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XVIII



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THE HISTORY OF COMINES

ENGLISHED BY
THOMAS DANETT

ANNO 1596

With an Introduction by
CHARLES WHIBLEY

VOLUME II



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declaring the contents of all the Chapters
contained in this historie.

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(continued)



CHAPTER X

How the King was advertised of the Duke
of Burgundies last overthrow, and how he
governed his affaires after the said
Dukes death.



UT to proceed in our history, the King who had now laid posts in his realm (for before were never any) looked howerly for the certaine newes of this battell of Nancy, because of the occurments he had alreadie received of the Almaines arrivall, and of all the other circumstances above rehearsed : and was forthwith advertised of the Dukes overthrowe. Divers there were that waited diligently to beare him the first newes hereof ; for alwaies he gave somewhat to him that first brought him tidings of any good newes, withall not forgetting the messengers. Further, his delight was to talke of them before they came, and to promise rewarde to him that could bring him some good newes. Monseur de Bouchage and my selfe being together, received the first word of the battell of Morat, whereof both of us jointly advertised the King, who gave to each of us two hundred markes of silver. Monseur de Lude who lodged without Plessis, was the first man that knew of the Courriers arrivall with the letters of this battell of Nancy, and commanded the said Courier to deliver him his packet, who durst not deny it him, because of the Kings great favour towards him. The next morning by breake of day the said de Lude came rapping at the doore next to the Kings chamber, which forthwith was opened to him ; and in he went and

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delivered these letters sent from the Lord of Cran and divers others; notwithstanding none of them writ any certaintie of the Dukes death: but some reported that he was seene flie, and was escaped. This newes at the first so ravished the King with joy, that he wist not what countenance to shew: notwithstanding two doubts there were that troubled him; the one, least the Almaines, if the Duke were taken, for greedines of monie (whereof the Duke had plentie) would not onely raunsome him, but also conclude some treatie with him, and of his foes become his friends. The other, if the Duke were escaped thus thrise discomfited, whether he should seaze into his hands his seniories of Burgundy or no, knowing them easie to be taken, because in maner all the force of the countrie was slaine in these three battels. Touching the which point, his resolution (whereunto few I thinke but my selfe were privy) was, if the Duke were escaped alive, to command his army that lay in Champaigne and Barrois to enter incontinent into Burgundie during this great feare and astonishment of the people; and having seazed all the countrie into his hands, he meant to advertise the Duke, that he did it onely to save it for him, and defend it from the Almaines. For because the said Duchie was held of the crowne, he would for no good that it should be a pray for them: but whatsoever he had taken, he would faithfully restore; as undoubtedly he would, though many happily will not credit it. And no marvell; for they know not the reasons that would have mooved him thereunto: but he altered this determination when he understood of the Dukes death. Immediately after the King (being at Tours) had received the letters above mentioned, which reported nothing of the Dukes death; he sent into the towne for all his captaines, and divers noble men, to whom he read these letters; wherat they seemed in apparence greatly to rejoyce: but those that looked narrower into their behaviour, perceived that a great many of them forced their mirth, and wished with all their harts, notwithstanding their outward shew, that the world had gone otherwise with the Duke. The reason whereof peradventure was, because the K. heretofore had lived in great feare; but

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now they doubted, seeing him delivered of so many enemies, that he would alter many things, especially offices and pensions. For there were a great number in the company, that had borne armes against him both in the warre called THE WEALE PUBLIKE (whereof you have heard in the beginning of this historie) and in divers other broiles betweene him and the Duke of Guienne his brother. After he had communed awhile with these noble men and captaines, he went to masse; which being ended, he caused the table to be covered in his chamber, and made them all dine with him; the Lord Chauncellor, and certaine others of his counsell being also present. All dinner-while he talked of these affaires: but I and divers others marked with what appetite those that sate at the table dined. And undoubtedly there was not one of them (I wot not whether for joy or sorrow) that ate halfe a meales meate; yet were they not ashamed to eate in the Kings presence, for every one of them had often before dined at his table. When the King was risen from dinner, he withdrew himselfe, and gave to divers, certaine of the Duke of Burgundies lands if he were dead, and soone after dispatched the Admirall of Fraunce, called the bastard of Bourbon and my selfe, giving us commission to receive into his alleageance as many as would become his subjects; and further: commanding us to depart incontinent, and to open all courriers packets that we should meete with, to the end we might be certainly informed whether the Duke were dead or alive. We departed in great haste, though in the extreamest cold weather that ever I felt: and when we had ridden about halfe a daies journey, we met with a Poste, whom we commanded to deliver us his letters; the contents whereof were, that the Duke was found among the dead bodies,* and knownen by an Italian Page that served him, and by his Physition called Master Louppe a Portugale borne, who sent word to Monseur de Cran of the Duke his masters death, who incontinent advertised the King thereof.

* By what markes the Dukes body was knowne, read *Annal. Burgund.* pag. 988.

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How the King was advertised of the Duke of Burgundies last overthrow, and how he governed his affaires after the said Dukes death.

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CHAPTER XI

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seazed into his hands the towne of Abbeville,
and of the answer they of Arras gave him.



WHEN we understood these newes, we rid forthwith to the suburbs of Abbeville, and were the first that brought word of the Dukes death into those parts. At our arrival we found the towns men in treaty with Monsieur de Torcy, whom they had loved of long time. But the soldiers and those that had bene the Dukes officers, treated with us about the delivery of the towne by a messenger whom we sent thither before us, so farre foorth that upon our promises they caused fower hundred launces to depart the towne, which the townes men seeing, immediately opened the gates to Monsieur de Torcy, greatly to the hinderance of the captaines and the other officers of the towne; to seven or eight of the which we had promised both money and pensions (for we had commission from the King so to do) whereof nothing was performed because the towne was not yielded by their meanes. This towne of Abbeville was parcel of those lands that King Charles the seventh engaged to Duke Philip of Burgundie at the treatie of Arras, under this condition; that for default of heire male they should returne to the crowne. Wherefore it is not to be marvelled if so lightly they opened to us their gates. From Abbeville we rid to Dourlans, and sent to sommon Arras the chiefe towne of Artois, the ancient inheritance of the Earles of Flaunders, which hath alwaies descended as well to the heirs femals as males. Monsieur de Ravastain and Monsieur de Cordes, who were within the towne condescended to come and treat with us at an abbey neere the towne called Mont Saint Eloy,

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bringing with them certaine of the towne. To the which treatie we agreed that I should go and certaine with me; for because we supposed they would not yeeld to our requests, it was thought good that the Admirall should not go. Immediately after my arrivall at the place assigned, the Lords of Ravastaine and Cordes being accompanied with divers gentlemen, and certaine also of the towne repaired thither. Among those that came to negotiate with us for the towne, was their Recorder, called Master Iohn de la Vaquerie, since that time chiefe president in the court Parliament at Paris. We required them at this meeting to open us the gates and to receive us into the towne for the King, saying that he claimed both towne and countrey as his by way of confiscation; adding that if they refused so to do they were like to be forced thereunto, seeing both their Prince was slaine and their countrey utterly unfurnished of men of war, because of these three battels they had lost. The Lords above named made us answer by the said Master Iohn de la Vaquerie, that this countie of Artois appertained of right to the Lady of Burgundie, daughter and heire to Duke Charles, and descended to her by inheritance from the Lady Margaret sometime Countesse of Flaunders, Artois, Burgundie, Nevers, and Retell, the which married with Philip the first, Duke of Burgundie, sonne to King Iohn of Fraunce,* and yoongest brother to King Charles the fift: wherefore they humbly besought the King to keepe the truce concluded betweene him and the late Duke Charles. Our communication was but short; for we supposed before our meeting, that this should be our answer. But the chiefe cause of my going into those parts, was to commune with certaine of mine acquaintance there, and to draw them to the Kings service: with some of the which I spake, who soone after became his faithfull servants accordingly. These countries were in marvellous feare and astonishment, and not without cause; for I thinke that in eight daies they could not have levied eight men of armes. Further, in all those quarters were not above 1500 soldiers, horsemen and

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How the King after the Duke of Burgundies death seized into his hands the towne of Abbeville, and of the answer they of Arras gave him.

* The pedegree in the end of this worke will shew, how all these titles descended to this Lady Margaret.

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footmen, which lay towards Namur and in Henault, and were of those that escaped out of the battel where the Duke was slaine. Their wonted termes and manner of speech were now cleane altered; for they spake lowly and humbly: which I write not to accuse them, as though in times past their words had bene more arrogant than became them; but the truth is when I was there they thought so well of themselves, that they used not such reverent language, neither to the King, nor of the King, as they have done sithence. Wherefore if men were wise, they would use such faire speech in time of prosperitie, that in adversitie they should not need to change their termes. I returned to the Admirall, to make report of my negotiation: immediately whereupon we were advertised that the King was at hand; for he set forth soone after us, and commanded letters to be written both in his owne name, and divers of his servants names, to cause certaine to repaire to him; by whose meanes he trusted to bring all these seniories under his obedience.

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CHAPTER XII

A discourse, not appertaining to the principall matter, of the great joie the King was in to see himselfe delivered of so many enemies, and of the error he committed touching the reducing of these countries of Burgundy to his obedience.



THE King rejoiced not a little to see himselfe thus delivered of al those whom he hated and were his principall enemies: of some of the which he had taken the revenge himselfe; namely the Constable of France, the Duke of Nemours, and divers others, his brother the Duke of Guyenne was dead whose inheritance was fallen to him.

In like maner all they of the house of Anjou were dead, namely King Rene of Sicilie, the Dukes of Calabria Iohn and Nicholas, and their cosin the Earle of Maine, and afterward of Provence: the Earle of Armignac was slaine at Lestore, and all their lands and goods fallen to the King. But because this house of Burgundie was greater and mightier than the rest, and had made sharpe war with the English mens aide upon his father K. Charles the seventh, thirtie two yeers without truce, and had their dominions bordring upon his, and their subjects alwaies desirous to make war upon him and his realme: therefore he rejoiced more at their Princes death, than at the death of all the rest. Further, he now fully perswaded himselfe, that during his life, no man neither within his Realme, nor in the countries bordering upon it, would once lift up his finger against him. For he was in peace (as you have heard) with the English men, which hee travelled to the uttermost of his power to continue. But although he were thus void of

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all feare: yet did not God permit him to take the wisest course for the atchieving of this his enterprise being of so great importance. And sure it appeereth both by that God shewed then and hath shewed since, that he meant sharply to punish this house of Burgundy, as wel in the person of the Prince, as of the subjects, and of those that lived amongst them. For if the King our Master had taken the best course, the warres that have consumed them since had never hapned. For if he had done as he ought to have done, he should have sought to joine to the crowne all those great Seniories whereunto he could pretend no title, either by marriage or by courteous dealing with the subjects; which thing he might then easily have accomplished, seeing the great feare, miserie, and distresse these countries were in at that time. And if he had thus done, he should both have rid them of many troubles, and enlarged and enriched his owne Realme through long peace, which by this meanes had beene easily obtained. He might also hereby have eased his Realme divers waies, especially of the charge of men of armes, who continually ride up and down from one corner of the Realme to another, oftentimes upon small occasion. While the Duke of Burgundy yet lived, he eftsoones debated with me what were best to be done if the said Duke hapned to die. And then he discoursed marvellous wisely thereof, saying, that he would travell to make a mariage betweene the King his soone now raigning, and the Dukes daughter, afterward Duches of Austrich, which if she refused because of the Daulphin his sons yoong age; then he would attempt to win her to mary some yoong Lord of this realme, to obtaine thereby her friendship and her subjects, and recover without blowes that he claimed to be his: in the which minde he continued till eight daies before he understood of the Dukes death. But this wise deliberation he began somewhat to alter the selfe same day he received newes thereof, and the very instant that he dispatched the Admirall and me. Notwithstanding he discovered not his purpose therein, but made promise to divers of lands and lordships that had beene in the Dukes possession.

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CHAPTER XIII

How Han, Bohain, Saint Quintin and Peronne were yeilded to the King, and how he sent Master Oliver his Barber to practise with them of Gaunt.



THE King being on the way comming after us, received good newes from all parts: for the castels of Han and Bohain were yeilded unto him, and the citizens of Saint Quintins of their own accord received Monseur de Mouy their neighbor into the towne for him. Further he assured himselfe of Peronne, which William of Bische held, and was put in hope both by us and others, that Monseur de Cordes would revolt to him. Further he had sent his Barber called Master Oliver to Gaunt, in a village neere to the which he was borne, and had dispatched divers others into other places, being in great hope of them all; but the most part of them served him rather with words then deedes. When he drew neer to Peronne I went to meet him, and found him in a village, whither M. William of Bische and certaine others came and presented him the keies of the towne, whereof he was right glad. The King abode there that day, and I dined with him after mine accustomed maner: for his pleasure was that seven or eight at the least and somtimes more should ordinarily sit at his owne table. But after dinner he withdrew himselfe, and seemed to be discontented with the small exploit the Admirall and I had done, saying: that he had sent Master Oliver his barber to Gaunt to bring that towne to his obedience, and Robinet Dodenfort to Saint Omers, who was well friended there: and these he commended as fit men to receive the keies of a towne, and put his forces into it. Divers others also he named, whom he had sent to

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other great townes: and this matter he made Monsieur de Lude, and two or three others to debate with me. It became not me to reason against him, nor gainsay his pleasure; but I told him that I feared Master Oliver and the others whom he named, would not so easily take these great townes, as they supposed. The King used this communication with me, because he had altered his minde, and hoped by reason of his good successe in the beginning, that al the countrie would yeeld unto him. Moreover, he was counselled by divers (and was also of himselfe inclined thereunto) utterly to destroy this house of Burgundy, and to disperse the seniories thereof among divers men; some of the which he named, upon whom he was purposed to bestow the Earldoms, namely, Henault and Namur that border upon Fraunce: with the greater seniories, as Brabant, Holland, and the rest, he meant to win certaine Princes of Almaine to his friendship, to the end they might aide him in the atchieving of his enterprise. Al the which matters it pleased him to acquaint me with, bicause I had counselled him before to take the other course above rehearsed: wherefore he would that I should understand the reasons, why he followed not mine advise. Further he alleaged, that this course should be most beneficiall for his realme, the which had sustained infinite troubles, bicause of the greatnes of this house of Burgundie, and the mightie seniories that it possessed. And sure as touching the world, his reasons carried great shew (though in conscience me thought otherwise:) notwithstanding such was his wisdom, that neither I nor any of his servants could see so far into his affaires as himselfe did; for undoubtedly he was one of the wisest and subtilest Princes that lived in his time. But in such waightie affaires God disposeth the harts of Kings and great Princes, which he holdeth in his hands, and directeth them into those waies that best serve for the executing of his determinations: for undoubtedly if it had pleased him, that the King should still have continued in that course which he of himselfe had devised before the Dukes death; the wars that have been since, and yet are, had never happened. But we were unwoorthie on both sides to enjoy that quiet

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peace that was then offered us, which sure was the onely cause of the Kings error, not want of wit: for as you have heard, in wit no man excelled him. I write of these affaires at large, to shew that when a man attempteth any great enterprise, he ought at the first thoroughly to debate it, to the end he may choose the wisest way; but especially to submit himselfe to God, and humbly to beseech him to direct him into the best course, which is the principall point, as appeereth both by the scriptures and by experience. I minde not heere to blame the King, nor say that he erred in this behalfe: for peradventure divers which knew and understood more than my selfe, were then and yet are of his opinion; notwithstanding the matter was not debated there nor elsewhere. Further, those that write Chronicles, frame their stile commonly to their commendation of whom they speake, omitting divers points, somtimes because they know not the truth of them. But as touching my selfe, I minde to write nothing but that is true, and which my selfe either have seene or learned of such parties as are woorthie of credite, not regarding any mans commendation. For no Prince is to be thought so wise, but that he erreth sometime, yea oftentimes if he live long, as should well appeere by their actions, if they were alwaies truly reported. The greatest Senates and Consuls that be or ever have beene, have erred and do erre, as we may reade and daily see.

When the King had reposed himselfe one day in this village neere to Peronne, he determined the next morning to make his entry into the towne; for it was yielded him as you have heard. And at his departure he drew me aside, and commanded me to go into the countrey of Poictou and the frontiers of Britaine, telling me in mine eare that if neither Master Olivers enterprise tooke effect, nor Monseur de Cordes revolted to him; he would cause all the countrey of Artois called La Levée lying upon the river of Lis, to be burned; and that done returne againe into Touraine. I desired him to be good to certaine who by my meanes were become his servants, and to whom I had promised in his name pensions and great rewards: whereupon he tooke their names of me in writing, and performed all that I had

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promised. Thus I tooke my leave of him for that time. But even as I was taking horse, Monseur de Lude came to me, whom the King for certaine considerations favored greatly. He was a man much given to his owne private gaine, and as he cared not to deceive and abuse any man: so was he also very light of believe, and often beguiled himselfe. He had been brought up with the King from his childhood, and knew which way to feede his humor, and had a very pleasant head. He came and said thus to me (wisely after a jesting maner) What depart you now when you should be made or never; seeing the great things that fall dayly into the Kings hands, wherewith he may enrich those that he loveth? For my part I looke to be governor of Flaunders, and to make my selfe all of gold, in uttering the which words, he brake forth into great laughter: but I had no lust to laugh because I feared that this proceeded of the King. Mine answer was, that I would be right glad if his fortune might be such, and that I trusted the King would not forget me.

A certaine knight of Hainault was come to me not past halfe an hower before my departure, who brought me newes of divers with whom I perswaded by letters to put themselves into the Kings service. The said Knight and I are kinsemen, and he is yet living, wherfore neither wil I name him, nor those of whom he brought me this advertisement. His offer in few words was to yeeld unto the King the chiefe places and townes in Hainault. Whereof I advertised the King even as I was taking my leave; who after he had talked with the said knight, told me that neither he nor those others whom I named were such as he had need of. He misliked one for this point, and another for that, and their offer seemed unto him nothing: for he thought to obtaine all that he desired without them. Againe, after my departure the King made Monseur de Lude to commune with the same knight, who was much discontented with the said de Ludes words, and departed incontinent without entring into farther treaty, because the said de Lude and he would never have agreed in any point. For whereas this knight was come out of Hainalt to get somewhat at the

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Kings hands whereby to enrich himselfe: the said de Lude at the first meeting asked him what the townes would give him to commend their cause to the King. I thinke verily that this refusall the King made to these knights proceeded also of God; for since that time he would have made good account of them if he could have drawne them to his service. But peradventure God would not accomplish his desire in all points either because of the reasons above alleaged, or for that he would not suffer him to usurpe this countrey of Hainault (which is held of the Empire) both because he had no title thereunto, and also because of the ancient league betweene the Emperors and the Kings of Fraunce, wherof the King himselfe also seemed afterward to take notice. For he held Cambray, le Quesnoy, and Boissi* in Hainault, whereof Boissi he yeilded againe, and restored Cambray being an Imperiall towne to neutralitie as it was before. Although my selfe were not present at these actions, yet was I informed how they passed: for I had good meanes to understand of them because I was acquainted, and had beene brought up in both these Princes dominions, and have since also communed with divers that were the principall managers of these affaires on both sides.

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* This Boissi, lib. 6. cap. 3, he calleth Bouchain: and so out of doubt it should be red heere.

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How Master Oliver the Kings barber failing to execute his enterprise at Gaunt, found meanes to put the Kings forces into Tournay.



MASTER OLIVER (as you have heard) was gone to Gaunt, and carried letters of credit to the Lady of Burgundie Duke Charles his daughter, having also commission to perswade with hir apart, to put hir selfe into the Kings government.* But this was not his principall charge: for he doubted that he should not obtaine leave to commune with hir apart; and though he did, yet supposed he that he should not frame hir to his request. But his hope was to raise some great tumult in this towne of Gaunt, which hath ever bene inclined to rebellion, and was the easier to be mooved thereunto at this present, bicause under Duke Philip and Duke Charles they had lived in great awe, and lost divers privileges by the treatie made with the said Duke Philip, after their wars with him ended. Duke Charles also had taken one privilege from them, concerning the election of their Senate, for an offence made the first day he entred into the towne as Duke: whereof bicause I have made mention before, I will heere write no further. All these reasons encouraged Master Oliver the Kings barber to proceede in his enterprise, so far fourth that he discovered his purpose to some such of the citzens, as he thought would give eare unto him, offering (besides divers other promises) to cause the King to restore them their privileges that they had lost.

* The King claimed this Lady as his warde, bicause divers of hir dominious, namely Flaunders, Artois, etc. were held of the crowne of Fraunce: besides that, he was hir godfather, which was the cause why he commanded this Oliver to moove this request.

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But notwithstanding that he were not in their Towne-house to speake publikely to their Senate, bicause he meant first to assay if he could do any good with this young Princesse; yet was his enterprise smelt out: wherefore after he had sojourned a few daies in Gaunt, he was sent for to declare his message; whereupon he repaired to the Princes presence, being apparelled much more sumptuouslie than became one of his calling, and delivered his letters. The said Lady sate in hir chaire of estate, having about hir the Duke of Cleves, and the bishop of Liege, with divers other noble men, and a great number of hir subjects. When she had read hir letter, she commanded him to declare his message. But he answered that he had nothing to say but to hir selfe alone. Whereupon it was told him, that this was not the maner of their countrie, especially to commune in secret with this yoong Lady being unmarried. But he still continued his former answer, that he had nothing to say but to hir selfe apart. Whereupon they threatned to make him say somewhat else: which words put him in feare. And I thinke verily, that when he came to deliver his letter, he had not bethought him what to say: for this was not his principall charge, as you have heard. Thus Master Oliver departed for this time without further speech. Some of the Councell began to scorne him, as well bicause of his base estate, as of his foolish speech and behaviour, but especially they of Gaunt (in a little village neere whereunto he was borne) scoffed and derided him, so far forth that suddenly he fled thence, being advertised if he staide there any longer, that he should be thrown into the river; which I thinke would have proved true. The said Master Oliver named himselfe Earle of Melun, a little towne neere to Paris whereof he was captaine. From Gaunt he fled to Tournay, a towne in that cuntry subject to neither Prince, but marvellously affectioned to the King: for it is his after a sort, and paieth him yeerely six thousand franks; but in all other respects liveth in libertie, and receiveth all sorts of men: it is a goodly towne and a strong, as all the inhabitants thereabout can testifie. The churchmen and citizens have all their possessions and revenues in Henault

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and Flaunders, in both the which countries it is situate. Wherefore they used alwaies during the long wars betweene King Charles the seventh and Philip Duke of Burgundie, to pay yeerely unto the said Duke ten thousand franks; the which summe I have seene them pay also to Duke Charles: but at the time that Master Oliver came thither, they were quit of all paiments, and lived in great wealth and quietnes. Although Master Olivers charge above mentioned were too waightie for him to deale in, yet was not he so much to be blamed, as they that committed it to him: for notwithstanding that his enterprise had such successe, as it was ever like to have; yet shewed he himselfe wise in that he afterward did. For perceiving the said towne of Tournay to be situate upon the frontiers of both the countries above named, and very commodious to endammage them both, if he could put the Kings forces that lay in those parts into it; and knowing further, that the townes men would never consent thereunto, because they never tooke part with either Prince, but shewed themselves friends indifferently to both: he sent word secretly to Monseur de Mouy (whose sonne was bailife of the town, but not resident there) that he should bring his company which he had within S. Quintins, and certaine other bands that lay in those quarters, to the towne of Tournay; who at the hower appointed came to the gate, where he found Master Oliver accompanied with thirtie or fortie persons, who partly by favor, and partly by force caused the gate to be opened, and received the Kings men; wherewith the people of the towne were well ynough contented, but not the governors: of whom Master Oliver sent seven or eight to Paris, whence they departed not during the Kings life. After these men of armes, entred also divers other soldiers, who did great harme afterward in the two countries above named: for they spoiled and burned many goodly villages and faire farms, more to the dammage of the inhabitants of Tournay, than of any other for the reasons above alleaged. To be short, so long they spoiled that the Flemmings arose, and tooke out of prison the Duke of Guelderland (whom Duke Charles had held prisoner) and made him their captaine: and in this estate came before the

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towne of Tournay, where they lay not long, but fled in great disorder; and lost many of their men, and among the rest the Duke of Guelders, who had put himselfe behinde to maintaine the skirmish (being evill followed) was there slaine, as hereafter you shall here more at large. Wherefore this honor and good successe that happened to the King, and the great losse his enimies received, proceeded of the said Master Olivers wisdom and judgement: so that per-adventure a wiser man, and a greater personage than he, might have failed to atchieve the like enterprise. I have spoken ynough of the great charge this sage Prince committed to this meane person, unfit to manage so waightie a cause; onely adding, that it seemed that God had troubled the Kings wits in this behalfe. For, as I said before, if he had not thought this enterprise far easier than indeede it was; but had appeased his wrath, and laid downe his greedy desire of revenge upon this house of Burgundie, undoubtedly he had held at this day all those Seniories under his subjection.

