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THE

CHRONICLES

OF

ENGUERRAND DE MONSTRELET;

CONTAINING

AN ACCOUNT OF THE CRUEL CIVIL WARS BETWEEN THE HOUSES OF

ORLEANS AND BURGUNDY;

OF THE POSSESSION OF

PARIS AND NORMANDY BY THE ENGLISH;

THEIR EXPULSION THENCE;

AND OF OTHER

MEMORABLE EVENTS THAT HAPPENED IN THE KINGDOM OF FRANCE,

AS WELL AS IN OTHER COUNTRIES.

A HISTORY OF FAIR EXAMPLE, AND OF GREAT PROFIT TO THE FRENCH,

Beginning at the Year MCCCC. *where that of Sir JOHN FROISSART finishes, and ending at the Year* MCCCCLXVII. *and continued by others to the Year* MDXVI.

TRANSLATED

BY THOMAS JOHNES, ESQ.

IN THIRTEEN VOLUMES.....VOL. XII.

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HERE BEGINNETH

THE TWELFTH VOLUME

OF THE

CHRONICLES

OF

ENGUERRAND DE MONSTRELET.

CHAP. I.

THE KING OF FRANCE ENTERS THE CITY OF NAPLES IN TRIUMPH.—THE ATTACK AND CAPTURE OF THE CASTEL NUOVO AND THE CASTEL DEL OVO.—OF THE EVENTS THAT PASSED IN NAPLES.

On Sunday, the 22d day of February, in the year 1494, king Charles dressed himself in his royal robes, and triumphantly entered the city of Naples. Although he afterwards made another entry, as shall be more fully detailed, he, however, showed himself this day the true king and potent

lord of Naples, and went thence to the castle of Capua.

As some of the partisans of king Alphonso still held the citadel of Naples, the Castel Nuovo, and the Castel del Ovo, king Charles ordered them to be instantly attacked, although one side of the citadel was washed by the sea. He had his battering artillery pointed against the Castel Nuovo; and the captains of the guard for the king were sir Gabriel de Montfaucon, Jean de la Grange, and others of rank.

Not to prolong matters, the citadel was gained after a very severe attack; and the Germans, Neapolitans, and Spaniards, of the party adverse to the king of France, burnt the outworks and hastily retreated to join their associates in the Castel Nuovo. In the citadel were found the largest cannons that had ever been seen, with such quantities of other things of an extraordinary appearance that it was more than eight days before the place could be cleared, by employing numbers of people and carts.

Wednesday, the 25th day of February, the king, after hearing mass in the

church of the Annonciada went to dine with the lord de Montpensier, and thence, accompanied by his lords, repaired to the citadel to examine how it had been battered, and to consult on the best means of conquering the Castel Nuovo. The next day the garrison demanded a parley, on which the artillery ceased firing,—and the lord Angilbert of Cleves, the lord of Ligny, the bailiff of Dijon, and the great chamberlain to the queen advanced to confer with them. The first demand of the garrison was, that the king would grant them a truce for twenty-four hours, which was cheerfully acceded to: the next, that they might, on the morrow, march away with arms and baggage, which was refused.

On the twenty-four hours being expired, the artillery played more fiercely than before,—and it was a pitiful sight to view the ruins of this Castel Nuovo, which was exceedingly strong. The besieged fired a piece of artillery against the church of the Franciscans of the observantine order, which broke through the roof, but did not the least mischief to crowds of per-

sons, of both sexes, then in the church. The incessant firing of the batteries lasted from Thursday to the Monday following, —and there were so many breaches, for the king was there in person, that the garrison again demanded a cessation of arms for another parley. The lord Angilbert of Cleves and the bailiff of Dijon, who spoke German, met the deputies from the castle. They demanded permission to march away in safety with their baggage, to receive three months pay to serve the king, if it should be agreeable to him; otherwise, to receive passports for them to go whithersoever they pleased.

The cessation of arms was renewed from day to day, as the parley was prolonged by the garrison until the 3d of March, in expectation of being relieved by king Alphonso. But when they found all hopes of relief vain, and that the batteries were about to recommence with more violence than ever, they were forced to abandon themselves to the mercy of the king, into whose hands they surrendered themselves. He allowed them to keep their baggage; but all artillery, stores, and provisions, were

to remain in the castle, which he immediately regarrisoned with his troops, and with able captains, for its defence.

During the king's stay at that pleasant place Poggio-Réalé, the daughter of the duchess of Melfy*, in company with her mother, came thither, mounted on a superb courser of La Puglia, and throwing the bridle on his neck, made him gallop four or five long courses; after which she made him curvet and bound, as well as the most excellent rider could have done, which pleased the king very much,—and he made her a handsome present.

Monday, the 4th of March, the king had the Castel del Ovo besieged, and strongly battered on the land side; the others were surrounded by the sea. This day, the king heard mass at the carthusian convent, and dined with the lord of Clerieux†: he afterwards visited the siege of the Castel del Ovo, of which the artillery had already destroyed great part,—for the canoniers had performed their duty won-

* Melfy. Q. Amelfi?

† Clerieux. William of Poitiers lord of Clerieux, governor of Paris.

derfully well, insomuch that about five o'clock in the afternoon the garrison demanded a parley. The king being there in person, consented to it, and sent thither the lords de Foix and de Miolan, who having heard their proposals, carried them to the king while at supper.

Thursday, the 5th of March, the king again returned to the siege, after his dinner; and while he was in the trenches with his artillery, the prince of Tarentum waited on him. The lord de Guise, the lord de Ligny, the master of the household Brillac, had advanced to meet the prince, and remained as hostages for his safe return after the conference. The king and prince were both sumptuously dressed, and conversed by themselves for some time, in a garden adjoining to the park of artillery, to all appearance with great politeness. When the conversation was ended, the king called to him the lord de Montpensier, the lord de Foix, the lord de la Trimouille, the lord de Miolan, the mareschal de Gie, and several others, with whom he talked for a considerable time, surrounded by his guards. When it was over, the

prince took leave of the king, and returned to his galley, which was anchored off the shore, attended by many of the french lords, according to the king's orders. On his arrival at the shore, he took leave of these lords, commending himself to the good graces of their king; and when he had embarked in his galley they went back to relate to the king all that had passed, and his praises of the reception he had had. On this day the artillery did not play on either side.

Friday, the 6th of March, the king, having heard mass, went to dine with the lord de Clerieux,—and this day many of the garrison (among whom were several of the wounded) left the Castel del Ovo. The Spaniards went to the prince of Tarentum, and the Germans surrendered themselves to the king, having passports for the purpose. The lord de Cressol, sir Gabriel de Montfaucon, by the king's command, entered the castle with a body of men under arms, and archers, to take charge of it, and the numberless stores within it.

Saturday, the 7th of March, the king went to examine the Castel del Ovo, and

then departed to lay siege to the opposite castle. Towards evening, the prince of Tarentum paid another visit to the king, near to the park of artillery,—and the lords de Guise and de Ligny were hostages for his safe return. This conference was short, for it was late; and when the prince returned to his galley the above lords rejoined the king. It is worthy of remark, that on this day the prince of Salernum, who had been, five years a fugitive from Naples, through fear of king Alphonso, returned thither, and recovered a young son who had been, by Alphonso, confined in prison,—for the cardinal of San Pietro ad vincula had paid a very large sum for his ransom.

On Sunday, the 8th of March, the king having heard mass, and dined, went to amuse himself at the siege, and sent the governor of Paris, and the esquire Galiot, to summon the garrison to surrender, otherwise he would shortly batter the walls about their ears. They refused to comply; and, in consequence, the batteries were played with such effect that, on the Thursday following, the 12th, they knew not where to shelter themselves,—and the go-

vernor was constrained to come from the castle to speak with the king, then in the trenches. The governor, bareheaded and on his knees, besought the king, with uplifted hands, to grant a truce until the morrow, and to receive the garrison mercifully, which was granted. The governor was a handsome, tall figure, with white hairs; and, on having this answer, he returned by sea to the castle, accompanied by the prince of Salernum and the mareschal de Gie, to parley with the garrison in the castle. Shortly after, the captains Claude de Rabaudanges and the lord de la Vernade were appointed governors of this castle,—and nothing was taken out of it.

The king, on the following sunday, after hearing mass, returned to the castle of Capua, and remained some days, to receive the homages of the princes and princesses of the realm, together with those of the nobles and inhabitants as well of Naples as of the Terra di Lavora, Calabria, La Puglia, and of other parts subjected to the crown of Naples. He had there establish-

ed his chancery, and courts of justice and finance, with presidents like as in France. The president Guennay was the chancellor, having the king's secretaries under him, with great and smaller seals for all requisite acts. He ordered money to be coined of gold and silver, and other metal; such as crowns, ducats, and various pieces, both double and single, having the arms of France impressed on one side, and on the reverse the arms of Sicily, quartered with the small crosses of Jerusalem.

The king now appointed many new officers for the city of Naples, and in other towns,—namely, judges, masters of the mint, and of various descriptions. During this interval, he visited the different churches in Naples, and every thing worth seeing there and in its neighbourhood. While thus employed, he had many very fine entertainments given him by the nobility in Naples, and others,—but it would be tiresome to detail them all.

News arrived on the Wednesday, that Gaieta was taken by the french troops: in consequence of which, the king sent the

seneschal of Beaucaire on the morrow to take the government of it. During the month of April, the king inspected his artillery, and that which had been found in the castles of Naples: the greater part of the last was transported to France. The lord d'Aubigny left Naples this month for Calabria, accompanied by his men at arms and a large body of Germans. The 15th of April, the king, after hearing mass in the church of the Annonciada, was confessed, and then touched and cured great numbers that were afflicted with the evil,—a disorder that abounded much all over Italy,—when the spectators were greatly edified at the powers of such an extraordinary gift. This day the lord Virgilio Orsini and the count of Petilano waited on the king for the first time since they had been made prisoners.

The next day, which was Maunday-Thursday, the 16th of April, the king heard divine service in the church of St John, a handsome building, and attended (as if in France) on thirteen poor persons, who were washed and waited on at dinner, and presented with thirteen crowns. The sermon

was preached on that and the two following days by master Pinelli, a doctor of divinity in the university of Paris.

On Easter-day, the 19th of April, the king was confessed in the church of St Peter, adjoining to his lodgings, and then touched for the evil a second time; after which he heard mass in the church of St John, and in the evening a sermon by doctor Pinelli.—Wednesday, the 22d, the king went to see the tiltings, the lists for which had been erected near to a church founded by the Anjou-race of kings of Sicily, where were many of the nobility and ladies of Italy. These justings lasted from Wednesday until the first of May: the holders of them were Châtillon and Bourdillon, and the assailants were very numerous,—and excellent deeds of arms were done on each side.

On Sunday, being the feast of St Januarius, the king heard mass in the cathedral or church of St Januarius, where many cardinals, bishops, and prelates attended. The head of St Januarius was publicly displayed to the king, and some of his blood in a glass bottle: it was congealed like

a stone, as the king proved by touching it with a small rod of silver; but no sooner was it placed near to the head than it began instantly to melt, and become liquid, to the astonishment of many who viewed this miracle.

The prelates of the church said, that by means of this miraculous head and blood of St Januarius, they were made acquainted with the success of their petitions to God; for when their prayers had been propitious, the blood became liquid,—but when otherwise, it remained hard. They were likewise by this means informed as to the dispositions of their prince, and whether he was to reign over them or not, which seemed very extraordinary.

On Monday, the 4th of May, the king sent Jean du Bois, Fontaines, and the master of the household de Bresse, to make an inventory of all the stores, and other effects, in the Castel del Ovo,—for there appeared to be such quantities of provision, and of other things, that the value seemed inestimable. During this time, the king visited several places in the neighbourhood of Naples; such as the grotto

which Virgil had pierced with such subtile art through a high mountain on the seashore of Naples, which is a wonderful thing, as there is no other road but through this subterraneous passage, as all who have seen it can testify. A little further on is the Solfaterra, where sulphur is made,—and there are natural fires beneath the surface that are always burning: the king saw them make sulphur. There are, likewise near, many springs of hot water as well as of cold; and in a valley of this mountain is a hole through which comes such an impetuous wind that it supports in the air stones, and pieces of wood, that are thrown into it,—and it is said that the heat is very great within this hole. The king visited another remarkable spot where alum is made, and saw the whole process. Near to this last place is a cavern having a deadly quality; for whatever is thrown in perishes instantly, as was proved before the king on an ass and cat, which, on being thrown in, were suddenly killed*. The king, hav-

* This must be the Grotto del Cane, not far from the Solfaterra. Although small animals perish, yet I doubt whether an ass could be thrown in, or would be so suddenly killed.

ing seen all that was most curious, returned to Naples for the night.

CHAP. II.

KING CHARLES MAKES HIS PUBLIC ENTRY INTO NAPLES, AS KING OF THAT COUNTRY AND MONARCH OF ALL ITALY.

TUESDAY, the 12th of May, the king, having heard mass in the church of the Annonciada, left Naples after dinner for Poggio Réalé,—where all the princes and nobles of France and Italy were assembled, to accompany him in his public entry into Naples, as king of France, Sicily, and Jerusalem. He was dressed in royal robes, and made a most splendid and triumphant entry, and thenceforward was called Charles Cæsar Augustus. In his right hand was the globe, and his sceptre in the left,—and his mantle was of fine scarlet trimmed with ermine, having a deep fall-down collar, ornamented with ermines' tails also, with a brilliant crown on his head. The horse he rode was as grandly caparisoned as possible,

to suit his state: and over his head was borne a splendid canopy by the highest nobility of Naples, who were surrounded by the king's valets richly dressed in cloth of gold: the provost of the household with his archers on foot attended on him on each side. The seneschal of Beaucaire represented the constable of Naples,—and the lord de Montpensier preceded him, handsomely mounted, and dressed as viceroy and lieutenant-general of Naples.

The prince of Salernum was present, together with the great lords of France, of the blood royal, and knights-companions of the king's order; such as, the lord de Bresse, the lord de Foix, the lord de Luxembourg, the lord de Vendôme, and others without number, all dressed in mantles like to what the king wore. In short, the entry was most magnificent; and the nobility of Naples, with their ladies, presented to the king their children of ten, twelve, and fifteen years of age, requesting of him to make them knights, which he did with his own hand,—and it was a splendid spectacle.

The prelates and clergy came out to

meet him in the richest copes, bearing relics, and conducted him to the cathedral, where on the high altar were displayed, as before, the head and blood of St Januarius. In front of the altar, the king swore to protect his new subjects, and to preserve them in their liberties and privileges, which gave universal satisfaction,—and great rejoicings were made on this occasion, and also for his happy arrival, and the great good he had promised them.

The king was, after this, conducted to his palace, where, during several days, he received embassies from different parts of his kingdom; such as Calabria, La Puglia, L'Abruzzo, to do homage, and to inquire respecting the manner in which they were to be governed by a viceroy when the king should be absent, as was natural for them. On Monday, the 18th of May, the king ordered a grand supper to be prepared at the Castel Nuovo, where he gave a sumptuous banquet, to his princes and nobles, seated at two tables, in the great hall of the castle, to which was an ascent by several stone steps. The grand seneschal of Naples served the whole of the supper, superbly

mounted, and clothed in white, with abundance of trumpets and clarions sounding. After supper, the king received the homage of all the lords, and then returned to sleep at his palace.

CHAP. III.

KING CHARLES MAKES DISPOSITIONS TO RETURN TO FRANCE,—AND TAKES LEAVE OF HIS SUBJECTS IN NAPLES.

WEDNESDAY, the 20th of May, the king, having heard mass with great solemnity at the church of the Annonciada, dined at the palace; after which, the nobility of Naples waited on him to take leave. They were assembled in the great hall, where the king received them graciously, and kindly bade them adieu! at the same time, he presented to them the lord de Montpensier, as their viceroy and governor during his absence. When this was done, the king departed from Naples, attended by a gallant company of lords and gentlemen, men at arms, Swiss and Germans, and slept that night at Aversa, on his return to France.

CHAP. IV.

KING CHARLES RETURNS, FROM NAPLES TO FRANCE.

THE king, as I have said, left Naples on the 20th of May, and halted at Aversa. On the 21st, he marched from Aversa to Capua. On the morrow, he dined and slept at the bishop's palace in Sezza*; and on the Saturday, as he was about to enter Gaieta to refresh himself, the castle fell down and obstructed the road, so that he returned to Sezza,—but on the Sunday, when the damages had been repaired, he proceeded and lay at Monte Cassino. Thence he passed to Ponte-corvo, to Cyprienne, and to Fiorentino, a small city, then under an interdict from pope Alexander, because the inhabitants had murdered and cut off the arms of their bishop, who was a Spaniard, for having been obstinate in supporting king Alphonso against the king of France. This latter would not have

* Sezza,—29 miles NNW. of Naples.

been able to have heard mass that day, if he had not before had full powers given him to order the celebration of the mass in all places, according to his good pleasure.

On Friday, the 29th, the king advanced for the night to Valmontone, wherein were many who hated the French, because they had destroyed and burnt Monte-Fortino: nevertheless, he proceeded to Marina the next day, and halted there till Sunday.

On Monday the first of June, the king re-entered Rome, on his return to France, and was lodged in the palace of the cardinal de St Clement, near to St Peter's. He was grandly accompanied by his nobles, gentlemen pensioners, men at arms, cross-bowmen, Swiss and Germans; and because pope Alexander was absent *, he posted his men in different parts of the town, to check any insolence of the Romans. Having done this, he went to St Peter's, to return his thanksgivings to God. On Wednesday, he left Rome, dined at Isola, and lay at Campanolle. Friday he

* The pope had fled to Orvieto, conscious of having deceived the king, and fearful of consequences.

advanced to Ronciglione, and the same day entered Viterbo with his whole army, where he was as well received as before. He remained in Viterbo until Whitsunday was passed, to perform his devotions, and visit the body of St Rosa.

On the 8th of June, the king supped and lay in the town of Monte Fiascone, celebrated for its muscadine wines,—and thence, continuing his march through La Paillé and other places, arrived at Sienna, the inhabitants of which came out to welcome him, magnificently dressed, and with the same ceremonies as at the first of his coming thither.

The king marched from Sienna on the 17th of June for Poggiobondi, where he lay, and staid the following morning, on account of its being the feast of the holy sacrament, and attended the procession to high mass with great devotion. After dinner he advanced to Château Florentin,—and on the morrow he dined at Campane, near to Florence; but he did not enter Florence on his return, for, under pretence of being in the french interest, the town of Pont-Velle had been taken.

Saturday, the 20th of June, the king entered Pisa, where he was received with every honour and submission. He staid there two days, and on the Tuesday following dined at Pommart, and slept at Lucca, where, in return for his handsome reception, he took the town under his protection. He marched through Pietra Santa, and arrived, on the Saturday, at Sarsaigne*, where he had intelligence of the junction of the duke of Milan with the Venetians. For this reason, he would not sleep at Villa Franca, but encamped his army on the other side of the river, where he supped, and waited for the arrival of his artillery, and the rear of his army.

The king left his camp, at Villa Franca, on the 30th of June, to hear mass at a large monastery near to Pontremoli; for the Germans had burnt that town, in revenge for the murders of some of their countrymen by the inhabitants, on their march to Naples. After dinner, the king encamped at the foot of the Appenines, and

* Sarsaigne. Q. Sarzana?

there remained until his artillery had passed the mountains. The lord de la Trimouille and Jean de la Grange were charged with this business,—and although there were plenty of hands they had great difficulties, on account of the rocks. On the 3d of July, and the following day, the king crossed the Appenines, and passed through Verceil and Cassano, and encamped his army near to Borgo de Taro, where he lay, under the security of strong guards. Sunday, the 5th of July, the king heard mass in his camp, and dined at Foronuovo *, where he formed his plan for the order of battle, with a main body, a van and reserve, and having the usual guards established.

* Foronuovo,—eight miles from Parma.

CHAP. V.

THE BATTLE OF FORONUOVO, WHERE THE KING OF FRANCE GAINS A COMPLETE VICTORY OVER THE CONFEDERATED PRINCES OF ITALY.

On Monday the 6th of July, in the year 1495, the french army was encamped adjoining to the valley of Taro, about two miles from Foronuovo, and four from Parma. Thence marched that gallant prince, Charles VIII. of the name, king of France, accompanied by those valiant captains before mentioned, and about eight or nine thousand courageous men at arms, to meet from fifty to sixty thousand Lombards, Venetians, Estradiots †, and others, his enemies. The marquis of Mantua was commander of the Venetians: count Galeas Sforza was the representative of his brother, Ludovico duke of Milan, and the lord of Ferrara commanded the rest of the traitors, in company with other captains.

* Estradiots,—a sort of light horse, or a militia.

The king was armed from head to foot in a manner becoming so great a prince. Over his armour he wore a jacket, with short sleeves, of a white and violet colour, besprinkled with crosses of Jerusalem. His helmet was magnificently ornamented with feathers,—and he was accoutred like a good man at arms, with sword, dagger, spear and battle-axe. He was mounted on a powerful black horse, called Savoy, whose caparison was of the same colours with the king's jacket, and besprinkled with similar small crosses. The king was surrounded by very able and trusty advisers to direct him, having under them about two thousand men, who afterwards gave good proofs of their valour.

