the Duke of Milan, than to that of the King of France; and he was of great Authority with Charles, on account of his natural Parts and Valour, as well as because Princes are apt to esteem those as wise Men, who know best how to conform themselves to their Inclinations.

Peace
Peace then was concluded, to which the Duke of Milan had no sooner sworn than the King, wholly intent on his Return to France, set out on a sudden for Turin, in a great Hurry, from Vercelli: For that Part of the Swiss which was in the Camp, in order to secure their Pay for three whole Months, which, they said, was always allowed them by Lewis XI. tho' it had not been now promised them, and they had not yet served out that Time, consulted together about detaining either the King or the principal Persons of the Court; from which Danger, tho' the King himself escaped by his sudden Departure, yet the Swiss, having made Prisoners of the Bailiff of Dijon, and other great Persons, he was at last obliged to give them Security by Hostages and Promises that their Demands should be satisfied.

The King, more and more impatient to establish Peace, sent from Turin Marshal de Gie, the President Gannay, and Argenton, to the Duke of Milan, to desire a personal Conference. Ledovico seemed fond
fond of the Proposal, but either suspecting some Fraud, or perhaps studiously interposing Difficulties that he might not give Cause of Jealousy to the Allies, or out of Pride of appearing not inferior to the King of France, proposed the Meeting to be in the Midst of some River, over which there should be a Bridge of Boats, or of other Materials, and between him and the King a strong Barrier of Wood, in the same Manner as heretofore the Kings of France and England, and other great western Princes had met. This was refused by the King as beneath his Dignity; so, after receiving the Hostages, he sent Peron de Basque to Genoa, to receive the two large Vessels agreed for, and to fit out four others at his own Expence, to succour the Castles of Naples, which he knew had not been relieved by the Fleet ordered from Nizza, and by Agreement were to be surrendered, if not succoured in Thirty Days. His Intention was to put immediately Three Thousand Swiss on board these Vessels, and join them with his Fleet, which was retired to Livorno, and other Ships that were daily expected from Provence. Such
a Force was necessary, the Port of Naples being full of the Enemy's Fleet; for, besides those Vessels which Ferdinando had brought with him, the Venetians had sent Twenty Gallies, and Forty Ships. Argenton was sent also to Venice to press the Senate to accept of the Peace, and then the King, accompanied by his whole Court, began his Journey with so much Speed and Eagerness, that he could not be prevailed on to wait a few Days in Italy to receive the Hostages of the Genoese, who would certainly have sent them had he tarried a little longer. And thus, about the End of October 1495, Charles, after so many Victories, returned over the Mountains, more like a vanquished than victorious Prince. He left in Alost, which he pretended to have bought of the Duke of Orleans, Five Hundred French Lances under Gianjacopo Trivulzi, but most of them in a few Days without asking Leave followed him. In this manner Charles quitted Italy, without making any other Provision for the Kingdom of Naples, than the Ships that were arming at Genoa and in Provence,
In giving the History of these Times, I think it ought not to be forgot that, amongst all other Calamities which overwhelmed Italy by the Coming of the French, or were at least attributed to them, at this Time first appeared that Distemper which the French call the Distemper of Naples, and on their Return was spread all over Italy.

This Distemper, either quite new, or never known before in our Hemisphere, unless in its remotest Parts, has made for a Number of Years such a Havock, that it deserves to be mentioned as a fatal Calamity. It first discovered itself either by very loathsome Boils, which often became incurable Ulcers, or by acute Pains in all the Joints and Nerves throughout the Body; and unexperienced Physicians applied not only improper but often contrary Medicines, which irritated the Distemper, and proved fatal to a Multitude of both Sexes and of all Ages. Many became
became so horribly disfigured that they remained useless, and subject to almost perpetual Pains, and the best Part of those who seemed to be cured soon relapsed into the same Misery. But as some Years are now elapsed, either because the Celestial Influence, which produced the Distemper in so virulent a Manner, is mitigated, or that by Length of Time proper Remedies have been found out, it has lost very much of its Malignity, and has also metamorphosed itself into several different Shapes since its first Appearance. This is a Calamity which the present Generation might with Reason complain of, if it were transmitted to them by their Parents: But it is a received Opinion, that never, or at least very seldom, any one is afflicted with this Disease, any other Way than by Infection from Coition. However, the French, in Justice, ought to be cleared from this ignominious Imputation, for it afterwards plainly appeared that the Distemper was brought to Naples from Spain; nor was it the Product of that Country, but conveyed thither from those Islands which, about this Time, through the Means of Christopher
THE WARS IN ITALY.  421

Christopher Columbus, a Genoese, as in a more proper Place will be related, began to be known in our Hemisphere. But Nature has been indulgent to the Inhabitants of those Islands in providing an easy Remedy; for, by drinking the Juice of a noble Wood, memorable also for many other good Qualities, which grows among them, they are easily cured.

The End of the Second Book, and First Volume.
The Translator having preserved many Italian and Spanish Names where he imagined they might not be offensive to the Ear, has thought proper to add this Explanation.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Carlo</th>
<th>Charles</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Lorenzo</td>
<td>Lawrence</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Giovanni</td>
<td>John</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lodovico</td>
<td>Lewis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maria</td>
<td>Mary</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Piero ❓</td>
<td>Peter</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pietro ❓</td>
<td>Magdalen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maddalena</td>
<td>Joane</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Giovanna</td>
<td>Hannibal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hannibale</td>
<td>Francis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Francesco</td>
<td>Charlotte</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Carlotta</td>
<td>Henry</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Henrico</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fieschi ❓</td>
<td>The same Name.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fiesco ❓</td>
<td>The same Name.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bentivogli ❓</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bentivoglio ❓</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Livorno</td>
<td>Leghorn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jacopo</td>
<td>James</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Paolo</td>
<td>Paul</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tomaso</td>
<td>Thomas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>San Vincentio</td>
<td>Saint Vincent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bernardino</td>
<td>Bernard</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Castel Nuovo</td>
<td>The New Castle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Castelletto</td>
<td>The Little Castle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nizza</td>
<td>Nice.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
ERRATA.

Page viii l. 12 r. French and Spaniards.
p. xvii l. 2 r. he was made. p. i l. 4 r.
Princes. p. xi l. 6 for and r. but also for.
p. 32 l. 20 r. assist his Holiness. p. 47 l. 12
d. Increase. p. 68 r. Conditions. p. 80
r. Basque. p. 86 l. 3 r. or rather. p. 133
laft l. r. lent. p. 138 l. 13 r. will strive.
p. 201 r. Gratiano. p. 232 l. 23 r. had ad-
vised them to have been procured. p. 267
l. i d. a. p. 273 l. 3 r. them, all; l. 6 d. it.
p. 295 l. 15 r. Florentines. p. 306 l. 21 r. by
Castel. p. 346 l. 4. r. victorious in a Battle
against Maximilian King. p. 401 l. 13 r. re-
versed, &c. &c.