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Of the ambassadors the Lady of Burgundy daughter to the late Duke Charles sent to the King, and how by meanes of Monseur de Cordes the citie of Arras, the townes of Hedin and Bollein, and the towne of Arras it selfe, were yeilded to the King.



YOU have heard how Master William Bische yeilded Peronne, to the King. The said Bische was a man of base parentage, borne at Molins-Engibers in Nivernois; but enriched and greatly advanced by Duke Charles of Burgundy, who made him captaine of Peronne, bicause his house called Clery (being a strong and goodly castell that the said Bische had purchased) was neere unto it. But to proceede, after the King had made his entry into the towne, certaine ambassadors came to him from the Lady of Burgundy, being all the greatest and noblest personages that were able to do hir any service: which was unadvisedly done to send so many together; but such was their desolation and feare, that they wist not well what to say or do. The above named ambassadors were these: the Chauncellor of Burgundy called Master William Hugonet, a notable wise man, who had beene in great credit with Duke Charles, and was highly advanced by him. The Lord of Himbercourt (so often before mentioned in this historie) was there also, (who was as wise a gentleman, and as able to manage a waightie cause as ever I knew any) together with the Lord of la Vere, a great Lord in Zeland, and the Lord of Grutuse, and divers others as well noble men as church men, and burgesses of good townes. The King before he gave them audience, travelled both gener-

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ally with them all, and apart with every one of them to draw them to his service. They all gave him humble and lowly words, as men in great feare. Notwithstanding, those that had their possessions far from his dominions in such countries as they thought to be out of his reach would not binde themselves to him in any respect, unlesse the mariage betweene his sonne the Daulphin and the said Lady their Mistres tooke effect. But the Chauncellor and the Lord of Humbercourt, who had lived long in great authoritie, wherein they still desired to continue; and had their lands lying neere to the Kings dominions, the one in the Duchy of Burgundy, the other in Picardy neere to Amiens: gave eare to his offers, and promised both to serve him in furthering this mariage, and also wholly to become his the mariage being accomplished: which course he liked not (though it were simply the best) but was displeased with them, for that they would not then absolutely enter into his service. Notwithstanding he showed them no countenance of displeasure bicause he would use their helpe as he might. Moreover, the King having now good intelligence with Monseur de Cordes captaine and governor of Arras, by his counsell and advise required these ambassadors to cause the said de Cordes to receive his men into the city of Arras:* for at that time there were wals and trenches betweene the towne and the citie, but the towne was then fortified against the city; † and now contrariwise the citie is fortified against the towne. After divers perswasions used to the said ambassadors, that this should be the best and readiest way to obtaine peace in shewing such obedience to the King, they agreed to his demaund, especially the Chauncellor and Humbercourt, and sent a letter of discharge to the said de Cordes, wherein they advertised him of their

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* This request the King made as Tutor and Godfather to the yong Ladie, in which respect also the said ambassadors did as he required.

† Arras was cut in two, to wit into the towne and the city; the town under the Dukes of Burgundie was fortified and the draw bridge was drawn into the towne: but the King beat downe the fortification of the towne, and fortified the citie, and altered also the draw bridge, and drew it up into the citie, whereas before it was drawn up into the towne.

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consent to the deliverie of the citie of Arras. Into the which so soone as the King was entred, he raised bulworks of earth against the gates of the towne, and in divers other places neere to the towne. Further, bicause of this discharge, Monseur de Cordes and the men of war that were with him, departed out of the towne,* and went whither them listed, and served where them best liked. And as touching the said de Cordes, he now accounting himselfe discharged of his Mistres service, by the ambassadors letters above mentioned; determined to do homage to the King, and to enter into his service; both bicause his house, name, and armes were on this side the river of Somme (for he was called Master Philip of Creveœur, second brother to the Lord of Creveœur:) and also bicause the territories so often above mentioned, which the house of Burgundie had possessed upon the said river of Somme, during the lives of Duke Philip and Duke Charles, returned now without all controversie to the crowne. For by the conditions of the treatie of Arras, they were given to Duke Philip, and his heires males onely. Wherefore seeing Duke Charles left no issue but his daughter, the said Master Philip of Creveœur became without all doubt the Kings subject: so that he could commit no fault by entring into the Kings service, and restoring to him that which he held of him, unlesse he had done homage anew to the Lady of Burgundy. Notwithstanding men have reported, and will report diversly of him for this fact: wherefore I leave the matter to other mens judgements. True it is that he had beene brought up, enriched, and advaniced to great honor by Duke Charles, and that his mother for a certaine space was governess of the Lady of Burgundy in hir childhood: and further, when the Duke of Burgundy died, he was governor of Picardie, Seneschall of Ponthieu, Capitaine of Courtray,

* If the King had demanded the town of Arras, the ambassadors would never have granted it, because it was the whole strength of the country: but by obtaining the citie (at that time not greatly accounted of because it was utterly unfortified,) he got the said de Cordes discharge, who soone after procured him both the town of Arras, and the greatest part of the country of Artois.

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governor of Peronne, Montdidier and Roye, and Captaine of Bolloin and Hedin. All the which offices he holdeth yet at this present of the King; in such maner and forme, as after the Dukes death the King our Master confirmed them unto him.

After the King had fortified the citie of Arras (as you have heard) he departed thence to besiege Hedin, leading thither with him the said de Cordes, who had beene captaine of the place not past three daies before, and his men were yet within it, and made shew as though they would defend it for the Lady of Burgundy, saying, that they had sworne to be true unto hir: but after the artillerie* had beaten it two or three daies they fell to parlement with the said de Cordes their late captaine, and yelded the towne to the King. But this was indeede a compact matter betweene the King and them. From thence the King went before Bolloin, where the like was also done: but they held, as I remember, a day longer than the others. This was a very dangerous enterprise if there had beene soldiers in the countrie; and that the King knew well ynough, as he afterward told me: for divers in Bolloin, perceiving this to be a meere collusion betweene the soldiers and him, travelled to put men into the towne, if they could have levied them in time, and to have defended it in good earnest. During the space of five or sixe daies that the King lay before Bolloin, they of Arras perceiving how they had beene abused, and considering in what danger they stood, being environed on every side with a great number of soldiers, and great force of artillery: travelled to levy men to put into the town, and writ thereabout to their neighbors of Lisle and Douay. At the said towne of Douay was Monseur de Vergy, and divers others whose names I remember not, with a fewe horsemen escaped out of the battell of Nancy. These determined to enter the towne of Arras, and levied all the force they could, being to the number of two or three hundred horse good and bad, and five or sixe hundred footemen. But they of Douay

* For they were willing to yeelede it, but bicause they would depart like soldiers, and without suspicion of treason they desired to have the cannon brought before it.

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(whose peccoakes feathers were not yet all pulled) constrained them spite of their teeth to depart the towne at noone day, which was great folly, and so came of it. For the country beyond Arras is as plaine as a mans hand, and betweene Douay and Arras are about five leagues. If they had taried till night (as they would if they might have beene suffered) they had sure accomplished their enterprise. But when they were upon the way, they whom the King left in the citie of Arras, namely Monseur de Lude, Iohn de Fou, and the Marshall of Loheacs companie being advertised of their comming, determined with all speed to issue foorth and encounter them, and to put all in hazard rather then to suffer them to enter the towne: for they well perceived that if they entered the towne, the citie could not be defended. Their enterprise was verie dangerous, yet they executed it valiantly, and put to flight this band issued out of Douay; the which also they so speedily pursued, that they were all in a manner either slaine or taken, and amongst the prisoners was Monseur de Vergy himselfe. The next day the King arrived there in person, rejoicing much because of this discomfiture, and caused all the prisoners to be brought before him, and of the footemen commanded a great number to be slaine, to put thereby those few men of war yet remaining in those quarters, into the greater feare. Moreover, Monseur de Vergy he kept long in prison, because he would by no meanes be brought to do him homage; notwithstanding that he lay in close prison and in irons: but in the end having been prisoner a yeere and more, by his mothers perswasion he yeilded to the Kings pleasure; wherein he did wisely. For the King restored him to all his lands, and all those he was in sute for. He gave him farther ten thousand franks of yeerely revenewes, and divers other goodly offices. They which escaped out of this discomfiture, being very fewe in number entred the towne, before the which the King brought his artillerie and laid his batterie. The artillerie was goodly and great, and the batterie terrible; but the towne wall and the ditch nothing strong: wherefore they within were in great feare, the rather because the towne was utterly unfurnished of soldiers. Further, Monseur de Cordes had

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good intelligence within it; and to say the truth, the cite being in the Kings hands the towne could not be defended: wherefore they fell to parlement and yeilded it by composition, which notwithstanding was evill observed; whereof Monseur de Lude was partly to blame. For divers Burgesses and honest men were slaine in the presence of him and Master William de Cerisay, who marvellously inriched themselves there: for the said de Lude told me that he got during the time of his being there twenty thousand crownes, and two timbers of Marterns. Moreover, they of the towne lent the King 60000 crownes, which summe was much too great for their abilitie; but I thinke it was repaied them, for they of Cambray lent 40000, which I am sure were restored, as I thinke were these also.

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How the citizens of Gaunt having usurped authority over their Princesse after hir fathers death, came in ambassage to the King, as from the three estates of their country.



THE same time the siege lay before Arras, the Lady of Burgundie was at Gaunt in the hands of hir mutinous subjects greatly to hir losse; but to the Kings profit: for alwaies ones losse is an others gaine. These citizens of Gaunt so soone as they understood of Duke Charles his death, thinking themselves thereby cleerly delivered out of captivitie: apprehended their Senators being to the number of six and twentie, and put them all or the greatest part to death; pretending that they did it because the said Senators the day before had commaunded one to be beheaded, though not without desert, yet without authority (as they said,) their commission being determined with the

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Dukes death, by whom they were chosen into that office. They slew also divers honest men of the towne that had bene the Dukes friends; amongst whom were some, that when I served him dissuaded him in my presence from destroying a great part of the towne of Gaunt, which he was fully resolved to have done. Further, they constrained their Princesse to confirme all their ancient privileges, both those they lost in the time of Duke Philip by the treatie of Gauvres, and those also that Duke Charles tooke from them. The said privileges served them onely for firebrands of rebellion against their Princes, whom above all things they desire to see weake and feeble. Moreover during their Princes minority, and before they begin to governe, they are marvellous tender over them; but when they are come to the government they cannot away with them, as appeereth by this Ladie whom they loved deerely and much tendered before hir comming to the state. Further, you shall understand that if after the Dukes death these men of Gaunt had raised no troubles, but had sought to defend the countrie they might easily have put men into Arras, and peradventure into Peronne; but they minded onely these domestical broiles. Notwithstanding while the King laie before the towne of Arras, certaine ambassadors came to him from the three estates of the said Ladies countries. For at Gaunt were certaine deputies for the three estates, but they of the towne ordered all at their pleasure, because they held their Princes in their hands. The King gave these ambassadors audience, who among other things, said: that they made no overture of peace; but with consent of their Princesse; who was determined in all matters to follow the advise and counsell of the three estates of hir countrie. Further, they required the King to end his war in Burgundie and Artois, and to appoint a day when they might meete to treat friendly together of peace; and in the meane time that he would cause a surcease of armes. The King had now in a maner obtained al he desired and supposed the successe of the rest would have answered his expectation otherwise than it did, because he was certainly informed, that most of the men of war in the countrie were

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dead and slaine, and knew well that a great many others had forsaken the said Ladies service, especially Monseur de Cordes, of whom he made great reckoning, and not without cause; for he could not have taken by force in long time, that which by his intelligence he obtained in few daies, as before you have heard: wherefore he made smal account of these ambassadors demaunds. Further, he perceived these men of Gaunt to be such seditious persons, and so inclined to trouble the state of their countrie, that his enimies by meanes thereof should not be able to advise, nor give order how to resist him. For of those that were wise, and had bene in credit with their former Princes, none were called to the debating of any matter of state, but persecuted, and in danger of death: especially the Burgundians whom they hated extremely, because of their great authoritie in times past. Moreover, the King (who saw further into these affaires than any man in his realm) knew well what affection the citizens of Gaunt had ever borne to their Princes, and how much they desired to see them afeebled; so that they in their countrey felt no smart thereof. Wherefore he thought it best to nourish their domesticall contentions, and to set them further by the eares together; which was soone done: for these whom he had to do with, were but beasts; most part of them townes men unacquainted with those subtill practises, wherein he had bene trained up, and could use for his purpose, better than any man living.

The King laide holde on these wordes of the ambassadors, that their Princesse would do nothing without the consent and advise of the three estates of her countrey, and answered that they were evill informed of her pleasure, and of certaine particular men about her: for he knew very perfectly, that she meant to governe all hir affaires by the advise of certaine particular persons, who desired nothing lesse than peace: and as touching them and their actions, he was well assured they should be disadvowed. Whereunto the ambassadors (being not a little mooved, as men unacquainted with great affaires) made a hot answere, that they were well assured of that they said, and would shew their instructions, if need so required. Whereunto answer

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was made, that they should see a letter, if it so pleased the King, written by parties woorthie of credit, wherein the King was advertised, that the said Lady would governe her affaires by fower persons onely. Whereunto the others replied, that they were sure of the contrarie. Then the King commanded a letter to be brought forth, which the Chancellor of Burgundie, and the Lord of Himercourt delivered him at their last being with him at Peronne. The said letter was written partly with the yoong Ladies owne hand; partly by the Dowager of Burgundie Duke Charles his widow, and sister to King Edward of England; and partly by the Lord of Ravastine brother to the Duke of Cleves, and the said yoong Ladies neerest kinsman; so that it was written with three severall hands, but signed with the name of the yoong Lady alone; for the other twaine set to their hands onely to give it the greater credit. The contents of the letter were, to desire the King to give credit to those things, whereof the Chauncellor and Himercourt should advertise him. And further, it was therein signified unto him, that she was resolved to governe all her affaires by fower persons; namely, the Dowager her mother in law, the Lord of Ravastain, and the above named Chancellor and Himercourt, by whom only and none others, she humbly besought him to negotiate with her; because upon them she would repose the whole government of her affaires.

When these citizens of Gaunt, and the other ambassadors had scene this letter, it heated them throughly; and I warrant you those that negotiated with them, failed not to blowe the fire. In the ende the letter was delivered them, and no other dispatch of importance had they, neither passed they greatly for any other: but thought onely upon their domesticall divisions, and how to make a new world, never looking further into this busines; notwithstanding that the losse of Arras ought to have greeved them much more than this letter: but they were townes men (as I said before) unacquainted with these affaires. They returned straight to Gaunt where they found their Princessse accompanied with the Duke of Cleves, hir neerest kinsman, and of her blood by

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his mother:* he was an ancient man, brought up continually in this house of Burgundie, where he received a yeerely pension of sixe thousand guildons; wherefore besides that he was their kinsman, he resorted thither oftentimes as a pensioner to do his dutie. The Bishop of Liege and divers noble men were there also, partly to wait upon this yong Lady, and partly for their owne particular affaires. For the said Bishop entertained a sute there to discharge his countrey of a paiement of thirtie thousand guildons or thereabout, which they gave yerely to Duke Charles by the treatie they made with him, when the wars above mentioned ended. All the which wars began for the said Bishops quarrell, so that there was no cause why he should moove this sute; but rather seeke to keepe them still in povertie; for he received no benefit there more than of his spirituall jurisdiction and of his demaines, (which also were but small† in respect of the wealth of his countrey, and the greatnes of his dioces.) The said Bishop (brother to the Dukes of Bourbon Iohn, and Peter now living) being a man wholly given to pleasures and good cheere, and little knowing what was profitable or unprofitable for himselfe: received into his service Master William de la Marche,‡ a goodly valiant knight, but cruell and of naughtie conditions; who had been enimie of long time both to the said Bishop and also to the house of Burgundie for the Liegeois cause. To this de la Marche the Lady of Burgundie gave fiftene thousand guildons, partly in favour of the Bishop, and partly to have him her friend: but he soone after revolted both from her and from the said Bishop his Master, and attempted by force through the Kings favour to make his owne sonne Bishop. Afterward also he discomfited the said Bishop in

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* This Duke of Cleves was called Iohn, whose father Adolph had married Marie sister to Duke Philip of Burgundie,—Meyer, lib. 17. pag. 257; but *Annal. Burgund.* say that Adolph was sonne to one of Duke Philips sisters, but corruptly, as the pedegree in the end of this worke will declare.

† The Bishop of Lieges revenewes are nine thousand pound starling.—Guicchiari.

‡ This de la Marche was named Aremberg, how he died after this murther reade Berlandus, fol. 77.

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battell, slew him with his owne hands, and threw him into the river, where his dead corps floted up and downe three daies. But the Duke of Cleves was come thither in hope to make a marriage betweene his eldest sonne and the said Lady, which seemed to him a verie fit match for divers respects; and sure I thinke it had taken effect if his sonnes conditions had liked the yoong Lady and her servants: for he was descended of this house of Burgundy, and held his

Duchie of it, and had beene brought up in it; but per-
adventure it did him harme that his behaviour
was so well known there.

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How they of Gaunt after their ambassadors returne, put to death the Chauncellor Hugonet, and the Lord of Himbercourt against their Princesses will, and how they and other Flemmings were discomfited before Tournay, and their generall the Duke of Gueldres slaine.



OW to proceede in the historie. After these ambassadors were returned to Gaunt, the council was assembled, and the Princesse sate in hir chaire of estate, accompanied with all her nobilitie, to give them audience. Then the ambassadors made rehearsall of the commission she gave them, touching principally that point that served for their purpose, and saying that when they advertised the King, that shee was determined to followe in all points the advise and counsell of the three estates of her cuntry: he foorthwith answered that he was sure of the contrarie, and because they avowed their saying, offered to shew the said Ladies letters in that behalfe. The Princesse

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being therewith mooved, suddenly answered in the presence of them all that it was not so, assuring herselfe that the King had not shewed her letter. Then he that spake being Recorder of Gaunt or Brucels, drew the letter out of his bosome before the whole assembly and delivered it hir. Wherin he shewed himselfe a lewde fellow and an uncivill in dishonoring openly after such a sort this yoong Ladie, who ought not so rudely to have beene delt with: for though she had committed an error; yet was it not publikely to be reformed. It is no marvell if she were greatly ashamed thereof; for she had protested the contrarie to the whole world. The Dowager of Burgundy, the Lord of Ravastain, the Chauncellor, and the Lord of Himbercourt were all fower there present also.

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The Duke of Cleves and divers others who had beene put in hope of this yoong Ladies marriage, stormed marvellously at this letter, and then began their factions to breake forth. The said Duke was ever perswaded heeretofore that Hymbercourt would further his sute for his sonne: but now perceiving by this letter his hope to be frustrate, he became his mortall foe.* The Bishop of Liege, and his minion Master William de la Marche who was there with him, loved him not for the things done at Liege, whereof the said Himbercourt had beene the chiefe instrument. The Earle of Saint Paule sonne to the Constable of Fraunce, hated both him and the Chancellor; because they two delivered his father at Peronne to the Kings servants, as before you have heard at large. They of Gaunt also hated them both, not for any offence made, but because of the great authoritie they had borne: whereof undoubtedly they were as worthy as any man that lived in their time, either heere or there; for they were ever true and faithfull servants to their Master.

To be short, the same day at night that this letter was

* With the letter the King had also uttered the message, that the Chauncellor and Himbercourt brought, which was to treat of a marriage between the Daulphin and this Lady, which also they offered the King to further; and this was the cause why the Duke of Cleves became Himbercourts enimie.

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shewed, the above named Chancellor and Humbercourt through the furtherance as I am perswaded of their enimies above named, were apprehended by the citizens of Gaunt, which danger notwithstanding that they were forewarned of by their friends; yet had they not power to avoid, as it hath often happened to divers others. With them was also apprehended M. William of Clugny then Bishop of Therouenne, and since of Poictiers; and all three imprisoned in one place. They of Gaunt proceeded against them by colour of processe (contrarie to their accustomed manner in their revenge) and appointed certaine of their Senate to heare their cause: with whom they joined in commission one of this house of La Marche, deady enimie to the said Humbercourt. First they demaunded of them, why they caused Monseur de Cordes to deliver the citie of Arras to the King, but thereupon they stood not long; notwithstanding that they had nothing else justly to charge them with. But this was not it that grieved them: for neither cared they to see their Prince affeebled by the losse of such a towne; neither had they the wit to consider what great damage might ensue thereof to themselves in tract of time. Wherefore they rested chiefly upon two points;* the first, they charged them that they had received bribes of the towne of Gaunt, namely for a sute in law, which of late the said towne had obtained by their sentence pronounced by the said Chauncellor, against a particular man whom they had in sute. But of all this matter of briberie, they acquitted themselves very honorably; and as concerning that particular point where they of Gaunt charged them, that they had sold justice, and taken monie of them to pronounce sentence on their behalfe: they answered, that the towne of Gaunt obtained their sute, because their cause was good; and as touching the monie they tooke, they never demanded it, nor caused it to be demaunded, but received it being offered. The second point was, that during the time they were with the late Duke Charles their Master, and also being his lieutenants in his absence, they

* The causes of the Chancellors and Humbercourts death, read in Berlandus fol. 69.

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had done divers things against the privileges and state of their towne, and that whosoever doth against the privileges of Gaunt, ought to die. But this point touched them no whit: for they were neither their subjects nor citizens, neither able to infringe their privileges; and if the Duke or his father tooke any of their privileges from them, they did it by the treatie made betweene them, after their long wars and divisions: but the other privileges that were left them (being in truth more than were convenient for their profit) were never broken, but kept and observed. Well, notwithstanding the answers these two notable men made to these two points (for of the principall matter first objected against them, no word was spoken) yet the Senate of the towne condemned them to die as they stood at the barre, because (as they said) they had broken their privileges, and received bribes after judgement given upon the matter in law above mentioned. These two worthy personages hearing this cruell sentence, were not a little astonished, and no marvel: for they saw no way how to escape, being in their enimies hands: notwithstanding they appealed to the King and his court of Parliament, trusting by this meanes to delay their death, to the end their friends in the meane time might devise some way to save them. Before their arrainment, they racked them extremely against all order of law. Their processe endured but sixe daies, and (notwithstanding their appeale) after sentence pronounced, they gave them but three howers respite to confesse them, and bethinke them of their soules health. Which time expired: they led them into their market place, and set them upon a scaffold. The Ladie of Burgundie (afterward Duchesse of Austrich) being advertised of their condemnation, went to the townehouse to make request and supplication for their lives: but perceiving that she could do no good there, she went to the market place, where all the people were assembled together in armes, and there saw the two noble men above named, standing upon the scaffold. The said Ladie was in her mourning apparell, having nothing on her head but a kerchiefe, which was an humble and simple attire, and ought of right to have mooved them to pitie. There

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she desired the people with weeping eies, and hir haire loose about her shoulders, to have pitie upon these her two servants, and to restore them unto her. A great part of the people were willing that her pleasure should be done, and that they should not die; but others would in no wise give eare unto her: whereupon they bent their pikes the one against the other. But those that desired their death were the stronger, and cried to them that stood upon the scaffold to dispatch them; immediately whereupon both their heads were stricken off: and in this estate returned this poore Lady to her court sorrowfull and comfortlesse: for these two were the principall persons, in whom she had reposed her whole confidence. After they of Gaunt had done this exploit, they remooved from about the said Lady, the Lord of Ravastain, and the Dowager Duke Charles widow hir mother in law, because they had also written part of the letter above mentioned, which Himbercourt and the Chauncellor delivered to the King, and they of Gaunt redelivered to their Princesse after their returne, as before you have heard. Further, they usurped all power and authoritie over this poore yoong Lady: for so might she now well be called, both because of the great dammage she had already received by the losse of so many notable townes, irrecoverable by force, considering his power in whose hands they were, although by favour, friendship, or composition some hope yet remained; and also because she was in the hands of the ancient enimies and persecutors of her house, which was a great misfortune to her. Notwithstanding these citizens of Gaunt in all their publike actions have ever shewed more grosse folly than cunning, and no marvell: for they that carrie credit and authoritie among them, are for the most part, wealthie men of occupation, unacquainted with waightie affaires, and little understanding what belongeth to the government of a state. Their cunning consisteth but in two points; the one, that they studie by all meanes possible how to weaken and impoverish their Prince: the other, that when they have made a fault, and finde the partie offended too strong for them, they crave pardon with greater humilitie, and buie peace with larger gifts than

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any people in the world; yea and know what instruments to worke by, and what persons to labour for obtaining of peace, better than any towne that ever I knew.