When the french army had been properly arranged, and the artillery was ready, they began to advance toward the enemy in such wise as the ground served them. The Italians not knowing in what division of the army the king had posted himself, sent a herald, under pretence of asking something from him,—and the herald, on his return, told them the manner

in which the king was accoutred. They now began to move, and taking advantage of a favourable situation, discharged a heavy piece of artillery at the van of the french, which wounded and killed several, although it did not break their ranks, nor cause any great confusion. A sharp cannonading followed; but the king's artillery did great mishief to the enemy, and killed one of their principal cannoniers, as was known from a trumpeter that was soon after made prisoner. The king's artillery was so well served that the Italians were forced to retreat, having noticed the excellent order in which the French were formed.

It was wonderful to observe the cool and determined valour of the gallant king, both in actions, and in speeches to those about his person: 'How say you, my lords and friends? Are you not resolved to serve me well to-day? and will you not live and die with me?' Then having heard their answers, he continued, 'Be of good courage, and not afraid; for although they be ten times our number, —which is the case, as I know for certain, —yet we have justice on our side, for

which I put my confidence in God, that he will be pleased to give us the victory over our enemies. I have also hopes that he will fight this day on our side, and that, through his gracious favour, we shall again triumph, as we have done throughout the whole of this expedition, and return to France with honour to ourselves, through his merciful kindness.' Such, or nearly similar, were the words with which this valorous king consoled and encouraged all around him.

The enemy were much surprised at the good order of the French; and to endeavour to break it, they sent a detachment of Estradiots, and some Albanians, across a hill, to fall on the baggage. Those who had the guard of it had been very negligent in not keeping themselves in readiness to resist an attack, by reason of some dispute among themselves, for which they suffered; but it was not much, as shall be told hereafter,—and the army remained unbroken.

The Italians, seeing this, sent a herald to the king to demand a truce. The king replied,—'If they wish for a truce, let them

meet me between the two armies.' But he afterward sent to them, to say, that if they would, through friendship, allow him and his army a free passage to France, it was all he wanted, otherwise he would force his passage in spite of them.

The Lombards and Venetians, hearing this message from the king's herald, detained him, and resolved instantly to charge the French, like madmen. They were particularly desirous to attack the division where the king was, to put him to death, —but God was that day his Protector. The advanced guard, perceiving the enemy thus hastily marching, informed the king of their gaining the woods and bushes; on which he crossed the bed of the Taro, and each army was in sight of the other. In fact, the Italians were handsomely equipped and mounted, and advanced with the appearance of a determined courage, as they were far superior in numbers to the French. Their best men were placed in front,—and the first onset was very severe on both sides. As they had been informed by their herald how the king was dressed, their chief attack was made on his divi-

sion, and with such success that they advanced to his person; but he displayed great valour, and was so heartily seconded by those near him that the enemies were completely repulsed, with immense slaughter; even the boldest among them attributed their highest honour to him who could fly the fastest; for when they saw the day was lost, the best piece of all their armour was the point of their spurs.

Only one man of rank was made prisoner on the side of the French, namely, Matthew bastard of Bourbon, who had most valiantly defended the king, and he was taken when pursuing the enemy up to their lines. Not more than nine or ten french gentlemen were killed, although their enemies were ten to one against them, the greater part of whom saved themselves by flight. This proves, beyond a doubt, that Divine Providence assisted the French, and gave them the victory over their disloyal enemies, who were conquered in so very short a space of time. The king remained the whole of the day armed, and on horseback; and until the whole of his army had retired within

their camp. Thither came ambassadors to him from the Italians, to demand the prisoners; but they were answered, that they should not be restored,—which astonished them greatly, as they feared that some of their first nobility had been either killed or made prisoners.

The king and his nobles, in sign of triumph and victory, supped and lay on the field of battle,—where they ate and drank what they could find, and as it pleased God, to whom they gave their most humble thanksgivings and praises for their success, as indeed they were bounden to do.

CHAP. VI.

THE KING DECAMPS FROM FORONUOVO, TO RETURN TO FRANCE.

On the morrow of the battle of Foronuovo, the 7th of July, the king, after hearing early mass, decamped from before Foronuovo, and posted his army on an elevated situation called Magdelan, about half

a french league from his late camp, where he remained the whole day. The commanders of the artillery made such diligence in bringing up the cannon that they were placed round the king, as was usual in such cases. The king marched away, on the Wednesday, with his army and artillery, and repassed several towns wherein he had halted on his advance to Naples, notwithstanding the attempts of the enemy to prevent it. He came at length to Novara, and delivered the duke of Orleans, who had been shut up in that town, with a party of his men, by the traitor Ludovico of Milan. Thence the king proceeded to Asti and to Vercelli, where the duke of Orleans came to meet him. The king received him with much friendship, and they supped together.

On Friday, the 2d of October in this year, the lord de Vendôme died in the town of Vercelli. His death was much lamented by the king and his nobles, for he was a notable prince. The following Tuesday, the king had a funeral service performed with much solemnity in the cathedral-church dedicated to St Euse-

bius, where great grief was manifested by all the assistants; and afterward his body was transported to France, to be interred among his ancestors.

On Wednesday, the 7th of October, the bishop of Sion arrived at Vercelli, with a body of Swiss, horse and foot, and others from the german allies of the king, for his better security. The king thanked the bishop for his friendship, and grandly feasted him and the troops he had brought.

The next day, ambassadors came to the king from Ludovico of Milan and the Venetians, and earnestly demanded a treaty, having witnessed the strength of the king, and the enterprising courage of his troops,—when a treaty was agreed to, on much better terms than they deserved.

On Saturday, the 10th of October, the king heard mass in the church of the Cordeliers in Vercelli, adjoining his lodgings; and after his dinner, he proceeded to Trino, where he halted until the 15th of October, when he went to Crescentino, and from this place, by many days march, arrived at Grenoble, passing through the following towns; Sil-

lans, Sessia*, Turin, Quiers, Rivoli, Suza, Briançon, Nôtre Dame d'Embrun, Savines, Saint Eusebe, La Meure†, and Tault near to Grenoble. He arrived at Grenoble about vespers, on the 27th of October; and all ranks of people went out in procession, and made another public entry for him on his return from the campaign of Italy.

The king, being unwell, remained in Grenoble until the 3d of November, when he set out for Lyon, passing through the towns of St Rambert, where he staid some days, Sillans, La Côte St André, and Chatonay,—from which last place he advanced nearer to Lyon, where he slept.

On Saturday, the 7th of November, having dined at Venisseu, he proceeded to Lyon, whence all the churchmen came out in grand procession, dressed in their robes, and bearing relics, to meet and welcome him on his return from Italy. He made a public entry into Lyon, as king of Jerusalem, Naples, and Sicily, attended by all the municipal officers, and

* Sessia. Q. Borgo de Sessia?

† La Meure. Q. La Meyrie? in the election of Grenoble.

persons of rank in that town, handsomely dressed. He was conducted triumphantly through the streets, accompanied by the nobles and captains, who were looked at with pleasure in consequence of the noble victory they had gained over such superior numbers. The streets and squares were hung with tapestries: bonfires and mysteries were exhibited in all the open spaces through which the king passed, in his way to the archbishop's palace, that had been prepared for his lodgings. Here the queen and the duchess of Bourbon his sister were waiting, with many noble ladies and damsels, impatient to receive him; and indeed he was deserving of such eagerness.

The king held most sumptuous justs at three different places in Lyon: at La Grenette in front of the convent of Cordeliers, in the Juerie, and before the palace: at all of them, he was foremost to offer himself, and performed many gallant feats with lance and sword, on horseback and on foot, as did several others of the french lords. In memory of these justs, three stone columns were erected,—and to

this day there exist the latin verses that were inscribed on them, for king Charles was the principal tenant of the lists.

Prior to the expedition to Naples, the king had the body of the seraphic doctor, St Bonaventure, raised with great pomp from his tomb in the church of the Cordeliers,—and the duke and duchess of Bourbon had his shrine afterward covered with plates of silver. The king, at the same time, founded the convent of the Cordeliers of the Observance in the city of Lyon, which is become a place of much devotion.

When the king had staid some days in Lyon, he resolved to pursue his journey, to pay his devotions at the abbey of St Denis, and return thence to Amboise,—which he did, as shall be hereafter related.

In the year 1496, the son of the king of Spain died,—and the same year died the duke of Savoy, who was said, by those lately returned from Italy, to have poisoned the whole country of Piedmont.

CHAP. VII.

THE KING OF FRANCE GOES TO ST DENIS.—HE RETURNS TO AMBOISE, AND THERE SUDDENLY DIES, OF A FIT OF APOPLEXY.

When king Charles had made some stay in Lyon, and had witnessed the tilts and tournaments that had been performed at Moulins, in the Bourbonnois, he proceeded to the abbey of St Denis, to accomplish the vow of pilgrimage he had made, and to offer up his thanksgivings to God for the brilliant victories he had obtained over his enemies, and for the successful issue of his expedition to Naples. He went likewise to St Denis, to replace the blessed bodies of the holy martyrs, who repose there, that had been taken down from their niches when the king set out on his italian expedition.

It is an ancient and praiseworthy custom, that when the most Christian kings of France undertake any foreign expedition in person, they supplicate the

aid and intercession of the glorious martyr St Denis, and his companions Saint Rusticus and Saint Eleutherus. The shrines of these saints are, in consequence, taken down from their niches on the king's quitting his kingdom, and deposited in a private part of the church. These holy bodies, thus deposited, cannot be replaced in their former situations until the king shall return to St Denis from his foreign expedition, whether it had been for conquest or pleasure.

King Charles, therefore, having been victorious throughout Italy, followed the pious custom of his ancestors the kings of France. He made a devout pilgrimage, to St Denis,—and the shrines of the martyrs were, by him, replaced in their several niches, in the presence of the great barons of France. The king would neither pass nor repass through Paris on this pilgrimage, for reasons that moved him so to do, but which I omit, to avoid prolixity. For this cause, when he left St Denis, he took his road through St Antoine des Champs, thence over Le Pont-de-Chalen-

ton*, and through Beauce, strait to the castle of Amboise, where he found the queen and many lords and ladies of his noble blood. He was received there by the inhabitants with the utmost joy and honour.

He had not been long at Amboise before he heard of the treachery of the Neapolitans, and the death of the noble Gilbert lord of Montpensier. The remaining captains, unable to support themselves in Naples after his loss, returned home as well as they could; for those traitors of Lombardy and Naples had suddenly risen in rebellion,—and they could not possibly receive succours in time from France, had they attempted to hold out against them, from the great distance.

King Charles made preparations to avenge himself on them for their treachery and infidelity,—but he had over-exerted himself in his late expedition. His constitution, which was naturally feeble, became daily worse: whence it happened, that as he was walking one day in a gallery

* Pont de Chalenton. Q. Charenton?

of the castle of Amboise with the queen, and amusing himself by looking at some tennis-players, he was suddenly seized with a fit, and died shortly after, in the twenty-eighth year of his age, and in the month of April in the year 1497. May God have mercy on his soul!

CHAP. VIII.

OF THE FUNERAL SERVICES PERFORMED FOR KING CHARLES VIII. OF FRANCE, AT AMBOISE, PARIS, AND ST DENIS.

After the decease of king Charles VIII. whose soul may God pardon! a very solemn funeral service was performed at Amboise, in the church of St Florent, by the reverend cardinal the lord John Peraule, assisted by many prelates, great lords, and other persons. There were immense numbers of tapers and torches, and great alms were distributed. When this service was over, the king's heart was carried for interment to the church of Nôtre Dame de Clery, near to that of

his late father. The body, with the representation of his figure over it, was borne in sorrowful pomp to the church of our Lady in the fields, in the suburbs of Paris, where it was watched all night by some of his most confidential friends.

On the morrow morning, a grand procession came out of Paris, consisting of all the clergy with their crosses, the four orders of mendicant friars, the members of the court of parliament and of the other courts of justice, the provosts, sheriffs, and inhabitants dressed in mourning, to the church of our Lady in the Fields,—where were waiting the great lords, officers, pages of honour, and others, to the number of more than seven thousand persons, clad in mourning, with hoods,—and, according to the usual ceremony, conducted the body to the cathedral-church of our Lady in Paris. There were four hundred torches, ornamented with escutcheons of three flowers de luce, carried by four hundred poor men, dressed in black cloaks and hoods. A solemn funeral service was performed in the church of Nôtre Dame; after which, the body was car-

ried with the same ceremonies through Paris to the abbey of St Denis, where another service was solemnly performed for the deceased, and presents of money given to all the assistants in making the offerings at the mass, and great alms distributed to the poor.

When the accustomed ceremonies had been finished, the body of king Charles was interred in the sepulchre that had been prepared for him; after which there was a grand dinner given to all the assistants in honour of the late king, to whose soul may God graciously grant his pardon! Amen.

CHAP. IX.

OF KING LOUIS THE TWELFTH.

On the 23d of May, in the year 1498, Louis duke of Orleans, son to the late duke Charles, was consecrated king of France, in the same manner as his predecessors had been, in the cathedral of Rheims. He was the twelfth who had borne the name of Louis, and the fifty-fifth king of France.

At this ceremony at Rheims were the twelve peers of France, or their substitutes. For the duke of Burgundy appeared the duke of Alençon; for the duke of Normandy, the duke of Lorraine; for the duke of Guienne, the duke of Bourbon; for the earl of Flanders, the lord de Ravenstein; for the earl of Champagne, the lord Angillebert of Cleves; for the earl of Toulouse, the lord of Foix. Almost the whole of the french nobility were present at the ceremony, which was solemnized in the usual mode to that of former kings, by the cardinal of St Malo, archbishop of Rheims.

Immediately after, the king made knights of his order of St Michael the lord de Taillebourg, the lord des Pierres, lord de la Gruture, the lord de Clerieux. He created also knights to the amount of four score; among whom were the lord de Myolans, sir Claude de Mont-l'Or lord of Château-neuf, de Salazurit, and others, too numerous to name. When these things were done, the king ordered preparations for his entry into Paris.

On the 1st of July, the king was crowned in the church of St Denis, after

the manner of his predecessors, kings of France. On the morrow he made a triumphant entry into Paris, and supped at the palace. When all these solemnities were ended, each person withdrew to different places, as ordered by the king. The first who made any opposition to him was the lord de Vergy,—but the war was soon ended in Burgundy.

The duke de Valentinois, said to be the son of pope Alexander VII.* arrived at Lyon on the 18th of October, and made his public entry into that city. The king had given him the county of Valentinois†, —and he was now come to France to conclude his marriage with the daughter of the lord d'Albret. This duke was also a cardinal; but he had left that dignity behind him, and appeared in secular clothes with the utmost pomp and grandeur.

The 2d and 3d of December, the wind was so high at Lyon that the greatest alarm was caused by it; and the custo-

* This was the notorious Cæsar Borgia,—a worthy son of so worthy a father!

† Valentinois,—a county on the Rhône: Valence is the capital.

dium, in which the hosts were kept, on the high altar, in the church of the Cordeliers, was burst open, owing to a broken pane in the window, and the sacred wafers blown all about the church, to the great scandal of devout persons. It happened somewhat before eight o'clock in the morning.

This year, the king gave the princess Jane of France the duchy of Berry; and, for the benefit of the realm, he espoused, by a dispensation from pope Alexander VII. the widowed queen of France, Anne of Brittany,* which was of the greatest public utility.

In the course of this year 1499, the head of St Bonaventure was deposited, in a very rich shrine of silver, in the church of the Cordeliers at Lyon,—and a most solemn procession was made on the occasion by the friars of the convent. On the 10th of June, in this year, the

* Her fate seems to have destined her to marry those who, to obtain her, were forced to be divorced. Charles VIII. was betrothed to Margaret of Flanders, and Louis XII. was married to the daughter of Louis XI.

king made his public entry into Lyon, which was very magnificent. The streets were hung with tapestries,—and many fine mysteries were represented in the squares. He was very anxious to recover possession of the Milanese, and had sent thither a large army, which, within fifteen days, reconquered Milan, on the 4th of September. Duke Ludovico was in the town, and narrowly escaped being taken, by quitting the place in disguise. The town of Alexandria della Paglia*, having shown much hatred to the French, was plundered, and the greater part of it destroyed.

When the king heard of the capture of Milan, he left Lyon, giving orders to the lord de Bersac to destroy all the benches and awnings before the doors in that city. He made his public entry into Milan, and regulated its government.

On the Friday before All-souls-day, in this year, the bridge of Notre Dame, at Paris, fell down, which was a heavy loss;

* Alexandria della Paglia—is about 38 miles from Milan.

and the king sent thither John de Doyac to superintend the immediate construction of another.

The year 1500 was a grand year of jubilee at Rome, celebrated by pope Alexander VII. and attended by great numbers. There would have been more, if, on the 3d of January, duke Ludovico Sforza had not, in person, regained Milan, by the aid of a considerable body of Germans. He won the town through the treason of the inhabitants, who surrendered themselves to him; but the French fought valiantly, and kept possession of the castle, whence they battered the town.

Several Frenchmen, going to the jubilee at Rome, were murdered at the inns on the road,—which being discovered, justice was done on the perpetrators by burning their houses, with their inhabitants, to serve for examples to all others. The duke of Milan, Ludovico Sforza, gave a ducat to every one who brought him the head of a Frenchman. The count Gayache and his wife now came to France; he was brother to the late Galeas Visconti.

On the 19th of March in this year,

the queen of France made a second public entry into Lyon, the streets being hung with tapestry, and several beautiful mysteries represented. About eight days after, a number of prisoners of war were brought before the king, at Lyon, for having broken their oaths, at which the public greatly murmured.

CHAP. X.

DUKE LUDOVICO SFORZA IS MADE PRISONER BEFORE NOVARA, AND CARRIED TO FRANCE.

On Thursday before Palm-Sunday, the French in Italy acted with such vigour that duke Ludovico fled from Novara with one hundred horse, abandoning his army and artillery in that town. When the french captains approached, a burgundian leader, called the captain of the Yotiers, came out of Novara and surrendered himself and men to them. The bailiff of Dijon went into Novara to practise with the Swiss in the pay of the duke of Milan

(about four thousand in all), who only asked for payment of what was due to them. In regard to the Lansquenets, they knew not how to act; for the Swiss in the king's service would not show them any mercy, although their captains did all they could that matters might be settled without effusion of blood.

There were in Novara twenty thousand combatants; eight thousand Lansquenets, four thousand Swiss, eight hundred Burgundians, and the rest Lombards. In addition to these, a reinforcement of fifteen hundred men were on their march to join them, and within a mile of Vercelli, not including those in Vigeue.*

Shortly after, Ludovico returned and marched his army out of Novara, and encamped them near to the French; but God, knowing the usurpation and wickedness of Ludovico, inspired the French with courage to defend themselves, when attacked by him. Notwithstanding the duke of Milan thought himself certain of destroying the French, the matter ended

* Vigeue. Q. Vigevano.

without blood being spilt, and without a battle. It was said, that the Lansquenets, refused to fight against their countrymen; and likewise, that the duke had not paid his men their arrears, which made them unwilling to serve him. On the other hand, the French were determined on battle; but when they marched to charge the milanese army, it surrendered to them without striking a blow.

The duke of Milan, observing this, disguised himself in the frock of a cordelier monk, and, by mixing with his men, thought to escape; but the lord de Ligny and the lord de la Trimouille made such good arrangements with their army, it was impossible; for they ordered the whole of the milanese force to pass under the pikes, so that the duke was discovered, made prisoner, and put under the guard of the French in Novara, which place had thrown open its gates. The lord Jean Jacques* was present at this conquest,

* The lord Jean Jacques. Trivulce, a Milanese, marquis of Vigevano, governor of Milan, captain of one hundred lombardy men at arms and of two hundred archers, king's lieutenant of the french armies

for he had always been faithful to the king. The duke had in his pay an astrologer or necromancer, in whom he put great confidence; but his astrology was of no avail to prevent him being made prisoner.

According to agreements entered into with the milanese army, they were allowed to depart in safety with their arms and baggage,—but the duke and his artillery remained with the French. The lord-cardinal of Amboise was then at Vercelli, and vowed the king under the protection of our Lady des bonnes nouvelles.

Intelligence of this success came to the king at Lyon, the vigil of Palm-Sunday, which rejoiced him exceedingly; and bonfires were made in the streets, for joy that the French had been victorious. Immediately after, news was brought that the duke of Milan was a prisoner, which caused

in Italy. He was present at the battles of Foronuovo and Aignadello, and held great and honourable employments under Charles VIII., Louis XII., and François I. He was made marshal of France in 1500, died in 1518. He was uncle to Theodore Trivulce, governor also of Milan, and marshal of France.

See Brantome, vol. ii. des Vies des Hommes illustres étrangers.

the rejoicings to be repeated by all ranks of persons in Lyon. The children of the duke were sent into Germany.

CHAP. XI.

THE CARDINAL ASCANIUS, BROTHER TO THE DUKE OF MILAN, IS TAKEN PRISONER, AND CARRIED TO FRANCE.

THE cardinal Ascanius, brother to the duke of Milan, was in that city when he heard of the duke being a prisoner: he instantly departed thence, with six hundred horse and some artillery, accompanied by the higher nobility of Milan. He had also with him a considerable body of Estradiots; and the commander of the whole was count John, brother to the marquis of Mantua, who intended to march for the Bolognese, —but it was said, that he was met by a venetian captain, of the name of Soucin Bienson*, with a body of troops, who at-

* Soucin Bienson. Q.

tacked the cardinal. At this unexpected onset, the cardinal cried out, 'Qui vive?' and was answered, 'St Mark and France!' The battle lasted four hours,—and the venetian captain was severely wounded, with many of his men,—but when the cardinal, who was in armour, saw the fortune of the day was against him, he fled to a castle called Rivoli, which was immediately besieged by the Venetian.

To make short of this matter,—the cardinal lost many of his men, and the brother to the marquis of Mantua was ransomed. With this venetian captain was another called Charles des Ursins. A milanese captain, of the name of Badin, was made prisoner, with the abbot of Senselles, and four viscounts,—and upwards of a hundred thousand ducats were taken, without including the baggage. The cardinal, astonished to find himself besieged in this castle without provision or money, entreated the captain to ransom him, which he refused, —so that he surrendered himself on the sole conditions of having his life spared, and of being given up to the king of France.

The captain would have carried him a

prisoner to Venice,—but the seneschal of Beaucaire, the lord de Montoison, and the chief justice of Provence, who had gone thither to receive the cardinal, prevented it. The Venetians also, knowing that the cardinal was an enemy to the king, that he had been taken on the king's territories near Piacenza, and wishing likewise to be on good terms with France, had the cardinal delivered into the hands of the before-named persons.

The inhabitants of Milan, on their duke and his brother the cardinal being made prisoners, opened a negociation, for the surrender of their town, with the cardinal of Amboise, lieutenant for the king.

CHAP. XII.

THE INHABITANTS OF MILAN ARE BRIBED INTO SUBJECTION.

On the 17th of April, which was Good Friday, in this same year, the inhabitants of Milan, acknowledging the great crimes

they had committed against the king of France, their duke, most humbly besought the reverend father in God the lord George d'Amboise, cardinal-priest of the apostolical see, lieutenant-general for the said king, that he would be pleased (after having granted some small sums for their relief, to assist them in paying their fine, and also to save them from the pillage and destruction which the army was ready to inflict on them) to come to the duke's palace in the city of Milan to receive their submissions, which they were determined to make publicly in acknowledgment of their misconduct, and to entreat the clemency of the king, on payment of such a fine as their means would admit of.

This reverend cardinal acceded to their request, and came to the palace called La Court-vieille, whither arrived in procession all the nobles, burghers, tradesmen and inhabitants, preceded by little children dressed in white linen, and bareheaded, having a large crucifix, and the great banner of our Lady, borne before them.

The lord-cardinal being seated on the throne prepared for him in the great court

of this palace, and surrounded by many of the king's counsellors and captains, master Michael Touse, doctor of laws, and town-advocate, ascended a rostrum that had been there erected, and made the following harangue:

'Unworthy as I am to ascend this rostrum, my most reverend and most illustrious lord-cardinal, I am very anxious to have it remembered, and thus publicly to express the complete submission and devotion my countrymen, the people of Milan, as well as myself, feel toward our sovereign lord and duke, the most Christian king of France; and although I know my own incapacity to express their wishes, notwithstanding my earnest desire so to do, yet, as a good citizen, I could not refuse their requests to undertake it,—and I will accomplish it to the best of my abilities.

'Among all the cities and towns of Italy, Milan, without doubt, must be considered as the principal, when governed with justice by an upright lord, as all good and loyal citizens have desired. Since God the Creator, has been pleased to place them in the hands of the most Christian

king, their legitimate lord, they cannot wish for a better nor a more powerful prince; their duty is to persevere in the fidelity and loyalty which they have sworn to him when he received them with such benignity and humanity. It may be said, that he had reintegrated the citizens to their country, and their country to the founder; for the French had founded and built the city of Milan,—and the country, to this day, retains the name of Gallia Cisalpina. But, alas! we have sadly displayed the instability of our tempers, and committed the crimes of treason and rebellion without any reason for so doing; for neither the king our lord nor the deputies he sent to govern us, have done any things that ought to have displeased us, or make us discontented. In regard to our lord himself, we have always found him full of humanity, affection, and clemency; and in regard to the lord de Luson, who had been appointed our chief justice, we cannot accuse him of any improper acts,—for he ever received us kindly, and heard our complaints attentively, doing justice to all parties, like as a good father would to his children.

'In like manner, the lord Jean Jacques, who has ruled us without distinction of persons, or the smallest partiality, punishing rather his own people than ours, just as those excellent Romans, Brutus and Torquatus, put to death their children for the good of their country. He also has afforded us all necessary support. The lord-bishop of Como and others of the family of Trivulce have acted in a similar kind manner to us. We feel the more beholden to the lord Jean Jacques, because knowing, as he did, the wicked intentions of many of the chief exciters to the late rebellion, he attempted to gain them over from their intentions by gratuities and honours, rather than dip his hands in the blood of his countrymen. He preferred also retiring into the castle to destroying the town by fire and sword, as perhaps strict duty would have forced him to,—and from thence he departed, to return with so much the greater glory. The preservation of the town from ruin is solely owing to his prudent conduct: a superior victory to any achieved by arms, seeing that Ludovico Sforza and almost all the king's enemies are

become prisoners. The cardinal Ascanius and others attached to his party were, by God's merciful providence, induced to leave the town, when they might otherwise have injured it by obstinately holding out against the troops of our legitimate lord. The inhabitants, therefore, are greatly indebted to God and the king, who has kindly overlooked their faults, and not punished them according to their deserts.

'To check the fury of his victorious army, the king has been pleased to send you, my lord cardinal, hither, with full powers to act according to your discretion; and this you have done with such prudence that you have saved the town to the king, —for which we, our children, and our successors, shall be ever beholden to you.

'We also thank my aforesaid lord the bishop of Como for his good recommendations of us to you, and for the means he has taken for the preservation of his country.

'Since, most reverend father in God, you have been pleased, out of your bounty and clemency, following the kind will of our lord the king, to grant to us, the inhabitants of Milan, this public audience,

they have commissioned me to make, in their name, the following requests.

'In the first place, that it may be your good pleasure, when you shall return to the king, to recommend us most humbly to his good graces,—and to assure his majesty that the people of Milan will never again rise in rebellion to his power and authority. They somewhat resemble St Peter, who, having denied God the Redeemer, had afterwards such grief for his sin that he was more ardent and determined in his service than ever, continually supplicating mercy for his crime. In like manner, most reverend father in God, and in the name of the king our lord, do I, on my bended knees, for myself, the nobles, burghers, and the inhabitants of Milan, beseech you to pardon the rebellion perpetrated by us, which was contrary to the usual custom of the Milanese, celebrated for their fidelity and loyalty.

'Secondly, most reverend father, in respect to the expenses the king our lord has been put to in countermanding the troops sent hither to punish us for our ill conduct, we have promised to pay the sum

of three hundred thousand crowns: fifty thousand on the 12th of this month, fifty thousand on the 1st day of May, and the remaining two hundred thousand at his pleasure. We beseech you to intercede for us to his majesty, that he would be graciously inclined to remit payment of the balance of the two hundred thousand crowns,—for it will be impossible to raise so large a sum without totally ruining the town. Its whole wealth consists in merchandize, and in cloths of silk and woollen, —and should so large a sum be withdrawn from trade, all these works must stop, to the utter ruin of the city and duchy of Milan, which depends so much upon it. The duty of a king is to enrich and not impoverish his subjects.

'Thirdly, we most humbly supplicate, that you would dismiss all the men at arms from the duchy as speedily as possible, that the fruits of the coming harvest may be preserved for the use of our lord's subjects.

'Fourthly, we beseech you, that all persons may be restored to the offices they before enjoyed.

'And, lastly, that since, out of your great mercy and wisdom, you have been pleased to separate the principal instigators of the late rebellion from the more peaceable inhabitants of the town,—and that, through the mercy of God, the cardinal Ascanius and the chiefs of that party are now, for the welfare of the country, detained prisoners,—we beseech you to use your interest with the king our lord, that such provisions be made to prevent them henceforth from troubling the city and duchy, as they have lately done, and put us again in danger of losing our lives and fortunes, whence we have been relieved by the merciful bounty of the king our lord.

'We assure you, most reverend father in God, and most noble lord, that we are determined to remain faithful to our sovereign prince in body and soul; and, by granting us our requests, you will never again hear of any disturbances or factions in this town, — for the inhabitants will, henceforward, be united in his service, as experience shall prove. We have full confidence that your benignant goodness will

do every thing, in regard to us, becoming the race whence you descend, which will be agreeable to God, and worthy to be engraved on marble, as a perpetual memorial of your wisdom, and to the glory of your name: all of which I and the people of Milan now assembled here, again on our bended knees, beseech you to grant.'

Master Michael having finished his harangue, the lord-cardinal of Amboise consulted the marshal of Trivulce, the bishop of Luson*, chancellor of Milan, the lord de Neufchâtel, and others of the king's counsellors, and ordered master Michael Ris, doctor of civil and canon law, and counsellor to the king in his court of parliament of Burgundy, and in the senate of Milan, to make a reply, which he did in manner following.

'Misertus est Dominus super Ninevem civitatem; eo quod pænitentiam egit in cinere et cilicio.' My lords and gentlemen of the Milanese, the very reverend father in God and most noble cardinal here present, as lieutenant general for the king in

* Luson. Q. Lausanne?

in this duchy, has more attentively listened to your humble propositions and requests than your demerits deserved. That his bounty and mercy may be more manifest, he has ordered me to lay before you your great and inexcusable rebellion, which his excellency would willingly have done himself could he have addressed you in your own language. I am, therefore, employed to do it by his command. I must, therefore, remind you, that on the day when you swore fidelity to the most Christian king, I then addressed you by his orders, and exhorted you to remain firm in your loyalty to him, whence you would derive great honour, and by acting contrary inevitable evils and disgrace would follow. I am now commanded by the most noble lord-cardinal, here present, to explain your great disloyalty and infidelity, that the exceeding clemency and pity of the king, our lord, may be the more apparent.

'Your crimes and your demerits are so enormous, O Milanese! that no punishments can be adequate to them, — and they are deserving of a similar punishment from the king as the Romans inflicted

upon the Samiens, as related to us by historians: 'Ita ruinas urbis diruerunt ut hodie Samus in ipsa Samo requiratur.' Or one equal to what Archila* king of the Goths inflicted on the Romans, whose marks are now visible on the walls and buildings of Rome. Or what Alexander did to the Thebans. It may be seen in numerous histories, that for much smaller crimes, Charles the great, king of France, and the emperor Frederick I. punished most severely this city of Milan.

'To make your ingratitude more public, you have allowed that the most Christian king is your true and legitimate lord, to whom you owe love and obedience, according to the laws of God and man; for the wise regulation of the Spartans says, 'Populum in obsequia principum, principes ad justitiam imperatorum infirmabit.' In addition to the most Christian king being your natural and lawful lord, he has conferred upon you numberless benefits: he came in person to deliver you from slavery,—not out of a disorderly ambition

* Archila. Q. Attila?

to gain kingdoms, but from the pity he felt for you as subjects of duke John Galeazzo, your first duke, whose most excellent daughter, the princess Valentina, was his grandmother. He recalled Justice to your country, which had been banished thence. He secured to you your lives and properties, which before no one could call his own. He allowed you the liberty to marry your children as you should please, which before this could not be done; for a father could not marry a daughter, nor a mother a sister, but according to the will and appetite of the lord. Offices which were temporary he made perpetual. He abolished all pillories, concussions, and exactions.

Besides these and numberless other benefits that he showered upon you, you were bounden by your oaths of allegiance to be faithful unto him: nevertheless, many of you, even when taking these oaths, were plotting to deceive him. All of you, ye Milanese! forgetful of the salvation of your souls and honour, and regardless of the danger into which you threw your wives, your children, and your town, have con-

spired against your true lord in favour of a tyrant, quitting the first of kings in Christendom for a mean fellow of low birth,—a most potent prince for one as poor in courage as in wealth and friends. Had I the powers of language to display the extent of such a crime, I should be incapable to do it under two days; but your own consciences will make you more sensible of it than I can,—and you may apply to yourselves what is written, 'Populus dure cervicis,' when you committed that base act of recalling your Ludovico in opposition to your true lord.

'What was the consequence? Did he not instantly seize all the effects of private persons, and not only their wealth but even the crosses, chalices, and jewels from the churches? What was said of Cambyses, king of Persia, may be said of him, 'Difficile enim erat ut parceret suis, qui contempta religione grassatus etiam in Deos fuerat.' Although from so great a crime many may attempt to exculpate themselves, yet I do not see how they can well do so, for it would have been easy at first to have resisted such trea-

son: nor can one in Milan excuse himself for the joyous reception given to Ludovico, as if he had been a god descended from heaven on earth. The people of Milan assisted the lord Ludovico with money and men. Feasts and entertainments were every where displayed to welcome his arrival, and for his short-lived victories when he gained Novara.

'Observe now, O Milanese! how strongly the justice of God, the Creator, has been made manifest, and the great power that it has pleased Him to invest the king our lord with: for when you thought that you had done every thing by gaining Novara, at that moment you lost the whole, and your idol, the lord Ludovico, carried away a prisoner,—so that what was said of the Persians may be applied to him, 'Servit alteri cui nuper mediolanum serviebat.'

'O Milanese! notwithstanding your enormous offences, the great fountain of mercy of our good king has not been dried up by your ingratitude to him: and the uncommon benignity of his lieutenant general, my lord cardinal, has been fully

shown to you, from his respect and reverence to this day, on which it pleased our Lord to suffer an ignominious death on the cross for our salvation. He, in the king's name, pardons your lives, your honours, and your property, exhorting you, at the same time, to be more careful, henceforward, not only to avoid committing similar offences but to avoid even the being suspected of them; for should you ever relapse again into rebellion, you will be punished with such severity the remembrance thereof shall endure to the latest ages of the world. By acting as loyal subjects towards your lord, your town and country will be daily improved, and you will live happy and contented; for it must be a great satisfaction to live under a true and legitimate prince.

'With regard to the requests you have made to my lord cardinal, you will deliver them to him in writing, and he will return you such answers as shall content you. It must, however, be understood, that from this pardon all the principal actors and instigators of the late rebellion are excepted.'

When this harangue was ended, all the children passed the cardinal in processession, crying out 'France, France! France and mercy!'

On St George's day, the queen of France set out from Lyon, to go to St Claude, with a very handsome company. Before she returned, she stood godmother with the prince of Orange,—for the princess had, at that time, been brought to bed of a son.

On the 2d of May, the lord Ludovico was brought to Lyon. He wore a robe of black camlet, after the fashion of Lombardy, and was mounted on a small mule. The provost of the royal household, and the seneschal of Lyon, went out to meet him, made him a prisoner in the king's name, and confined him in the castle of Pierre-en-Cise. Great numbers of people were collected in the streets to see him pass. The king was then in Lyon.

The 12th of May, the marriage of the lord de la Roche, a baron of Brittany, was announced in Lyon, with the princess of Tarente, daughter to don Frederic of Naples. On this occasion were many justs,

and other entertainments, at which were present the queen, her ladies and damsels, —and the wife of count Galeazzo was with the queen; but the marriage did not take place until the 18th of May, at the church of St Croix, near to that of St John. Tournaments again were exhibited on the Grenette, and gave great satisfaction*.

The lord Ludovico was, by orders from the king and council transferred from the castle of Pierre-en-Cise, on the 14th of May, to the castle of Loches, near Bourges. On the 24th of the same month, the lord de Ligny returned from Lombardy to Lyon, when the king sent out a large party to meet and welcome him.

The cardinal Ascanius Sforza was on the 17th of June, the vigil of Corpus-Christi-day, brought prisoner to Lyon, and confined, where his brother had before been,

* As I do not understand the expressions in the original, I shall transcribe them.

'Derechief on feit jouste en la Grenette. Les gentils-hommes qui joustoient *à cheval de bois et lisses de cordes couvertes de drap de soie qui estoit une chose si mignonnement faicte que merveilles* et tres joyeuse à voir.'

in the castle of Pierre-en-Cise; but he afterwards found such favour with the king that he had all France for his prison.

The lord-cardinal of Amboise and the lord de la Trimouille arrived at Lyon, the 21st of June, from Lombardy, and brought with them the lord Jean Jacques de Trivulce and his lady to France.

About the end of July, pope Alexander VII. was struck by lightning, at Rome, and much hurt; but, recommending himself to God and our lady, he was cured, and ordered a solemn procession, which he attended in person, and granted a full absolution to all who assisted. This happened, as said, on the vigil, or on the day preceding it, of the feast of St Peter. The same day the king and queen of France left Lyon for Troyes in Champagne, to meet an embassy from Germany that was expected there.

On St Anne's day, the 26th of July, the king of Yvetot* died at Lyon: he was

* King of Yvetot: Yvetot is a small burgh in the country of Caux, six leagues from Rouen. Clotaire I. king of France, having killed Gautier lord of Yvetot, as a compensation erected it into a kingdom.

buried in the church of Sainte Croix, near to that of St John.

The 28th, on a Sunday Morning, the last arch but one of the bridge over the Rhône, at Lyon, near to Bechevelain, fell down: the wall and the other arch remained,—but it could not be crossed without great danger, and by going along the top of the wall.

This year, the Swiss made war on the king's territories,—on which account his Swiss-guards returned home, but the war was soon put an end to.—About St Simon and St Jude's day, M. de Bordeaux, archbishop of Lyon, died, and was succeeded by François de Rohan, son to the marshal de Gié.

The king of France, about this period, sent a doctor of divinity from Paris to La Vaupute*, to convert the inhabitants from some fantastical opinions they had imbibed,—but he failed of success.

Near Christmas, the river Saone was

——See La Martiniere's or Baudrand's Geographical Dictionaries.

* La Vaupute. Q. Vault-de-Puis-de-Sacs? a village in Burgundy.

frozen as high as Mâcon, which prevented an corn and other victual coming to Lyon, and raised the price of bread very high. On St. Thomas's day, the Rhône suddenly rose in the afternoon, and higher than was ever known in so short a time.

In the year 1501, the bishop of Amiens, a native of Burgundy, died at a place called Arbois*, and was succeeded by the bishop of Nevers.

A jubilée took place, this year, in France, for the support of a war against the Turks,—and a tenth was raised, from all benefices, for the same purpose.—The archduke Philip and his consort came, in the course of the year, to Paris, and declared themselves friends to the king. They went thence into Spain, where the archduchess was brought to bed of a son.

A large body of infantry, with great stores of salted provision, were ordered to Naples; and the king and queen went to Lyon, to see these troops march through

* Arbois,—in Franche Comté, celebrated for its vineyards, 38 leagues from Lyon.

that city. The wife of duke René of Lorraine came to Sainte Claude, with her son, and thence proceeded to wait on the king and queen at Lyon. Her son remained at the court, and had a pension; and on the mother's returning to Lorraine, the king presented her with a white palfrey, most richly caparisoned in crimson velvet, with knotted cord-work in embroidery.

CHAP. XIII.

THE KING OF FRANCE SENDS TROOPS TO RECONQUER NAPLES, WHICH IN A SHORT TIME IS WON, — AND FREDERICK, STYLING HIMSELF KING THEREOF, COMES TO FRANCE.

The king was very anxious to recover his dominions in Naples, and, for this purpose sent thither a considerable force by sea and land. The king's lieutenant-general, the lord d'Aubigny, was so diligent, on his arrival, that he soon won the town of Naples.

Frederick, calling himself king of Naples, was then in the town; for, after the decease of the duke of Calabria, he claimed it as his inheritance. Seeing all resistance vain, he consented to meet the king of France, to make arrangements respecting his claim; for he was unwilling to remain the king's enemy, seeing that it was impossible for him to resist. Some of his children, however, were carried away secretly to the king of Spain.

The king of France received the news of the capture of Naples, and of Frederick, the 8th of August, when at Lyon, where great rejoicings, with bonfires, and solemn processions, were made on the occasion, to render thanks to the God of all victories.

On the feast of our Lady, in September of this year, the convent of the Celestins at Lyon took fire, and nearly the whole of it was destroyed. The fire began in the chimney; but the convent was soon afterwards rebuilt, handsomer than before. The same day, friar John Tisserant, an Observantine, of whom mention has been before made, died. On All-souls-day, don Frede-

ric arrived at Lyon, from Naples, and was conducted further into France.

CHAP. XIV.

THE CARDINAL OF AMBOISE MAKES HIS PUBLIC ENTRY INTO LYON, AS LEGATE TO FRANCE.

SUNDAY, the 7th of October, the lord-cardinal of Amboise made his public entry into Lyon, having been appointed legate from the holy see to France. His entry was very sumptuous and handsome: the streets hung with rich tapestries, and several allegorical mysteries represented in those streets he passed through. The populace were greatly rejoiced at his arrival, as he had established a peace among the Christian princes, which was proclaimed at Lyon on Saturday preceding Christmas, when bonfires were made in all the squares.

About this time, the lady Margaret*

* The lady Margaret—of Austria, daughter to

was married to the duke of Savoy, and made her public entry into Geneva in the course of the month of December.

CHAP. XV.

THE FRENCH, AFTER THE CAPTURE OF NAPLES, MAKE WAR ON THE TURKS.

THE year 1502 was the jubilee for a croisade against the Turks. It was, as said, celebrated throughout Christendom to excite every prince to take up arms on the occasion. But there were divisions among them; and all failed in their engagements excepting the king of France, who showed himself deserving of his title of most Christian king.