After they of Gaunt had taken by force the government of their Princesse, put the two above mentioned to death, and removed from about hir those that misliked them; they began every where to place and displace officers at their pleasure, and to banish and spoile all those that had best served this house of Burgundy, not regarding their good or evill desert: but above all other men they hated the Burgundians especially, so far forth that they banished them all, and travelled to make them the Kings servants and subjects as much as the King himselfe did, who solicited them thereunto by faire words, wise perswasions, large gifts and promises, and sought also to constraîne them by great force which he had in their countrey. Moreover these men of Gaunt meaning to begin their government with some case of noveltie, tooke out of prison (as alreadie is mentioned) the Duke of Gueldres, who of long time by Duke Charles his commandement had bene held prisoner for the causes above rehearsed, and him they made generall of an army which they among themselves, namely the townes of Bruges, Gaunt, and Ypre, levied and sent to Tournay to set fire on the suburbes thereof, which was little for their Princesses profit. For 200 soldiers sent in time to Arras, or ten thousand franks to have entertained men to put into it, when the siege came before it; would have done both hir and them much more service than ten such armies as this. For this army could do no good but fire a fewe houses in a place, whereof the King made small account: for he levied neither taskes nor subsidies there, but their wit was not able to reach thus far. After the Duke of Gueldres was come before Tournay with this army being to the number of twelve or fiftene thousand men, very well paid by the townes above-mentioned, he set fire on the suburbs. But within the towne were three or fower hundred men of armes which sallied out and charged his men on the backe as they retired, and incontinent put them to flight. But the Duke himselfe being a valiant Prince, turned

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against his enimies meaning to maintaine the skirmish, to the end his men might have leasure to retire: but being evill followed he was overthrowne and slaine, and a good number also of his people; yet was the Kings force that did this exploit very small. The Flemmings army retired with this losse, for there was but one band of them defeated. The Lady of Burgundy (as I have heard) and hir friends rejoised much at this newes; for the bruite ran for a certaintie that they of Gaunt were determined to compell hir by force to marrie this Duke of Gueldres, which willingly she would never have done for divers reasons above rehearsed.

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CANNOT imagine for what cause God hath so long preserved this towne of Gaunt, the fountaine of so many mischiefes, and of so small importance for the benefit of the cuntry where it is situate. For it yeeldeth no commoditie to the commonwealth, much lesse to the Prince: neither is it comparable to Bruges, which is a place where is greater trafficke of merchandise and resort of strangers in my opinion, than in any towne in Europe; so that the destruction thereof should be an irrecoverable losse. But it seemeth that God hath created nothing in this world neither man nor beast, without an enimie to hold it in feare and humilitie; and for that

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purpose serveth this towne of Gaunt very well.* For there is no cuntry in Christendome more inclined to all wanton pleasures, pomps and delicacies than this cuntry of Flaunders, notwithstanding they are good Christians there, and serve and honor God well. But it is not this nation onely, to whom God hath given as it were a continuall pricke, to put them in minde of their dutie: For to Fraunce he hath given the Englishmen for enimies; to the English men the Scots; to the realme of Spaine Portugale, I will not say Granado: for they are enimies of the faith; notwithstanding hitherto the said cuntry of Granado hath much troubled and endammaged the realme of Castile. Against the Princes of Italie, the greatest part of the which hold their lands by no title, unles it be given them in heaven (whereof we can but divine) and who rule cruelly and violently over their subjects by extreme exactions and levies of monie: God hath raised up the free states of the said cuntry, namely Venice, Florence, Genua, and sometime Bononia, Senes, Pisa, Luques, and others, which in divers points are contrarie to the Princes, and the Princes to them, each of them having an eie upon other, that none grow too great. But to speake more particularly of the state of Italie; against the house of Arragon God hath raised the house of Anjou; against the Sforces (which usurpe the place of the Vicounts in the Duchie of Milan) the house of Orleans; against the Venetians, the Princes of Italie, as before I have said, and besides them the Florentines; against the Florentines their neighbors of Senes, Pisa, and the Genuois; and against the said Genuois their owne evill government, and want of faith each to other, which is so universally knowen, that every man can tell thereof: for their factions are in league the one against the other, as appeereth by the Fourgouze,† Adorni, d'Orie, and others. Now to speake of Almaigne; you have alwaies the house of Austriche and Baviere at variance, and particularly them

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* He meaneth that this town of Gaunt is situate where it is for a plague to the whole cuntry of Flaunders, which otherwise because of the great abundance thereof, would soone forget God.

† Fregosi and Fregosini in other histories.

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of Baviere divided among themselves. In like maner the house of Austriche hath particularly opposite to it the Swissers; the beginning of which their variance arose but about a little village called Swisse,* unable to arme sixe hundred men, whereof the other Swissers beare their name; who are now so increased, that two of the Duke of Austriches best towns, namely Zurich and Fribourg be of their cantons. Moreover, they have obtained great victories, and slaine of the Dukes of Austrich in the field.† Divers other quarrels also there are in Almaine, as the Duke of Cleves against the Duke of Gueldres; the Dukes of Gueldres against the Dukes of Iulliers: the Easterlings who inhabite so far northward, against the Kings of Denmarke. And to speake generally of Almaine, there are so many strong places there, so many men inclined to mischiefe, to spoile, to rob, and that use force and violence one against another upon small occasions, that it is a woonder to see: for a man that is able to maintaine but himselfe and his servant, will proclaime war against a great citie or a Duke, that under colour thereof he may the better rob and spoile: for he will have some small castell situate upon a rocke to retire into, where he entertaineth twentie or thirtie horsemen, which run downe to rob and spoile the countrie at his commandement. These men are very seldome punished by the Princes of Almaine, because they use their helpe when they neede their service: but the townes, if they take any of them, punish them cruelly, and often besiege and destroy their castels. Further, the said townes have soldiers alwaies in pay for their defence. Wherefore it seemeth that these Princes and townes of Almaine are preserved, the one to force the other to do that is right and good. And it is necessarie that such divisions should be not onely there, but through the whole world. I have

* This division began anno 1309, betweene the Abbot of Einsidlen and the village of Sultz, and the said Abbot demanded aide of Leopolde Duke of Austrich.

† As for example, Leopolde Duke of Austrich brothers sonne to the former that began this division, whom they slue at the battell of Sempache 9 Julii ann. 1386.

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hitherto spoken but of Europe; for I am not well informed of Asia and Afrike: yet we heare that they are divided and make war one upon another as wee do, yea after a much beastlier sort. For I know in this part of Afrike bordering upon us, divers places where they sell one another to the Christians, as also well appeereth by the Portugales, who have bought and dayly do buie of them many slaves. But I doubt how well we may upbraid this to the Sarracens, sith in some part of Christendome they do the like: notwithstanding those countries are either under the Turks dominion, or next neighbors to him; as for example some part of Greece.

It seemeth then that such divisions are requisite through the whole world, and that these pricks and stings before spoken of which God hath given every estate, and in a maner every particular person, are necessarie. And surely for mine owne opinion (speaking as a man unlearned, and one that will maintaine no opinion not to be maintained) I thinke they are necessarie indeed, especially bicause of the beastlines of some Princes, and the wickednes of othersome, who having wit and experience sufficient, do notwithstanding abuse it. For a Prince or any other man of what estate or condition soever he be, having power and authoritie where he dwelleth over others, if he be learned and have seene and read much, is thereby either much amended or empaired, for much learning maketh the evill woorse, and bettereth the good:* Notwithstanding, it is to be presumed that learning rather amendeth a man than empairesh him: for if men be but ashamed of themselves when they know they do evill, it sufficeth either to keepe them altogether from doing evill,† or at the least from doing so much evil as otherwise they would. For although they be not good indeed, yet shame wil cause them to make a shew of goodnes: whereof I have seen divers examples of great personages, whom learning

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* The reason hereof read in Arist. *Politic.* lib. 1. cap. 2, and *Problem. Anthonii Zimarae* 12.

† Shame commeth of knowledge, so that if a man doe a fault, and for lacke of learning know not that it is a fault, he can never be ashamed of it, nor seeke to amend it.

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oftentimes hath withdrawn from doing evil, joined with the fear of Gods punishments, wherof they have more understanding than ignorant men which never sawe nor read any thing. Wherefore those Princes that know not themselves, but lacke wit, either because they have beene evill brought up, or because nature hath graffed follie in them, can never understand how far the power and authoritie extendeth that God hath given them over their subjects. For they never read it themselves, neither are informed by them that know it; nay few that understand it are admitted to their presence; and if some one be, yet dare he not instruct them in it for feare of displeasure; or if happily at any time he put them in minde thereof no man will abide him, at the least he shall be accounted but a foole, peradventure also it may be taken in evill part, and so turne him to displeasure. But to proceede, it is manifest that neither naturall reason, neither knowledge, neither feare of God, neither love towards our neighbor, is sufficient to keepe us from using violence against others, from withholding other mens goods, nor from ravishing by all meanes possible that which appertaineth to others. For if great Princes withhold townes and castels from their kinsfolkes or neighbors, none of these reasons can moove them to restore them: and after they have given foorth some colour or forged some pretence to withhold them, all their subjects commend their proceedings, at the least such as are neere about them, and hunt after their favor. Of meane persons that be at variance I speake not, for they have a superior who sometimes doth justice to the parties, at the least he that hath a good cause, and followeth it diligently, and defendeth it stoutly, and spendeth frankly, shall in processe of time have right, unlesse the Court, that is to say, the Princes authoritie under whom he liveth, be against him. Wherefore it appeareth most manifestly, that God is constrained and forced as it were of necessitie to shew many examples among us, and to beate us with many rods, because of our negligence, or rather wickednes: but in Princes especially negligence and ignorance is very dangerous, and much to be lamented, because the good or evil government of their Seniories, dependeth

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wholy upon them. For if a Prince being mighty and having a number of soldiers in ordinarie, by whose meanes he levieth great sums of money at his pleasure, as well to pay them, as to spend in all kinde of wantonnes not necessary, will diminish none of this foolish and excessive expences; further if all men seeke to flatter him, and no man dare shew him what is good, either for feare of displeasure, or because he knoweth it will not prevaile: who can redresse this inconvenience but God alone? True it is, that God talketh not to men now as in times past, neither are there Prophets now a daies by whose mouth he speaketh: but his word is dispersed through the whole world, and well inough knowne to all those that will understand and know it; so that no man can excuse himselfe by ignorance, at the least none that have had space and time to live and are indued with naturall wit. How shall those Princes then escape that governe their Seniories after such sort, that by force they levy what they list, and by tyrannie maintaine their authoritie, and hold their subjects in so great thraldome, that the least commandement they give toucheth life? Some punish under colour of justice, and have lawyers ever at hand ready in all points to execute their commandements, and to make a deadly sinne of a veniall. If they have not matter inough against a man, they finde meanes to delay the hearing of the cause, or the taking of the depositions to hold the partie still in prison, or to undoo him by charges, waiting continually if any man will come to accuse him, that is thus held in prison, and to whom they wish evill. If this way be not colourable inough, nor speedy inough for their purpose, they devise other readier waies alleaging that it was necessarie to do thus and thus for examples sake, and make the case as hainous as pleaseth them: with others that hold of them and be of some power, they go more plainly to worke, saying, Thou dost against thine allegiance thou owest me, thou disobeiest me, and so proceede by force to take from him that is his if they can, (if they do not, it is no thanke to them) causing him to live in great trouble and unquietnes. Their neighbors that be strong and mighty they meddle not with; but if any be weake, he can rest no where for them:

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for either they say that he hath aided their enimies, or they make their men of armes to live in his countries, or buie quarrels to have colour to assault him, or finde some occasion to destroy him by aiding his neighbor against him, and lending him forces to invade him. Such of their subjects as have beene in authoritie, and served well their predecessors, they put out of office bicause they live too long, and place newe men in their roomes. The Church men they encomber and trouble about their benefices, to the ende they may thereby wring some thing from them to enrich some one of their darlings, at the sute eftsoones of those that have not deserved it, and at the request of such men and women as at times can prevaile much with them. The nobilitie they hold in continuall travell and charge under colour of their wilfull wars, which they take in hand without the counsell or advise of their estates, and of such as they ought to make privie thereunto before they attempt them: for these be they that spend both goods and lives in the wars: wherefore it is reason they should understand the cause of them before they begin. Their subjects they poule in such sort that they leave them nothing; for notwithstanding that they pay them taskes and subsidies above their abilitie: yet seeke they not to redresse the disorder of their men of armes, which live continually upon their people without paiement, dooing besides infinite mischiefes and injuries as all the world knoweth. For they are not contented with such chere as they finde in the husband mans house and is set before them; but beat also the poore men, and constraine them to go forth to buie them wine, bread, and victuals: and if the good man have a faire wife or a daughter, he shall do wisely to keepe hir out of their sight. Notwithstanding, seeing these men of armes are duly paid, this inconvenience might casilie be redressed, and order given that their pay should be made at every two moneths ende at the furthest; so should they not be able to alleage any pretence of their mischievous dooings under colour that they want pay: for the money is levied, and at the yeeres ende there is not one penie owing them. I speake this for our realme which is more afflicted and plagued with these men of armes

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than any other countrey that I know. But none can redresse this mischiefe but a wise Prince; other realmes bordering upon us have other scourges. Wherefore to continue this discourse, is there any King or Prince that hath power to levy one penie upon his subjects besides his demaines, without leave and consent of those that must pay it, unlesse it be by tyrannie and violence? A man will say that sometime the Prince can not tarie to assemble his estates, bicause it would require too long time. Whereunto I answer, that if he moove a war offensive, there needeth no such haste: for he may have leasure inough at his owne pleasure to make preparation. And further, he shall be much stronger and much more feared of his enemies, when he mooveth war with the consent of his subjects than otherwise. Now as touching a war defensive, that cloud is seene long before the tempest fall, especially when it is forraine war; and in this case good subjects ought not to complaine, nor refuse any thing that is laid upon them. Notwithstanding such invasion cannot happen so suddenly, but that the Prince may have leasure at the least to call together certaine wise personages, to whom he may open the causes of the war, using no collusion therein, neither seeking to maintaine a trifling war upon no necessitie, thereby to have some colour to levie money. Money is also necessarie in time of peace to fortifie the frontiers for defence of those that dwell upon them, least they be taken unprovided; but this must be done measurably. In all these matters the wisdom of a sage King sufficeth; for if he be a just Prince, he knoweth what he may do, and not do, both by Gods law and mans. To be short, in mine opinion of all Seniories in the world that I know; the realme of England is the countrey where the common wealth is best governed, the people least oppressed, and the fewest buildings and houses destroyed in civill war, and alwaies the lot of misfortune falleth upon them that be authors of the war.

Our King is the Prince in the whole world that hath least cause to alleage that he hath privileges to levy what him listeth upon his subjects, considering that neither he nor any other Prince hath power so to do. And those that say he

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hath, do him no honor, neither make him to be esteemed any whit the mightier Prince thereby; but cause him to be hated and feared of his neighbors, who for nothing would live under such a government. But if our King or those that seeke to magnifie and extoll him should say, I have so faithfull and obedient subjects that they deny me nothing I demand, and I am more feared, better obeyed, and better served of my subjects than any other Prince living, they endure patiently whatsoever I lay upon them, and soonest forget all charges past: This me thinke (yea I am sure) were greater honor to the King than to say; I levie what me listeth, and have privileges so to do, which I stoutly maintaine. King Charles the fift used no such termes, neither did I ever heare such language proceede from any King, but from divers of their servants, who thought they did their Masters great service in uttering such speeches: but in mine opinion they misbehaved themselves towards their Prince, and used such language partly because they would seeme to be good servants, and partly because they knew not what they said. But for a manifest proove of the French mens loialtie and obedience to their Prince, we neede alleage none other example than that we our selves have sene of late by experience; when the three estates were assembled at Tours, after the death of our Master King Lewis the eleventh, which was in the yeere of our Lord 1483. A man might then have thought this good assembly to be dangerous for the Kings estate; yea, and divers there were of meane calling, and lesse honestie, that said then and have often said since, that it is treason to make mention of assembling the estates, and a thing tending to the diminishing of the Kings authoritie: but themselves are those that worke treason against God, the King, and the common wealth; neither doe any use these speeches but either such as are in authoritie without desert and unworthy thereof; or such as are common tale-carriers, and accustomed to talke of trifling matters; or such as feare great assemblies, least their doings should there be ripped up and reprehended. At this assembly I now speake of, all men of what estate soever they were, thought the realme much weakned and

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impoverished, because it had paid by the space of 20 yeeres or more great and excessive subsidies; yea so great that they surmounted yeerely by the summe almost of three millions of frankes all subsidies that ever were levied in Fraunce. For King Charles the seaventh levied yeerely but eighteene hundred thousand frankes:* but King Lewis his sonne levied at his death seven and fortie hundred thousand,† besides the charges of the artillerie and such like expences. And sure it was a pittiful thing to behold the miserable estate of the poore people. But one good propertie had the King our Master, that he hoorded up no treasure, he tooke all and spent all, and bestowed more upon fortification of townes and places for the defence of his realme, then all his predecessors joined together. He gave also much to Churches, but in some respect he had done better to have given lesse: for he tooke from the poore to give to them that had no need. But there is no man perfect in the whole world.

Well to proceed. Notwithstanding that this realme were so impoverished and oppressed divers waies: did the people yet after the King our Masters death raise any sedition against the K. that now is? the nobilitie and commons tooke they armes against their yoong King? went they about to chuse an other? sought they to diminish his authoritie, or to bridle him that he shou'd not use the authoritie of a King? I thinke no, and to say the truth how could they? though divers glorious fooles said they might. But his subjects did cleane contrarie; for they all repaired to him, as well Princes, as gentlemen and Burgesses of good townes: they all acknowledged him for their King, and did him homage and fealtie, and the Princes and nobilitie presented their requests in writing, humbly kneeling upon their knees. Further, they chose among themselves a counsell of twelve men, and the King being but thirteene yeeres of age commanded upon report of the said counsell. Moreover at this assembly certaine supplications were made, and bills

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* 1800000 frankes are 225000 pound starling, after eight souse to the English shilling, and the French liver at two shillings sixe pence starling.

† 4700000 frankes are 587500 pound starling.

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exhibited in the presence of the King and his Counsell in great humilitie for the common wealth of the realme, referring all to the King and his Counsels pleasure. They granted the King without any deniall all that was demanded, and all that was shewed in writing to be necessarie for the maintenance of his estate. The summe the King demanded was two millions and a halfe of frankes,* which was ynough and ynough againe, yea rather too much than too little without some extraordinarie accident. Further, the said estates humbly required, that at two yeeres end they might assemble againe: saying, that if the King had not money ynough, they would give him more at his pleasure. They promised moreover if he had wars, or that any enimie should invade him, to adventure their bodies, to spend their goods, and not to refuse any thing for his service. Are subjects that give thus liberally to be choked with privileges whereby the Prince may take what him listeth? shall not the King doe justlier both before God and the world to levie after this sort, rather than by extraordinarie will? seeing no Prince, as I have said before, hath authoritie to command money but by graunt; unlesse he will use tyrannie and incurre the danger of excommunication. But a number of Princes are verie beasts, not knowing what is lawfull or unlawfull for them to doe in this behalfe. Subjects there are also that offend their Prince and refuse to obey him, and succour him in time of neede: yea in stead of aiding him when he hath great affaires in hand contemne him and stir up rebellion and sedition against him, contrarie to the allegiance that they owe him. When I say Kings or Princes, I meane either themselves or such as governe under them: and when I say subjects, I mean such subjects as have preheminance and beare sway in the common wealth. The greatest mischiefes are wrought commonly by those that are mightie, for the weake desire peace and quietnes. When I say mightie, I meane as well women as men, sometime and in some places where they have rule and authoritie, either because of their husbands affection towards them, or

* That is 2500000 frankes, which amounteth to 312500 pound starling.

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because they governe their affaires, or for that their Seniories are their wives inheritance.

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If I should write of men of meane calling in this world, my discourse would be too tedious. Wherefore it shall suffice to speake of great estates, because in them the power and justice of God is most apparant. For although two hundred thousand mishaps chaunce to a poore man, no man regardeth them: but attributeth them either to povertie or evill looking to; as for example, if he be drowned or breake his necke, they say this chaunced because he was alone, so that hardly men will give eare to it. But if some misfortune fall upon a great citie it is otherwise talked of, yet not so much as when it chanceth to a Prince. What is the reason then that God sheweth his justice rather upon Princes and great men, than upon men of low degree? because meane and poore men finde ynowe in this world to punish them when they offend; yea oftentimes they are punished without desert, either for examples sake, or for their goods, or peradventure through the judges fault; sometime also they deserve punishment, and then it is reason that justice be done. But as touching great Princes or Princesses and their governors and counsellors: againe, as touching provinces and townes, rebellious and disobedient to their Princes and governors, who will search out their lives? Who will informe the Iustice of their actions? What justice will take notice thereof? or who will punish their faults? I speake of the evill not of the good, but fewe there are of those. What is the cause then that mooveth both them and all others to commit these faults above rehearsed, and many mo (which for brevitie I overpasse) not regarding the power and justice of God? I answer, that it is lacke of faith, and in those that are ignorant lacke of wit and faith together, but especially of faith, which in mine opinion is the onely fountaine of all mischiefes. I meane such mischiefes as fall upon those that complaine, that they are troden under foote, and oppressed by those that are mightier than they. For if men were fully perswaded the paines of hell to be such as indeede they are, and beleved firmly (as we ought all to beleve) that who so hath taken

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ought by violence, or possesseth ought that his father or grandfather tooke wrongfully: shall never enter into the joies of paradise, unlesse he make full satisfaction and restitution of all that he withholdeth from his neighbour; (whether it be Duchies, Earldoms, townes, castels, mooveables, medowes, ponds, or mils, every man according to his estate) there is no man living, be he poore or rich, or of what estate and condition soever he be, that would withhold ought that is not his owne. No, if all men beleeveth this firmly, it is not to be thought, that there is either Prince, Princessse, or any other man through the whole world, what estate or condition soever he be of, be he high or low, spirituall or temporall, man or woman, that would wittingly withhold any thing from his subject or neighbour, wrongfully put any man to death, hold him in prison, take from one to give to enrich another, or seeke to procure dishonesty to his kinsfolks and servants for his wanton pleasures, as for women, and such like, which is the filthiest attempt that may be made. No undoubtedly we would never do as we do, if we had a stedfast faith, and beleeveth that which God and his Church commandeth us to beleeveth, under paine of damnation: knowing our daies to be short, and the paines of hell horrible and endlesse. Wherefore we may conclude, that all mischiefes proceede of want of faith. For example whereof, when a King or Prince is taken prisoner, and feareth to die in prison, is there any thing in the world, be it never so deere unto him, that he will refuse to give for his deliverance? as appeereth by King Iohn, who being taken prisoner by the Prince of Wales at the battell of Poictiers, paid for his raunsome three millions of franks, and yelded to the English men all Aquitaine (at the least all that he held in his hands) with a number of other cities, townes and places; yea in a manner the third foote of his realme: whereby he brought his realme into such povertie, that manie yeeres after they used leather monie, with a little stud or naile of silver in the midst thereof. And all this gave he and his sonne King Charles surnamed the Wise, for his raunsome. And if they would have given nothing, yet would not the English men have put him to death, but his greatest paine

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had benee imprisonment. But admit they had put him to death, yet had not that paine been so great by the hundred thousandth part, as the least paine in hell. Why gave he then all this great raunsome above rehearsed, destroying his children and subjects? but onely because he beleeeved that which he saw and perceived well, that he could not otherwise be delivered. But peradventure when he committed the fault, for the which this punishment fell upon him, his children and subjects: he beleeeved not firmly, that the offence he made against God and his commandements, should be punished. Now to conclude, there is no Prince, or verie few, that will restore one towne they withhold from their neighbour, for the love of God, or to eschew the paines of hell; and yet King Iohn gave all this to deliver his bodie out of prison.

I asked a question before, who will search out great mens faults, who will informe the justice of them, and who will be the justice to punish them? Whereunto I now answer, that the information shall be the lamentable crie and plaint of their subjects, whom they tyrannize and oppresse so many waies without any compassion, the sorrowfull lamentation of widowes and orphans, whose husbands and fathers they have wrongfully put to death; by meanes whereof their wives and children have ever after lived in affliction and miserie; and generally the complaints of all those whom they have persecuted either in their persons or goods. These, I say, shall give information against them by their great mourning, wailing, and pitious teares, and shall accuse them before the Lord God, who will be the just judge thereof, and peradventure will not delay the punishment till the world to come; but will also punish them in this world: which punishment proceedeth of lacke of faith, because they had not a firme and stedfast believe in Gods commandements.