After the conquest of Naples, he ordered his troops to make war on the Turks by sea and land,—for they, having declared war against the Venetians, had landed troops near to Venice. The french army were eager to advance to the con-

the emperor Maximilian, and widow to John son to Ferdinand the catholic king of Spain.

quest of Constantinople, under the command of the lord Philip of Ravenstein; and they had undertaken the siege of the town of Metelino, under a promise of pay, and of being victualled, made by the Venetians to the king of France. They failed in the last article, for the french army was five days without provision; and what was worse, the Venetians allowed the Turks to march through part of their territories, who fell on the French, killed numbers, and made thirty-two prisoners,—for whose release the pope issued his pardons to obtain the necessary sums, as is specified in the bull. By these means, the french army was ruined; but had the promises made to the French been kept, they would soon have conquered the greater part of Turkey.

Good-Friday, this year, falling on the feast of our Lady in March, pardons were fully granted at the church of our Lady at Puys, in Auvergne, where such multitudes attended that a melancholy accident happened, by the falling down of a wall from the crowd pressing against it, which killed numbers, and wounded more.

Several also perished from the great pressure.

This year, a marriage was concluded between the king of Hungary and Anne of Candale, daughter to the lord of Candale of the house of Foix. She soon after made her public entry into Lyon, where several splendid mysteries were represented, and thence continued her route to Hungary, where the marriage was consummated, and they had a fine family of children.

About a fortnight before St George's day, the prince of Orange died, and was succeeded by his infant son.

Not long after this, the king of France went to Lombardy, and made his public entry into Genoa, the inhabitants having placed themselves under his dominion. The town made him many rich gifts,—and having staid there some time, he returned to France in September. About this period, Réné bastard of Savoy was driven out of that country, and took refuge with the king of France, to the great displeasure of the duke and duchess of Savoy; for Réné had revealed divers machinations that were going forward to the prejudice of the crown of France. Shortly,

a suit was instituted against the duchess, to recover some places which the duke had given her, that belonged to Réné by purchase.

While the king was in Dauphiny, the duke and duchess of Savoy visited the queen at Lyon, but made no public entry: they staid only four or six days, and went back to Savoy a little before the king's return.

Shortly afterward, the general of the order of cordelier friars came to France, to establish a reform, and to make them follow the regulations of the Observantines, —for the king would have it so, as he knew them to be too worldly inclined, and that it was better to have ten good monks than two thousand vicious ones.

On the vigil of St Martin's day, the wife of don Frederic arrived in France, with some of her children and attendants.

In the year 1503, the picture of our Lady of the Cloister, which had been in the cloister of the cordeliers at Lyon was removed into the church, and placed in the chapel of St Francis. This painting was so large that the wall was broken down to ad-

mit it into the chapel, where it now is most richly decorated.

About the beginning of Lent, the king's palace at Dijon was burnt down, by the firing a culverin up the chimney to clean it; the king soon afterwards rebuilt it with greater magnificence.

The 21st of April, when the king was at Lyon, he made a general abolition of a variety of tolls and imposts that had existed for a hundred years, without any legal sanction,—with orders not to re-establish them, under severe penalties. This was contained in letters patent he granted to the merchants who trafficked on the Rhône and Saone, and other navigable rivers falling into them, from the town of Pontarlier, above Auxonne, to the sea,—and also to those who trafficked by land through France, the Mâconnois, Lyonnois, Languedoc, and Dauphiny. By these letters, all obstructions to the navigation, such as wears, milldams, and the like, were ordered to be instantly removed, excepting such as may have been particularly erected by the king.

The french army at Naples gained

ground daily, and had nearly conquered Sicily, so that all trembled before them.

CHAP. XVI.

THE ARCHDUKE MAKES HIS ENTRY INTO LYON.—ANOTHER HERETIC.

THE archduke Philip made his public entry into Lyon the 23d of March, and it was very handsome. He came from Spain; but before he entered the king's territories, he demanded that five or six of the princes of the blood should be sent to his country, as hostages for his safety during his stay in France. This was done, for the king had no evil intentions; but the archduke had made the above demand imagining that he might be somewhat inclined to be suspicious of him.

The populace were rejoiced at his coming, because he was charged to make peace between the kings of France and Spain, which he did; and it was proclaimed while the king, queen, and their court were at Lyon, on the 4th of April. The peace

included, beside the kings of France and Spain, the archduke, the king of the Romans and their allies.

The archduke on leaving Lyon, went to Bourg en Bresse in Savoy, where he met the duke, and his sister the duchess of Savoy.

About the 13th of April, the lord John de Horne, bishop of Liege, waited on the king at Lyon, on account of a quarrel that had taken place between him and the lord de la Marche, which they had mutually referred for the king's decision, and he made peace between them.

The archduke had not been long at Bourg en Bresse before it was known that the king of Spain had landed a large army at Naples, and had instantly attacked the French unexpectedly,—for they understood that they were at peace with Spain. Notwithstanding this, a severe conflict took place,—and the duke of Nemours was killed treacherously. The Spaniards conquered the town of Naples, in contradiction to the oath their king had so lately made to observe the peace. It was said that pope Alexander VII. had

supplied the Spaniards with provision. The lord d'Aubigny retired into Calabria with a few of his men; but had the French been supported, they would have prevented the Spaniards succeeding in their enterprise. It was likewise reported, that some of the French had joined the Spaniards, having an understanding with the king of Spain,—but this perhaps was discovered afterwards. The lord de la Trimouille was, in consequence, sent to Naples as lieutenant-general for the king; but he was seized with so grievous a malady on his road, he was forced to return to France.

In this year, an extraordinary event happened at Paris. A young scholar, twenty-two years old, a native of Abbeville, whose parents were of worth, and much respected, went on the feast of St Louis, to the holy chapel in the palace, while mass was celebrating at an altar on the right hand. When the priest was about to consecrate the host, this scholar snatched it out of his hands, and ran away with it into the court fronting the exchequer-chamber. Perceiving that he was pursued, he tore the wafer into pieces,

and flung them on the pavement. When taken, he was confined in the prison of the Conciergerie, — but no exhortations could make him repent. Upon this his parents were sent for, who were much grieved at his conduct, more especially for his obstinacy and malice,—and the mother died in Paris of grief.

The father renounced his son for a heretic, and wanted to put him to death with his own hands. When brought before the court of parliament, he was asked of what religion he was; and replied, Of the religion of nature. It was said that he had frequented the company of some scholars from Spain, who had fled. A general procession was made to the holy chapel, to offer up prayers to God that the scholar might be converted,—and a sermon was preached, while he was present, by an eminent doctor. The court of parliament finding him obstinate, condemned him to be dragged from prison to the place where he had thrown down the host; then to be put into a tumbril, and have his wrist cut off, and carried to the pig-market to be burnt. He was accom-

panied all the time by three doctors, who earnestly exhorted him to repent,—namely, master John Standun, a Cordelier, and a Jacobin: the first never left him until dead, notwithstanding he continued in his obstinacy to the last.

From the time this impiety had been committed, a canopy of cloth of gold was supported over the spot where the host had fallen, with two burning tapers beside it. The pavement was taken up, and carried to the holy chapel, with such parts of the wafer as could be found, to be preserved as relics, and the place repaved.

Toward the end of August, in this year, pope Alexander VII. died. The king was then at Mâcon, and immediately ordered the cardinal of Amboise, the cardinal Ascanius Sforza, then a prisoner in France, the cardinal of St George, with other cardinals, to repair to Rome, for the election of a pope.

About nine or ten o'clock of the Monday, before Michaelmas-day, the whole arch of the bridge over the Rhône at Lyon fell down.

The cardinal of Sienna, nephew to

pope Pius II. was elected pope, and took the name of Pius III., but did not live more than eight or ten days after his exaltation. During that short space, he had already shown how very much he was indisposed against the French. He was the hundred and sixth pope.

On Wednesday preceding St Luke's day, the lord Peter of Bourbon died, while the king was at Mâcon: he was much bewailed, for he had ever been true and loyal to the crown of France, and was an able counsellor.

The 19th of October, died pope Pius III. at Rome, who, as I have said, did not outlive his election more than eight or ten days,—and the cardinals made another election.

The French at Naples slew very many Spaniards,—and had they been properly supported, they would have driven them thence, for the lord d'Aubigny evinced much valour and prudence.

CHAP. XVII.

THE CARDINAL OF ST PIETRO AD VINCULA ELECTED POPE.

THE cardinal of St Pietro ad vincula, legate of Avignon, and by name Francis de Savona*, was elected the hundred and seventh pope of Rome, and took the name of Julius II. He was nephew to the late pope, Sixtus IV. and had accompanied king Charles of France at the conquest of Naples. After his election, he made his nephew cardinal of St Pietro ad vincula, and legate of Avignon.

The french army before Saulse†, in the county of Roussillon, was badly conducted by some in whom the king had great confidence; for it was so well equipped, wonders were expected from it. The commanders might have taken the

* Francis de Savona. This must be a mistake: his name was Julius della Rovere. He was born at Albizale, a village near to Savona.

† Saulse. Q. Sault? a small territory adjoining Roussillon.

castle and the garrison, on allowing their captains to march away in safety; but although many were for it, the majority were against them. The castle was mined to its very foundations, and the army was so strongly encamped it could not be hurt; but the king of Spain, by dint of money, as it was known afterwards, blinded the eyes of the commanders, to the astonishment and vexation of all loyal Frenchmen when it was discovered.

The commander in chief, the marshal de Rieux, a Breton, marched away to Narbonne, to the great discontent of the French, as the camp was left without a leader. Every one behaved with the utmost courage, and raised the siege, carrying off the artillery and baggage without loss in their retreat. However, had all behaved as they ought to have done, conformable to their engagements with the king, in a short time they would have made great advances into the enemy's country, considering the fine army of the French.

The lord de la Roche-pot was killed, when before Saulse, by a cannon shot: it was a great loss, for he was a good and

valiant knight, and the king and whole court were much grieved at it.—The french army in Naples not only kept its ground, but even made some conquests.

On Christmas-eve, in this year, the lord Louis of Luxembourg, lord of Ligny, died, about twelve o'clock at night at Lyon, and was very much regretted by the king and all who knew him, for he was universally beloved.

The 3d day of July, in this year, died Pierre cardinal of Aubusson*, grand master of Rhodes, which he had governed for twenty-seven years: during the early part of which, Rhodes was attacked by the Turks with an immense army: but he and his knights made so gallant a defence, he was victorious, and the Turks left upwards of forty thousand dead: the rest saved themselves by flight, to the great vexation of all Turkey, in spite of their cries, 'Mahoun, avenge us!'

* Aubusson. He was grand prior of Auvergne, and descended from the ancient viscounts of la Marche. Pope Innocent sent him the cardinal's hat, for having delivered up to his guard Zimim brother to Bajazet.

The sultan, finding this army defeated, uttered a horrid cry, to the alarm of his attendants, and swore to march another to Rhodes, and have ample revenge; but while he was employed in making preparations, he died. The grand master of Rhodes detained the next heir to the sultan a prisoner for thirteen years, contrary to the will of many, and then delivered him up to the pope, who, in return, sent him a cardinal's hat. He had those fortifications repaired that had been damaged by the Turks, and then converted the Jews in the island to Christianity. He formed alliances with all the princes in Christendom, and did an infinite deal of good. He was succeeded by Emeri d'Amboise, brother to the cardinal of Amboise, legate to France, who instantly left France for Rhodes, to oppose the Turks, who were continually carrying on a warfare against the Christians.

CHAP. XVIII.

THE SOPHI OF PERSIA MAKES WAR ON THE TURK USSON CASSAN*.

THE grand master of Rhodes received on the 7th of December, in the year 1502, intelligence from Armenia and Persia, that one called Sophi Christian, or Red Bonnet of Armenia, had assembled an army of forty thousand men, to enable him to revenge the death of his father by Usson Cassan, a Turk, and to recover all the Sophines who had been sent prisoners to Tur-

* I cannot make out this chapter to my satisfaction. In the 'Art de Verifier les Dates,' I find, that in the year 1501, which nearly answers to the date in the chapter, Schah Ismael Sophi I., &c. the restorer of the sect of Ali, in Persia, when only 14 years old, assembles a large army of Alides, conquers Tauris from Alvand IV. successor of Uzun Cassan, and obliges him to fly to Diarbeker, where he dies in 1502. Schah Ismael gains Bagdad in 1510, putting to flight Morad Beg, son to Alvand, and in the following year conquers Khoristan, &c. In the year 1514, Selim I. emperor of the Turks gives him battle and defeats him on the plains of Chaldéron, and takes the town of Tauris. Sophi dies aged 38, &c.

key. Having considered the iniquity of the grand Turk, and his infamous conduct to these Sophines, he set out from his country, called Adanil, twelve days journey from Tauris, accompanied by only one hundred warriors, and arrived near to Arzian*, a town of Usson Cassan, whose friendship and alliance he besought on account of his mother, sister to Usson Cassan, pretending that he was waiting the arrival of his attendants. But he disguised his feelings of injury from the grand Turk, who detained his Sophines in abject vassalage: however, within a fortnight, he was joined by about sixteen thousand men, with whom he entered Arzian by force, and put to death all the inhabitants, both great and small.

Among other acts worthy of remembrance, in all the mosques, or temples, of the Turks, he had the horses and camels tied up as in a stable, to show his contempt for them, and had them afterwards razed to the ground. There had been a temple of the Christians which the Turks had destroyed; but Sophi had it immediately re-

* Arzian. Q. Erzerum, or Erivan?

built, and handsomely restored. The army of Sophi continually increasing, he advanced into the province of Firnam, which belonged also to Usson Cassan. Usson Cassan perceiving that Sophi was subjugating his country, and the whole of the Turks in this province, amounting to more than fifty thousand, assembled his army, and offered battle to Sophi, who defeated him completely, and made him prisoner. He entered victoriously the town of Sarda, where he staid three months, and thence advanced to Tharabe, a town of Usson Cassan, which instantly surrendered.

As he approached the country of Sultania, he was met by the children of Usson Cassan, with an army of twenty-five thousand men. Sophi gave them battle, and defeated them. One of the children was killed in the combat: the others were taken prisoners, and put to a disgraceful death by cutting them in pieces. Not one of their army was permitted to live.

The city of Tauris, seeing the great power of Sophi, and that he had destroyed their prince and his children, surrendered to him without any defence,—and he re-

mained there with his army some time. The citizens of Tauris, observing the great prudence and wisdom of Sophi, put him in possession of all the treasures of Usson Cassan. He thence departed to a large town called Lingia, three days journey from Tauris, and to another called Passy, the last town of Usson Cassan.

Sophi, finding that he had now conquered and submitted to his obedience the whole of the dominions of Usson Cassan, and established order every where, returned to Tauris, the capital of the country. He was continually followed by his mother, with a numerous attendance of slaves, for he was much beloved by her; and after a short stay at Tauris, she sent ambassadors to the grand Turk, to remonstrate with him on his shameful conduct to the Sophines,—ordering him to set them at liberty, and also to put on the red bonnet, after the manner of the Sophines, otherwise she would make him feel the power of her son.

The grand Turk detained the ambassadors in Constantinople, for he suspected that Sophi would invade his country of Natolia; and in consequence, he assembled

a large army near to the town of Angora*, and commanded all in Pera† to hold themselves in readiness to bear arms against Sophi Christian or Red Bonnet. They were, however, refractory, and refused to obey, showing more willingness to surrender themselves to Sophi. The Armenians say, that Sophi does not esteem the grand Turk a button,—for he has an army of ninety thousand men, well armed, without including his own countrymen from Armenia, who daily follow him. All this information was brought to the king of France, when he was at Morestel‡ in Dauphiny, in the year 1503.

* Angora,—a town in Natolia: Bajazet was defeated near to it.

† Pera,—partly a suburb to Constantinople. I believe it was then possessed by the Genoese.

‡ Morestel,—election of Vienne.

CHAP. XIX.

A GREAT MORTALITY FROM THE UNWHOLESOMENESS OF THE SEASON.—OF THE DEATHS OF MANY PERSONS OF NOTE.

In the course of the year 1504, a truce was concluded between the kings of France and Spain, touching the county of Roussillon: nevertheless, the Spaniards that had been garrisoned in Saulse embarked secretly for Naples. It was said, that the king of Spain had bribed some of the French (of which they were afterwards accused), and by this means he had conquered Naples.

The lord of Aubigny and the lord of Alegre, the principal leaders of the french army, were made prisoners; and great numbers of their men perished, more from want of food than in battle, for there was no great effusion of blood. The lieutenant of the lord of Ligny maintained his post in the territories of that lord's deceased wife,—and the French, notwithstanding the spanish force, made several good prisoners, who

were exchanged for the lords of Aubigny and of Alegre.

This summer was exceedingly hot and dry, which prevented the corn from filling; and the harvest was very poor in the Lyonnois, Dauphiny, Auvergne, Burgundy, Savoy, and other countries. From the month of March, the farmers and peasants, foreseeing the season would be unproductive, were in great distress, and made processions to different churches in all the villages around: general processions were even made by the peasants to the churches in Lyon, where the inhabitants and monks gave them bread and wine in abundance.

In these processions, the young women were dressed in white linen, with bare feet, a kerchief on their heads, and a taper in their hands: the boys were clothed also in white, bare headed and bare footed: then came the priests, followed by persons of both sexes, the women singing from the Litany, 'Sancta Maria! ora pro nobis,' and then the whole cried aloud for 'Mercy!'

The parishes of Lyon made similar processions to the church of our Lady of

the island, a french league distant from that city. On the last day but one of May, the body of St Just was brought from the suburbs into the city of Lyon, which no man living had before seen done; and his shrine was carried in procession, with chaunting and singing, from church to church. On the following day, the jaw bone of St John the baptist, which had never before been taken out of the church of St John, was carried in procession to the church of the Augustins.

Eight days afterwards, it rained; but the drought was soon as great as ever. The monks of Nôtre Dame de l'Isle, attended by the inhabitants of many villages, brought her image, and that of St Loup, in procession to Lyon, which had not been done in the memory of man. This was on the 7th of June; and at the same time was brought thither the shrine of Saint Hereny, prince of the nineteen thousand martyrs.

Processions came to Lyon four and five leagues distant; and the inhabitants of several villages were from five to six days wandering about the fields, from one

place to another, without returning home. In short, every body appeared so miserable, the hardest hearts must have wept on beholding this great desolation of the people, and have quitted all amusements to assist them.

In the month of September, there appeared in the river Saone, above Lyon, a prodigious quantity of small eels, of the size of a man's little finger, but no one dared to eat of them. Great sickness now prevailed; and on the 19th of September Philibert duke of Savoy died at Pont d'Ain, not without suspicions of poison. He was succeeded by his next brother: the other was bishop of Geneva.

In the year 1505 died the lady Jane duchess of Berry, and was interred in a chapel, within the castle of Bourges she had founded and endowed. From St John's day of last year until that feast in this, the season was most sickly, and every thing very dear. Wheat sold at Lyon from twenty-six to twenty-seven sols the bichet *;

† Bichet,—a measure of uncertain quantity,—from 70 to 54 pounds weight of corn,—of 36 pounds of chesnuts.

and from the scarcity in the country vast numbers came from the villages to Lyon to seek charity. Some left their houses empty, others their wives and children, and the women their husbands and children. Great part of them died, although every person who had wherewithal gave them food; for alms were as abundantly bestowed in Lyon as in any city of its size.

A pestilential disorder now raged, which carried off immense numbers in the hospital, both rich and poor; and this pestilence seemed to be felt every where, for, in the mountains of Savoy, several died of it, and of hunger, so that many farms were this year uncultivated.

During Lent, the king of France had the bones of his late father, Charles duke of Orleans, removed from Blois to Paris, and interred in the chapel of the Celestins at Paris, which the dukes of Orleans had founded. Every kind of honour was paid to them during their removal, and at their re-interment,—and it was a magnificent spectacle.

About this time, the king was taken with so serious an illness it was thought he

must die. His nobles and courtiers were much grieved: many of them made divers vows and pilgrimages; and processions were ordered throughout the realm, to offer up prayers to JESUS CHRIST for the king's recovery, which was granted. While he lay speechless, he had a vision, which he related; and it was so marvellous that I firmly believe it to be more a miracle than any thing else. A short time after his recovery, the king solicited the pope to grant a jubilee for his kingdom of France, and other parts under his dominion, without any expenses. On the 26th of June, the feast of St Peter and St Paul, a great procession took place, in which the host was carried as on Corpus-Christi-day, when the king, knowing how earnestly his people had prayed for the restoration of his health, would not show himself ungrateful, but, to reward them, solicited of the pope for this free jubilee.

In this year, don Frederick of Naples died, to whom the king had behaved with the utmost liberality touching his claims on Naples.

In the year 1506, died, Isabella queen

of Spain, who, during the wars of Granada, had shown great valour and prudence. The king of Spain was afterwards married to the sister of the lord of Foix, through the interference of the king of France, who, in consideration of the match, made some agreements with the king of Spain respecting Roussillon and Naples.

A war now took place between the duke of Savoy and the Valoisiens, but it was soon made an end of.—In the month of July, a general chapter of the Cordeliers was held at Rome, which had not been done since the death of their founder St Francis. It was caused, as said, by the reformation of the Cordeliers in France, which dissatisfied several of the fraternity, —and it was in this chapter determined by the pope, that there should be only two modes of living among them; that such as had been reformed should remain so: consequently, all the convents of Cordeliers in France follow the rules of the Observantines.

At this time also, a general chapter of the knights of Rhodes was holden at Rome, and many knights were drowned in coming thither, from tempests at sea.

On the 18th of July, the feast-day of St Pantaléone, a general pardon was granted to all repentant and confessed sinners, who should bequeath money or lands to the churches founded by the knights of Rhodes. This was done on account of a great victory the new grand master, brother to the cardinal of Amboise, had gained over the Turks. He had defeated their whole army, which was worthy of remembrance.

On Ascension-day, in this year, the count of Angoulême*, the second person in France, was betrothed, at Tours, to the princess Claude of France, only daughter to Louis XII. by Anne of Brittany, which caused great feasts and rejoicings throughout the kingdom.—The reverend father in God the lord Francis of Rohan, son to the marshal of Gié, and archbishop of Lyon, made his public entry into that city on the 14th of August. Many mysteries were exhibited in the streets through which he passed, and they were all hung with tapestries. On the following day, the feast of

* Count of Angoulême,—afterwards Francis I. king of France.

the Assumption of our Lady, he chaunted the high mass at the cathedral of St John in his archiepiscopal robes.

This year, the duke of Gueldres made war on that part of Guelderland dependant on the archduke.

CHAP. XX.

THE DEATHS OF THE ARCHDUKE AND OF THE QUEEN OF HUNGARY.

THE archduke Philip, during his residence at Burgos in Spain, died, on the 25th of September, in this year 1506.—The queen of Hungary died also on the feast-day of our Lady, in August, having been brought to bed a fortnight before of a son, named Louis. The marquis of Brandenbourg was proxy for the king of France, at his christening. She left a daughter likewise, three years of age,—and both children lived.

In Lombardy, there was a nun of the order of Jacobins, who, like to St Catherine of Sienna, had, every Friday, marks on her

hands and feet similar to the wounds of our Saviour, that ran blood, which appeared to all who saw it very marvellous.

CHAP. XXI.

THE POPE, BY THE ASSISTANCE OF THE FRENCH, GAINS BOLOGNA.

Pope Julius II. weighing in his mind that the whole of the territories of Bologna were the patrimony of the church, made preparations to reduce them to his obedience. This city and territory had been usurped, and held by force for some time, by sir John de Bentivoglio. The pope, considering that there was no prince in all Christendom so well able to afford him support in this project as the king of France (that firm pillar of the church, who had been every where victorious), made him acquainted with his claims and intentions of recovering the bolognese territories.

The king, eager to serve the holy

church, ordered a large detachment of men at arms to join the pope's forces from the Milanese, for him to use at his pleasure. The pope's army was besieging Bologna on the side toward Rome, — but when joined by the French, it was besieged on all sides. This took place in the month of October. The French, stationed on the side toward Modena, behaved very gallantly, and won Castel-franco, which was plundered because the garrison would not surrender. The pope's army gained another castle,—and both armies showed so much courage, the Bolognese were astonished and frightened: they found themselves closely besieged, and that it would be impossible for them to resist the pope and the king of France. Finding their situation desperate, they surrendered themselves to the pope, having driven sir John de Bentivoglio out of Bologna, who, as I have before said, held the town by force, although it lawfully belonged to the pope.

The pope offered up thanksgivings to God the Creator for his success, and chaunted high mass most devoutly, on All-

souls-day, in the church of St Petronilla in Bologna.

CHAP. XXII.

OF THE DAMSEL TRIVULCE.

About this time, there resided a young lady in the Milanese, who had been taught the rudiments of grammar at seven years of age, and was so earnest in her studies that, at fourteen, she was eloquent to a degree that astonished all who heard her.

She was descended from the noble family of the Trivulces. Her father, called John, was an able knight and good scholar, as were all of his family. Her mother's name was Angela, a noble lady of the race of the Martinengois. In praise of this young lady, the verse of Prosper may be well applied,—'Naturæ sequitur semina quisque suæ.' Her mother was not a learned lady, although full of virtue; but the daughter was so devout and elo-

quent, in her prayers, that she seemed more angelic than human; and if she continues to abound in such virtues, and to live thus sanctified and devout, she will deservedly be worthy of her reputation of a saint.

At twelve years of age, she became a great disputant, and was invited into the companies of the most learned, as well secular as ecclesiastic,—among whom were the bishop of Lausanne, an eminent scholar, her uncles the bishop of Cumense* and Francis Trivulce, of the order of franciscan friars, when several disputations took place,—and great praises were given to this damsel. She understood philosophy, history, and different sciences, was mistress of Seneca, Aristotle, and Pietro of Ravenna. Whatever she saw or heard at any of the places she visited, she related the whole to her father, on her return home, as exactly as if it had been written down.

She was skilful in poetry, and one day composed so long a poem her master was surprised at her talent. She became soon

* Cumense. Q. Como?

expert in the greek tongue, and wrote many letters, in that and in other languages, that were greatly admired by all the learned to whom they had been addressed. She was most patient in adversity, making a joke of it: in short, every thing she did or said was miraculous, and unlike to a human being. When marriage was spoken of to her, she replied, that she would never marry a man whom she did not know to be as pure in virtue as herself.

The Genoese, acting according to their accustomed treachery, forgetful of the crimes they had committed, and been pardoned for by the king, now rebelled against him, and chose for their doge one called Paul Noyus*, who had been a silk dyer. The king, hearing of this, resolved to march in person against them, and reduce them to his obedience, notwithstanding the great preparations the Genoese had made for resistance. They had, among other things, erected a bulwark they thought impregnable; but some bold french adventurers having secretly mounted this bulwark, the

* Paul Noyus. Paul di Nove.

hearts of the Genoese failed them, and they fled into the town. They now offered to surrender themselves to the king's mercy, who, from his uncommon benignity, and wish to avoid the effusion of human blood, pardoned them, and entered the town with his whole army, where he had a magnificent reception. Their lately-elected doge, Paul di Nove, was taken at sea by a french bark, when making his escape, brought back to Genoa, and beheaded. From this time forward, it was publicly proclaimed, that the populace should not shout 'Adorne Fregose* !' which they had been accustomed to do before this last reduction of the town.

* Fregose. Q. Fiesco?

CHAP. XXIII.

OF THE LEAGUE OF CAMBRAY, FORMED BY THE CARDINAL OF AMBOISE, BETWEEN THE POPE, THE EMPEROR MAXIMILIAN, THE KING OF FRANCE, AND THE KING OF SPAIN, AGAINST THE VENETIANS. — THE KING OF FRANCE DEFEATS THE VENETIANS AT AGNADELLO.

THE king of France, about this time, through the means of the cardinal of Amboise, concluded a treaty at Cambray between the pope, the emperor, the king of Spain, and the lady Margaret, governess of the low countries. This treaty, although of no long duration, was the cause of the deaths of two hundred thousand men, as you will hereafter see, through the treachery of the confederates, in various battles and engagements that took place; and what is worse, we of the present time, unless God shall be pleased to apply a remedy, are still suffering from the effects of this unfortunate treaty.

The king thought to obtain by it a

lasting peace and alliance with the adjoining princes; but he was deceived, as was apparent at the time of the affair of Peschiera, against the Venetians; for he alone, of all the confederates, took the field, crossed the Alps, and advanced to Milan. He thence marched his army, and what is worthy of remark, had all the bridges broken down he passed over, to show that flight would be needless. His first conquest was the castle of Trevi. He then marched his army to Peschiera, near to which was Agnadello, where the battle was fought. Five days after the camp had been formed at Peschiera, the venetian army was attacked, and completely routed, chiefly by the great exertions of the lord of Bourbon, who fought manfully: there was great slaughter. The confederates never thought that this could have been accomplished by the french army alone. Indeed the Venetians would not believe it until the count de Pitigliano, who had fled with the reserve, convinced them of its truth. This battle took place on the 14th of May, just six days after the king arrived in the camp, and it was certainly very fortunate. Thus

the war lasted but five days; for after such a victory, there was nothing to prevent the king obtaining all his demands.

I repeat, that this success was very fortunate, considering how advantageously the enemy were posted, the number of strong places in their possession, and the strength of their armies; for they had enow to oppose the confederates in the field and to guard their strong holds. In their camp were more than seventeen hundred men at arms, light cavalry to the amount of nine thousand five hundred, and twenty-two thousand infantry well armed, with twenty pieces of large artillery, much superior to what the king had, and also the best captains in all Italy to command this army, particularly sir Bartholomew d'Alviano, the chief, taken prisoner as he was rallying a body of infantry.

Numbers of the most renowned of the venetian captains were made prisoners this day, and sent to different strong castles in France,—their banners to the church of St Denis. Not more than two hundred were slain of the king's army, while full fifteen thousand fell on the side of the

enemy. After the battle, the king ordered the dead to be buried, and a chapel to be erected on the spot, endowed sufficiently for the celebration of daily masses for the souls of those who had died in a state of grace. It was not long afterward before those towns which the Venetians had usurped surrendered to the king's obedience,—such as Bergamo, Brescia, Crema, Cremona, that had formed part of the duchy of Milan.

The pope, in like manner, recovered those places that had been taken from the church, namely, Ravenna, Imola, Faienza, and Forli. The emperor Maximilian regained from the Venetians his towns of Verona, Vicenza, and Padua,—but this last he did not keep long. Whether through negligence or fear, he had never dared to come to the king's camp, notwithstanding his repeated promises: the king, however, gave him a large body of men, under the command of the lord de la Palisse, to regain the city of Padua,—and it was long besieged, but nothing effectual was done at last.

The king of Spain also regained the

towns of Brundusium, Tarentum, and others, of which the Venetians had possessed themselves.

When all this had been done through the fortunate victory of the king of France, who had supported the pope like a true son of the church, and had so essentially served him in the restoration of Bologna by the expulsion of Bentivoglio, and in various other ways,—notwithstanding all these proofs of his friendship, pope Julius, at the instigation of the Venetians and others, formed an alliance against him, and, having joined his arms with those of Venice, took Udina and Mirandola; which last he restored to John Franciscus Picus, who styled himself the true lord of it.

To return to the king of France: after his victory over the Venetians, he went to Milan, where a magnificent triumphal entry was prepared for him, after the manner of the ancient Romans. Brilliant cars, full of the handsomest and best dressed ladies in Milan, went out to meet him,—and the people greeted him with acclamations, comparing him to Cæsar, for having conquered and reduced to his subjection those who had

been feared and dreaded by all the world before.

The king, having had so handsome a reception in Milan, went thence to Savona, where he was met by Ferdinand, who had come thither with a numerous fleet of galleys for the purpose. The king of France received him and his queen with much kindness, and they made good cheer together. They confirmed their peace by dividing the eucharist between them at the holy sacrament; but it lasted not long, notwithstanding this ceremony, as you will hereafter see. There are many who make a good sale of their consciences and promises; and one of them, instead of the host, ought to have swallowed a burning coal,—for numberless creatures have paid dear for perjuries of which they were innocent, and had no concern with

CHAP. XXIV.

A WAR BETWEEN POPE JULIUS AND THE KING OF FRANCE, ON ACCOUNT OF THE DUKE OF FERRARA.—A COUNCIL OF THE CHURCH ASSEMBLED AT THE INSTANCE OF THE EMPEROR MAXIMILIAN AND THE KING OF FRANCE, TO THE DISSATISFACTION OF THE POPE.—BOLOGNA TAKEN BY THE FRENCH.

About this time the town of Mirandola was valiantly reconquered by the French, and the town of Udina delivered up to the king of the Romans. The marquis of Mantua was taken prisoner by the Venetians, and carried to Venice, where, some time after, he easily obtained his liberty. A fresh war now commenced between the pope and the duke of Ferrara, an ally of France,—for which reason, the king left the count Gaston de Foix, whom he had lately created duke of Nemours, his lieutenant-general in the Milanese, who did marvellous feats of arms during his command in Italy.

The lord-cardinal of Amboise, on his last return from Italy, fell sick at Lyon, and died there. His loss was great, as was afterwards known, although at the time some thought the contrary; but they were unacquainted with his many virtues, and the good use he made of his talents, for during the whole of his administration, he advised his master with such wisdom that the people were never over-taxed. Whatever wars king Louis may have carried on in Italy, the taxes were never raised above their usual rates; but when the enemy attempted to bring the war on the french territory, it became absolutely necessary to increase them.

The king was, not without foundation, called 'the father of his people,' notwithstanding that title may have been given him during his life through flattery, and the worth of other kings debased, the more to exalt his own. It is impossible to say too much of a virtuous man in his absence; but when present, to praise him smells strongly of the love of lucre.

The cardinal-legate having lain in state for a short time, the body was em-

balmed, put into a leaden coffin, and carried to Rouen for interment. The king came thence to Blois, accompanied by the queen, then far gone with child of a daughter, as it turned out afterward, whom the king had vowed to the holy St René, a bishop of Angers, whither he made a pilgrimage with the queen when she recovered. The young princess was christened Renée,—and the lord Jean Jacques de Trivulce stood godfather with the king.

About this time, the Portuguese made some discoveries on the island of Oran*, on the coast of Africa, where they met savages of a blackish colour, with countenances as if branded with hot irons, thick lips, black and coarse hair, resembling in thickness that of a horse. They had no beard, nor appearance of any, or of hair on any parts of the body but on the head and eye-brows. Their boats are made of the bark of trees, and so light, a man can with ease carry one of them. Their bows are bent with the sinews of wild beasts:

* Oran,—a town of Algiers. I should imagine this to be a mistake for some place on the southern coast of Africa.

their arrows of cane, headed with a sharp stone or piece of fish-bone. They know not the use of bread or wine, nor the value of money, and crawl on the earth like beasts, feeding on raw flesh, and covered with skins for clothing. They live part of their time in the sea. Two of these natives were brought by some Normans to Rouen, and presented to the king; but they did not live long, nor did the others that had been brought to Europe.

But to return to my former subject: a general council was demanded by the emperor, and king of France, to the great discontent of the pope. He had broken his faith, by instigating the king of Arragon, the republic of Venice, and others, to commence a new war, quitting the chair of Saint Peter for the car of Mars, the god of war, displaying in the field of battle his triple crown, and sleeping in watchtowers. God knows what a sight of crosses, mitres, and sacred banners, were fluttering in the plains; and the devil took good care not to come near,—for benedictions were given most abundantly, and at the cheapest rates.

The war commenced against the duke

of Ferrara, ally to the king, when many engagements took place, sieges were made and raised, for it was continued without interruption of winter and summer. Bologna was besieged by the duke of Nemours, who acted as viceroy in Italy, and the Bolognese fled before him, so that he soon reconquered that town, as you shall hear. About this time, pope Julius excited the Swiss to invade the duchy of Milan, which they did, and advanced to the walls of that city, committing every sort of mischief, particularly to a monastery of nuns, whom they ravished, and plundered the convent of all within it.

The lord de Conti, like a valorous knight, hastened to their relief, and did wonders; but he was surrounded, and fell, which was a great pity.—Soon after, the duke of Nemours made an agreement with them to return home, on receiving a sum of money,—which they accepted and retreated, to return again to seek more money.

The inhabitants of Brescia were now (unfortunately for them) advised to quit the french interest, and put themselves under

the dominion of Venice, for which they severely suffered. In like manner, those of Bergamo revolted to the Venetians, but the castles of both places remained in the hands of the French, under the commands of able captains, who gallantly served the king, especially in his italian wars, for which some of them were but badly recompensed.

The council* before mentioned was first held at Tours, then at Lyon, and then referred to a general council at Pisa, where were many cardinals, archbishops, bishops, abbots, priors, and other prelates of the church. There were likewise some very learned theologians, and canonists, to whom this affair would afford matter of discus-

* The council—was held in 1510 at Tours, and attended by all the prelates and doctors of France. Louis XII. proposed eight questions, touching his declaring war against pope Julius II. in favour of Alphonso duke of Ferrara, whom the pope had determined to deprive of his dominions. The answers of the council confirmed the king in his resolution for war.

I do not see any thing of these removals of the council in the Art de Verifier les Dates, from which the above is taken.

sion. Several essential points were determined on in the different sessions of this council; but, for weighty reasons, the council was transferred to Milan, and thence to Lyon, where it remained.

The french army suffered much at the siege of Bologna, from the rigour of the weather: but, notwithstanding this, they were victorious, drove out of the town the pope and his archbishops, and entered it as conquerors.

CHAP. XXV.

THE DUKE OF NEMOURS MARCHES HIS ARMY AGAINST BRESCIA.—ON TAKING THE TOWN, A GREAT SLAUGHTER ENSUES.

When the duke of Nemours heard of the revolt of Brescia, and that the Venetians had entered the town, he instantly made preparations to attack them, and with great diligence, marched day and night to Brescia; for I can promise you, that the king had, at that time, an excellent army,—and the liberal promises of the duke of Nemours

urged them on, so that they were almost immediately before it.

Those in the castle, on the first appearance of their countrymen, opened the gate, and part of them forced their way thence in the town. Alas! what a deluge! what cries! what lamentations of the poor citizens! It is a great pity, and wonderful how many suffer in the support of the quarrels of princes and great lords: however, in this instance, they had deserved punishment, for having wantonly broken their oaths of allegiance.

The duke of Nemours had no sooner gained the castle and palace than, like a great warrior as he was, he entered the town, one arm bare, and his sword on his wrist, shouting out 'France!' in which he was echoed by all Frenchmen. The Venetians, thunderstruck, took to flight through one of the gates, but numbers were slain* and made prisoners, of whom were many of high rank in Venice, who were sent to France.

* Numbers were slain. Guicciardini says, about eight thousand of the inhabitants and venetian soldiers.

into the plain, boasting that they would form a junction with the Venetians and relieve Brescia; but I believe that, when they learned what had passed there, they changed their intentions.

About this time, there lived in the town of Augshourg a virgin, named Anne, who had arrived at the age of forty years, without eating, drinking, sleeping, or having any natural evacuations!!! by which it may be known, that she was under the especial grace of our Lord JESUS CHRIST, —and she had given herself up to devout contemplations.

Another great wonder was seen in the city of Ravenna, where a monster was born with a horn on its head, wings of a bat, one foot like a bird of prey, the other like a human foot! It had an eye on its knee, and was of both sexes! It had a mark of a Y on its breast, and an appearance of a cross, with a crescent beneath, —which signs, according to my lords the philosophers and prognosticators, signify many things!!

CHAP. XXVI.

THE DUKE OF NEMOURS DEFEATS THE UNITED ARMIES OF THE POPE, THE VENETIANS, AND THE SPANIARDS, NEAR TO RAVENNA,—BUT IS HIMSELF SLAIN, AFTER HE HAD GAINED THE VICTORY AND TOTALLY REPULSED THE ENEMY.

WE must now return to the wars in Italy, and elsewhere. During the Lent of the year 1512, the duke of Nemours marched his army before Ravenna, wherein that of the pope, the Venetians, and Spaniards were seeking opportunities to retaliate on the French,—and they had made great preparations for this purpose. The duke of Nemours, having had information of this, advanced thither, accompanied by many nobles and valiant captains, such as the lord de la Palisse, the lord d'Alegre and his son, the lord Jean Jacques of Trivulce, the lord de Châtillon governor of Paris, the lord de Molarc, Maugeron, La Crotte, and other officers of renown. When he had approached

Ravenna, the French remained some time encamped from a scarcity of provision, and many suffered by it. Perceiving that their supplies had failed, like hardy warriors, stirred on by the eager desire of the duke of Nemours for the combat, they resolved, on the eve of Easter-day, to offer the enemy battle on the morrow, which was the feast of the Resurrection of our Lord.

The French advanced boldly to the combat, having their artillery in front, which played four hours incessantly, and did great damage to the Spaniards, principally to their men at arms. Some Spaniards sallied out of their camp, and the French rushed in,—when both parties met, and two superb and bold nations might then be seen contending with courage and earnestness for the victory. Never was heard such clattering of swords and lances: the gallant duke of Nemours hastened forward, fighting most wonderfully, to encourage his men; and it was for some time uncertain which side would have the advantage,—for the Spaniards shouted at times 'Victory! Julius, Julius!' at others, the French cried out 'Victory, Nemours!'

At length, the French made their enemies fly.

During the battle, the lord de Molare was killed by a cannon-shot,—a great loss to the king, for he was a valiant and enterprising captain. He led that day the french infantry, a most courageous and steady band. La Crotte and captain Jacobs, who commanded the Lansquenets, were among the first of the slain; and their loss was a heavy blow: however, both French and Lansquenets advanced with greater courage to revenge the deaths of their captains, and pushed on until they came to where the baggage was, and some famished adventurers had already begun to knock in the heads of the casks of different wines,—when, having drank their fill, they ran away as fast as they could: not so the Spaniards, who still held on fighting,—for I can assure you, that these spanish troops were no way fainthearted, and there had not been so severe a battle fought as this for a long time. May God pardon those who were killed!

The remnant of the Spaniards and Italians that escaped wandered here

and there. Upwards of twenty of the great lords of Italy lay dead on the field. There were many prisoners made: in the number were Pedro de Navarre, don John de Cardona, the marquis of Pescara, Pomare, Epinose, Castinago, John Antony Vo ino, the count de Montelon, the marquis de Betonde, the marquis de l'Estelle, the son to the count of Consege, and others of renown. No one knew what became of the duke du Traict,* who was of their company. The viceroy of Naples saved himself by flight, until he gained the seashore, and embarked for Naples. The marquis de la Padulla and the count del Popolo made good a retreat before the end of the conflict, with eleven or twelve hundred horse, as well men at arms as light cavalry, and from sixteen to seventeen hundred infantry, t e remains of their army, and saved themselves as well as they could.