We must therefore of necessitie confesse, that God is forced to shew such tokens and examples, to the ende both Princes themselves and all the world may beleeeve, that these punishments fall upon them for their misbeleefe and sinnes, and that God sheweth his mightie power and justice upon them, because none other in this world but he, hath power

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over them. At the first happily they amend not their lives for Gods scourges, be they never so great and long. But no misfortune falleth upon a Prince, upon those that governe his affaires, or upon those that rule great commonalties, but the issue is hurtful and dangerous to the subjects. When I say misfortunes, I meane none but such as cause the subjects to smart; for to fall from a horse, to breake a leg, to be punished with a sharpe ague, are no misfortunes to a Prince, because he may be cured of them, and peradventure they may doe him good, and teach him wit: but I call these misfortunes, when God is so displeased with a Prince, that he will no longer suffer him to raigne, but will shew his power and justice upon him. For then first he weakeneth his wits, which is a shrewd blowe for all those that have to do with him, he troubleth his house, and suffereth it to fall into division and disquietnes: and the Prince himselfe is so far in Gods disgrace, that he flieth the counsell and companie of the wise, and advaunceth none but yoong fooles, voide of wit, oppressors, flatterers, and such as soothe him in all his sayings. If he take one penie, they bid him take two; if he threaten a man, they bid hang him, and after that sort in all other actions. Further, they give him counsell in any wise to cause himselfe to be feared, and they also behave themselves cruelly and proudly, trusting by this meanes to holde men in awe of them, as though authoritie were their inheritance. Those whom such Princes, by the advise of these new Counsellors have banished and displaced, having served many yeeres, and being well acquainted and freinded in their cuntry, will storme at this usage, and for their sakes their friends and well willers also; and peradventure such injurie shall be offered them, that they shall be forced either to defend themselves, or to flie to some Prince their neighbor, who perchance is enemy to him that banisheth and chaseth them, and so by inward division strangers shall enter into the land. Is any plague or miserie so great, as wars betwixt friends and acquaintance? Is any malice so ranke and deadly? As touching forren enimies, when the subjects are linked together they may easily make resistance, because their enimies have no intelligence nor

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acquaintance in the realme. Thinke you that an unwise Prince being accompanied with fooles, can smell a far off how great a mischief division among his subjects is? or beleeve that it can hurt him? or proceedeth of God? he eateth and sleepeth no whit the woorse for it; he hath neither fewer horses in his stable, nor fewer robes in his wardrobe, but many mo companions. For he allureth men unto him by promises, and by parting among them the spoiles and offices of those whom he hath banished; he giveth also of his owne to win thereby fame and renownme: but when he shall least thinke of it, God will raise up an enimie against him whom peradventure he never mistrusted. Then will he waxe pensive, and suspect those whom he hath injured, yea he will feare such as indeed beare him no evill will: yet notwithstanding he will not have his refuge to God in this extremitie, but seeke to redresse this inconvenience by force. Have we not seene in our daies examples hereof even among our next neighbors? Have we not seene the late King of England Edward the fourth of that name, heire of the house of Yorke, utterly destroy the house of Lancaster, under the which both his father and he had lived many yeeres? Further, the said King Edward having done homage to King Henry the 6 being of the house of Lancaster, did he not afterward hold him prisoner many yeeres in the tower of London, the chiefe citie of the realme, where in the end he was put to death?

Have we not also seene the Earle of Warwicke principall governor of all the said King Edwards affaires, (after he had put to death all his enimies, especially the D. of Sommerset) in the end become deadly enemy to the K. his Master, give his daughter in mariage to the Prince of Wales sonne to King Henry, attempt to set up againe the house of Lancaster, passe with the said Prince into England, discomfited in the field, and slaine both he, his brethren and kinsfolks, and divers other noble men of England, who in times past had done the like to their enimies? After all this, the children of these when the world turned, revenged themselves; and caused in like maner the others to die, which plagues we may be assured hapned not but by the wrath of

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God. But (as before I said) the realme of England hath this speciall grace above all other realmes and dominions, that in civill wars the people is not destroyed, the townes be not burned nor razed, but the lot of fortune falleth upon the soldiers, especially the gentlemen whom the people envy to too beyond reason: for nothing is perfect in this world. After King Edward was quiet in his realme and received yeerely out of Fraunce fifty thousand crownes paid him in the tower of London, and was growen so rich, that richer he could not be, he died suddenly as it were of melancholy, bicause of our Kings mariage that now raigneth, with the Lady Margaret the Duke of Austriches daughter. For so soone as he was advertised thereof he fell sicke, and began then to perceive how he had beene abused touching the marriage of his daughter, whom he caused to be named the Ladie Daulphinesse. Then also was the pension which he received out of Fraunce taken from him, which he called tribute, although indeed it were neither the one nor the other, as before I have declared.* K. Edward left by his wife two goodly sonnes, one Prince of Wales, the other D. of Yorke, and two daughters. The D. of Glocester his brother tooke upon him the government of his nephew the Prince of Wales, being about ten yeeres of age, and did homage to him as to his soveraigne Lord, and lead him to London pretending that he would there crowne him King, hoping by that meanes to get the other brother out of the Sanctuary at London, where he was with his mother, who began already to be jealous of his proceedings. To be short, by meanes of the Bishop of Bathe (who having beene sometime of K. Edwards Councill, fell afterward into his disgrace, and was put in prison, and made to fine for his deliverance,) the D. of Glocester executed this exploit, which you shall now heare. This Bishop advertised the Duke that K. Edward being in love with a certaine Lady, promised her marriage upon condition that he might lie with hir, whereunto she consented, so far forth that the said Bishop married them together, none being present but they two and himselfe. Which matter this Bishop being a jolly

* For it was due by the conditions of the treatie.

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courtier never disclosed during K. Edwards life, but caused also the said Lady to conceale it, that it was kept secret. After this the said King falling againe in love, married the daughter of an English knight, called the Lord Rivers, being a widow, and mother of two sonnes. But after K. Edwards death, this Bishop of Bathe revealed this matter to the D. of Gloucester, whereby he egged him forward not a little to the executing of his mischievous pretended enterprise. For the said D. murdered his two nephewes, crowned himselfe King by the name of Richard the third, proclaimed his brothers two daughters bastards in open parliament, tooke from them their armes, and put to death all the faithfull servants of the late King his brother, at the least as many as he could lay hands on. But this cruelty remained not long unpunished: for when the said King Richard thought himselfe safest, and lived in greater pride than any King of England did these hundred yeeres (having put to death the Duke of Buckingham, and having a great army in a readines) God raised up an enemie against him of no force, I meane the Earle of Richmond then prisoner in Britanie, but now King of England, of the house of Lancaster, though not the neerest to the crowne,* whatsoever men say, at the least so far as I can learne. The said Earle told me a little before his departure out of this realme, that from the fift yeere of his age he had lived continually like a prisoner and a banished man. And indeed he had been fifteen yeeres or thereabout prisoner in Britaine to Duke Frances that last died, into whose hands he fell by tempest of the sea as he fled into Fraunce, accompanied with the Earle of Pembroke his uncle. My selfe saw them when they arrived, for I was come of a message to the D. at the same time. The Duke entreated them curtiously for prisoners, and after K. Edwards death lent the said Earle great force of men, and a great navie; with the which he sent him having intelligence with the Duke of Buckingham, (who for this cause was afterward put to death) to lande in England: but the winde was against

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* How King Henry the 7 was next heire of the house of Lancaster, the pedegree in the end of the worke will declare, where also Philip de Commines error is controlled.

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him, and the seas so rough, that he was forced to returne to Diepe, and from thence by land into Britaine. From whence soone after he departed with his band into Fraunce without taking leave of the Duke, partly because he feared to overcharge the Duke; (for he had with him five hundred English men,) and partly because he doubted lest the Duke would agree with King Richard to his prejudice: for he knew that King Richard practised with him to that ende. Soone after, the King that now is appointed three or fower thousand men to waft him over onely, and delivered those that accompanied him a good summe of money and certaine peeces of artillerie: and thus passed he over in a ship of Normandie to land in Wales where he was borne. King Richard fourth with marched against him; but a Knight of England called the Lord Stanley, who was married to the Earles mother, joined himselfe with the Earle, and brought unto him at the least 26000 men.* The battell was given, King Richard slaine, and the Earle crowned King in the field with the said Richards crowne. Will you say that this was fortune? No, no, it was the judgement of God: and for further prooffe thereof marke this also. Immediately after the King had murdered his two nephewes, he lost his wife, whom some say he murdered also. Further, he had but one onely sonne, who died in like manner incontinent after this murder. This example would have served better heereafter when I shall speake of King Edwards death; for he was yet living at the time my former Chapter treateth of: but I have rehearsed it heere to continue my discourse which I am fallen into. In like manner we have seene of late the crowne of Spaine altered after the death of Dom Henry that last died. For the said Dom Henry had to wife the King of Portugales sister last deceased, by whom he had issue a goodly daughter, which notwithstanding succeeded not her father, but was put from the crowne under colour of adulterie committed by her mother. But the matter ended not without great contention and warre: for the King of Portugal tooke part with his neece, and divers great Lords of Castile joined with him: yet notwithstanding the said

* Our Chronicles say but 3000 and some 5000.

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Dom Henries sister, wife to the son of Dom Iohn King of Arragon, obtained the crowne and possesseth it yet at this day: and thus this partage was made in heaven as divers others are. Further, you have seene of late daies the King of Scotland and his sonne being thirteene yeeres of age in battell, the one against the other: the sonne and his faction prevailed, and the King was slaine upon the place.* This King murthered his owne brother, and was charged with divers other crimes, namely the death of his sister and such like. You see also the Duchy of Gueldres out of the right line, and have heard what impietie the Duke last deceased used against his father. Divers other examples I could rehearse which should manifestly appeere to be punishments and scourges of God, which scourges are the principall cause of wars, whereof insue mortalitie and famine, all the which evils procede of lacke of faith. Wherefore I conclude, considering the wickednes of men especially of great men, who know not themselves, neither beleeeve that there is a God: that it is necessarie for every Prince and governor, to have an adversary to keepe him in feare and humility, otherwise no man should be able to live under them or neere them.

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* This King that slue his father in battell was Iames the 4, who married Margaret sister to King Henry the 8.

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CHAPTER I

How the Duchie of Burgundie was yeilded to the King.



OW to returne to the principal matter, and to proceed in this historie, written at your request, my Lord of Vienna: while the King brought under his subjection the places and townes above named in the marches of Picardie, his army lay in Burgundie, the generall whereof in apparance, was the Prince of Orange* that now is, who was borne in the countie of Burgundie, and a subject thereof; but lately revolted the second time from Duke Charles: wherefore the King used his helpe; for he was a great Lord, well friended, and well beloved both in the said county, and also in the Duchie of Burgundie. But the Lord of Cran was the Kings lieutenant, and he it was in deede that had the charge of the whole armie, and in whom the King reposed his principall trust, and sure he was a wise man and faithfull to his Master, but somewhat too greedie of his owne gaine. The said Lord of Cran when he drew neere the countrie of Burgundie, sent the Prince of Orange before him with certaine others to Digeon, to perswade with

* This Prince of Orange was Iohn de Chaslons: the Prince of Orange that now is, is of the house of Nassaw. Look in the Epitome Guicciardins description of the Lowe countries compiled by me, and there you shall see the Prince of Orenge petegree.

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the citizens to become the Kings subjects: which enterprize so well they atchieved by the said Princes meanes, that the towne of Digeon, and all the other places of the Duchie of Burgundie yeilded to the King, Aussonne and certaine castels excepted, which held yet for the Lady of Burgundie. The King had promised the Prince of Orenge many goodly estates, and to restore him to all his grandfathers inheritance in the countie of Burgundie: for the which he was in sute with the Lords of Chauverguion his uncles,* whom (as he said) Duke Charles had favored to his prejudice. For this cause had been often pleaded before him with great solemnitie, and once the Duke being accompanied with a number of lawyers, gave judgement against the Prince, at the least thus he reported: wherefore he forsooke the Dukes service, and went to the King. But Monseur de Cran after he was entred into all these townes above mentioned, and had gotten into his hands all the best places that should descend to the said Prince by right of inheritance: refused to yeeld them to him, notwithstanding both the Kings promise, and the said Princes request. The King also wrote often to him about this matter without all collusion, knowing that he much misused the Prince: notwithstanding he feared to displease the said de Cran, bicause he had the charge of the whole countrie, neither thought he that the Prince either would or could have caused the country of Burgundy to rebell, as afterward he did, at the least the greatest part therof. But I will heere leave these Burgundish affaires, till another convenient place shall serve to speake further thereof.

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* The old copie hath Chasteauguion, *Annal. Burgund.* Chaumergnon, *Annal. Franc.* Chauverguion, and so undoubtedly it is to be read: for Chasteauguion was brother to this Prince of Orenge.—Gaguin.

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CHAPTER II

How the King entertained the English men after the death of Charles Duke of Burgundie, to the end they should not hinder his conquest of the said Dukes dominions.



HOSE that heerafter shall reade this historie, and happily understand the affaires both of this realme and the countries bordering upon it better than my selfe, will marvell that since the death of Duke Charles, I have hitherto by the space almost of one whole yeere made no mention of the Englishmen, and will woonder that they suffered the King to take the townes bordering so neere upon them, namely Arras, Bolloin, Ardres, and Hedin, with divers other castels, and to lie so long with his campe before Saint Omer.* But you shall understand that the reason thereof was, for that our King in wisdome and sence surmounted far Edward King of England then rainging: for notwithstanding that the said King Edward were a most valiant Prince, and had woon in England eight or nine battels; wherein he fought alwaies himselfe on foote greatly to his renowme; yet were these troubles but by fits, so that his head was not continually busied in matters of state: for immediately after the victorie obtained, he returned to his former sports and pleasures, till another storme arose. For you shall understand, that when war beginneth in England, in ten daies or lesse the one or the other getteth the garland. But our affaires in Fraunce passed not after that sort, for besides the war it selfe, the K. was forced to have an eie continually upon divers places as well of his owne

* The King could not take Saint Omer, for the Lord of Chanteraine valiantly defended it. Reade De la Marche lib. 2. cap. 9, pag. 410.

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realme as of his neighbors, but especially by all means possible to content the King of England, and to entertain him by ambassadors, presents, and smooth words, to the end he should not entermiddle with our affaires. For the K. knew well the English men as well Nobles and Commons as the Cleargie, to be naturally inclined to make war upon this realme, aswell under colour of the title they pretend thereunto; as also in hope of gaine. For they trust to have ever such successe heere as their predecessors have had, whom God permitted to obtaine in this realme many great victories, and large dominion both in Normandie and in Guienne, the which they had possessed by the space of three hundred and fiftie yeeres,* when King Charles the seventh first recovered it. During the which time they inriched the realme of England with great spoiles and much treasure, that they got aswell of the Princes and noble men of Fraunce, a great number of whom they tooke prisoners; as also of the townes and places which they subdued. Notwithstanding they should hardly have had such successe in the King our Masters time: for he would never have endangered his estate in battell as King Charles the sixt did at Agincourt, where all the nobilitie of Fraunce lighted on foote to fight with the English men; but would have proceeded more warily if the matter had come to execution, as you may perceive by the course he held in sending King Edward home. Wherefore the King well perceived that he must in any wise keepe the King of England and his principall servants his friends, whom he saw altogither inclined to quietnes and very greedy of his money: for the which cause he paid duly at London the pension of fiftie thousand crownes, which they called tribute. And further gave yeerely sixteene thousand crownes to the said Kings principall servants, whose names were these: the Lord Chauncellor; the Master of the Roles who now is Chauncellor; the Lord Hastings Lord great Chamberlaine, a man of singular wisdom and vertue, and in great authoritie with his Master, and not without cause, for he ever served him faithfully; Sir Thomas Montgomery; the Lord Howard, afterward Duke

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* Others write but 295, others 296, and others 299.

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of Norfolke and partaker with the wicked King Richard; the Master of the Horse called Master Cheiny; Master Challenger, and the Marques Dorset the Queene of Englands sonne by hir first husband. Further, he gave goodly presents to all the ambassadors that came to him, were their messages never so sharpe and bitter, and sent them home with such goodly words and Princely rewards, that they returned well contented. And notwithstanding that some of them understood that he did all this onely to win time, the better to atchieve his enterprize in the conquest of the Duke of Burgundies dominions: yet winked they at it bicause of the great riches they received at his hands. To all these above named he gave besides their pensions many goodly presents, so largely that the Lord Howard over and above his pension received of him in lesse then two yeeres space in money and plate fower and twentie thousand crownes. To the Lord Hastings also L. great Chamberlaine of England, he gave at one time a present of plate to the value of ten thousand marks. The acquittances of all which great personages are yet to be scene in the chamber of accounts at Paris, save of the Lord Hastings Lord great Chamberlaine of England, which is an high office, for there is never but one alone in it. This L. Chamberlaine was long labored before he would become the Kings pensioner, my selfe being the onely man that perswaded him thereunto. For I wan him first to Charles Duke of Burgundies friendship during the time I served him, who gave him yeerly a pension of a thousand crownes; whereof when I had advertised the King, he would in like maner that I should be a meanes to make him his friend and pensioner: for in times past during Duke Charles his life, and after his death also in favor of the Lady of Burgundy, he had alwaies beene the Kings extreme enemie, and travelled once to perswade the King of England to aide the said Lady against the King our Master. I began this friendship by letters and the King gave him a pension of two thousand crownes, which was double the summe he received of the Duke. Further, the King sent to him one of the stewards of his house called Peter Cleret, charging

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him to bring with him the said Lord Chamberlains acquittance, to the end heereafter it might appeere that the great Chamberlaine, Chauncellor, Admirall, and Master of the Horse of England, besides divers others, had beene the French Kings pensioners. The said Peter Cleret was a wise fellow, and communed privily alone with the Lord Chamberlaine at his lodging in London; where, after he had declared his message from the King: he presented him his two thousand crownes in golde (for the King never gave but gold to strangers) which money when the Lord Chamberlaine had received, Peter Cleret humbly besought him for his discharge, to give him an acquittance; wherein the said Lord Chamberlaine made difficultie. Then Cleret desired him to give him onely a letter of three lines to the King to testifie the receipt of the money, least the King being a suspitious Prince should thinke that he had converted it to his owne use. Which reasonable demand the Lord Chamberlaine hearing, answered thus: Sir, you require but reason, but this gift proceedeth of the King your Masters liberalitie not of my request, if it please you that I shall receive it put it heere into my sleeve, and other letter or testimoniall get you none of me. For I will not for my part that any man shall say that the Lord great Chamberlaine of England hath beene pensioner to the French King; nor that my acquittances be found in his chamber of accounts. Whereunto the said Cleret replied not, but departed leaving the money behinde him; and at his returne made report thereof to the King, who was not a little displeased with him for that he brought no acquittance: but as touching the said Chamberlaine, he commended and esteemed him more than all the King of Englands other servants, and his pension was ever after paid without acquittance.

After this sort lived the King with the English men. Notwithstanding the King of England was oftentimes earnestly pressed by this yoong Princesse for aide, and therefore sent ambassadors often to negotiate with the King our Master about these affaires, desiring him to grant hir either peace or truce. Now you shall understand that those that

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were at the debating of these matters in England, especially in their parliament, (which is an assembly of the three estates, where divers wise men were present that smelt our dissimulation a far off, and received no pension of the King as the others did) were verie desirous; and yet the commons of the realme more desirous, that the King of England should send aide without further delay to the said Ladie: saying, that we heere did but abuse them, and that the marriage should never be accomplished: alleaging that at the treatie made at Picquigny betweene the two Kings, we had faithfully sworne and promised that the King of Englands daughter whom they alreadie called the Ladie Daulphinesse, should be sent for into Fraunce within a yeere; which terme was now long expired. But what reasons soever the subjects made, the King would give no care thereunto, but alleaged divers excuses to the contrarie. And to say the truth, he was a very corpulent man and much given to pleasures, neither could his body endure the toile of the wars. Further, he had wound himselfe out of great troubles and was loth to enter into them againe. The covetousnes also of the 50000 crownes yeerly paid him in the tower of London qualified his minde. Besides all this, his ambassadors that came hither were so courteously entertained and so well rewarded, that they departed ever well contented; but they never received any resolute answer: for the King sought onely to protract the time ever saying, that ere it were long he would send to the King their Master certain noble men with such assurance of those matters he stood in doubt of, as he knew well would content him. According to the which promise, within three weekes or a moneth after these ambassadors departure, sometime more, sometime lesse, (which was no small delay in such a case) he used to send ambassadors to the King of England: but at every voiage sundry men, to the end that if the former had made any ouverture not performed, the latter might plead ignorance therin. They also that were sent, perswaded so well the King of England that we meant nothing but good faith, that he lay still, and never stirred: for both he and the Queene his wife so much desired this

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mariage, that partly for this cause, and partly for the other reasons above alleaged; he was content to winke at this war, which some of his Counsell tould him plainly to be very prejudiciall to his realme. But he feared the breach of this mariage, bicause men began alreadie to scoffe at it in England, especially such as desired rebellion and civill war. Now to discourse a little upon this point. You shall understand that the King our Master never meant to accomplish this mariage, bicause there was no equalitic betweene the age of the two parties: for King Edwards daughter at this present Queene of England, was much elder than the Daulphin now rainging. But by these dissimulations a moneth or two was gayned in running to and fro, by which means the King foded forth his enimie one whole sommer, wherein he might have done him harme. For undoubtedly if the King of England had not hoped upon this mariage, he would never have suffered the King to take the places bordering so neere upon the English dominions, but have sought to defend them: and if at the beginning he had declared himselfe for the Lady of Burgundie, the King who was by nature timorous, and would put nothing in adventure, had never weakened this house of Burgundie as he hath. Thus much I write chiefly to shew how these affaires passed; and secondarily, to the ende that if hereafter those that are to manage great affaires happen to reade this historie, they may thereby learne how to helpe themselves in the like case: for be their wisdome never so great, yet a small advertisement doth good many times. True it is, that if this Lady of Burgundy would have consented to marrie the Lord Rivers the Queene of Englands brother, she should have aided with great force: but this had beene an unequall match; for he was but a poore Earle, and she one of the greatest inheritors in hir time. Many practises were entertained betweene the Kings of Fraunce and England; and amongst others the King offered him, that if he would joine with him, and passe over in person into the Lady of Burgundies countries, he would be contented that the King of England should hold the countrie of Flaunders without homage, and also the Duchie of Brabant; offering

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further, to conquer for him at his proper costs and charges fower of the greatest townes in Brabant, and to put them into the King of England's hands, to wage him 10000 English men for fower moneths, to the end he might the better sustaine the charge of the wars, and to lend him great store of artillerie, and men and carriage to convey it, and attend upon it, with this condition, that the King of England should conquer the countrie of Flaunders, during the time the King our Master invaded on the other side. Whereunto the King of England made answer that the townes of Flaunders were strong and great; and both that country, and also the country of Brabant hard to be kept if they were conquered: adding further, that this war liked not the English men because of their entercourse with those countries. But seeing it pleased the King to make him partaker of his conquest, if he would give him certaine townes he had alreadie conquered in Picardie, as Bolloin and divers others which he named; he would then be contented to declare himselfe for him, and send men to serve him if he would pay them, which was a very wise answer.