Numbers of Frenchmen were doubtless slain, for the Spaniards fought with the utmost bravery; and when the french men at arms returning from the pursuit,

* Duke du Traict. Q. Utrecht?

passed over the field of battle, the wounded laid hands on any swords near them, and, in the miserable state they were in on the ground, cut the legs of the horses the French were mounted on.

Pope Julius was at Rome when news of this event was brought him. God knows how he bore it, for he had been a very great sufferer in that battle. The instant he heard it, he would have set off without delay, fearing that the French would follow up their victory, and come to seek him even in Rome.

After this defeat, the illustrious and gallant duke of Nemours, having perceived a small body of the enemy that had not dispersed, like a magnanimous prince, but too unmindful of the signal victory God had just given him, required of the nobles and captains around him, that they would be pleased to march with him and drive them away. Some of them who, from long experience, knew the uncertainty of the chances of war, remonstrated with him on being too adventurous, and that he should remain satisfied with the success he had gained. Notwithstanding the truth of these remonstrances, he persisted in his resc

lution, and said aloud, 'Let all who love me, follow me.' Upon this, the lord d'Alegre, his son, Maugeron, the bastard of Cliete, seeing him thus determined and already advancing followed him.

The duke of Nemours was the first to attack this body of the enemy, who were greatly superior in number; and the gallant prince performed such feats of arms as astonished them, and cleared all around his horse with such rapid and mortal blows that none dared approach him. It was a grand sight to view so young a man displaying such extraordinary courage. The enemy, observing how few the French were, and that no reinforcements were coming to them, recovered their courage and surrounded the young hero. They first killed his horse, and then fell upon him with battle-axes, pikes, and every sort of weapon, that he, and all his companions, died a glorious death.

This was a most heavy loss to France, for he was a magnanimous prince, worthy to be placed on a triumphant throne in a temple of brave men. His liberality and frankness had gained him the love of the

army, who would have followed him any where, even without pay,—and within four months he had gained three decisive battles.

When this melancholy event was known, the lord de la Palisse and other captains hastened to revenge his loss, and put to death the whole body of the enemy that had slain the duke, the lord d'Alegre and the others, without suffering one to escape. They thence marched to besiege the city of Ravenna, which they took by storm, killed the greater part of the inhabitants, and plundered the town: there was much confusion, for it was almost entirely destroyed. When this was done, the french returned to the field of the late battle, to raise the bodies of the duke of Nemours and the other lords, to give them an honourable interment in sacred ground. The body of that most noble prince and viceroy of Italy, was carried in mournful triumph to Milan, from the ground where he had fallen, to be magnificently interred becoming so great a prince.

The body of the duke of Nemours arrived at Milan the 20th of April, in

the year 1412, preceded by all the prisoners taken at the battle of Ravenna. The banners, guidons, and standards the French had so valiantly conquered, as well from the Italians as from the Venetians and Spaniards, and of the different lords who had fallen in this battle, were borne before him, which added joy intermixed with grief at this mournful interment. Great order was observed in the procession,—and it was a triumphantly melancholy spectacle. The nobles and captains were in deep mourning,—and there was no heart so hard not to weep on seeing his body thus carried untimely to the grave. His pages and attendants led his horses of parade and for war: his helmet and victorious sword, as lieutenant general for the king, were borne before the body. In short, those of his army who attended the funeral were loud in their lamentations; for they had always found him liberal and courteous, and never sparing of his own personal efforts in war.

The principal inhabitants and churchmen of Milan came out to meet the body, dressed in mourning cloaks and hoods, with

a blaze of lighted torches, on which were the arms of the deceased emblazoned. The body, surrounded by two hundred of the choicest lances in the army and a numerous escort of infantry, was conducted, with great pomp of grief, to the cathedral, where a most solemn service was performed for the repose of his soul.

Think how great must have been the sorrow of the king and queen, when they heard of this sad event at Blois, for they loved him as if he had been their own child; and I can assert for truth, that those who had never seen him bewailed his loss, on the reports they had heard of his uncommon virtues and gallantry. May God receive his soul!

CHAP. XXVII.

ON THE DEPARTURE OF THE FRENCH FROM ITALY, THE SWISS TAKE THE TOWN OF MILAN AND OTHER PLACES HELD BY THE KING OF FRANCE.

After this battle of Ravenna, where, as well as in the preceding ones, great quantities of human blood were shed, principally of the Italians and their allies,—but also of the French, and of some of the noblest families, by which many ladies and damsels in France became widows and orphans. The generals, or at least those who had the management of the finances for the army, imagined that, by the happy event of this battle, all Italy was subdued, as far as Rome, if not farther, and disbanded great bodies of infantry at the very time when they should have sought reinforcements, to garrison the towns and castles that had been lately conquered.

When this conduct was noticed by certain bloodsuckers and turbulent spirits, they collected troops in divers parts, to

endeavour to regain honour by attacking the French; for, seeing them dispersed in their garrisons, they were aware that courage, when disunited, is not so much to be dreaded as when in a collective body. The holy father the pope, smarting from the losses he had suffered from the French, three times excited the Swiss-cantons to rise in arms against them, for they had of late been neglected by the king of France. They chiefly depend, for their maintenance, on pensions from kings and princes,—and the pope having made the bishop of Sion a cardinal, he was an active and able tool, by his public preachings and intrigues, to prevail on them to comply with the wishes of his holiness. Maximilian also, having turned his coat, was to allow them an entrance to Italy through his territories of the Veronese and elsewhere. The Spaniards likewise assembled from various parts of Italy; and they all advanced toward Milan, whence the government had been withdrawn to France, so that the poor Milanese were in despair, and knew not how to act. However, the French having left them, they, as usual, fell in with the strongest, and the

enemy was admitted into the town. The castle was held by the French, under the command of the lord de Louvain; and other castles were also in their possession: that of Brescia was held by the lord d'Aubigny.

When the French were returning from Italy, a sharp skirmish took place at a bridge near to Pavia, between a small body of french adventurers and the enemy, and they were inhumanly treated by the townsmen. Among others of their villanous acts, I shall mention one. A Frenchman, unable to keep up with the rest, was met by an inhabitant of Pavia, who said to him, 'My friend, I love the french nation: come, I beg of you, to my house, and I will save you from being killed.' The poor adventurer, confiding in his fair words, followed him; but he was no sooner within his doors than he treated him most brutally, cut off his private parts, and thrust him into the street in his shirt, bawling aloud, 'Here is another Frenchman!' on which numbers rushed out of their doors, and hacked him to pieces with their swords.

There was another inhabitant of Pavia who had even devoured the heart of a Frenchman, by way of revenge.

I am persuaded that all the evils that have befallen Italy have been caused by their wickedness, and infamous practices similar to those of Sodom and Gomorrah. The air would be infected, were I to recite them. May God amend them, and all others! On the other hand, the French have a shameful custom (which was increased when in Italy) of blaspheming our Lord JESUS CHRIST, and our Lady, with divers indecent oaths, in which they seem to take pleasure. God may, perhaps, have been angered by such detestable blasphemies, and by that great vanity with which the French are always filled, and suffered them to experience the late unfortunate reverses, to show that from Him alone come victories and good fortune.

The French, on leaving Italy, were in a great alarm,—and they were so rejoiced when returned to France, they attributed it to the favour of Heaven. Such are the chances of this world.

In this year of 1512, pope Julius, re-

turning evil for good, was violently animated against the French; and having partly accomplished his wish of being the chief cause of their expulsion from Italy, died at Rome in the ninth year of his pontificate. May God pardon him!

About this time, a truce was concluded between the kings of France and of Arragon, for a certain space of time. Leo X. was now the reigning pope; he was consecrated at Rome the successor of pope Julius II. Leo was a native of Florence, of very wealthy, and renowned parents. His father was Lorenzo de Medici, to whose family Louis XI., king of France, had granted permission to add the three flowers de luce to their armorial bearings*.

* I must refer the reader, for further particulars of the french wars in Italy, to Guicciardini and other italian historians, and to Mr. Roscoe's lives of Lorenzo de Medici and of Leo X. The grant of Louis XI. to the Medici, to bear the arms of France, is in the appendix to Comines.

CHAP. XXVIII.

OF THE WAR IN GUIENNE.—THE KING OF FRANCE SENDS SUCCOURS TO THE KING OF NAVARRE.—THE KING OF ENGLAND MAKES PREPARATIONS TO INVADE FRANCE.—A SEA-FIGHT BETWEEN TWO LARGE ENGLISH AND FRENCH SHIPS.

It was not long before a war broke out in Guienne, or rather in Navarre; which kingdom the king of Arragon had entered, and taken the town of Pampeluna, with others belonging to the king of Navarre, under pretence of being heir to that crown in right of his wife, sister to the late duke of Nemours count of Foix, slain after the battle of Ravenna.

The good king of Navarre*, in consequence, demanded succour from the king of France, to recover the places he had lost.

* The good king of Navarre—was of so indolent a character that his queen, a woman of high spirit, told him, 'Had *you* been mademoiselle Catherine, and *I* don John, we had never lost our realm.' HENAULT.

Louis XII., considering how faithful an ally he had always been, ordered a large body of men at arms and infantry to his assistance, under the command of the duke of Longueville and Dunois. This war was very expensive to the king of France, for the army remained long without striking a blow. In addition to this, the English, excited by the king of Arragon, as well as by a desire to regain Guienne, which they claimed as an inheritance, made a landing near to Roncevaux and St John Pied du Port,—but not being able to effect a junction with the Spaniards, they returned*.

In the year 1513, Henry king of England, son to king Henry VII. who, by the aid of Charles VIII. king of France, succeeded peaceably to the crown of England after the death of Richard of York, instead

* Henry VIII. was the dupe of Ferdinand of Arragon. The english forces landed at Guipiscoa, under the command of the marquis of Dorset, but were never joined by the Spaniards to unite in the siege of Bayonne. The English returned, having gained nothing but disgrace, while Ferdinand possessed himself of the kingdom of Navarre.

of being grateful, for such services, to the king of France, although his late father had charged him, on his deathbed, to do nothing against that king, if he wished to prosper, instantly on the death of his father acted directly contrary. King Henry, equally eager with his subjects to invade France, sent an embassy to the lady Margaret, governess of Flanders, to obtain armour, stores, and artillery, particularly thirteen large cannons, which he had ordered to be cast in Flanders. These articles were immediately delivered, in return for a large sum of angels that remained behind,—for it had been long since they had circulated in any other country than their own.

A secret treaty was, at the same time, concluded between Henry and the archduke,—which having secured him the aid of the Flemings, he continued to make his preparations for the invasion of France without interruption. He sent his fleet, under the command of the lord admiral*

* The lord admiral,—sir Edward Howard. Sir Edward Knivet commanded the Regent.

to cruize on the coasts of Brittany, who was himself on board a vessel of prodigious size.

The french saw this armament with sorrow, for they had not a fleet able to cope with it; but a valiant sea-captain, named Primaugay, embarked on board a large ship called La Cordeliere, which the queen of France had lately built at an immense expense. He put to sea, and boldly attacked the english admiral in the great ship called The Regent, when a bloody combat took place. After some time, the Cordeliere set the Regent on fire, which having gained the powder-magazine, she blew up, with all within her.

Primaugay, seeing it impossible to save his ship, as they were grappled together, leapt into the sea, armed as he was, and perished: it was a pity, for he was a bold and enterprising man*.

* In Henry's Hist. of England, it is said that both ships took fire, and perished, with all on board, to the number of seventeen hundred men; that the rest of the fleets, consisting of twenty-five sail English, and thirty-nine French, separated in conster-

These two large ships were burnt; but the rest of the fleet returned in safety to England, to report the unfortunate news to the king, who was much vexed thereat, and not without reason.

CHAP. XXIX.

THE KING OF ENGLAND DISEMBARKS WITH HIS WHOLE ARMY AT CALAIS. — THE FRENCH ARE DEFEATED BY THE SWISS, AT NOVARA.

When the king of England had completed his preparations, he put to sea with his army, disembarked at Calais, and thence, with part of it, marched strait for Flanders. Had he then been attacked, the perplexities that ensued afterwards would have been avoided.

At the same time, the king of France had collected an army for the recovery of

nation, as if by mutual consent, without further fighting.

the Milanese, under the command of the lord de la Trimouille, Jean Jacques de Trivulce, sir Robert de la Marche, the lord of Albany and others,—but the lord de la Trimouille was commander in chief.

This army crossed the Alps, and entered Piedmont, where it halted for the arrival of the rear and baggage, and then pushed forward toward Novara, in which place was a body of Swiss. The French, supposing them not very numerous, determined to attack them, which they did; but the evening before, a very large reinforcement of Swiss had joined their countrymen in Novara, which the French were ignorant of. A battle, however, ensued, when the French defeated the van of the enemy; but such numbers of Swiss now poured in on all sides, the French were thunderstruck, and hastily retreated to Turin: some, however, of their infantry, stood their ground, and died valiantly,—and the son of the lord de la Marche shone pre-eminent for his valour.

The Swiss gained a considerable park of artillery, which the lord de la Marche had brought thither, and great part of the

baggage. The king of France, on hearing of this event, ordered the remainder of the army home, and sent part of it into Guienne, where the illustrious lord of Bourbon had the command of an army, with many nobles and able captains under him, to carry on the war in Navarre. He had there a fine camp, and a variety of skirmishes took place on both sides.

The king afterwards sent the next heir to the crown, the duke of Valois and count of Angoulême, accompanied by numbers of gentlemen, to take the command of this army and camp, where they remained a long time,—but nothing of importance was done, and they returned to France. The king then sent them into Picardy to oppose the English, who were advancing toward Therouenne. The lord de Longueville died immediately on his return from Guienne.

In this year, there was an appearance in the heavens, visible in Piedmont, of three suns, three moons, with various figures of circles and bows, of different colours, and a white cross in the center. These were terrible presages,—and I believe that it was a year of wonders.

About this time, the king sent the lord de la Trimouille into Swisserland; but the cantons would not agree to any conference until they should receive a certain sum of money, which was paid them. The conferences now took place; and the lord de la Trimouille staid long among them, giving great gifts, in hopes to gain them over to the interests of France; but after they had received large sums of money, they dismissed him. He returned through Burgundy, to have some of the towns of that province put into a good state of defence, to resist the Swiss, who had determined to attack them.

The Swiss, in consequence of the resolutions they had formed, entered Burgundy, and committed great destruction wherever they passed. By rapid marches, they came before Dijon, into which the lord de la Trimouille had thrown himself; but with the few men at arms and infantry with him, it was impossible to resist such a deluge of Swiss. However, he ordered as many things as could be carried away or drove off, to be brought into Dijon.

The Swiss, on coming before Dijon,

saluted the town with a large train of artillery, that battered and damaged the walls and houses; but the lord de la Trimouille, being well advised, held a parley with some of the Swiss leaders, and agreed to pay them down one hundred thousand golden crowns, on their marching back into Swisserland, without doing more damages to the country, which was executed.

CHAP. XXX.

A BODY OF FRENCH ON THEIR RETURN FROM VICTUALLING THEROUENNE, BESIEGED BY THE ENGLISH AND HAINAULTERS, ARE ATTACKED AND PUT TO FLIGHT.

THE king of France marched in person to Picardy, and advanced as far as Amiens, where he was magnificently received by those of the town and country. Thence he sent the duke of Valois, as his lieutenant-general, to command the camp against the English, and to order whatever

measures he should think advisable for the victualling of Therouenne.

This town was then besieged by the king of the Romans, the king of England, and a number of flemish lords, and particularly by a body of Hainaulters, who had posted themselves in a fort near the town, and thence battered it with heavy artillery. The garrison and townsmen defended the place valiantly, but they were in the utmost distress from want of provision, and a convoy was ordered to supply their necessities, under the command of the lord de Longueville.

He executed this order punctually by throwing in all his supplies; but on his retreat, he fell unexpectedly into an ambuscade,—for his men, not suspecting any such stratagem, were marching very disorderly, and amusing themselves by playing in the fields. On the enemy sallying from their ambush, the French were paniestruck, and began to fly, notwithstanding all attempts of their officers to prevent them. In consequence, the lord de Longueville, the captain Bayard, the lord de Bussy, and many more captains of renown were made priso-

ners, some of whom were carried to England, and their liberty set at a very high ransom*.

During this time, the king of France sent orders to the governor of Paris to have all the companies of tradesmen, and of other descriptions, mustered. This was done, and several companies were richly accoutred, well armed, and in uniforms. The numbers were found to be very great, according to the report made by the commissaries who had been sent thither for this purpose.

* This was called The Battle of Spurs from the French making more use of them than of their swords.

CHAP. XXXI.

THE KING OF SCOTLAND ENTERS ENGLAND WITH A POWERFUL ARMY.—HE IS SLAIN.—PEACE CONCLUDED BETWEEN THE KING OF FRANCE AND THE VENETIANS.

WHILE king Henry of England was engaged in his war abroad, the noble and gallant king of Scotland invaded England with a large army, on pretence of a claim to that crown in right of his queen, and also from his alliance with the king of France, to make a diversion in his favour, now he was attacked, and force his enemies to quit France to avoid greater inconveniences.

The king of Scotland, on entering England, did great mischiefs. A battle took place, in which very many English fell, as well as Scots,—but the greatest loss to France was the death of the king of Scotland, who was killed valiantly fighting. It is rare to find such friends as will put their lives and fortunes to the chance of war

in the support of a friend, especially when absent*.

The Scots gained the field, although numbers of them were slain,—for as both nations had been long desirous of coming to blows, it may be supposed that hard ones were exchanged on each side. May God pardon those who fell!†

On Friday, the 3d of June, in the year 1513, peace was published on the marble table in the palace, between the most Christian king Louis XII. and the republic of Venice, and between them and their successors for ever. By this treaty, the gallant knights sir Bartholomew d'Alviano and sir Andrew Gritti, with others, obtained their liberty; and the king made them many rich gifts on their departure.

* James professed himself the knight of Anne of Bretagne, queen of France, who wrote him an heroic letter to claim his assistance, sending him, at the same time, a ring off her finger and 14,000 francs.
ANDREWS.

† The celebrated battle of Flodden,—of late well known from Mr. W. Scott's beautiful poem of Marmion.

CHAP. XXXII.

THE TOWNS OF THEROUENNE AND TOURNAY SURRENDER TO THE ENGLISH ON CAPITULATION.

To return to the wars of the English in Picardy:—they were long encamped before Therouenne, and made several attacks on it; but those within the town showed good courage, and defended it valiantly: at length provision again failed them, and they were forced to capitulate for its surrender. The enemy entered Therouenne, but did not keep the promises they had made; for they had no sooner gained admission than they began to ill-treat and plunder the poor inhabitants, insomuch that they were obliged to seek out another place for a habitation, which was great pity; but this did not satisfy the enemy, for they burnt part of the town, and threw down the walls to the ground.

We must not be astonished that the English so boldly invaded France, particularly Picardy, considering the evident good

understanding that subsisted between them and the Flemings, who at this day raise their hands and tell those of Tournay, that they have never changed sides, notwithstanding they had settled the chapter *de Venditionibus*, before the English would embark. This was not handsomely done in them, considering they had a resident lord, —and they have derogated shamefully from their former engagements: should they therefore, find themselves the worse for it, they have only themselves to thank.

Shortly after the English had gained Therouenne by capitulation, they advanced before Tournay, which was surrendered to them by the principal inhabitants, according to an agreement among themselves, without striking a blow*.

The king of England and the king of the Romans, after these conquests, returned to their own countries, leaving a

* I believe this town was gained by a ruse de guerre. Henry drew up before the walls a large train of what appeared battering cannon, (but were only of wood painted, and are now shown in the Tower) which frightened the inhabitants into an instant surrender. This is the popular story.

garrison in Tournay. The king of France likewise quitted Picardy, with his queen, and went to Blois.

While the war was carrying on in Picardy, and a little before the siege of Therouenne, an engagement at sea took place between Pregent, a french captain, and the lord Howard, lord-admiral of England, on the 22nd and 25th days of April. Pregent, thinking to join the french fleet in Brest harbour, was met at sea, on the vigil of St George's day, by a fleet of forty or fifty sail, and was instantly attacked by two galeasses and four or five other vessels. The combat lasted two hours, with great slaughter on both sides; but at length the English were forced to retire, with the loss of two vessels sunk. On the Monday following, which was the feast of St Mark, Pregent and his fleet fell in again with that of the English, amounting to twenty or thirty vessels, and about thirty large boats. The galley of Pregent was attacked by two galeasses and three ships, but he fought well,—and all on board the first galeass were killed by pikes, or drove into the sea,

excepting two prisoners, one of whom was thrown overboard.

In this combat, sir Edward Howard was killed, whose body was embalmed to carry to England for interment*. The captains of the other ships, seeing that these five vessels had not made any impression on the galley of Pregent, whom they had courageously attacked, held a council, and afterwards made sail, leaving the sea open to Pregent. A large fleet had been collected at Honnefleur, to attack the king of England as he crossed the channel, and cut off his return; but when they were at sea, a violent storm arose that separated this fleet, and some of the vessels were sunk.

The winter of this year was very long and severe, so that the Seine and other rivers were frozen hard enough for carriages to pass over them with safety; and when

* Sir Edward Howard boarded Pregent's ship, although it was sheltered by the rocks of Conquet lined with cannon, accompanied only by Carroz, a spanish knight, and seventeen Englishmen. Overpowered by numbers, Howard was forced overboard by pikes, and perished in the waves. ANDREWS.

the thaw came, numbers of houses and mills were destroyed by the floods.

About this time, news was brought that the Swiss had intentions of again entering Burgundy, when the king ordered thither the lord of Bourbon with a large force of men at arms, infantry, and artillery,—but the Swiss did not come. This same year, the garrisons that had guarded different places in Italy returned to France, in consequence of the treaty concluded with the Swiss before Dijon,—namely, those from the castle of Milan; the lord of Aubigny, his lance on his thigh, with his garrison, from the castle of Brescia. When these garrisons marched away, the Spaniards took possession of the castles, which the Venetians thought had been done for them; but when the Spaniards had established themselves securely, they chaunted to the Venetians the Evangile des Vierges. Such are the chances of war.

CHAP. XXXIII.

OF THE DEATH AND INTERMENT OF THE MOST CHRISTIAN QUEEN OF FRANCE, ANNE OF BRITTANY.

At the time of the arrival of the above unfortunate intelligence, the most noble queen of France, Anne duchess of Brittany, &c. lay dangerously ill at the castle of Blois. This was on the 2d day of January, —and her illness so much increased that the good lady, on Monday the 9th instant, departed this life, most devoutly, in the faith of Jesus Christ, our sovereign Lord, to whom she most humbly resigned her soul. Great lamentations and grief were shown for this loss. When the body had been embalmed, it was put into a rich coffin, and carried, with an immense number of lighted torches, from Blois to the abbey of St Denis, where it was interred with the usual honours due to her rank, and followed with the tears of all her officers and attendants. The funeral service

was solemn and magnificent, becoming such a lady, whose soul may God pardon!

In the month of April of this year 1513, and just before Easter, a truce was proclaimed in Paris between the kings of France and of Arragon.

CHAP. XXXIV.

THE KING OF FRANCE MARRIES THE PRINCESS MARY, SISTER TO KING HENRY OF ENGLAND.—FRANCIS DUKE OF VALOIS AND COUNT OF ANGOULESME MARRIES THE PRINCESS CLAUDE, DAUGHTER TO THE KING OF FRANCE.—THE NEW QUEEN MAKES HER PUBLIC ENTRY INTO FRANCE.

After the funeral of the late queen of France, the king came to Paris, and was lodged at the hôtel of the Tournelles, and would not that any one should appear in his presence but in mourning. He sent for his two daughters, the princesses Claude and Renée, who were conducted to him from Blois by madame d'Angoulême, and

shortly after summoned the princes and great barons of his realm to a council on the present state of affairs, and respecting a peace with England. In consequence of what had been resolved on in this council, the king sent, as his ambassadors to king Henry, the governor of Normandy, the president of Rouen, and the lord Longueville, then a prisoner of war in England, was added to them, to treat of a peace.

While this was passing, the king was taken very ill at the castle of Vincennes, and had ordered, for his recovery, that 'O Salutaris Hostia,' should be chaunted daily in all the churches of France, at the elevation of the holy sacrament, which had been of the utmost benefit to him. On his recovery, the king went thence to St Germain en Laye, to recreate himself, and to temper the melancholy of his mourning; for it was a pleasant country, interspersed with woods and dales, and full of game.

Much public business was transacted during the king's stay at Saint Germain; and a marriage was concluded between the duke of Valois, count of Angoulême, and the princess Claude. They were mar-

ried in their mourning, in the chapel of the castle, in the presence of the king, the princes of the blood, and many others of high rank, on the 18th of May, in the year 1513.

About this period, and before the king had quitted St Germain en Laye, his ambassadors sent him intelligence of their having concluded a peace with England, on condition of his marrying the princess Mary. King Henry sent ambassadors to Paris, to confirm the marriage between king Louis and his sister, and to ratify the treaty of peace that had been agreed on between the two kingdoms, which was now publicly proclaimed in both realms.

On Monday the 16th of August, in this year, a grand procession was made from the great hall of the palace, with trumpets and clarions, when the herald, called Mont-joye, proclaimed a magnificent tournament to be holden at Paris, by the duke of Valois, Brittany, and count of Angoulême. to which he invited all princes, lords, and gentlemen to assist. It was about this time that the princess Mary was escorted to France by many of the great

nobles of England, in company with the lords of France who had gone thither to attend on her. The king left Paris, with his court, and went as far as Abbeville to meet the new queen; where she arrived on the 8th of October, and made her public entry very triumphantly, attended by the duke of Valois and numbers of nobles, as well English as French, all most richly dressed, with large golden chains, especially the English. The queen was most handsomely attired, and seated in a brilliant car: in short, the whole was a beautiful sight. She was preceded by a body of two hundred english archers, gallantly accoutred, with their bows in hand, and quivers full of arrows.

The king, hearing of her coming, mounted his horse, and, attended by his nobles, rode out into the plain, under pretence of hawking, but it was to meet her; and on his approaching her, he kissed her on horseback, paying her many fair compliments, as he knew well how to do. Her reception in Abbeville was most honourable,—and the inhabitants exerted

themselves who should surpass the other in testifying their joy at her arrival.

On the morrow, the feast of St Denis, the king of France was married to the princess Mary of England. She was most magnificently dressed, with an immense quantity of diamonds and precious stones. A singular banquet succeeded, with a great variety of all sorts of amusements. Having staid a few days in Abbeville to solace themselves, they set out for Paris; and through the towns of Picardy they passed, the greatest honours were paid them. In every town, the queen gave liberty to the prisoners, by the king's command. On their arrival at St Denis, the ceremony of the queen's coronation took place, which was very splendid, and numerously attended by archbishops, bishops, and nobility.

Monday, the 6th of November, the queen made her triumphant entry into the city of Paris—the clergy, courts of parliament, of exchequer, &c. and all the municipal officers, with crowds of people, having gone out in procession to meet her. She was seated on a rich litter, adorned

with precious stones, and escorted by the duke of Valois, the lord of Alençon, the lord of Bourbon, the lord of Vendôme, his brother the lord Francis, Louis de Nevers, with other great lords, as well of England as of France, prelates and churchmen. Her litter was followed by those of the princess Claude, duchess of Valois, madame d'Angoulême, madame de Vendôme, madame de Nevers, and other princesses of both kingdoms. Thus was she conducted to the church of Nôtre Dame, and took the usual oaths: she thence proceeded to the royal palace, where a most splendid banquet was provided. The king and queen lay that night at the royal palace, which served to shorten his days.

CHAP. XXXV.

OF THE TILTS PERFORMED AT PARIS.—THE DEATH AND INTERMENT OF LOUIS XII. KING OF FRANCE.

THE next day, the king and queen went to the Tournelles, to see the tournaments, that had been before proclaimed. At the entrance of the lists was a triumphal arch surmounted with the shields of arms of the king and queen: below them were the emblazoned shields of the lords and princes, the tenants and defendants of the lists. The duke of Valois was the chief tenant, with his assistants,—and many gallant courses were ran with lances, to the advantage of some, and to the loss of others. In short, it was a handsome spectacle, and all in compliment to, and for the love of, queen Mary; but her popularity would not have lasted long, for although the poor people were already heavily taxed, yet the king intended, had he lived longer, to have greatly increased the taxes.

After these justs and tourneys, the

king carried the queen to St Germain en Laye, where they spent some time, leading as joyous a life as he was able. He thence returned to his palace of the Tournelles at Paris, and was taken so dangerously ill that he made preparations becoming a good Christian, and rendered his soul to God on the 1st day of January, in the year 1514. His body was aromatically embalmed, and lay in state some days at the Tournelles, where every body went to see it who pleased. The usual ceremonies on such occasions were then performed, but it would be tiresome to detail them. Some days after, the body was carried to the church of Nôtre Dame, and placed in a chapel that had been purposely erected in the choir,—and a solemn service was performed by the bishop of Paris. The next day it was borne to a cross near to St Denis, where the abbot and his monks of St Denis met it, and was, by them, interred with great pomp, amidst the tears of his officers and domestics. He was buried beside his queen, Anne of Brittany. May God receive their souls! The principal mourners were the lord of Alen-

çon, the lord of Bourbon, the lord of Vendôme, and other princes and great lords.

It is of some moment when a king or great prince dies, who may, perhaps, have caused the deaths of numbers of human creatures like themselves; for I believe that in the other world they will have enough to do, more especially respecting this circumstance, that a poor man, with six or seven small children, not worth twenty sols in the world, shall be txed from ten to twenty sols, and when the collector shall come to receive the tax, finding the man worth nothing, and without means of raising the money, he commits him to prison, where he languishes out his days. Now I would like to have shown any written law for this injustice; but no one will attempt so to do, because every one is eager to push himself forward in this world. May God assist the poor people!

CHAP. XXXVI.

FRANCIS I. KING OF FRANCE, IS CONSECRATED AT RHEIMS. — HE MAKES HIS PUBLIC ENTRY INTO PARIS.—HE LEAVES FRANCE TO ATTACK THE SWISS, IN THE MILANESE, WHO HAVE TAKEN POSSESSION OF THAT DUCHY.

After the death of Louis XII. Francis, the first of the name, succeeded him on the throne as the fifty-seventh king of France. He set out from Paris, to be consecrated king in the cathedral of Rheims, according to the custom of his ancestors kings of France, and was there anointed with the holy oil on the 25th day of January, in the year 1514. The twelve peers of France, or their substitutes, were present exercising their functions in the usual manner on such occasions.

Madame d'Angoulême, the king's mother, was present at the ceremony, accompanied by madame de Bourbon, madame de Vendôme, and other ladies and damsels. The king went from Rheims to be crowned

at St Denis, and, on his return, made triumphal public entries into Laon, Noyon, Compiégne, Senlis, and other towns. He continued his way toward Paris, very grandly attended, and made the most brilliant public entry into that city that had ever been seen. The accoutrements and trappings of the horses were of wrought silver, with frized cloth of gold; and, to sum up the whole in few words, the lords and gentlemen, with their horses, were covered with cloth of gold: some had their dresses interwrought with solid silver.

The king entered in triumph, dressed magnificently: the trappings of his horse were of worked silver, and his attendants equipped in cloth of silver brocade. He went, as usual, to the royal palace, where a sumptuous banquet had been prepared, with a numerous band of trumpets and clarions; after which, a grand tournament was held in the rue St Antoine, when the king acquitted himself most gallantly.

A treaty was concluded between the king of France and the archduke, and a marriage agreed on between the archduke and the princess Renée, daughter to the

late king, Louis XII. by the count of Nassau, and other ambassadors dispatched for this purpose. The count of Nassau was also betrothed to the daughter of the prince of Orange, whom he afterwards married. At this time, the duke of Bourbon was made constable of France,—and while the king remained at Paris, the duke of Suffolk espoused the queen-dowager of France, sister to Henry king of England. That king had sent the duke of Suffolk to France, —and when he carried his queen to England, he was grandly accompanied by the highest of the nobility. This was confirmed the peace between the two kingdoms. At this time also, the king of France sent to seek Pedro de Navarre, a prisoner of war, whom he set at liberty, gave him many rich gifts, and the command of a large body of men.

When all these marriages, and other matters, had been concluded, the king celebrated the feast of Easter in Paris, and then, with his queen and court, went by water as far as Montereau-faut-Yonne. He thence went, on the 1st of May, to a small castle called Egreville, where were some

justings, and proceeded to Montargis and Briare, where he embarked on the Loire for Amboise. He made a public entry into all the towns he passed, — namely, Mehun, Montereau, Montargis, Blois, Amboise, and other small towns, where every honour was paid him.

While he was hunting at Amboise, a thorn pierced his leg, through boot and hose, and gave him such pain that he was for a time very ill.—During his residence at Amboise, the lord de Lorraine was married to mademoiselle de Bourbon, sister to the constable of France. Great feasts were displayed on the occasion, and the court of the donjon of the castle was covered with an awning of cloth, to keep off the rays of the sun. In the evening of that day were great maskings and mummeries, with morris-dancers richly dressed, and divers pastimes.

These feastings being over, the king departed, very early one morning, for Romorantin*, where he was also grandly

* Romorantin,—15 leagues from Amboise, 11 from Blois.

entertained by the lady, his mother. While with her, he received intelligence that the Swiss had entered Dauphiny, near to Briançon, and burnt a village close to Château Dauphin; on which, he took a hasty leave of his mother, and set off suddenly for Bourges, where he made a public entry. The king departed, on the morrow, in haste, for Moulins, where the duchess of Bourbon handsomely received him,—and his entry was splendid for so small a town; for there were triumphant cars, filled with the handsomest ladies of the country, representations of ships and wild beasts, mounted by the beauties of the town, who preceded the king on his entry. The king left Moulins for Lyon, where a most magnificent entry was prepared for him. He gave there his final orders respecting the provision and stores, which were in a state of forwardness to be transported over the Alps, for the prosecution of the war in the Milanese. During his absence in Italy, he nominated his mother, the duchess of Anjou and Maine, countess of Angoulême, &c. regent of the kingdom.

Shortly after, the king departed from Lyon, and went to Grenoble, where he made a handsome entry, and staid there until his preparations should be completed. About this period, the young son of Frederic late king of Naples died: he had already commenced a warlike career; and had he lived I believe he would have made a figure as a warrior, for he was very courageous and virtuous.

When the king set out from Grenoble, he passed through Embrun, although his army, or the greater part, had taken the road through the small town of Duissant, for there had been formed stores of provision on all that line of march. The king halted at Guillestre*, and afterward at Saint Paul†, and then traversed a road so bad that it was thought no man had ever before attempted it. Great difficulties attended this march, and the poor infantry suffered much; for as the artillery was to pass this road, the cannon were dismounted, and dragged by men over the rocks.

* Guillestre,—near Mont-Dauphin, in Dauphiny.
† St Paul,—a village in Dauphiny.

During this time, the pope had sent fifteen hundred horse, well appointed, under the command of Prospero Colonna, to join the forces of Maximilian, in the hope of surprising the king before he could pass the mountains; but Prospero, ignorant how near he was to the French, or that they had succeeded in passing the Alps, had halted at a town in Piedmont called Villa-franca*. Of this circumstance, a peasant of that country had informed one of the king's gentlemen, named the lord de la Morette, and that, as Prospero was quite unsuspicious of the French, being so near, it would be easy to surprise him. The lord de la Morette lost no time to carry this news to the marshal de la Palisse, the lord d'Aubigny, the lord d'Imbercourt, Bayard and others, who all instantly agreed to follow the lord d'Imbercourt in the attempt to surprise Colonna. He had sent forward one of his archers to reconnoitre, who reported, that as Colonna and his men were just sitting down to dinner, and entirely off their guard, an immediate at-

* Villa-franca,—16 miles SSW. of Turin.

tack would be necessary: d'Imbercourt sent, therefore, to hasten the march of La Palisse and the others.

Notwithstanding this, d'Imbercourt boldly advanced to enter Villa Franca,—when as his trumpet was within the gates, and had sounded his charge, his horse's neck was inclosed within them; but the men at arms came to his relief, by crossing their lances over the horse, and put to death all who had opposed them at the gate.

They galloped up the streets, shouting out 'France, France!' and advanced to where Colonna was at dinner: a sharp conflict now took place,—but the lord de la Palisse and the others arrived, who soon ended it, by making Colonna prisoner, and slaying great numbers of his men. All his baggage was pillaged, and very many fine horses gained that were in the stables of the town. Prospero Colonna was carried, with the other prisoners, to the king of France, and thence sent into confinement at the castle of Montagu, belonging to the lord de la Palisse.

CHAP. XXXVII.

THE KING OF FRANCE PURSUES THE SWISS WITH HIS WHOLE ARMY. — THE TOWN AND CASTLE OF NOVARA SURRENDER TO THE KING.

THE pope, when he heard of the defeat of Prospero Colonna and his army, and that he was sent prisoner to France, was very much surprised, and not without reason; for he never had imagined that the king of France would attempt to cross the Alps where he had, and for some time would not believe it.

The Swiss cantoned at Susa, Villaine, Rivoli and other parts, hearing of what had passed at Villa-franca, retreated toward Milan followed by the French as far as Turin, whence the duke of Savoy came out to meet the king, and gave him a handsome reception. The king, having received from the duke of Savoy five large pieces of artillery, continued his pursuit of the Swiss who had passed the Po in an extraordinary hurry,—for they had no boats, nor

any means but cords to drag their artillery and baggage over, with which they marched day and night.

They burnt the castle of Chivazzo, and part of that small town, belonging to the duke of Savoy, which lay on their line of march, killing many of the inhabitants and plundering the town, because they would not afford them provision, nor allow them a passage through Chivazzo. Some of the Swiss were slain, that had remained behind to pillage.

In this interval, the lord de Prie, with a body of Genoese, arrived at Alexandria and other towns, which he sacked, although their inhabitants had fled,—but they were deserving of punishment for the many tricks they had before played the French.

The french army kept pursuing the Swiss, who seemed inclined to march to Jurea*, but, turning short, entered Novara. The king arrived with his army at Vercelli†, where it was rumoured that

* Jurea,—on the great Dora in Piedmont.

† Vercelli,—30 miles SW. of Milan, 38 NE. of Turin.

an agreement would take place between the king and Swiss. The lord bastard of Savoy and the lord de Lautrec, with others, were charged with this commission; but notwithstanding this, the king continued his march after the Swiss, who had quitted Novara, and taken the road to Milan. He was now joined by a considerable reinforcement of Lansquenets, called The Black Band*, very well equipped. The king advanced to Novara, which was instantly assaulted by Pedro de Navarre and others, and surrendered to the king's obedience.

In the absence of the king, his queen was brought to bed, at Amboise, of a fair daughter, who was christened Louisa,—and soon afterwards, her portrait was sent to him, while engaged in his italian campaign.

The surrender of the town and castle of Novara saved them from pillage, by

* Black band,—under the command of Ruberta della Marchia, from lower Germany.

GUICCIARDINI.

I must refer the reader to Guicciardini, &c. for further details of these wars in Italy.

the king's commands,—who pursuing his march toward Milan, went to Bufalora. Here the agreement between the king and Swiss was made public, which had been accomplished by means of a large sum of money paid down, according to a promise made them by the king. The Swiss, in consequence, swore fidelity to him, and signed the treaty,—but which they did not keep, notwithstanding their oaths and engagements, but falsified both.

CHAP. XXXVIII.

THE KING OF FRANCE DEFEATS THE SWISS ARMY AT MARIGNANO *, ON THE FEAST-DAY OF THE EXALTATION OF THE CROSS. —OF THE CRUEL BATTLE AND SLAUGHTER OF THE FRENCH AND SWISS.

THE king of France, thinking that he had secured the Swiss by the payment of the sum agreed on between them and the lord de Lautrec, marched his army to

* Marignano,—eleven miles SE. from Milan.

Marignano, beyond Milan; but it was not long before he found that he had miscalculated on their keeping the promises they had made him. In the interval between the signing of the late treaty and the payment of the money, the Swiss had resolved to surprise the king's army, —induced thereto by the remonstrances and preachments of the cardinal of Sion, who had corrupted them at the instigation of the emperor Maximilian, and of the inhabitants of the Milanese, who had given them corslets and other armour, together with the fairest promises. The Swiss believing that they would be joined by every Italian, and that, if successful, they might acquire territories of a great extent in a fertile country, and be feared and redoubted by all the world, caused them to act in the treacherous manner they did.

The king learning that the Swiss were turned against him, was much mortified; for he concluded, that at that moment they were receiving the money agreed on. However, like a hardy knight, he was not cast down, but gave his orders for the

forming of his army, to receive the enemy with the most advantage. While thus employed, news was brought him that a large body of infantry, well armed had marched out of Milan, to join the Swiss in the meditated attack against him. In fact, about three or four o'clock in that afternoon, the Swiss advanced on the king's army, but were received with such valour that many were more inclined to seek for a retreat than to persevere in the combat.

The king, who commanded the main body, on seeing the Swiss advance, charged them in person, attended by his gentlemen, and defeated one band. The french volunteers now placed themselves in the position of the Lansquenets, who had in part turned their backs; but they must not be blamed for this, for they had before heard of the agreement made with the Swiss, and, without any explanation, had been led on to an unexpected battle, which made them believe that they were betrayed by the king, who wanted to have them destroyed. But when they saw the volunteers thus step boldly into their ranks, they recovered courage, and fought with the utmost bravery.

The french volunteers did wonders; and although they were not numerous, amounting to no more than two thous nd, they defeated a band of Swiss consisting of double their number. Great feats of arms were done at this battle, with battle-axes, lances, and two-handed-swords, so that for a long time it was doubtful on which side victory would remain.

The Swiss behaved with the utmost courage, and charged the main body and reserve of the French with an impetuosity that astonished them, in the hopes of succeeding as they had before done at Novara. The artillery of the French was not asleep, and the Swiss made an attempt to seize it, but were repulsed with much loss,—for not a cannon was fired without killing numbers of them.

This battle lasted until the going down of the sun,—and both sides fought as long as the dust and light allowed them to see each other. Some, thinking to retire to their own camp, found themselves in that of the enemy; but what caused great confusion was the Swiss shouting out 'France, France!' and then

attacking the French. The night was not long. The king was constantly with his men, giving them every sort of encouragement, by words and example. He was particularly anxious about his artillery, which was well guarded by a party of Lansquenets. Having visited the different divisions of his army, he reposed himself in his armour, on the carriage of a cannon; and I may with truth assert, that if the king had not been present at this engagement the French would have had more than enough to do.