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DIVERS practises were entertained (as before you have heard) betweene these two Kings to delay time; but in the meane while the Lady of Burgundies force still diminished: for of those few men that remained alive after hir fathers death, divers revolted from hir to the King, especially after Monsieur de Cordes was entred into his service; for he led away a great troupe with him. Others necessitie forced to shrinke from hir, because they dwelt either within the townes the King had already conquered, or neere unto them. Some also put themselves into his service to be enriched; for no Prince dealt so liberally with his men, as the King our Master did. Moreover, civill dissensions and factions among themselves increased dayly in the great townes, especially in Gaunt, which bare the greatest sway in the cuntry, as you have heard. For the Lady of Burgundie divers marriages were mentioned; for all men were of opinion, that either she must get hir a husband to defend that she yet held, or marrie the Daulphin, thereby quietly to possesse all. Some desired greatly that this marriage with the Daulphin might take effect, she hir selfe especially, before the King delivered the letters above mentioned, sent unto him by hir Chauncellor and the Lord of Himbercourt: but others disallowed of this marriage, both because of the said Daulphins yoong age (for he was but nine yeeres olde) and also because of the marriage promised in England: and these laboured for the Duke of Cleves sonne. Others there were that travelled for the Emperors sonne Maximilian

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now King of Romans. The said Lady had conceived extreme hatred against the King for the deliverie of the letters above mentioned, which was the onely cause of the two noble mens death, and of the dishonor she received when hir letters were openly redelivered hir before the assembly, whereof you have heard. Further, the delivery of the said letters seemed also to be the onely occasion that mooved them of Gaunt to banish so many of hir servants from hir, to remoove from about hir, hir mother in lawe and the Lord of Ravastaine, and to put hir woman in such feare, that they durst not open a letter before they of Gaunt had seene it, nor commune with their Mistres in hir eare. Wherefore she began now to remoove from about hir the Bishop of Liege, who was of the house of Bourbon, and an earnest suter for hir marriage with the Daulphin, which sure had beene a very honorable match for hir, had not the said Daulphin been so yong, notwithstanding the Bishop had no regard thereof. To be short, the said Bishop departed to Liege, whereupon every man gave over that sute. It had been hard to deale in this busines to the contentation of all parties, and I thinke who so should have intermedled in it, should have had but small thanke for his labor in the end: wherfore every man forbare to speake therein. Notwithstanding before hir marriage was fully concluded, there was an assemblie held about it, wherat the Lady of Hallevin the Princesse of Burgundies principall woman was present, who said (as I have heard reported) that they had neede of a man not a child, and that hir Mistres was a woman growen and able to beare children, which should be the onely stay of the cuntry. This opinion tooke place, notwithstanding some blamed this Lady for speaking thus frankly; but others commended hir, saying, that she had spoken but of such mariage as was most necessary for the estate of the cuntry. There was now no more to do but to finde a fit man. And I thinke verily if it had so pleased the K. she would willingly have married the Lord of Angoulesme that now is;* so much desired she to continue hir alliance with the house of Fraunce.

* This was Charles Duke of Angoulesme father to King Francis the first.

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But God was minded to make another match wherof peradventure the sequel is yet unknown. Notwithstanding this, we are able to say by that is already past, that of the said marriage many great wars have arisen both here and there, which perchance had never happened if she had married the Lord of Angoulesme: whereas by reason of this other match both the countries of Flaunders and Brabant have suffered great afflictions. The Duke of Cleves was at Gaunt with the said Lady, making friends there in hope to conclude a marriage betweene hir and his son: but she had no fansie therunto; for both she and those that were about hir, misliked much his sons conditions. Wherefore some began to motion a marriage betweene hir and the Emperors sonne now King of Romans, the which in times past had been so far forth treated of betweene the Emperor and Duke Charles, that it was concluded betweene them two. Further, the Emperor had a letter written with the Ladies owne hand by hir fathers commandement, and a ring set with a diamond. The contents of the which letter were, that according to the pleasure of hir Lord and father, she promised to the said Duke of Austrich the Emperors sonne, to accomplish the marriage concluded betweene both their parents, in such maner and forme as hir said Lord and father should appoint.

From the Emperor came certaine ambassadors to the said Lady being at Gaunt, who received letters at Bruxels commanding them to stay there, because Commissioners should be sent thither to treat with them, which was the Duke of Cleves doing, who was loth of their comming, and sought to send them home discontented. But the said ambassadors passed forth that notwithstanding, for they had good intelligence in the Ladies court, especially with the Dowager of Burgundy, who was removed from the said Ladie, as you have heard, because of the letter above mentioned. She advertised them (as it was reported) that they should not stay at Bruxels notwithstanding these letters, instructing them further what they should do at their comming to Gaunt; and assuring them that the said Ladie and divers about hir were well disposed to their sute. The Emperors

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ambassadors followed her advise, and rid straight to Gaunt, notwithstanding the message above mentioned. Wherewith the Duke of Cleves was not a little discontented, but he was not acquainted with the disposition of the said Lady and her women. The Councill concluded that these ambassadors should have audience, and their message being heard: the Princesse should bid them hartily welcome, and tell them that she would take advise with her Councill, which words being uttered, she should withdraw herselfe without farther communication. Whereunto she agreed. The ambassadors when audience was given them, presented their letters and declared their message, which was, that her marriage had been concluded betweene the Emperour and the Duke of Burgundie hir father with hir consent; as appeered both by her letters written with her owne hand which they there shewed, and also by the diamond which they said she had sent and given in token of marriage. Moreover, the said ambassadors required hir on their Masters behalfe, that it would please her to accomplish the said marriage according to the will and promise both of hir said Lord and father, and also of her selfe. Further, desiring her to declare before the assembly there present, whether she had written the said letter or not, and whether shee meant to performe her promise. Whereunto the said Ladie without further deliberation answered, that shee had sent the saide diamond, and written the letter by the commandement of her Lord and father, and would performe all that was contained therein. Then the ambassadors gave her humble thanks, and returned with joifull mindes to their lodging. But the Duke of Cleves was highly displeased with this answer, being cleane contrary to hir counceils resolution, and told her that she had done unadvisedly. Whereunto she answered that she could do no otherwise because her promise was past, which she would not breake. Which words the Duke hearing, and knowing divers about hir to be of the same opinion: determined soone after to returne home into his owne countrey and relinquish his sute. Thus was this marriage concluded, for the accomplishment whereof Duke Maximilian came to

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Colen, where certaine of the Ladies servants met him, and brought him money, whereof I thinke they found him bare ynough: for his father was the hardest man either Prince or private man that lived in his time. The said Emperors son being accompanied with seven or eight hundred horse was conveyed to Gaunt, where the marriage was accomplished, which at the first was more unprofitable than profitable to the Ladies subjects; for the Almaines in steed of bringing money with them, had money given them. Their number was not sufficient to withstand the Kings forces, and their conditions agreed not with her subjects maners: for they had lived under rich Princes which gave goodly offices, kept honorable and pompous houses both in furniture and fare, and had sumptuous apparell, both for themselves and their servants: but the Almaines are of a cleane contrary disposition, for they are rude fellowes and live grossely.

I doubt not but that by sage and wise advise and by the speciall grace of God, the law Salicke was ordained in Fraunce which barreth women from the crowne, to the end the realme fall not into the hands of a strange Prince and nation. For neither the French men nor any other people can easily digest the government of a stranger. And to say the truth there is no great Seniorie but in the ende the dominion thereof remaineth to the naturall countrey men, as appeereth by the realme of Fraunce, a great part whereof the English men possessed the space of fower hundred yeeres; and yet now hold nothing therein but Calice, and two little castles, the defence whereof costeth them yeerely a great summe of money: the rest they lost much sooner than they wan; for they lost more in a day, than they got in a yeere. The selvesame appeereth also by the realme of Naples, the yle of Sicilie, and the other provinces possessed by the French many yeeres, where now is no memoriall of their being there, save onely their ancestors graves. For notwithstanding that men may away with a strange Prince being wise, and accompanied with a small traine well disposed; yet can they hardly digest a great number of strangers: for if the Prince bring with him a great multi-

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tude, or send for great forces upon occasion of wars, quarrels will arise betweene them and the subjects of the countrey, because of the diversitie of their maners and conditions, and because they will not forbear to offer the subjects wrong, and are not beloved as the naturall countrey men be: which inconvenience then happeneth especially, when strangers seeke to have the highest offices and estates, and the government of the affaires in the commonwelth. Wherefore a Prince that goeth into a strange countrey, had neede to be wise and carefull in setting all things in good order: for if he lake this vertue of prudence, which proceedeth especially of the grace of God, whatsoever other good parts be in him, all is but lost; and if he live a mans age both he and those that live under him shall taste of great troubles, especially in his old age when his subjects and servants despaire of amendment.

After this marriage above rehearsed was accomplished, their affaires amended not, for the Princes were both very yoong, and Duke Maximilian for his part simple and of small understanding, as well because of his yoong yeeres,* as also for that he was in a strange countrey, and utterly unacquainted in his education with any matter of state. Lastly, he wanted force sufficient for any great exploit, so that for these causes these countries fell into great miseries, wherein they yet remaine and are like to remaine. Sure it is a greivous plague when a Province is forced to seeke a strange Prince to governe it. Wherefore God hath shewed great grace to the realme of Fraunce by the lawe above mentioned, which barreth women from the crowne: for by such marriages with strangers a private house (I confesse) may be enriched, but to a great realme such as this, many inconveniences should therof insue. Soone after this marriage accomplished, or while they were treating thereof: the King wan the countrey of Artois. It sufficeth me to rehearse the substance of these affaires, and if I faile otherwhiles in the exact computation of the time a moneth

* Maximilian was borne the 22 of March 1459, and this marriage was accomplished in August 1477,—*Introduct. de la Marche*; so that he was eighteene yeeres old and sixe months when he was married.

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or two, I trust the Readers will hold me excused. The Kings good successes daily increased; for no man withstood him, by means whereof he won every day some place or other, unless truce or some overture of peace were made: which notwithstanding could never be brought to conclusion because both the parties were unreasonable. Wherefore the war continued still. Duke Maximilian and the Ladie of Burgundie had issue the first yeere Archduke Philip now living.* The second yeere they had a daughter called Margaret now our Queene.† The third yeere they had a sonne named Francis of Francis Duke of Britaine,‡ who christened him. The fourth yeere she died§ with a fall from her horse|| or of an ague: but true it is that she fell, and some said she was with childe. Hir death was a great losse to her subjects, for she was a vertuous and liberall Lady, welbeloved of her people, and more revered and feared of them than her husband; and no marvell, for she was Lady of the land. She loved hir husband entirely well, and was well reported of all men. She died in the yeere 1482. The King held in Hainault the townes of Quesnoi-le-Counte, and Bouchain, the which he restored againe, whereat divers woondred, considering that he seemed not desirous of peace, but rather

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* This is Philip father to the Emperors Charles the fift and Ferdinande, he was borne the 23 of Iune 1473, and died the 25 of September 1506.

† This Margaret is she whom they of Gaunt against hir fathers wil betrothed to King Charles the 8, as Commines writeth in this booke cap. 9. The said K. Charles never accomplished the mariage with her, but being growen to mans estate, sent her home to hir father, as Commines writeth, lib. 7. cap. 3. Afterward she married the Prince of Castile as is mentioned lib. 8. cap. 17, and lastly Philibert Duke of Savoye. She was borne anno 1480.—*De la Marche*.

‡ This Francis was borne anno 1481,—*Introduet. de la Marche*; he died a child, and another sonne also, as other historiographers report, named George.

§ Or rather the fift, for she was married anno 1477, and died 1482, as our author in the 7 chapter of this booke reporteth. She was borne anno 1457, and King Lewis christened hir.—*Meyer, Annal. Burgund.*

|| She died 2 of March, an. 1482, by reason that thorough womanly bashfulness she would not suffer hir thigh which was broken with the fall from hir horse to be cured, but chose rather to die.

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to take all and leave this house of Burgundy nothing. And sure I thinke if he could easily have dispersed and given away all the Seniories thereof, he would utterly have destroyed it indeed. But two causes there were, as he afterwards told me, that mooved him to render these places: the one, he said that a King ought to make more account of places of force and defence within his owne realme where he is annointed and sacred, than of those that are out of his realme, as these two were. The other was because of the solemne oth and league that is betweene the Kings of Fraunce and the Emperors, that they shall not inroche the one upon the other, and these places above mentioned were situate in the Empire, and were restored the yeere 1477. The same cause mooved him to leave Cambray also, and to restore it to neutrality, and to say the truth, they received him into the towne under that condition.

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How King Lewis by the conduct of Charles of Amboise his lieutenant, recovered divers townes in Burgundy, which the Prince of Orenge had caused to revolt from him.



HE warre endured stil in Burgundie, where the King could not atchieve his enterprise, because the Prince of Orenge being revolted from him was made lieutenant of the Burgundians, and had some aide of the Almaines for his money, but not in favor of Duke Maximilian: for as touching him, there never came man into the country for his service, at the least during the time I now write of. But these Almaines were certaine bands of Swissers that served the Prince of Orenge as adventurers,

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not as Maximilians waged soldiers: for the Swissers are not friends nor well willers of the house of Austrich: other aide this countrey of Burgundie had little; notwithstanding ynough it might have had if their paiement had bene good. And as touching aide, no man might better have given it than Duke Sigismunde of Austriche, Duke Maximilians uncle,* whose dominions bordered upon these countries of Burgundie, especially the County of Ferrette, which a few yeeres before † he sould for 100000 gildons, to Charles Duke of Burgundy, and tooke it afterwards againe without paying backe the money, ‡ by the which title he yet possesseth it. He was a man of smal wisdom, and little regarding his honor, and in such friends men finde small reliefe. Further, he was one of those Princes above mentioned that understand nothing of their owne affaires, further then it pleaseth their servants to acquaint them with, who are ever plagued for their beastlines in their age as this Duke Sigismunde was. For his servants during these wars, made him take part with whom them listed; so that for the most part he joynd with the King our Master against his nephew, and would have given his inheritance being very large from his owne kindred to a strange house: for he never had childe, notwithstanding that he were twice married. But now within these three monethes by the perswasion of another faction of his servants, he had conveyed a present estate of his whole patrimony to the said Maximilian his nephew King of Romaines, reserving to himself a pension only amounting to the third part of his revenues, without any further power or authoritie in the countrey. But (as I have heard) he hath often repented him thereof; and if I have heard a lie, yet is it like inough to be true. Such is the end of all Princes that live

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* This Sigismund was not uncle to Maximilian, as other histories report, but cosin germane to his father; for Ernestus father to the Emperor Friderick, and Fridericus Senior this Duke Sigismunds father were brethren, sonnes to Leopold D. of Austriche, slaine in battel by the Swissers anno 1386.

† He sold it anno 1469.

‡ Others write that the money was paid to a merchant of Basill to the Duke of Burgundies use, and the paiement signified to the said Duke, who would not accept it unlesse it were paid at Bezanson.

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like beasts, against whom I inveigh thus vehemently, because of the great office and charge that God hath given them in this world. Notwithstanding those that are bereft of their wits ought to be free from all reproch; but sure those that have good wits and healthfull bodies, and yet employ their time in nothing but folly and idlenes; are not to be moaned when any misfortune falleth upon them: as on the other side those that spend their time according to their age, sometime in wisdome and councell, and sometime in honest recreation, are greatly to be commended, and happie be the subjects that live under such a Prince.

This war in Burgundie endured long, bicause of the Swissers small aide above mentioned; notwithstanding the Kings force was much too strong for them: besides that the Burgundians laked monie; for the which cause the garrisons that were in the strong places turned by intelligence. Monsieur de Cran the Kings lieutenant there, laid the siege before Dolle the chiefe citie of the countie of Burgundie, the force within it being so small that he despised it, which turned to his losse: for they salied foorth and assaulted him on a sudden, and tooke part of his artillerie, and slue certaine of his men, which was a great dishonor to him, and put him also into the Kings disgrace, who being troubled with this accident determined to send a new governor into Burgundy, partly bicause of this misfortune, and partly bicause of the great pillings and pollings the said de Cran had used in the countie, which were in deede too excessive. Notwithstanding before his departure he overthrew a band of Almaines and Burgundians, and tooke prisoner Monsieur de Chasteauguion,* the greatest Lord in Burgundie. Other exploit none was done that I have heard of, notwithstanding the report went, that the said de Cran behaved himselfe there very valiantly as touching his owne person. The King as before I said, determined for the reasons above alleaged, to place a new governor in Burgundie, not diminishing any whit of the said de Crans profits, offices, or

* This was the Prince of Orenge's brother who came to levie the siege that Monsieur de Cran held before Gy, where he had besieged the said Prince of Orenges, with him were slain 14 or 15 hundred.

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estates, save onely that he tooke from him all his men of armes, except halfe a dozen or a dozen archers, left to accompany him home. This Monseur de Cran was a very grosse man, and willingly departed to his owne house, where he lived at ease. The King placed in his roome Master Charles of Amboise Lord of Chaumont a valiant, wise, and diligent gentleman. Moreover, he practised to win all the Almaines that made war against him in Burgundie, to his service, not so much to use their helpe, as thereby to conquer the easilier the rest of the countrie. The King sent also to the Swissers, whom he called the Lords of these Almaine leagues, making them many goodly offers; for he promised a yeerely pension of 20000 franks* to their townes, which be fower, Berne, Lucerne, Zurich, and I think Fribourg was the fourth. Their Cantons also, as I suppose, received part of this pension, which be three vilages situate in the mountaines, namely Swisse, whereof the whole countrie is named; Soleurre, and Ondreval: other 20000 franks he promised yeerely to the said Swissers governors, and to certaine particular men that should further his affaires. Moreover, he enrolled himselfe one of their Burgesses, and desired to be their principall confederate, and to have writings thereof; wherein though they made some difficultie at the first, bicause the Duke of Savoy had ever been their chiefe confederate: yet in the ende they granted him his demands, and promised to send continually to his service 6000 men under this condition, that their entertainment should be monethly fower gildons and a halfe, which band continued in pay till the Kings death.† A poore Prince had not been able to do this, but sure it turned greatly to the Kings profit, though in the ende I thinke it will be their destruction. For now they flowe so with money, especially with gold (wherwith before they were unacquainted) that they are ready to fall at variance among themselves, otherwise no man should be able to annoy them. For their

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* Before, lib. 5. cap. 2, he reporteth these 40000 franks to be florens, and so in mine opinion it should be reade heere.

† When these Swissers began first to be entertained, then were the franck archers cassed, which was anno 1430.

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countrie is so poore, and so full of mountaines, and themselves so good soldiers, that few would seeke to invade them. After these treaties were ended, and all the Almaines in Burgundie woon to the Kings service, the Burgundians force was cleane broken. To be short, after divers new enterprises atchieved by the governor the Lord of Chaumont, he besieged Rochfort a castell neere to Dolle, defended by Master Claude de Vauldray, and yeelded by composition. Afterward he besieged the towne of Dolle, from the siege whereof his predecessor in this office was raised (as before you have heard) and tooke it by assault. The report was that some of these Almaines lately received into the Kings service, thought to have entred the towne to defend it; but so many franke archers thronged in with them, not understanding their treason, but onely for desire of gaine, that after they were once entred, they fell all to the spoile, and burned and destroyed the towne. A few daies after the taking whereof, the governor besieged Aussonne a very strong towne, but he had good intelligence within it. And before he brought the siege thither, he writ to the King, desiring that the offices of the towne might be bestowed upon certaine whom he named: which request was foorthwith granted. Although I were not present at these actions, yet understood I of them, both by the reports made thereof to the King, and also by the letters written to him; which oftentimes my selfe perused to make answer thereunto by his commandement. The force within Aussonne was but small, and the captaines had intelligence with the governor, by meanes whereof within five or sixe daies the place was yeelded. Thus was all Burgundie conquered, save three or fower castels situate upon mountaines, namely Ieu, and certaine others, and the towne of Bezanson which is imperiall, not subject to the countie of Burgundie, but environed therewith; and therefore at the commandement of the Prince thereof. The governor entred into it for the King, and came foorth againe; they of the towne doing unto him all such services as they were accustomed in times past to do to the Princes of Burgundie. Thus was all Burgundie subdued by the governors great diligence, whereunto the King

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earnestly pressed him, doubting that he would leave some place unconquered, to the end his helpe might be needed there still, and he not be called from thence to serve the King in some other place. For Burgundie is a fruitful countrie, whereof he disposed as of his owne; so that both the Lord of Cran before named, and this governor also, filled their bags well there. The countrie remained quiet a while under the government of the said Lord of Chaumont: notwithstanding certaine places, namely Beaune, Verdun, and others* rebelled soone after: at the which time my selfe was there, sent thither by the King, with the pensioners of his house, who never had captaine over them before, but sithence continually. The said places above rehearsed were soone recovered by the wisdome and conduct of the governor, and by his enimies lacke of conduct and good order. Whereby you may perceive, what difference God of his goodnes hath set betweene man and man: for to that part which he meaneth to protect and defend, he giveth the wisest men, and likewise wisdome to those that are in authoritie to imploy the wisest. Further, he hath alwaies shewed and doth daily shew himselfe in all things a defender and protector of our Kings, not onely of our Master that dead is, but of the King likewise now rainging, notwithstanding that sometime they taste also of his scourges. They that lost againe these townes thus revolted, were force sufficient to have defended them, if they had with speede put themselves into them: but through their negligence they gave the governor leisure to levie men, which was great folly; for they knew well ynough his estate, considering the great favour all the countrie bare them. Wherefore they ought to have entred with speed into Beaune, being a strong towne, and of defence, as the others were not. The selvesame day that the governor went to besiege a little beggerly towne called Verdun, being well informed of the state thereof: these Burgundians entered there, minding to put themselves into Beaune. They were sixe hundred choise

* The olde copie raseth Verdun and hath Semur, which the *Annales of Fraunce* call Sennier: saying that both this and Verdun also rebelled.

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men horsemen and footemen, partly Almaines, and partly of the countie of Ferrette, led by certaine expert gentlemen of Burgundie, of the which Simon of Quingy was one. But they spent time at Verdun while they might have entred into Beaune, which the governor could never have recovered, if they had once beene within it. But for lacke of good counsell, they staid a night too long in Verdun, where they were besieged and taken by assault. Afterward Beaune was also besieged, and all that was lost recovered, since the which time our enimies were never of any force in Burgundie. I was at this present in the countie with the Kings pensioners (as you have heard) from whence the King revoked me, because of a certaine letter written to him, wherein he was advertised that I forbare to lodge our men of armes in certaine Burgesses houses of Dyjon. This with another small suspicion conceived of me, caused him suddenly to send me to Florence: to which his commandement

I obeyed as reason was, and departed so soone as I had my dispatch.

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CHAPTER V

How Monseur d'Argenton during these wars of the conquest of Burgundy, was sent to Florence, and how he receiveth homage of the Duke of Milan in the Kings name for the Duchie of Genua.



Y voiage into Italie was about a quarrell that arose between two great houses, verie famous in those daies, the one the house of Medicis, the other the house of Pacci, the which Pacci by the supportation of the Pope and Ferrande King of Naples, thought to have slaine Laurence of Medicis and al his adherents: notwithstanding of him they failed; but his brother Iulian they slew in the great Church of Florence, and with him one called Francis Noly, a servant of this house of Medicis, who stepped fourth before the said Iulian to save him. Laurence de Medicis being sore hurt retired into the vestrie of the church, the doores whereof are of copper, and were made by his fathers commandement. A servant whom he delivered out of prison but two daies before, did him good service that day, and received many wounds for him. This murther was committed while high masse was sung: for the time agreed upon for the execution was when the Priest that sung masse began *Sanctus*. But the successe of the enterprise answered not their expectation. For supposing all to have bene fully accomplished: certaine of them went up to the pallace, minding there to have slaine all the Lords of the towne being to the number of nine, which have the whole government of the citie, and change at every three moneths end. But they that attempted this enterprise were evill followed by their companions, by meanes whereof when

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they came to the top of the pallace staires, one shut a doore after them: whereupon they seeing themselves not past fower or five were astonished and wist not what to say; which the Lordes of the towne that were above and their servants perceiving, looked out at the windowes, and saw all the towne in an uprore and heard Master Iames of Pacci with his companions crie in the midst of the market place before the pallace, 'Liberta Liberta, Popolo Popolo'; which were words whereby they thought to allure the people to take part with them, which notwithstanding the people did not, but held themselves quiet. Whereupon Master Iames de Pacci and his companions seeing the evill successe of their enterprise, fled out of the place as men astonished. Which when the Lords and governors of the towne being within the pallace perceived: they tooke immediately those five or sixe that were come up evill accompanied, and evill followed, with intent to have slaine them and taken the government into their hands; and commanded them presently to be hanged at the bars of the pallace windowes, the Archbishop of Pise* being one of them. Further the said governors perceiving all the city to take part with them and the house of Medicis: gave commandement forthwith, that all men found flying should be staid at the passages and brought backe to the towne; at the which instant Master Iames of Pacci was taken, and with him one sent thither by Pope Sixtus, being a captaine of certaine bands under the Earle Hieronimo, which Earle was also of the conspiracie. The said Pacci with his companions was in like maner immediately hanged at the bars of the pallace windowes: the Popes servant was beheaded; and besides these divers were taken in the towne, who were all hanged in this heate, of the which Francis de Pacci was one. There were as I gesse hanged in all fowerteene great personages, besides certaine servants slaine in the towne. A few daies after this uprore, I arrived at Florence from the King, having used great diligence after my departure out of Burgundie, for I staid no where but two or three daies

* This Archbishops name was Francis Salviat, and this uprore was the 27 of Aprill anno 1478.