On the morrow, the 14th of September, in the year 1515, and the feast of the Exaltation of the Cross, the Swiss, enraged against the French, advanced on them by day-break (notwithstanding their loss on the preceding night had been more than they supposed) with an eagerness as if they had been going to a dance, and made their charge with valour and steadiness. The conflict was long and doubtful; but the king's artillery, where he was in person, did the greatest service, particularly on a strong body that kept firmly united until their losses were so consider-

able, the remainder turned their backs, and fled for Milan. The other divisions of the Swiss made now little resistance; and to make short of the matter, all that remained were put to death, or taken prisoners; and had not the dust been great, fewer would have escaped,—for it was so thick they could not see many yards before them*.

The heat that day was very oppressive; and the king and his lords suffered greatly from thirst, for there was no water near that was pure,—for all the springs and streams were discoloured with blood, of which, nevertheless, they were forced to drink; at length, some clear water was brought them.

The king was as much rejoiced that the Swiss had renewed the battle, on the following day, as a huntsman when he lays blinkes in the chace of a stag. The Swiss left full sixteen thousand dead on the field, who did not lose their lives like children, but as men of true courage; and all the roads toward Milan and Como

* The marshal de Trivulce said that he had been at eighteen pitched battles, but that they were children's play compared with this.

were full of those who in their flight had died of the wounds they had received in battle.

This was the first victory of king Francis I. and was very marvellous it proved so great, considering how much he had been deceived in the Swiss by their treaty some days prior to the combat. It is worthy of remembrance,—for since the days of Julius Cæsar, this nation, so valorous in war, never lost in battle so many as sixteen thousand men. Louis XI. had defeated, when dauphin, a body of three or four thousand: a duke of Milan had also conquered a body of two thousand, which inclines me so much to exalt this victory of the king over enemies so determined and numerous, for thirty-six thousand men had marched out of Milan.

Toward the end of the combat, a reinforcement of Venetians arrived, which the constable of Bourbon had gone to seek. The troops made all diligence, were well accoutred and ready for battle; but they found the Swiss defeated, and flying in all directions, for Como and Milan.

The Venetians pursued the enemy, and showed themselves men of courage, particularly their commander, sir Bartholomew d'Alviano and the son of the count de Petigliano, who did wonders; but as he was attempting to leap a wide ditch, his horse fell upon him,—and he was surrounded and slain by the Swiss, for none were near enough to prevent them. The lord d'Imbercourt was also killed fighting valiantly; he had rushed among the ranks of the Swiss, like to an enraged wild boar, and was of a most warlike nature, with the intrepidity of a lion, as many can testify, who have seen him engaged on former occasions. Francis lord of Bourbon was inclosed by the Swiss and put to death, his men not being nigh to rescue him. The prince of Tallemont, the count de Sancerre, the lord de Bussi, the captain Mouy, with a very great number of lords and gentlemen of renown, whose courage had many times been displayed in war, were killed at this battle.

During the engagement, neither baggage nor artilery were in danger of being

taken, for they were excellently well defended by those who ran as much risk as others engaged in the main battle. Many were well mounted, so that, if fortune had been adverse, the poor adventurers might have been able to support their friends, and have renewed the fight.

The king made, this day, several new knights. During the conflict, the cardinal of Sion fled, on seeing the quantities of dead, under pretence, as he told Maximilian Sforza, of bringing back reinforcements, but returned when too late.

In the course of this great butchery, a body of Swiss retreated toward a cassino of the van-guard, where was posted the duke of Bourbon, constable of France: he instantly pursued them, had the cassino set on fire, and unless they could have flown through the flames, not one could have escaped. May God have mercy on their souls, and of all those who fell on this day! It is a great pity that it should be in the power of two or three persons to cause the deaths of so many human creatures, whom they seem to estimate no more than as so many sheep.

Alas! they are not beasts, and have sense and reason, or at least ought to have, although sometimes their strength fails through wicked intentions.

Some of the wounded Swiss fled to Milan, others to Como: those who entered Milan told the citizens that they had gained the battle, on which they were led to the great hospital to be cured,—but when the Lansquenets afterwards entered that city, they finished to cure them in a strange and terrible manner.

CHAP. XXXIX.

MILAN SURRENDERS TO THE KING OF FRANCE.—THE CASTLE, BESIEGED BY THE FRENCH, SURRENDERS ON CAPITULATION.

Not long after this victory, the townsmen of Milan waited on the king, to beg his mercy and pardon for what they had done, and to present him with the keys of their gates. The king mercifully received them,

and forgave them, but not without making them pay a heavy fine. The french army now marched to lay siege to the castle of Milan, into which Maximilian Sforza with a body of Swiss, and others whom he collected, had thrown themselves. The artillery made, within a few days, several breaches in the outworks; and Pedro de Navarre had worked his mines under the walls of the castle with such success great part of them fell down.

Maximilian, perceiving himself in danger, made offers to capitulate, when the king sent his chancellor with other gentlemen to treat with him. They were all handsomely dressed: the chancellor had on a flowing robe of raised cloth of gold. Having entered the castle, they instantly began a negotiation with Maximilian for peace, and proceeded in it so far that he accompanied them to the king's camp, where the treaty was concluded, on condition that the Swiss in the castle should be allowed to march away with their baggage in safety, and be paid the whole of the money that had been promised them by the king of France.

Maximilian, by this treaty, resigned all pretensions to the duchy of Milan* to the king, who received him with kindness, and had him escorted to France, where he was henceforth to reside. The king made a brilliant entry into Milan, and staid there some time, during which he was magnificently feasted by the nobles and gentlemen of the town and duchy.

In regard to the inhabitants of Pavia, they escaped being pillaged from their poverty, for all of the richer sort had retired into Milan so soon as they heard of the king's successes,—and a treaty was concluded with them by means of a sum of money.

* This was brought about by the constable of Bourbon, who bargained that Maximilian should enjoy a yearly pension of 30,000 ducats, &c.

See the french and italian historians, and particularly Mr. Roscoe's Lorenzo de Medici and Leo X.

CHAP. XL.

POPE LEO X. AND THE KING OF FRANCE MEET AT BOLOGNA, TO CONFER ON THE STATE OF AFFAIRS—THE KING RETURNS TO FRANCE.

About this period died the commander of the venetian forces, the lord Bartholomew d'Alviano. His death was caused by a fever, from overheating himself. He was much regretted for his valour and his attachment to the french interest. The Lansquenets received from the king, at two different times, double pay. And during his residence at Milan, a treaty was concluded by him with the Swiss-cantons, by means of a large sum of money paid them, notwithstanding they had been so lately conquered by the French.

When this treaty was signed, ambassadors were sent from the pope to the king, to invite him to Bologna, that they might hold a conference on the state of the affairs of Italy, and for the mutual strengthening of their friendship and al-

liance. The king, in consequence, left Milan with a numerous attendance, especially of men at arms, and arrived at Bologna, where he had a welcome reception from the pope, who entertained him handsomely,—and they had frequent and long conversations together.

One day, the pope performed a solemn service in the cathedral, at which the king assisted. It lasted some time; after which, an alliance was concluded between them. The pope gave up to the king several towns that belonged to him in right of the duchy of Milan. He gave also a cardinal's hat to the bishop of Constance, brother to the grand master of France.

When every thing had been concluded between the pope and the king, he returned to Milan, and thence took the road to France, leaving the duke of Bourbon, constable of France, his lieutenant-general of the Milanese*. He made all diligence in crossing the Alps, and arrived at La Baûme, where the queen and his lady-

* Is not this a mistake? was not Lautrec governor of the Milanese? and who offended the inhabitants by his severity.

mother were waiting for him. He was joyfully received there, as well as in many other towns in Provence. On leaving La Baûme, they all came together to Avignon, and had a handsome entry. Thence they proceeded to Lyon, where the queen made her public entry, and was received with all demonstrations of joy.

At this time died Ferdinand king of Arragon, who, during his reign, had made many conquests, more especially over the Moors, whom he had subjected to his obedience. At this period, also, died the magnificent Lorenzo de Medici, brother to pope Leo X., who had lately married a sister to the duke of Savoy, and sister also to the countess of Angoulême, mother to to Francis I. king of France. He had been appointed generalissimo of the army of the church.

Nearly at this period, a furious battle was fought between the Sophi, called Ishmael, and the grand Turk, and won by the latter, when more than one hundred and sixty thousand men were slain*. The

* In the 'Art de Verifier les Dates,' I find that Selim I. emperor of the Ottomans, marches in the

Sophi, however, undismayed, collected fresh troops, and marched a considerable army against the Turk, whom he, in his turn, defeated, and drove him beyond the walls of Constantinople into Greece. The Sophi remained in possession of all the conquered country, while the Turk was like a captive within the territories of Christendom, and the war was continued on both sides.

year 1514 against Ishmael king of Persia, defeats him in the plain of Chalderon, and gains Tauris. War was continued between them until the year 1516, when Selim turned his arms against Kansou sultan of Egypt.

CHAP. XLI.

THE EMPEROR MAXIMILIAN ASSEMBLES A LARGE ARMY, TO ATTEMPT THE CONQUEST OF THE MILANESE, AND TO DRIVE THE FRENCH OUT OF ITALY.—THE CONSTABLE OF BOURBON, LIEUTENANT-GENERAL FOR THE KING IN ITALY, MARCHES AGAINST HIM.

WHILE the king of France was at Lyon, and toward the end of Lent, in the year 1516, another war broke out in Italy, through the usual manœuvres of the emperor Maximilian: he, at this time, was excited by the angels of king Henry of England, which had not for a long time flown in his country,—and by their means he subsidised the cantons of Swisserland and the Grisons. He also urged the citizens of Milan to revolt, principally through Galeas Visconti; and thinking every thing in a good train, he marched toward Milan with a body of troops that he had collected, under the brother of Maximilian Sforza, now resident in France according to the

treaty that had been concluded with him after the battle of Marignano.

The emperor having, as I have said, assembled an army, marched it from the plains of Verona to Lodi; but the constable, whom the king had left, as his lieutenant, in the Milanese, hearing of this, collected as many men together as the shortness of the time would allow, and advanced to meet the enemy. His numbers were not great, on account of this expedition of the emperor being unexpected, although he had received hints of his intention some seven weeks before, but he was not certain of the truth.

The constable marched his army to the river Adda, and found the enemy posted on the opposite bank. A short time prior to this, the king of France had summoned some of the nobles of Milan to come to him, who proceeded as far as Suza, to the number of thirty-seven, when they held a consultation; and on the morrow, thirty-three of them fled to join the emperor,—but the other four remained loyal to the French, continued the road to Lyon,

and related to the king the shameful conduct of the others.

To return to our subject; the duke of Bourbon, when on the Adda, dispatched messengers to the Swiss-cantons, to hasten the troops the king had agreed for,—and in consequence, about nine or ten thousand infantry for the preservation of Milan, marched to Jurea. The duke of Bourbon was preparing to attack the imperialists, when he heard that Milan was on the point of a revolt; and as he had not sufficient force to meet the army of the emperor with advantage, he was advised to retreat to Milan, although he was himself most desirous to try the event of a combat, and wait the coming of the Swiss, who remained very long at Jurea.

The duke retreated with his army back to Milan with all diligence, to the great surprise of the inhabitants: he immediately had strict inquiries made after the authors of the intended revolt: several were confined in prison, and many were beheaded. The other citizens, seeing that the French were completely masters of their town, and that they were not the

strongest, determined to suffer all extremities should the French continue their ill treatment.

The emperor, when he heard of this sudden retreat of the French, thought he had already conquered them, and, crossing the Adda, marched his army toward Milan, and fixed his quarters near to Marignano. You may easily imagine how much the burghers of Milan were now alarmed,—for the constable had one of the suburbs burnt, to prevent the enemy from fortifying it.

A few days after, the duke of Bourbon sent presents of cloths of gold, and of silk, to the principal leaders of the Swiss, to hasten their march, which had the desired effect,—and they soon appeared before the castle, wherein they were joyfully received by the constable. He had immediately Milan strengthened with ditches and outworks, so that it was much stronger than ever. The emperor advanced with his army, now very numerous, before the walls, and saluted them with a large train of artillery, which was as boldly returned from the ramparts by the garrison.

CHAP. XLIII.

THE KING OF FRANCE GOES ON A PILGRIMAGE TO THE CHURCH OF THE HOLY HANDKERCHIEF IN CHAMBERY.—A TREATY OF PEACE CONCLUDED BETWEEN HIM AND THE ARCHDUKE KING OF SPAIN.

About Whitsuntide, in this year of 1516, the king of France departed from Lyon, accompanied by many gentlemen, to fulfil a vow he had made of a pilgrimage to the church of the Holy Handkerchief in Chambery. As he had vowed to perform it on foot, he set out accordingly, with his train of attendants. They formed a handsome spectacle; for they were all splendidly dressed in fancy habiliments, decorated with plenty of feathers. Thus they followed the king on foot as far as Chambery, where he met the duke of Bourbon on his return from Italy. This meeting gave much joy to both,—and the king was entertained at Chambery, during his stay there, by the duke of Savoy.

At this time, a treaty was concluded between the Spaniards and the garrison in the castle of Brescia, who marched away with their arms and baggage. The Venetians, to whom the place belonged, immediately took possession of the town and castle, conformably to an agreement made with the late king of France, Louis XII. Somewhat prior to this, several counts in Germany collected bodies of men, and entered Lorraine, where they committed much mischief. The cause of this warfare was a claim the Lansquenets made on certain mines in that country, on the borders of Germany, which they attempted to gain; but the duke of Lorraine repulsed them, and nothing more was done. These counts waited afterwards on the king of France, at Tours, and were presented to him by the lord de Florenge, son to the captain de la Marche.

On the king's return from Savoy, he went into Touraine. About this time, the king of Navarre died: he was son to the lord d'Albret, and had been driven out of his kingdom by Ferdinand the Catholic,

NOTES AND EMENDATIONS.

PAGE 6. line 12. *Lord de Guise.*] Claude, second son of René the second, duke of Lorraine, was ancestor of the dukes of Guise. He died in 1550 and therefore must have been very young at this period.

Page 6. line 5. from the bottom. *Melfy. Q. Amelfi?*] Mary, natural daughter of king Ferdinand, married to Anthony, duke of Amelfi, of the house of Piccolomini.

Page 16. line 15. *Lord de Luxembourg.*] See note p. 108.

Page 24. line 7 from the bottom. *Marquis of Mantua.*] Francis III. fourth marquis of Mantua, of the house of Gonzaga.

Page 24. line 3 from the bottom. *Lord of Ferrara.*] Hercules d'Este, first duke of Modena.

Page 29. line 13. *Bastard of Bourbon.*] Matthew lord of Roche, eldest of the bastards of John II. duke of Bourbon.

Page 31. line 4 from the bottom. *Prince.*]

His surviving children were 1. Charles first duke of Vendôme, the father (by Frances de Longueville, duchess of Beaumont) of Anthony king of Navarre. 2. Louis, cardinal of Vendôme. 3. Anthonia, wife of Claude duke of Guise. 4. Louisa abbess of Fontevraud. 5. Francis, lord of St Pol, a title which he inherited from his his mother the eldest daughter of Peter, son of the constable. See vol. xi. page 213. note.

Page 35. line 4 from the bottom. *Died.*] Prince John, to whom the unfortunate Margaret of Austria was betrothed after her rejection by Charles the eighth.

Page 35. line 3 from the bottom. *Duke of Savoy.*] Charles John Amadeus, commonly called Charles the second, duke of Savoy, died this year at the tender age of eight years. The suspicion of poisoning the waters, which is no where that I can find alluded to by Guicciardini, probably refers to his successor Philip count of Bresse who died the year following just at the time that he had intended to leave the party of the king of France and embrace that of the confederates. Philip had three sons; Philibert II. who succeeded him and died in 1504 without issue by Margaret of Austria his wife; Charles III; and Philip duke of Nemours. Louisa, who married Charles count of Angoulesme, and is so celebrated in history

as the mother of Francis the first, was one of his daughters.

Page 38. line 10. *Lord of Montpensier.*] This prince, by his wife Clara Gonzaga, left issue, 1. Louis count of Montpensier who died in 1501, 2. Charles, who married Susanna daughter and heiress of Peter II. duke of Bourbon, was made constable of France in 1515, was afterwards condemned for treason, and was killed in the imperial service at the siege of Rome in 1527, 3. Francis duke of Chatelherault, died 1515; 4. Louisa, lady of Chavigny, 5. Reparata, married to Anthony duke of Lorraine. Neither of the sons left any issue surviving.

Page 39. line 7. *Soul.*] See Philip de Comines, whose most valuable memoirs conclude with this event.

Page 39. line 8. from the bottom. *Lord John Peraule.*] Raymond Perault, bishop of Saintes, Cardinal in 1493, died in 1505.

Page 46. line 4 from the bottom. *Count Gayaché.*] Qu. Count of Cajazzo? He was of the family of the San Severini, and connected by marriage with the house of Sforza, but not, that I can find, with that of Visconti.

Page 87. line 9. *Lord Peter of Bourbon.*] Peter II. duke of Bourbon, the last of the eldest line of Robert de Clermont son of St. Louis. His only daughter and heir, Susanna, married

Charles de Bourbon-Montpensier, afterwards constable of France and duke of Bourbon.

Page 97. line 3. from the bottom. *Wife.*] Eleanor, countess of Ligny princess of Altamura, duchess of Venosa, &c. &c.

Page 100. line 15. *Brother.*] Charles III. surnamed the good. Their younger brother was Philip, who married Charlotte, daughter of Louis, duke of Longueville, and was created duke of Nemours.

Page 100. line 17. *Duchess of Berry.*] Jane daughter of Louis XI. the repudiated wife of Louis XII. who after her divorce was called duchess of Berry.

Page 103. line 4. *Lord of Foix.*] Germaine de Foix, daughter of John viscount de Narbonne. See note to vol. x. p. 187.

Page 105. line 12. 1506.] Leaving issue, by Joanna daughter of Ferdinand and Isabella, 1. Charles, afterwards emperor, and king of Spain, 2. Eleanor, the wife, first, of Emanuel king of Portugal, 2ndly of Francis the first, 3. Isabella, the wife of Christian the second king of Denmark; 4. Ferdinand, King of Hungary, and emperor of Germany after the death of his brother; 5. Mary, the wife of Lewis the second king of Hungary; 6. Catherine, the wife of John the third king of Portugal.

Page 105. line 14. *August.*] Anne the wife of Uladislaus king of Bohemia, who succeeded

to the crown of Hungary on the death of Matthias Corvinus in 1490. By this marriage she had Lewis, afterwards king of Hungary, and Anne the wife of Ferdinand of Austria, in whose right he became king of Hungary on the death of Lewis in 1526 without issue.

Page 106. line 13. *John de Bentivoglio.*] John the second of the name, son of Hannibal, and grandson of John, who made himself master of Bologna in 1400. See the historians of Bologna, especially the "historie memorabili" of Gasparo Bombaci who is by far the most interesting of these writers.

Page 108. line 13. *Trivulces.*]

——"*La nudrita Damigella Trivulzia al sacro speco*".

She was the daughter of Giovanni Trivulzio and Angela di Martinengo, and is celebrated equally by the historians and poets of the age.

Page 120. line 11 from the bottom. *King.*] She was married to Hercules the second, duke of Ferrara, and died in 1575.

Page 132. line 4. *Pedro de Navarre.*] Pedro Navarro, a great commander in the Spanish army.

Page 132. line 5. *Marquis of Pescara.*] Ferdinand d'Avalos, Marquis of Pescara.

Page 132. line 8. *Betonde.*] Betonde—Bitonto.

Page 132. line 12. *Viceroy of Naples.*] Don Raymond de Cardona.

Page 132. line 15. *Marquis de la Padulla.*] Della Palude. See Guicciardini Lib. 10. for an account of this great battle.

Page 132. last line. *Utrecht.*] More probably Trajetto, Vespasian the son of Prospero Colonna was called duke of Trajetto, and though I do not find his name among those present at the battle of Ravenna, it is not unlikely that he was there under his relation Fabricio Colonna, duke of Palliano who commanded the Italian forces.

Page 151. line 3 from the bottom. *Duke of Valois.*] Francis count d'Angoulesme the presumptive heir to the crown of France, had lately been honoured with this title.

Page 164. line 5 from the bottom. *Brittany.*] Francis was duke of Brittany in right of the princess Claude who succeeded to that duchy on the death of her mother queen Anne. For, although the two crowns, the royal and ducal, had been united in the person of Louis XII, yet the duchy remained distinct from the kingdom, and would have passed away from it again had the princess Claude not married the heir of the crown of France. The countries were not incorporated till the reign of Francis I. who procured an act of union and settlement to be passed.

Page 167. line 2. *Lord of Alençon.*] Charles the second duke of Alençon, son of René and grandson of John II. who was beheaded. He married Margaret the sister of Francis the first, afterwards wife of Henry d'Albret king of Navarre.

Page 167. line 3. *Lord of Bourbon.*] Charles duke of Bourbon mentioned before.

Page 167. line 3. *Lord of Vendôme.*] Charles duke of Vendôme and Francis lord of St Pol, both mentioned before.

Page 167. line 4. *Louis de Nevers.*] Count of Auxerre, 2d son of Engilbert of Cleves count of Nevers who died in 1506.

Page 167. line 10. *Madame de Nevers.*] Mary d'Albret, the wife of Charles Count of Nevers eldest son of Engilbert of Cleves.

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