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with the Duchesse of Savoye the Kings sister, who entertained me very honorably. From thence I went to Milan, where I sojourned also two or three daies, and demanded aide of them to succor the Florentines, with whom at that time they were in league, which my request they willingly granted, both because of the Kings demand, and also for their leagues sake: wherefore they sent foorth at that present three hundred men of armes, and soone after other bands. But to proceede, the Pope excommunicated the Florentines immediatly after this fact committed, and caused foorthwith his owne forces and the King of Naples forces to marche. Their armie was strong and great, and they had in pay a number of good souldiers. They besieged first a little forte neere to Senes called the Chastellennie, which they tooke with divers other places; so that the Florentines were in great distresse: for because they had lived long in peace, they were unacquainted with the warres, neither understoode the danger they were in. Laurence de Medicis their chiefe governour in the towne was but yoong, and ruled altogether by yoong men, yet the whole citie rested upon his opinion. Moreover, they had but few Captaines, and their force was verie small: but the generall of the Popes and King Ferrand of Naples armie was the Duke of Urbin, a valiant and wise Prince, and a good captaine. In their campe were also the Lord Robert of Arimini, who since hath beene a man of great estimation, the Lord Constantine of Pesaro, and divers others that accompanied the King of Naples two sonnes, the Duke of Calabria, and the Lord Dom Frederic, (who are al yet alive;) besides a great number of other valiant soldiers. Thus they tooke all the places that they besieged; but not so speedily as we would have done in Fraunce, bicause they understood not what appertained neither to the siege nor defence of a towne so well as we: but sure as touching the leading of an army, and giving order both for victuals and al other things necessarie for a campe, they passe us far. The favor the King shewed the Florentines stood them in some stead, though not so much as I wished; but I had no forces there to aide them with, save onely my traine. I stayed at Florence and

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in their dominions about a yeere, altogether upon their charge: they used me very honorably, and till the last day my entertainment rather amended than impaired. Then the King called me home, and I passed through Milan, I received homage for the Duchy of Genua of the Duke of Milan, called Iohn Galeas, at the least of the Duchesse his mother, who did homage to me as the Kings deputie in hir sonnes name. From thence I returned to the King our Master, who received me very graciously and acquainted me with his affaires, more than ever before, and appointed me also to be his bedfellow, notwithstanding that I were unworthy of that honor, and that divers others were fitter for that place than my selfe: but he was so wise that no man could faile to please him if he executed his commandements, without adding ought thereto of his owne braine.

CHAPTER VI

Of Monseur d'Argentons retourne out of Italie into
Fraunce, and of the battell of Guinegate.



At my retourne the King our Master looked somewhat aged, and his body was disposed to sicknes, but his disease brake not forth as yet. His affaires he governed with great wisdom, and the war endured still in Picardie, wherewith he was not a little discontented, as were his enimies also in the said countrie: but they could not remedie it. The Duke of Austrie now King of Romans having the Flemmings this yeere at his devotion, laid the siege before Therouenne: but Monseur de Cordes the Kings lieutenant in Picardie, levied all the forces the King had in that countrie, and the frontiers thereabout, to the number of eight thousand franke archers, and went to succour the

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place. Whom when the Duke of Austriche perceived to approach, he levied his siege, and marched against him: the two armies met at a place called Guinegate. The Duke had of Flemmings to the number of twentie thousand or better, and certaine Almaines together with three hundred English men, led by an English Knight that had served Charles Duke of Burgundie, called sir Thomas Abrigan. The Kings horsemen being much stronger than their enimies, brake the Dukes horsemen, and pursued them, and Master Philip of Ravastain their captaine as far as Ayre, where-upon the Duke joined himselfe with his footemen. The King had in this armie at the least 1100 men of armes of his ordinary retinue:* all the which followed not the chase; but Monseur de Cordes who was generall did, and Monseur de Torcy with him, which was a valiant deede, but against the law of armes; for the captaines of the vaward and rere-ward ought not to follow the chase. Some of the Dukes horsemen retired, under colour of defending the strong places; but others fled in good earnest. The Dukes footmen fled not, yet were they upon the point so to do; but they had with them on foote two hundred valiant gentlemen their leaders, among whom were the Lord of Romont of the house of Savoye, the Earle of Nassaw, and divers others yet living. The courage of these gentlemen staid the footemen, which was a woonder, considering they saw their horsemen broken. The Kings franke archers fell to spoile the Dukes carriage, and the straglers that followed it, as victuallers, and such like: but certaine of the Dukes footmen set upon them, discomfited them, and slue some of them. The Dukes losse was greater than ours; for more of his men were taken, and more slaine:† but the honor of the field was his. And I thinke verily if he had returned to Therouenne, he had not found a man neither in it, nor in Arras; and it was greatly to his losse, that he durst not attempt so to do. But in such cases men are not alwaies informed of the best: and to say the truth, great cause he

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* The old copie saith but 500 men of armes.

† There were slaine at the battell of Guinegate 11000 Burgundians, and 5000 French.—Gaguin.

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had to feare that enterprise. I speake of this battell but by hearesay; for I was not present at it: notwithstanding to continue the order of my historie, somewhat I was forced to write thereof. I was with the King when these newes were brought him, which undoubtedly nipped him at the verie hart; for he was not accustomed to lose, but had such successe in all his attemp, that fortune seemed to be at his commandement, which undoubtedly his wisdom greatly furthered. For he would hazard nothing, neither feared any thing more than a battell; and as touching this now mentioned, it was fought without his knowledge. His armies he made so strong, that few Princes were able to encounter them; he was better furnished of artillerie, than any King that ever raigned in Fraunce: he attempted alwaies to take places upon a sudden, especially such as he perceived to be evill fortified; which after he had once gotten, he furnished so well both of men and artillerie, that it was impossible for his enimies to recover them. Further, if the captaine of any strong place, or any other within it, would practise to yeeld it for money, he was sure of a copes mate, neither would he shrinke were the summe demanded never so great, but liberally give it. He was afearred at the first when newes was brought him of this battell, supposing the truth had not bene told him, but that his whole force had bene overthrowen, knowing, if it were so, all to be lost that he had conquered over this house of Burgundie in those parts, and the rest in great danger: but when he understood the truth, hee tooke the matter patiently, and was well ynough contented with Monsieur de Cordes. Notwithstanding he purposed to give order, that no more such enterprises should be attempted without his knowledge. From this day forward he resolved to treat of peace with the Duke of Austriche, so that it might be wholly to his owne advantage, and that he might thereby so bridle the said Duke, by meanes of his owne proper subjects (whom he knew to be inclined to practise against their Prince) that he should never be able to do him harme. Moreover, he was very desirous to redresse all disorders in his realme, especially the long delays of processes and sutes in law: which thing the

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better to compasse, he minded to bridle the Court of parliament, not by diminishing their number or authoritie, but many things were done there against his minde, for the which he hated it. He was also desirous to reduce his whole realme to one custome, and one kinde of waight and measure: and further, that all the lawes and customes should be written in the French toong, in a faire booke to avoid the pilling and pollings of the Counsellors in law, which are more excessive in this realme than in any other, as the nobilitie hath good cause to knowe. And undoubtedly if God had spared him life and health five or sixe yeeres longer, he would have done much good in the realme, as great cause he had to do; for he had more oppressed it than ever had any of his predecessors: but neither authoritie nor perswasions could have woon him to unburden his people till it had come of himselfe, as in his latter daies sure it would if God had preserved him from sicknes. Wherefore it is requisite to do good while a man hath leisure, health, and understanding. The treatie the King desired to make with the Duke and Duchesse of Austrich, and their dominions, was this: he meant by meanes of the citizens of Gaunt to treat of a marriage betweene the Daulphin his sonne now our King, and the daughter of the said Duke and Duchesse, under these conditions, that if the marriage were accomplished, they should permit him quietly to enjoy the counties of Burgundy, Auxerrois, Masconnois, and Charolois; and he for his part would restore unto them Artois, reserving onely to himselfe the citie of Arras, in such sort as he had fortified it: for the towne was now nothing woorth, considering the fortification of the citie. For before the King tooke Arras, the towne was fortified with ditch and rampare against the citie; but now the citie was fortified against the towne, and held for the King by the Bishop: wherein the King did contrarie to the Princes of this house of Burgundy. For they alwaies at the least by the space of these hundred yeeres, made Bishop whom they listed, and placed a captaine in the towne besides: but the King to increase his authoritie did cleane contrarie, and caused also the towne wals to be beaten downe, and the citie to be fortified: so that now the

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citie shutteth upon the towne, a great ditch being betweene both. Wherefore the King indeed offered nothing; for who so hath the city, hath the towne at commandement. Of the Duchie of Burgundie, the countie of Bolloin, the townes situate upon the river of Somme, the territories of Peronne, Roye, and Montdidier no mention was made. After these ouvertures were once set on foot, they of Gaunt furthered them to the uttermost of their power, and used verie rudely the Duke and Duchesse his wife, as did also divers other great townes of Flaunders and Brabant, which were fully bent to follow the proceedings of them of Gaunt, especially Brucelles, which was growen so wealthie, because of the continuall residence that Duke Philip and Duke Charles of Burgundy had made there: (as did also at this present the Duke and Duchesse of Austriche) that the wealth and quietnes wherein they had lived under these two Dukes above named, made them forget God and their dutie to their Prince: so that they procured to themselves that misfortune, which afterward, as you have seene, fell upon them.

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ABOUT this time in the yeere 1479, in the month of March truce was made betweene these two Princes. The King was verie desirous of peace especially in those parts, so that it might be altogether for his advantage. For he began now to waxe old and sickely ; so far fourth that once being at dinner at Forges neere to Chinon,

he was suddenly taken in all parts of his bodie and lost his speech : he was lifted up from the table and held to the fire, and the windowes shut ; to the which notwithstanding that he desired to go, yet some of his friends held him and would not suffer him so to do, meaning all for the best. This disease tooke him in the yeere of our Lord 1480 in the moneth of March : he laie altogether speechlesse, he knew no man, and his memorie was wholly taken away. At the which instant you (my Lord of Vienna) came thither, and served him at that time in steed of a phisition : for you gave him a glister, and caused the windowes to be opened, and the aire to be let in ; whereupon immediatly he recovered his speech and his memorie after a sort, and tooke horse and returned to Forges : for this disease tooke him in a village a quarter of a league thence whither he went to heare masse. He was diligently tended and made signes what he would have done : among other things he desired that the official of Tours might be called to shrive him, and made signes also that I should be sent for, for I was gone to Argenton being ten leagues thence : when I

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came, I found him at the table with Master Adam Fumee, (who sometime had beene King Charles the seaventh Phisition, and was at that present Master of the requests,) and another Phisition called Master Claude: he understood little what any man said, notwithstanding grieffe he felt none, he spake plainely almost never a word, but made signes that I should be in his chamber. I waited upon him the space of 15 daies* at his table, and about his person as one of the groomes of his chamber, which I accounted great honor to me, and thought my selfe in dutie bound so to do. After two daies he recovered his speech and his memory after a sort: and bicause he thought that no man understood him so well as my selfe, his pleasure was that I should alwaies be by him, and he confessed himselfe to the official in my presence, otherwise they would never have understood one an other. He had not much to say, for he was shriven not long before, bicause the Kings of Fraunce use alwaies to confesse themselves when they touch those that be sicke of the Kings evill, which he never failed to do once a weeke. If other Princes do not the like, they are to blame, for continuall a great number are troubled with that disease. After he was somewhat recovered, he began to enquire who they were that held him by force from going to the windowes, whose name when he heard, foorthwith he banished them the Court; so that they never came afterward to his presence, and some of them also he put out of office. From others, namely the Lord of Segre and Gilbert de Grasse Lord of Champeroux he tooke nothing, but commaunded them to depart. Many wondered at this toie, blaming him for so using them, considering that all that they did was for the best, and they said truth: but Princes imaginations are strange, and a number are bold to prattle of them that understand them not. The King feared nothing so much as the diminishing of his authoritie being marvellous great, for the which cause he would not be disobeyed in any point. Further, he remembered that when

* It was fortie daies: but bicause the olde copie hath 15 daies, and that himselfe also afterward in this very chapter saith thus: 'This sicknesse held him about fiftene daies,' I have beene bold to amend it.

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King Charles his father fell into the disease whereof he died, he entred into suspicion that his servants sought to poison him at his sonnes request:* which fansie sanke so deeply into his head that he refused his meate. Wherefore it was concluded by the advise of his Phisitions, and of his chiefest and trustiest servants, that he should be forced to eate: the which was excuted very orderly and advisedly by those that served him, for cooliz was powred into his mouth, but soone after this force he died. The King our Master who had ever misliked this ordering of his father, stomacked marvellouslie that he had beene held thus perforce; but yet made shew of much greater displeasure than indeed he had conceived thereof. The chiefe cause that mooved him so to do was feare, least they should Master him in all other things, especially in the expedition of his waightie affaires, under colour of the imperfection of his wits.

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After he had dealt thus roughly with these above named, he inquired what his Councell had done during the time of his sicknes, and what dispatches they had made, whereof the Bishop of Alby, his brother the governor of Burgundie, the Marshall of Gié, and the Lord of Lude had the whole charge: for these were present when his sicknes tooke him, and lodged all in two little chambers underneath him. Further, he would needs see the letters and packets that had been brought and came howerly. The principall whereof were shewed him, and I read them before him: he made a countenance as though he understood them, and tooke them into his hands, faining that he read them, notwithstanding that indeede he understood never a word. Sometime also he spake a word or two, or made signes what should be the answer to these letters; but little or nothing was dispatched, for we expected an ende of his disease, because he was a Master before whom it behooved us not to

* King Lewis was suspected to have poisoned his father by Adam Fumée his fathers Phisition, who was imprisoned by King Charles, but soone after advanced to honor by King Lewis, who so marvellouslie rejoiced at the first newes of his fathers death (being the selfe same day that his father died, which was strange, King Lewis being then at Genappe in Brabant) that in the selfe same place he built a chapell to our Lady.

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tread awrie. This sicknes held him about fifteene daies, and then his wits and speech he recovered perfectly, but his body was marvellous weake; for the which cause we feared greatly a relapse, the rather bicause naturally he was inclined to give but small credit to Phisitions. Immediatly after he was well recovered, he restored Cardinall Ballue (whom he had held in prison fowerteene yeeres) to libertie. Whereunto notwithstanding that he had been required oftentimes before, both by the Sea Apostolike and others, and all in vaine: yet now he purchased the absolution of that fault himselfe, by a bull sent from our holy father the Pope by his owne procurement. When his disease first tooke him, they that at that present were about him held him for dead, and sent forth divers commandements for the revoking of an excessive and cruell subsidie lately laid upon his subjects by the advise of the Lord of Cordes his lieutenant in Picardie, wherewith were waged ten thousand footemen, to be alwaies in a readines, and 2500 pioners, the which were called the 'Soldiers of the campe.' Moreover, he appointed fifteene hundred of his ordinarie men of armes to accompany them, and to fight on foote when need so required. He caused also a great number of carts to be made to inclose them, and tents and pavilions, imitating therein the D. of Burgundies campe. The charge of this army amounted yeerly to 1500000 franks.* When these soldiers were in a readines and furnished of all things necessary, he went to see them muster in a valley neere to Pont de l'Arche in Normandie, where the band of the sixe thousand Swisssers above mentioned mustered also, the which never sawe the King but at this time onely. After all was ended, the King removed to Tours, where he fell againe into his former disease, and lost his speech as before, and was by the space of two houres in such case that all men held him for dead. He lay in a gallery upon a mattresse of straw, divers standing about him. Monsieur de Bouchage and I vowed him to Saint Claude, and all the rest that were present vowed him also.

* It was 15000, but the old copie had 1500000, and so undoubtedly it is to be read, for 15000 franks will hardly maintaine 100 soldiers a yeere.

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Immediately whereupon he recovered his speech, and soone after arose and walked up and downe the house, but his body was marvellous feeble. This second fit of sicknes tooke him in the yeere 1481, notwithstanding he rode up and downe the countrie as before, and went to Argenton to my house, where he lay a moneth marvellous sicke. From thence he went to Tours, where (notwithstanding that he still remained sicke) he tooke upon him his voiage to Saint Claude, to whom as you have heard he was vowed, and at his departure thence commanded me to go into Savoye against the Lords of Chambre, Miolant, and Bresse, bicause they had taken prisoner the Lord of Lins in Daulphin, whom he had appointed governor of Duke Philibert his nephew. Yet notwithstanding covertly he aided these Lords against whom I went. He sent also a great band of soldiers after me, whom I led to Mascon against the Lord of Bresse, but he and I agreed well ynough secretly. Further, the Lord of Chambre made a composition with the Duke of Savoye at Thurin in Piedmont where he lay, whereof he advertised me; and immediately thereupon I caused my forces to retire. He led the said Duke to Grenoble, whither the Marshall of Burgundy, the Marquesse of Rothelin, and my selfe went to receive him. The King commanded me to returne home, and to meete him at Beaujeu in Beaujolois, where when I arrived, I woondered to see him so leane and bare, much more to ride up and downe the countrie, but his noble hart caried him. At Beaujeu he received letters, that the Duchesse of Austrich was dead of a fall from hir horse; for she rid a fierce hobby that threw hir upon a blocke, notwithstanding some say she died not of the fall, but of an ague; but howsoever it were, she died soone after the fall, to the great dammage of hir subjects and friends, who since hir death never had quietnes nor good successe. For this people of Gaunt and the other townes bare much more reverence to hir than to hir husband, bicause she was Lady of the land. She died in the yeere 1482. The K. told me these newes in great joy, adding, that the two children remained in the citizens of Gaunts custodie, whom he knew to be inclined to sedition and rebel-

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lion against this house of Burgundy. Further, he thought the time now come when he might do some great exploit, seeing the D. of Austriche was but yoong, his father yet living, his countries troubled on every side with wars, and himselfe a stranger and weakly accompanied. For the Emperor his father was too extremely covetous, for the which cause his sonne found the lesse favour. The King immediately after the Duchesse death, began to practise with the governors of Gaunt, by meanes of Monseur de Cordes, and to treat of a marriage betweene the Daulphin his sonne, and the said Dukes daughter called Margaret, at this present our Queene. The said de Cordes addressed himselfe wholly to two men, the one a pensioner of the towne called William Rive, a subtill craftie fellow; the other the clarke of their Senate named Coupe Nole, who was a hosier, but in great credit with the people: for such men of occupation, when they are most unruly, are there best esteemed. The King returned to Tours and kept himselfe very close, so that few saw him: for he waxed jealous of all men, fearing that they would take the government from him, or diminish his authority; for the which cause he remooved all those from him, that he had most favoured, and had been neerest about him, not diminishing their estates in any respect: but he sent them away some to their offices and charges, and some to their houses, but this endured not long, for soone after he died. He did divers strange things which caused as many as saw them to thinke him out of his wits; but they were not thoroughly acquainted with his conditions. As touching suspicions, all great Princes are suspicious, especially those that be wise, and have had many enimies, and have offended many as the King our Master had. Further, he knew himselfe not to be beloved of the nobilitie of his realme, nor of a great number of the commonalty. Besides this, he had more charged his people than ever had any of his predecessors: notwithstanding he was desirous now in his latter daies (as before I said) to have eased them, but he should have begun sooner. King Charles the seventh by the perswasion of divers wise and valiant Knights that had served him in the conquest of Normandie and Guyenne (which the

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Englishmen held,) was the first that began to levy subsidies at his pleasure, without the consent of the states of his realme; and to say the truth, cause there was then so to do: for the charges were excessive, as well for the manning of the countries newly conquered, as also for the defeating of the companies of robbers, which went about spoiling the realme. For the which cause the nobilitie of Fraunce consented to the King, and had certaine pensions promised them in consideration of the summes of money that should be levied upon their lands. If this King had alwaies lived and those of his counsell that were about him, he would sure greatly have enlarged his realme. But considering what hath ensued since his death, and is like further to ensue, he charged marvellously his soule, and the soules of his successors by this fact: for he gave his realme a cruell wound, which will bleed this many a yeere, by entertaining in continuall pay a terrible band of men of armes, after the maner of the Italian Princes. The said King Charles levied in his realme at the hower of his death but 1800000 franks all maner of waies, and had in ordinary about seventeene hundred men of armes, the which he kept in good order, and so placed in divers provinces for the defence of his realme, that many yeeres before his death they rid not spoiling up and downe the countrey, to the great quietnes and comfort of his people. But the King our Master levied at his death 4700000 franks, he had in pay fower or five thousand men of armes, and of footemen for the campe and in garrison, above five and twentie thousand: wherefore it is not to be marvelled if he had many phansies and imaginations in his head, and thought himselfe not welbeloved. But sure as these matters caused him greatly to feare some; so had he a sure confidence in many of those whom he had brought up and highly advanced, of the which I thinke there were a number, whom death it selfe could never have withdrawen from dooing their duetie. There came into Plessis du Parc, (which was the place where he lay) very few besides his household servants, and the archers of his garde being fower hundred of whom a great number all the day long kept watch and warde at the gate, walking up and downe the place. No noble man or great

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perſonage lodged within the caſtell, neither might be ſufered to enter in, ſave only the Lord of Beaujeu Duke of Bourbon his ſonne in law. The ſaid caſtell of Pleſſis he had made to be environed with a grate of great iron bars, and at the entrie into the ditches thereof had cauſed ſharpe ſpeares of iron, every one of them having many heads, to be masoned into the wall. He cauſed alſo fower ſtrong watch houſes of iron to be built, and a place to be made in them where men might ſtand and ſhoote at eaſe, which was a ſumptuous thing to behold, and coſt above 20000 franks. In the end he put into theſe houſes fortie croſſebowe men, which were day and night in the ditches, and had commiſſion to ſhoote at every man that approched neere the caſtell after the shutting of the gates, till they opened in the morning. Further, he had an imagination that his ſubjects would be very ready to take the government into their owne hands when they ſhould ſee convenient time. And ſure ſome there were that conſulted to enter into Pleſſis and diſpatch the affaires at their pleaſure, becauſe nothing was diſpatched; but they durſt not attempt it, wherein they did wiſely, for the King had given good order for that matter. He changed often both the groomes of his chamber and all his other ſervants, ſaying, that nature delighteth in varietie; and he had with him to beare him company one or two very meane men and of evill report, who might well have thought if they had been wiſe, that immediatly after his death they ſhould at the leaſt be put out office and ſpoiled of all they had, as alſo it hapned. Theſe informed him of no meſſage that was ſent him, nor of any matter that was written to him, were it never ſo important, unlesſe it touched the preſervation of the State, or the defence of his realme: for that was his onely care to be in truce and peace with all men. He gave to his Phiſition ordinarily every moneth ten thouſand crownes, and in five moneths he received of him 54000. He gave alſo goodly lands to Churches; but this gift was made void, and not without cauſe, for the clergie men had too much.

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AMONG men famous for devotion, he sent into Calabria for one Frier Robert, whom he called the holy man, because of his holy life, and in whose honor the King that now is, caused a Church to be built at Plessis du Parc, in place of the chappell neere to Plessis at the bridge foote. This heremite being twelve yeeres of age entred into a rocke, where he remained till he was fortie three yeeres old, or thereabout, to wit, even till this present that the King sent for him by one of the stewards of his house, whom the Prince of Tarente the King of Naples sonne accompanied thither. For the said heremite would not depart thence, without permission both of the Pope and of his Prince; which was great wisdom in so simple a man. He builded in the place where he lived two Churches, and never ate since the time he entred into this strait kinde of life, either fish, flesh, eggs, any kinde of whitemeat, or of fat. I never saw in my time a man of so holy life, nor by whose mouth the holy Ghost seemed rather to speake; for he never had beene scholler, but was utterly unlearned: true it is that his Italian toong caused somewhat the greater admiration of him. This heremite passed through Naples, being honored and received, as if he had beene a great Legate sent from the Sea Apostolike, both by the King and by his children; with whom he communed of the affaires of the Court, as if he had beene a Courtier all the daies of his life.

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From thence he went to Rome, where he was visited by all the Cardinals, and had audience given him thrise of the Pope, communing with him alone; and sitting each time hard by him in a goodly chaire three or fower howers together; which was great honor to so simple a person. His answers were so wise, that all men woondered at them; so far foorth that our holy Father gave him leave to erect a new order, called the heremits of Saint Francis. From thence he came to the King, who honored him as if he had bene the Pope himselfe, falling downe before him, and desiring him to prolong his life: whereunto he answered as a wise man should. I have often heard him talke with the King that now is, in presence of all the nobilitie of the realme, and that within these two moneths, and sure he seemed by his words, to be inspired with the holy Ghost, otherwise he could never have communed of such matters as he did. He is yet living, and may change either to better or woorse; wherefore I will speake no further of him. Some mocked at this herenits comming, whom they called the holy man; but they knew not the deepe cogitations of this wise King, neither had seene the occasions that mooved him to send for him.

The King lay in his castle of Plessis accompanied with few besides the archers of his guard, and troubled with these suspitions above rehearsed. Notwithstanding he had given good order for this inconvenience, for he left none of those whom he suspected either in the towne or countrey, but made his archers to cause them to depart and to conveigh them away. No man debated any matter with him, unlesse it were of some great importance that concerned himselfe: he seemed rather a dead corps then a living creature, for he was leaner then a man would beleeve: he apparelled himselfe sumptuously, yea more sumptuously then in all his life before; for he ware no gowne but of crimson sattin furred with good martens: he gave gifts to whom it pleased him without any sute; for no man durst moove any sute to him, nor debate any matter with him: he punished faults sharpely to the ende he might bee feared, and not lose his authoritie as himselfe tould me: hee changed officers, cassed

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companies of men of armes, diminished pensions, or tooke them cleane away, and told me but a few daies before his death that he passed away the time in making and marring of men. To be short, he caused himselfe to be more spoken of within his realme then ever was any King, and all for feare lest men should thinke him dead. For as I said few saw him; but when they heard of his doings, all men stood in feare of him, so far forth that they hardly beleved him to be sicke. Out of the realme he had men in all places, as for example in England he had some to feede K. Edward still with hope of his daughters mariage, and he paid truely both him and his servants all that was due unto them. Out of Spaine he received goodly words and faire promises of perfect friendship and amitie, and great presents from all places: he made a good horse or a good mule to be bought for him whatsoever it cost; but this he did not in this realme, but in some strange countrey to perswade men that he was in health. Dogs he sent for round about, into Spaine for a kinde of Spanish greyhound, called in French *Allans*; into Britaine for little beagles, greyhounds, and spaniels, which he paid deere for; into Valence for little rugged dogs, which he made to be bought above the owners owne price: into Sicily he sent for good mules, especially to some officer of the countrey, for the which he paid double the value; to Naples for horses, and for divers strange beasts into divers countries, as into Barbarie for a kind of little lions, no greater then little foxes, which he called *Adites*; into Denmarke and Sweden for two kind of strange beasts, one of the which were called *Helles*,* being of shape like a Hart, and of the greatnes of a buffe, with hornes short and thicke; the other *Rengiers*,† being of the bignes and colour of a buck, save that their hornes be much greater: for

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* *Gesnerus de Quadrupedibus*, lib. 1. fol. 1, and Munster in the third booke of his *Cosmography* in his treatise of Prussia (where this beast is found) name this beast in Greek *άλκη*, in Latin *Alces*, in Duch *Elch*, *Ellend*, *Hellend*, and *Ellent*: which is not far from the name here given. The Moscovits name it *Lozzos*.

† This beast, saith Munster, *Cosmog.* lib. 4. is found in Lapponia or Lappenland, a countrey in Sweden. The Lapponians call it *Reen*, as he writeth in the same place, and Gesner also *de Quadrup.* lib. 1.

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each of the which two beasts he gave to the merchants that solde them 4500 guildons. But when all these strange things were brought him he made no account of them, no, verie seldome spake with those that brought them. To be short, he did so many such like strange things that he was more feared now both of his neighbours and subjects than ever before, which was his onely desire, for to that end did he all this.

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How the marriage betweene the Daulphin and the Ladie Margaret of Flaunders was concluded, and how she was brought into Fraunce: whereupon Edward King of England died for sorrow.



UT to returne to the principall matter, namely, the perfect conclusion of this our historie of King Lewis, and of the affaires of all those great Princes that lived in his time: we must shew how the treatie of marriage was concluded betweene the King that now is, then Daulphin, and the daughter of the Duke and Duchesse of Austriche, by meanes of the citizens of Gaunt, to the King of Englands great grieffe, who then well perceived the hope to be frustrate, which he had conceived of the marriage betweene his daughter and the said Daulphin now King of Fraunce: which he and the Queene his wife had so greatly desired, that they would never credit any man that advertised them to the contrarie, were he an English man or stranger. For the Councill of England had debated this matter with

fol. 950. The Romans, saith Gesner, name it *Rangiferus*, the Germans *Rein*, (and *Reinen*, saith Munster) *Reiner*, *Rainger*, *Renschieron*: the French men *Rangier* (as he is heere named) or *Ranglier*.

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him, at the same time that the King conquered that part of Picardie that joineth to Calice, alleaging, that after he had subdued that, he might easily attempt to take Calice and Guisnes. The like was also told him, by the ambassadors resident in England for the Duke and Duchesse of Austriche, and by the Britons, and divers others: but he beleevd no whit of all this, which incredulitie turned much to his prejudice. Notwithstanding I suppose, it proceeded rather of covetousnes than ignorance: for he feared the losse of the fiftie thousand crownes the King paid him: besides that, he was loth to leave his ease and pleasures, whcreunto he was marvellously addicted. About the conclusion of this marriage, an assembly was held at Halots in Flaunders, wherent the Duke of Austriche now King of Romans, was present, together with certaine deputies for the three estates of Flaunders, Brabant, and the other countries belonging to the saide Duke and his children. The citizens of Gaunt did many things there contrarie to the Dukes minde; for some they banished, and some they remooved from about his sonne: in the end they told him how great desire they had to see this mariage accomplished, thereby to obtaine peace, and forced him to consent thereunto. The Duke was very young, and accompanied with few noble men: for all the subjects of this house of Burgundie (very few excepted, I meane of great personages, that could have given him counsell or aide in these affaires) were, as you have heard, either dead, or revolted to the King. As touching himselfe, he was come thither very slenderly accompanied, and now having lost his wife, being Ladie of the countrie, he durst not give them so stout language, as before he was accustomed. To be short, the King being advertised of all these actions by Monseur de Cordes, rejoiced much thereat, and a day was appointed when this Lady should be brought to Hesdin.

Not long before the conclusion of this marriage, to wit, in the yeere 1481, the towne of Ayre was yeelded for a summe of monie to Monseur de Cordes, by the Lord of Croy of the countrie of Artois, who held it for the Duke of Austriche, and the Lord of Beures his captaine. The towne is verie strong, situate in the countrie of Artois, and the deliverie

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thereof increased the Flemmings desire to further this marriage, because it standeth upon the verie entrance into Flaunders. For notwithstanding that they wished the weakening of their Prince, yet were they not willing to have the King so neere a neighbour to their frontiers. After these matters above mentioned were fully concluded, ambassadors came to the King out of Flaunders and Brabant, but all depended upon them of Gaunt; both because of their force, because the children were in their hands, and for that they were alwaies the ringleaders of all tumults. There came also from the King of Romanes for the pacifying of his dominions certaine Knights, yoong men like himselfe, and of small experience, whose names were Master Iohn de Bergues and Master Baudouin de Launoy, and certaine Secretaries. The King was brought marvellous low with sicknes, so that hardly he suffered himselfe to be seene, and made great difficultie to sweare the treatie, because he was loth to come abrode in sight: notwithstanding in the end he sware it. It was very advantageous for him; for in all assemblies that had beene held heeretofore about this marriage, he never required but the countie of Artois or Burgundie, one of the two: but now the Lords of Gaunt (as he termed them) caused them both to be yielded unto him, together with the counties of Masconnois, Charolois, and Auxerrois; yea and if it had lien in them to have put into his hands, Hainault and Namur, and all the seniories of this house of Burgundie, being of the French language, they would willingly have done it, thereby to affeeble their Prince. The King our Master being a wise Prince understood well, that no account was to be made of Flaunders, nor the Earle thereof, without he had the countrie of Artois, which lying betweene the King of Fraunce and the Flemmings, is as it were a bridle to them. For in the countrie of Artois are levied verie good soldiers, to scourge the Flemmings when they play the fooles. Wherefore by taking away from the Earle of Flaunders the countrie of Artois, he left him the poorest Prince in the world, and without all obedience of his subjects, save onely at the pleasure of them of Gaunt. After this ambassage was returned home, the said Lady was led to Hedin, and delivered

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into the hands of Monsieur de Cordes in the yeere 1483. She was conveied thither by the Lady of Ravastain, bastard daughter to Duke Philip of Burgundie, and was received there by the Duke and Duchesse of Bourbon that now are, and by the Lord of Albret, and divers others sent thither by the King; who led her to Amboise where the Daulphin lay. If the Duke of Austriche could have rescued her before she was passed out of his dominions from them that conveied her, he would willingly have done it: but they of Gaunt had sent her well accompanied. And as touching the said Duke, all his subjects began to disobey him, so far foorth that a great number tooke part with them of Gaunt, because they had his sonne in their hands, and remooved from him, and placed about him such as pleased them: and among the rest that were resident at Gaunt, was the Lord of Ravastain brother to the Duke of Cleves, principall governor of the said yoong infant called Duke Philip, who is yet living, and like to be a great Prince, if God spare him life. Whosoever rejoiced at this marriage, the King of England was highly displeased therewith; for he accounted it great reproch and dishonor to be thus deluded, and feared both the losse of the pension the King paid him, which the English men called Tribute; and also that the contempt heereof would stirre his subjects to rebellion against him, because he would give no eare to good advice. Further, he saw the King with great force neere to his dominions; for the which causes he conceived such inward grieffe when he heard these newes, that soone after he ended his life, some say of a catarrhe. But whatsoever his disease were, the report goeth, that the sorrow conceived of this marriage caused the disease, whereof he died soone after in the moneth of Aprill, anno 1483. It is a foule fault in a Prince, to trust more to his owne braine, than to the advice of a great number: for it causeth oftentimes both great sorrow, and also losse irrecoverable.

Immediately after King Edwards death, the King our Master was advertised therof, and seemed nothing joifull of the newes: but soone after received letters from the D. of Glocester, who had usurped the crowne of England (signing his letters by the name of Richard,) and cruelly murdered

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the King his brothers two children. This King Richard sought the Kings friendship, and was desirous, as I suppose, to have this pension paid also unto him. But the King would make no answer to his letters, neither give his messenger audience, but esteemed him a wicked and cruell tyrant. For after K. Edwards death, the said Duke of Glocester had done homage to his nephew as to his soveraigne Lord and King, and yet immediatly thereupon committed this murder, and caused in open parlament the said King Edwards two daughters to be degraded and proclaimed bastards, under colour of a certaine matter which he prooved by the testimonie of the Bishop of Bathe, who sometime had been in great credit with King Edward, but afterward fell into his disgrace, and was laide in prison, and made to fine for his deliverance. This Bishop affirmed that King Edward being in love with a certaine gentlewoman in England (whom he named) promised hir marriage to have his pleasure of her, which promise he said was made in his presence, and thereupon the King lay with her, minding onely to abuse hir. Such pastimes are very dangerous, especially when such proefe may be brought forth: But I have knowen many a courtier that would not have lost a good adventure that liked him in such a case for want of promise. This wicked Bishop buried revenge in his hart the space of twentie yeeres. But God plagued him for his wickednes: for he had a sonne whom he loved entirely, and whom King Richard so much favoured, that he meant to give him to wife one of these two daughters, degraded from their dignitie, at this present Queene of England and mother of two goodly children. The said sonne being in a ship of war by King Richard his Masters commandement, was taken upon the coast of Normandie, and because of the contention that fell betweene those that tooke him: led to the court parlament of Paris, and there put in prison in the petit Chastellet, where in the end he starved for hunger and povertie. As touching King Richard he lived not long unpunished: for God raised up an enemy against him even at that very instant being poore, having no right to the crowne of England, as I suppose, and of no estimation, save that as

This error you are admonished of before.

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touching his owne person he was well conditioned, and had endured many troubles. For the greatest part of his life he had bene prisoner in Britaine to Duke Francis, who entertained him well for a prisoner from the eighteenth yeere of his age. This Earle of Richmond being furnished by the King with a small summe of money, and three thousand men levied in Normandie, of the unthriftiest persons in the countrey: passed over into Wales, where his father in lawe the Lord Stanley met him with sixe and twentie thousand men at the least, and within three or fower daies after he encountred this cruell King Richard, who was slaine in the field, and the Earle crowned King, and raigneth yet at this day in England. Of this matter I have made mention before, but it was not amisse to rehearse it heere againe, to shew thereby how God hath plagued in our time such crueltie almost immediatly after the fault committed. Divers other such like punishments hath he shewed also in this our age, if a man would stand to rehearse them all.

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How the King behaved himselfe towards his neighbors and subjects during the time of his sickenes, and how divers things were sent him from divers places for the recoverie of his health.



THIS mariage of Flaunders so much desired by the King was thus accomplished, as you have heard, by meanes wherof he had the Flemmings at his commandement. Britaine which he so much hated was in peace with him, but lived in continuall jelousie bicause of the great number of soldiers he had in garrison upon their frontiers. Spaine was quiet, and the King and Queene thereof desired nothing more then his amitie and friendship : for he kept them in continuall feare and charge, bicause of the cuntry of Rousillon which he withheld from the house of Arragon, being engaged to him by Iohn King of Arragon, father to the King of Castile now raigning, under certaine conditions yet unperformed. As touching the Princes and Seniories of Italy, they desired to have him their friend, and were in league with him, and sent often their ambassadors to him. In Almaine he had the Swissers as obedient to him as his owne subjects. The Kings of Scotland and Portugale were his confederates : part of the realme of Navarre was wholly at his devotion : his subjects trembled before him, and his commandements were executed incontinent without delay or excuse. As touching those things that were thought necessarie for his health, they were sent him out of all parts of the world. Pope Sixtus that last died, being informed that the King of devotion desired to have the corporall upon the which Saint Peter song masse, sent it him incontinent,

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with divers other relickes, which were conveied backe againe to Rome. The holie viole which is at Reims and never had beene remooved thence, was brought into his chamber to Plessis, and stood upon his cupboord at the hower of his death: he was determined to be annointed therewith as at his coronation. But many supposed that he would have anointed all his body with it, which is unlikely, for the said holy viole is verie small, and containeth not much oile. I saw it both at the time I now speake of, and also when the King was buried at Nostre-dame-de-Clery. The Turke that now reigneth sent an ambassador to him, who came as far as Rhiue in Provence:* but the King would not heare his message, neither permit him to passe any further. The said ambassador brought him a great role of relickes remaining yet at Constantinople in the Turks hands, all the which he offered him together with a great summe of money, if he would keepe in safe custodie the said Turks brother, who was then in this realme in the hands of the knights of the Rhodes, and is now at Rome in the Pope's keeping. By all this above rehearsed a man may perceiue how great the King our Masters wisdom and authoritie was, how he was esteemed through the whole world, and how all things† as well spirituall of devotion and religion, as also temporall, were imploied for the prolonging of his life. But all would not helpe, there was no remedy, needes he must go the way his predecessors went before him. One great grace God shewed him, that as he created him wiser, liberaller, and more vertuous in all things than the Princes that raigned in his time, being his enimies and neighbors; and as he surmounted them in all good things: so did he also passe them in long life though not much. For Duke Charles of Burgundy, the Duchesse his daughter, King Edward, Duke Galeas of Milan, King Iohn of Arragon, were all dead a fewe yeeres before him: but betweene the death of the saide Duches of Austrich, of King

* It was *Reims* in the French, but that undoubtedly was false: the old copie hath *Rhiue* or *Rhine*: others *Rins*: the Italian *Ries*.

† King Lewis dranke childrens blood to recover his health.—Gaguin.

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Edward, and of him, there was no space to speake of. In all these Princes there was both good and evill, for they were all men ; but to speake uprightly, there were in him many mo vertues and ornaments appertaining to the office of a King, than in any of the rest. I have seene them in manner all, and knew what was in them, and therefore speake not at random.

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How King Lewis the xi. caused Charles the Daulphin his sonne to come to him a little before his death, and of the commandements and precepts he gave both him and certaine others.



N this yeere 1483 the King desired to see the Daulphin his sonne, whom he had not seene of long time ; for he kept him close and permitted no man to come to him, both because of the childes health, and also for feare least he should be taken from the place where he remained, and under colour of him some rebellion arise in the realme. For so had certaine noble men in times past by means of himselfe made an assembly against King Charles the seventh his father, he being then but eleven yeeres of age :* which warre was called la Praguerie, but it soone ended, for it was rather a broile of court than a warre.

Above all things he recommended unto his said sonne the Daulphin certaine of his servants, and commanded him

* Others write that he was 16 yeeres olde : this war was an. 1439, and King Lewis was borne anno 1423, so that he was 16 yeeres olde when the Praguerie began, and so undoubtedly it should be read heere.

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expressely not to change certaine officers : rehearsing to him how after King Charles his fathers death, he comming to the State, put out of office all the valiant and woorthie knights of this realme that had served his father in the conquest of Normandy and Guienne, in chasing the English men out of Fraunce, and restoring the realme to peace and quietnes, (for himselfe found it both quiet and rich :) which his hard dealing with the said Knights, turned greatly to his prejudice, for thereof sprang the war called THE WEALE PUBLIKE in this storie above mentioned, which had almost set him besides his crowne. Soone after his communication with the Daulphin his sonne, and the accompliment of this marriage above mentioned ; he fell upon a Monday into the disease whereof he died : his sicknes endured til the Saturday after being the 30 of August, in the yeere 1483. And because I was present at his death, I minde to speake somewhat thereof. When this disease tooke him he lost his speech as heretofore he had done, which being recovered he felt his body weaker than ever it was, notwithstanding that he were so low brought before that he could hardly lift his hand to his mouth, and looked so poorely and miserably, that it pitied everie mans hart that sawe him : he accounted himselfe now as dead. Wherefore he sent incontinent for the Lord of Beaujeu now Duke of Bourbon his sonne in law, commanding him to go to Amboise to the King his sonne, (for so he termed him :) he recommended also unto him divers of his servants, and gave him the whole charge and government of the yoong King, and commanded expressely that certaine whom he named should not come neere his sonne, alleaging divers good reasons on that behalfe. And if the said Lord of Beaujeu had observed his commandements, at the least part of them (for some were unreasonable and not to be observed) I thinke he should thereby have benefited both the realme and himselfe, considering what hath hapned since in Fraunce. Soone after he sent also the Chancellor, and all the officers of the law to the said King his sonne, and in like maner part of the archers of his garde, and his Captaines, and all his haukes and hounds with all that appertained thereunto. Further, as many as

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came to visit him, he commanded to go to Amboise to the King (for so he termed him) desiring them to serve him faithfully, and by everie one of them he sent him some message or other; but especially by Steven de Vers, who brought up the said yoong King, and was the first groomme of his chamber, and already advanced to the bailwicke of Meaux, by the King our Master. His speech never failed him after he recovered it, neither were his wits so fresh at any time as then: for he purged continually, by meanes whereof all fumes voided that troubled his head. In all the time of his sicknesse he never complained as other men do when they feele paine: at the least my selfe am of that nature, and so have I knowen divers others, and men say, that complaining asswageth griefe.

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A comparison betweene the sorrowes and troubles that King Lewis suffered, and those he caused divers others to suffer: with a rehearsall of all that he did, and all that was done to him, till his death.



HE discoursed continually of some matter or other, and that very gravely, and his disease endured from Monday till Saturday night. Wherefore I will now make comparison betweene the troubles and sorrowes he caused others to suffer, and those he suffered himselfe before his death, because I trust they have caried him into paradise, and beene parte of his purgatorie. For notwithstanding that they were not so grievous, neither endured so long, as those which he caused divers others

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to suffer; yet because his vocation in this world was higher than theirs, by meanes whereof he had never benee contraried, but so well obeied that he seemed a Prince able to have governed all Europe: this little trouble that he endured contrarie to his accustomed nature, was to him a great torment. He hoped ever in this good heremite that was at Plessis whom he had caused to come to him out of Calabria, and continually sent to him: saying, that if it pleased him he could prolong his life. For notwithstanding all these commandements given to those whom he sent to the Daulphin his sonne; yet came his spirits againe to him, in such sort that he was in hope to recover: and if it had so happened, he would easily have disparckled the assembly sent to this new King. But because of the vaine hope he had in this heremite, a Doctor of divinitie and certaine others thought good to advertise him that his onely hope must be in the mercie of God: and they devised that Master Iames Cothier his Phisition, in whom he had reposed his whole confidence, and to whom he gave monethly ten thousand crownes in hope he would prolong his life: should be present when this speech should be used to him. This was Master Oliver his barbers devise, to the end he might wholly thinke upon his conscience, and leave all his other imaginations conceived of this holy man, and of the said Master Iames his Phisition. But even like as he had advanced the said Master Oliver and others too suddenly without any desert, to a higher estate than was fit for them: even so they tooke upon them boldlie to do such a message to so great a Prince otherwise than became them, not using that reverence and humilitie that was to be used in such a case, and such as they would have used whom he had brought up of long time, and lately commanded out of his presence for the suspicions conceived of them. And againe, like as unto two great personages whom he had put to death in his time, (to wit the Duke of Nemours, and the Earle of Saint Paule: for one of the which he repented him at his death, and for the other not;) he had sent a sharpe message of death by Commissioners appointed thereunto; who briefely pronounced their sentence unto them, and

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foorthwith gave them confessors and but a very short space to dispose of their consciences: even so the above named signified his death unto him rudely and in fewe words saying: Sir it is reason we do our duties, hope no more in this holie man, nor any other thing, for sure you are but dead: therefore thinke upon your conscience, for your hower is come, and everie one of them said somewhat briefly to him to that effect. But he answered: I trust God will helpe me, and peradventure I am not so sicke as you suppose. What a sharpe corosife was it to him to heare these newes and this cruell sentence? for never man feared death more than he, nor sought so many waies to avoide it as he did. Moreover, in all his life time he had given commandement to all his servants, as well my selfe as others that when we should see him in danger of death, we should onely moove him to confesse himselfe and dispose of his conscience, not sounding in his cares this dreadful word Death, knowing that he should not be able patiently to heare that cruell sentence: notwithstanding he endured both that and divers other punishments till the very hower of death more patiently than ever I sawe any man. To his sonne whom he called King, he sent many messages and confessed himselfe very devoutly, and said divers praiers answerable to the Sacraments he received, which also himselfe demanded. He spake as hartily as if he had not beene sicke, and talked of all matters touching the King his sonnes estate; and among other things gave commandement that the Lord of Cordes should not depart from his sonne by the space of halfe a yeere after his death: and further, that he should be entreated to attempt nothing against Calice nor elsewhere; saying, that notwithstanding he had devised these enterprises for the Kings profit, and the benefit of the realme: yet were they very dangerous, especially that of Calice, for feare of mooving the English men thereby to war. Further, he willed especially that after his death the realme should rest in peace the space of five or sixe yeeres, a matter which he would never yeeld unto during his life though very needfull: for notwithstanding that it were great and large, yet was it in poore and miserable estate, especially bicause of the pass-

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ing to and fro of the men of armes, who continually remooved from one cuntry to an other. He gave order also that no quarrell should be pickt in Britaine, but that Duke Francis should be suffered to live in quiet, and not be put in any doubt or feare of warre, neither yet any other neighbour bordering upon the realme, to the end the King and the realme might rest in peace till the King were of yeeres to dispose thereof at his owne pleasure.

Thus you see how indiscreetly his death was signified to him, which I have rehearsed because I began to make a comparison betweene those evils which he had caused divers of his subjects to suffer, and those himselfe suffered before his death, to the ende you may perceive that notwithstanding they were not so greivous, nor so long (as I have said :) yet were they greivous to him considering his nature, which demanded obedience, and had been better obeied than any Prince in his time; so that one halfe word contrarying his minde was to him a greivous punishment. Five or sixe daies before his death he had all men in suspition, especially all that were woorthie of credit and authoritie, yea, he grew jealous of his owne sonne, and caused him to be straightly guarded, neither did any man see him or speake with him but by his commandement: at the length he began to stand in doubt also of his daughter, and of his sonne in law now Duke of Bourbon, and would needs know what men entred into Plessis with them, and in the ende brake off an assembly that the Duke of Bourbon his sonne in law held thereby his commandement. Moreover, at the same time that his said sonne in law and the Earle of Dunois (returning from the convoie of the ambassage that came to Amboise to the marriage of the King his sonne and the Queene) entred into the castle of Plessis, with a great band of men: the King who caused the gates to be straightly kept, being in the gallerie that looketh into the court of the said castle; caused one of the captaines of his guard to come to him, whom he commanded to feele as he talked with the said noble mens servants whether they ware any brigandines under their cloakes, not making shew as though he came purposely for that intent. Heereby you may perceive if he caused divers

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others to live in feare and suspition under him: whether he were paid now with the like himselfe; for of whom could he be assured, mistrusting his sonne, his daughter, and his sonne in lawe? Wherefore thus much I will say not onely of him, but of all other Princes that desire to be feared: that they never feele the revenge thereof till their age, and then their penance is to feare all men. What great greefe thinke you was it to this poore King to be troubled with these passions? He had a Phisition called Master Iames Cothier, to whom he gave in five moneths 54000 crownes, after the rate of 10000 the moneth, and 4000 over, besides the Bishopricke of Amiens for his nephew, and other offices and lands for him and his friends. The said Phisition used him so roughly, that a man would not give his servant so sharpe language as he gave the King; and yet the King so much feared him, that he durst not command him out of his presence: for notwithstanding that he complained to divers of him, yet durst he not change him as he did all his other servants, bicause this Phisition once said thus boldly to him: I know that one day you will commaund me away as you do all your other servants, but you shall not live eight daies after, binding it with a great oath. Which words put the King in such feare, that ever after he flattered him, and bestowed gifts upon him, which was a marvellous purgatorie to him in this world, considering of how many noble men and gentle men he had bene obeyed.

Moreover, he had caused divers cruell prisons to be made, as for example, cages being eight foote square, and one foote more than a mans height, some of iron, and some of wood, plated with iron both within and without with horrible iron works. He that first devised them was the Bishop of Verdun, who incontinent was himselfe put into the first that was made, where he remained fowerteene yeeres. Many have cursed him for his devise, and among others my selfe, for I lay in one of them under the King that now reigneth the space of eight moneths. He had also caused certaine Almaines to make terrible heavie irons to lay men in, among the which there was a fetter to put on their feete very hard to be opened like to a carquan, with a waightie chaine, and a great

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iron ball at the end thereof, heavy beyond all measure. These irons were called the Kings nets. Notwithstanding I have seene divers gentlemen lie in them as prisoners, who came fourth afterward with great honor, and were advanced by him to high estates : as for example, a sonne of the Lord of Grutuze in Flaunders taken prisoner in the wars, whom the King afterward richly married, and made one of his chamber, and Seneschall of Anjou, and gave him charge of a hundred launces ; and in like maner the Lord of Piennes and the Lord of Vergy taken prisoners also in the wars, who both had charge of men of armes under the King and other goodly offices, and were of the privie chamber either to him or his sonne. The like happened also to the Lord of Richbourg the Constables brother, and to one Roquebertin of the cuntry of Cathelonie being likewise taken prisoners in the wars, whom he afterward highly advanced with divers others of divers countries too long to rehearse. But now to returne to the matter. As in his time these divers and sundrie cruell prisons were devised : even so he before his death laie in the like, yea in a much crueller prison than any of them, and was in greater feare than they that stood in feare of him, which I account as a great grace towards him, and as part of his purgatorie, and rehearse it onely to shew that every man of what estate or condition soever he be, is punished either secretly or openly, especially those that punish others. Further, the King a little before his death enclosed his castel of Plessis with a grate of iron bars, and at the fower corners of the said castell caused fower strong watch houses of iron to be built. The said grate was made directly over against the castell wall round about the castell on the outer side of the ditch, which was verie steepe. He caused also to be masoned into the wall a great number of iron speares, each of them having divers heads set close together. Moreover, he appointed ten crossebowe men to be continually in the said ditches, and to lie in the fower iron houses built in the bottome of the said ditches, and gave them commandement to shoote at everie man that approched neere to the grate, before the gate opened. He knew well that this fortification was to no purpose against a great force or an armie, but that he

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doubted not: his onely feare was, that certaine noble men of his realme having intelligence in the castell, would attempt to enter into it in the night, partly by love and partly by force, and take the government upon them, and make him live as a man bereft of his wits, and unwoorthie to rule. The castell gate never opened before eight of the clocke in the morning, neither was the drawe bridge let downe till that hower, and then entred his officers, and the captaines of his garde placed the ordinarie warders, and appointed archers to the watch both at the gate and within the court, as if it had bene a frontire towne straightly kept: neither entred any man without the Kings commandement but by the wicket, save the stewards of his house, and such like officers that went not to him. Is it possible then to hold a King (I meane using him like a Prince) in a straiter prison than he held himselfe? The cages wherein he held others were about eight foote square, and he being so great a Prince had but a little court in the castell to walke in, yea and seldome came he into that: for usually he kept himselfe in the gallerie, from whence he never stirred but when he went to masse, at which time he passed through the chambers, and not through the Court. Thinke you that he was not in feare as well as others, seeing he locked himselfe in after this sort, kept himselfe thus close, stood in such feare of his children and neerest kinsmen, and changed and remooved his servants from day to day, whom he had brought up and whose good estate depended wholly upon him, in such sort that he durst trust none of them, but bound himselfe in these strange chaines and bands? The place I confesse was larger than a common prison, so was his estate greater than a common prisoners. But a man will say peradventure, that other Princes have bene more suspicious than he, whereunto I agree: but none sure in our time, neither any so wise as he, nor that had so good subjects as he had: and as touching them, peradventure they were cruell tyrants, but he never punished any without desert. All this above written I have rehearsed, not so much to publish the suspicions of the King our Master: as partly to prove that the patient enduring of these passions,

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being equall with those he had caused others to endure ; and of this sicknes being sharpe and troublesome to him, and the which he feared greatly before he fell into it ; is to be accounted as a punishment God gave him in this world, to ease him in the world to come : and partly to give an example to those that shall come after him, to have some more compassion on their people than he had, and to be lesse rigorous in punishing than he was. Notwithstanding for my part I am not able to accuse him, neither saw I ever a better Prince ; for though himselfe pressed his subjects, yet would he suffer none other so to do friend or foe.

After all these feares, sorrowes, and suspicions, God (according to his accustomed goodnes) wrought a miracle upon him ; healing him both in soule and bodie : for he tooke him out of this miserable world, being perfect of sense, understanding, and memorie, having received all his sacraments without all grieffe to mans judgement, and talking continually even within a *Pater noster* while of his death ; so that he gave order for his funerall, and named those that should accompanie his bodie to the grave ; saying ever, that he trusted to die on no day but Saturday, and that our Ladie, in whom he had ever put his confidence, and alwaies devoutly served, had purchased him this grace, and sure so it happened: for he ended his life upon Saturday the 30 of August in the yeere 1483, at eight of the clocke at night, in the said castell of Plessis, where he fell sicke the Monday before. His soule, I trust, is with God, and resteth in his blessed realme of paradise.

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SMALL trust ought meane and poore men to repose in worldly wealth and honours, seeing this mightie King, after so long trouble and travell for the obtayning of them, forsooke them all, and could not prolong his life one hower for all that he could do. I knew him and served him in the flower of his age, and in his great prosperitie; yet never saw I him free from toile of bodie and trouble of minde. Above all pastimes he loved hunting and hauking in their seasons, hunting especially. As touching women, he was free from that vice all the time that I served him: for a little before my comming to him, he lost one of his sonnes, whose death he tooke verie heavily; and soone after made a solemne vow to God in my presence, never to accompanie with women but the Queene his wife. Whereunto notwithstanding that he were bound by the lawes of marriage; yet was it much that he had such stay of himselfe, especially the Queene being none of those in whose beautie a man could take great delight, but otherwise a verie vertuous Lady. In this pastime of hunting he tooke almost as much paine as pleasure; for the toile was great, because he ranne the Hart to death by force. Besides that, he arose verie earely in the morning, and oftentimes went farre, neither could any weather make him leave his sport. Sometime also he returned verie wearie and in manner ever displeased with one or other: for this game is not alwaies made as they wish that have the ordering thereof: notwithstanding in all mens opinions, he for his part understood it better than any man in his time. In this pastime he exer-

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cised himselfe continually, lodging about in the villages till warres began. For almost every sommer there was somewhat to doe betweene Duke Charles of Burgundie and him: but when winter approched they used to make truce. He had great warres also for the countie of Roussillion with King Iohn of Arragon, the King of Spaines father that now liveth. For notwithstanding that they were very poore, and in war with their subjects, namely them of Barselonne and others, and that the sonne were of no force: (for he expected the inheritance of King Friderike* of Castile his wives brother, which afterward fell to him) yet because they had the harts of the subjects of the said countie of Roussillion, they made great resistance against him, which cost the King and his realme full deere: for many a good man died and was slaine there, and infinite treasure was consumed in those wars; for they endured long.

Thus you see that the pleasure the King had was but one small time in the yeere, and that joined with great toile and travell of his person: when his body was at rest, his minde was occupied, for he had to do in many places, and busied himselfe as much with his neighbors affaires as with his owne, seeking to place men in their houses,† and to bestow the offices therein at his pleasure. When he was in war he desired peace or truce, which notwithstanding when he had obtained, he could not long away with. He medled with many trifling matters in his realme, which he might well have passed over: but such was his disposition and life. And to say the truth, his memory was so excellent that he forgat nothing, but knew all the world, all countries, and all men of estimation round about him; so that he seemed a Prince woorthier to govern the whole world than one realme alone. Of his youth I am able to say nothing, for I was not with him at that time; notwithstanding what I have heard, that I will report. Being but eleven yeeres of age he was busied by certaine Princes and others of the

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* For ought I can read in any historie, this Frederike should be Henrie, and so appeereth by our author himselfe, lib. 5. cap. 7 and cap. 18.

† As in Britaine, Savoye, and Provence under King Rene.

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realme, in a war against K. Charles his father, called la Praguerie, which endured not long. And when he was growen to mans estate he married the King of Scotlands daughter,* and during hir life never joied with hir:† after hir death bicause of the factions and troubles that were in the King his fathers court, he retired into his owne countrey of Daulphine, whither a great number of gentlemen accompanied him, yea many mo than he was able to maintaine. While he was in Daulphine he married the Duke of Savoies daughter, and soone after fell at variance with his father in law, so that sharpe war arose betweene them. King Charles seeing his sonne so well accompanied with gentlemen and men of armes, determined to go against him in person with great force, and to chase him out of the countrey by strong hand: wherefore he put himselfe upon the way, and endeavored to withdraw his sonnes men from him, commanding them as his subjects under paine of his displeasure to repaire unto him. Whereunto divers obeied, to the King our Masters great grieffe; who seeing his fathers indignation against him, determined (notwithstanding that his force were great) to depart thence, and leave the countrey to his fathers disposing. And in this estate travelled he through Burgundie with a small traine to Duke Philip, who received him very honorably, furnished him with money to maintaine his estate, and gave yeerely pensions to his principall servants, namely to the Earle of Cominges, the Lord of Montauban and others, and bestowed also during his being there divers large gifts upon his other servants. Notwithstanding bicause he entertained such a number, his mony failed often to his great grieffe, so that he was forced to borrow som where or other, otherwise his men would have forsaken him; which undoubtedly is a great trouble to a Prince unaccustomed thereunto. Thus you see that he was not without vexation and anguish of minde during

* Others write that he was but 14 yeeres olde when he married hir, which was in the yeer 1437, and she died ann. 1445.

† This Ladies name was Margaret, she was sister to Iames the second King of Scotland: she was of a lothsome complexion, and had an unsavory breth, wherefore the King loved hir not.

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his abode in this house of Burgundie: for he was forced to faune both upon the Duke and his principall servants, least they should waxe weary of him, for he was there a long time, to wit, the space of sixe yeeres. Besides that, his father sent ambassadors continually to the Duke, requiring him either to put him foorth of his dominions or send him backe to him. Wherefore it is to be thought that he was not idle nor without great vexation of minde. All these things considered: when may a man say that he lived in joy and pleasure? Sure in mine opinion from his childhood till his death he was in continuall toile and trouble, so that if all his pleasant and joyfull days were numbred, I thinke they should be found but fewe: yea I am fully perswaded, that for one pleasant there should be found twentie displeasent. He lived about threescore and one yeeres; notwithstanding that he had conceived an imagination that he should never passe threescore, saying, that no King of Fraunce of long time passed that age, some say none since Charles the great. Notwithstanding the King our Master when he died was well forward in the threescore and one yeere.

Duke Charles of Burgundie what rest or quietnes had he more than the King our Master? True it is that in his youth he was not much troubled, for he attempted nothing till the two and twentieth yeere of his age, but lived till that time in health and at ease. But then he began to busie himselfe with his fathers officers, whom his father maintained against him: for the which cause he absented himselfe and went into Holland, where he was well received and had intelligence with them of Gaunt, and sometime also went thither himselfe. He had not one peny of his father, but this countrey of Holland was marvellous rich and gave him goodly presents, as did also divers great townes of his other Seniories, hoping thereby to winne his favour in time to come. For it is a common thing, especially among the vulgare sort, to love better, and seeke rather to him whose power is growing, than to him who is already so great that he can be no greater.* For the which

* This is agreeable with Pompeies saying to Sylla, that the Romanes did *Oriente[m] potius quam occidentem solem venerari*.

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cause Duke Philip, when men told him that they of Gaunt loved his sonne marvellous well, and that he could skill of their humor: was wont to answer, that their Prince in expectation they ever loved deerely; but their Prince in possession they hated ever extremely, which saying proved true. For after D. Charles began to reigne over them they never loved him, and that they well declared as before I have rehearsed: he also for his part bare them as little good will, notwithstanding they did his posteritie more harme than they could do him. But to proceed, after the time that Duke Charles mooved war for the townes in Picardie, which the King our Master had redeemed of Duke Philip his father, and joined himselfe with the Princes of this realme, in the war called THE WEALE PUBLIKE: he never was quiet, but in continuall travell both of body and minde. For his hart was so inflamed with desire of glorie, that he attempted to conquer all that lay about him. All sommer he kept the field with great danger of his person, and tooke upon himselfe the charge and care of the whole army: all which trouble seemed yet not sufficient to him. He was the first up and the last downe, as if he had beene the poorest soldier in his campe. If he rested from wars any time in winter, yet was he busied all day long from sixe of the clocke in the morning, either in levying of money, or receiving ambassadors, or giving them audience. In this travell and miserie ended he his daies, and was slaine of the Swisgers before Nancy, as you have heard; so that a man may justly say, that he never had good day from the time that ambition first entred into his minde, till the hower of his death. And what got he by all this travell? what needed he thus to have toiled himselfe, being so rich a Prince, and having so many goodly townes and seniories under his subjection, where he might have lived in great joy and prosperitie, if it had so pleased him?

I must now speake of Edward K. of England, who was so great and mighty a Prince. In his youth he sawe the D. of Yorke his father discomfited and slaine in battell, and with him the Earle of Warwicks father,* the which Earle

* The Earle of Warwicks father was Richard Nevill Earle of Salis-

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Warwicke governed King Edward in his youth, and all his affaires; yea to say the truth made him King, and was the onely man that defeated his enimic King Henry, who had raigned many yeeres in England, and was lawfull King both in mine opinion, and in the judgement of the whole world. But as touching great realmes, and seniories God holdeth them in his hand, and disposeth of them at his pleasure; for all proceedeth of him. The cause that mooved the Earle of Warwick to serve the house of Yorke against King Henry, who was of the house of Lancaster, was this. The Earle of Warwicke and the Duke of Sommer-set fell at variance in King Henries court, who was a verie simple man: the Queene his wife being of the house of Anjou, daughter to Rene King of Sicilie, tooke part with the Duke of Sommerset against the Earle. But considering that they had all acknowledged both King Henry and his father and grandfather for their lawfull Princes: the said Lady should have done much better to have taken upon hir the office of Iudge or mediator betweene them, than to take part with either of them, as the sequelle well declared. For heereupon arose war, which continued nine and twentie yeeres: during the which space many bloodie battells were fought, and in the end, all in maner both of the one part and the other slaine. Now to speake a word or two of factions: surely they are marvellous dangerous, especially among great men, who are naturally inclined to nourish and maintaine them. But you will say peradventure, that by this meanes the Prince shall have intelligence of all things that passe, and thereby hold both the parties in the greater feare. In truth I can well agree that a young Prince use this order among Ladies: for by this meanes he shall have pleasure and sport ynough, and understand of all their newes: but to nourish factions among men, yea among Princes and men of vertue and courage, nothing can be more dangerous, because by that meanes he shall kindle an

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burie, who was not slaine at the battell of Wakefield with Richard Duke of York, but taken, and within a day or two after beheaded, and his head sent to Yorke, as the said Dukes had bene. By this place I have amended the other, lib. 1. cap. 7, p. 65, note*.

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unquenchable fire in his house: for foorthwith one of the parties wil suppose the King to be against them, and then to fortifie themselves will enter into intelligence with his enimies. The factions of Orleans and Burgundie proove this point sufficiently; for the wars that sprang thereof continued threescore and twelve yeeres, the English men being parties in them, who thought to have conquered the whole realme. But to returne to King Edward, he was very yoong when his father was slaine, and the beautifullest Prince in the world: but after he had vanquished all his enimies, he gave himselfe wholly to pleasures, as to dames, feasting, banketting, and hunting; in the which delicacies he continued about sixteene yeeres,* to wit, till the Earle of Warwicke and he fell at variance, in the which wars notwithstanding that the King were chased out of his realme; yet continued he not long in that estate: for he soone returned, and having obtained the victorie, more abandoned himselfe to all pleasures than before. He feared no man, but fed himselfe marvellous fat, by meanes whereof in the flower of his age diseases grew upon him, so that he died in a maner suddenly, of an Apoplexie, and his heires males lost the crowne, as before you have heard.

In this our age reigned also two valiant and wise Princes, namely Mathias King of Hungarie, and Mahomet Ottoman Emperor of Turkie. This King Mathias was sonne to a valiant knight called the white knight of Vallachie,† a gentleman of great wisdom and vertue, who governed long the realme of Hungarie, and obtained many goodly victories against the Turkes,‡ who border upon the said realme, by reason of the Seniories they have usurped in Greece and

* Commines saith here, that King Edward had lived sixteene yeeres in delicacies when the Earle of Warwicke chased him out of his realme: yet before, lib. 3., he saith 12 or 13 yeeres, somewhat neerer to the truth; for indeed he was chased the 10 yeere of his raigne.

† This white knight is named Iohannes, Huniades Corvinus, his fathers name was Buth, of the countrie of Valachie, corruptly printed in the French Vallagnie.

‡ To wit, 20, and fought in one day against Amurathes and his Bashaes sixe great battels, and obtained victorie in them all.

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Slavonie.* Soone after his death King Lancelot came to mans estate,† who was right heire not onely of the realme of Hungarie, but also of Bohemia and Polonia. He by the counsell of certaine caused the white knights two sonnes to be apprehended, alleaging that their father had usurped too great rule and authoritie in the realme, and that the sonnes being gentlemen of great courage might peradventure attempt the like. Wherefore the said King Lancelot resolved to lay them both in prison, and incontinent put the elder to death,‡ and sent the said Mathias prisoner to Bude the chiefe towne of Hungarie, where he remained not long. And I suppose that God tooke in good part the great services his father had done. For soone after King Lancelot was poisoned at Prage in Bohemia,§ by a gentlewoman of a good house (whose brother my selfe have seene) of whom he was enamored, and she likewise of him; so far forth that she being displeased with his mariage with the daughter of Charles the seventh King of Fraunce now called Princesse of Vienna (against his promise made to her) poisoned him in a bathe, as shee gave him a peece of apple to eate, having conveighed the poison into the haft of her knife. Incontinently after King Lancelots death, the Barons and Nobles of

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* Slavonie is the countrie of Illyria.

† Some write that this Lancelot called in Latin stories Ladislaus came to full yeeres before Huniades death, and gave him in recompence of his service the Earledome of Bistrich, and yet afterward sought to kill him by the perswasion of Ulrich Earle of Cilie the said Ladislaus uncle: but Huniades valiantly defended himselfe, and soone after died. But indeed the truth is, that Ladislaus was borne the 21 of Februarie 1440, and Huniades died the 10 of September 1456, so that at Huniades death Ladislaus was almost 17 yeeres of age, and by the perswasion of this Earle Ulrich had taken the government upon himselfe.

‡ The elder brothers name was Ladislaus. The cause of his death was, for that in defence of himselfe he had slaine the Earle Ulrich, who assaulted him, as before he had done his father, and continually sought both his blood and his brothers. Wherefore the King caused both the brethren deceitfully to be taken, and beheaded the elder being five or sixe and twenty yeeres of age. It is written, that the hangman gave him three strokes with the sword, before he could pearse his skinne.

§ King Ladislaus died of poison the 21 of November 1457.

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the realme assembled to choose a new King : for the custome of the countrey is, when the King dieth without issue, that the Nobles may proceed to an election. And while they were there in great division about their choice ; the white Knights widow mother to Mathias came into the towne with a goodly traine : for because shee had great treasure left her by her husband ; she was soone able to levie great forces : and further, I thinke she had good intelligence both in the towne and also among the Nobilitie, because of the great sway her husband had borne in the realme. She rode straight to the prison and tooke her sonne out of it.* Whereupon part of the Barons and Prelats there assembled for the election, fledde for feare, the rest chose the said Mathias King, who raigned in the realme with as great prosperitie as any King these many yeeres, and hath bene as highly praised and commended, yea more in some points than any of his predecessors. He was one of the valiantest men that lived in his time, and obtayned great victories against the Turkes, without all damage to his owne realme, the which he enlarged on all sides, aswell towards Bohemia the greatest part whereof he held, as also towards Valachie where he was borne, and towards Sclavonie. In like maner upon the frontiers of Almaine he wan the greatest part of Austrich from the Emperor Frederic now raigning, and possessed it till his death, which hapned in the yeere 1491, in Vienna the chiefe towne of Austrich. This King governed his affaires with great wisdom, aswell in peace as war : but a little before his death perceiving himselfe to be feared of his enimies, he grew marvellous pompous

* Other histories varie much in this point from Commines : for they make no mention of Mathias deliverie by his mothers meanes, but say that King Ladislaus being hated in Hungarie for Huniades elder sonnes death, departed into Bohemia, leading Mathias with him as prisoner, where soone after this Ladislaus died of poison, as here by our author mention is made. After his death George Boiebrac usurped the realm of Bohemia, this Mathias being still prisoner at Prague : but the nobles of Hungarie, because of his fathers great services, chose him their King, and sent to the said Boiebrac requiring his deliverie : who not onely accomplished their request on that behalfe, but also gave the said Mathias his daughter in mariage, and sent him into Hungarie nobly accompanied.

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and sumptuous in his Court, and amassed an infinite quantity of goodly stuffe, jewels and plate, for the furniture of his house. All his affaires were dispatched by himselfe or by his direction. Before his death his subjects stood in great feare of him, for he waxed cruell, and soone after fell into a greevous and incurable disease being but yoong, to wit, eight and twenty yeeres of age,* or thereabout. He died having spent his life in much more labour and travell than pleasure.

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The Turke above mentioned † was a wise and noble Prince, but using wiles and subiltie more than courage and valour. True it is that his father left him great, for he had bene a hardy Prince, and wan Adrianople, ‡ which is as much to say, as the citie of Adrian. This Turke that I now write of, tooke in the three and twentieth yeere of his age the citie of Constantinople. § I have seene his pourtraiture when he was of those yeeres, the lineaments whereof made shew of an excellent wit. It was a shame for all Christendome to suffer the towne so to be lost: for he tooke it by assault, and the Emperor of the East whom we call Emperor of Constantinople, was slaine himselfe at the breach, || with a number of valiant men, and divers women of great estate and noble houses ravished: to be short, no crueltie was omitted. This was his first exploit, but not his last, for he continued till his death in atchieving great enterprises: so that I heard once an ambassador of Venice tell Duke Charles of Burgundie that he had conquered two Empires, fower realmes, and two

* This place is marvellously corrupted; for King Mathias was borne the 24 of February 1443, and died the fift of Aprill at Vienna of an Apoplexie the yeere 1490, or as our author saith 1491, so that by this computation he lived about 48 yeeres, and so undoubtedly this 28 must be read 48.

† This Turke is Mahomet the second.

‡ Others write that Amurathes the third Emperor of Turkie wan Adrianople, and it may be that the name deceived our author: for this Turke's fathers name was also Amurathes; but this was Amurathes the second, and he that wan Adrianople Amurathes the first.

§ Constantinople was taken ann. 1453, the 29 of May.

|| This Emperor was named Constantinus Paleologus: but as others write he was not slaine at the breach, but thronged to death in the gate as he would have fled.

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hundred cities. He meant the Empires of Constantinople and Trapezond;* the realmes of Bosne,† Syria, Armenia, and I thinke Morea‡ was the fowerth, in the which the Venetians held two places. He conquered also divers goodly Iles in the sea, called Archipell,§ neere to the said Morea, with the Iles of Nigrepont|| and Mitilene: he subdued in like maner the greatest part of Albanie and Sclavonie. And as his conquests were great against the Christians, so were they also against them of his owne law, of whom he destroyed many a great Prince, as the Caraman¶ and divers others. The greatest part of his affaires he governed by his owne wisdom, as did our King and the King of Hungarie also: who were three of the greatest Princes that raigned these hundred yeeres. But the curtesie and course of life of the King our Master, and his good usage both of his owne servants and strangers far passed both the others; and no marvell, for he was the most Christian King. As touching worldly pleasures this Turke had his fill; for he spent the greatest part of his life in them, and had he not beene so much addicted to them, undoubtedly he would have done

* How he conquered Trapezonde, Syria, Armenia, appeereth after in the note ¶ [below].

† It is coruptly in the French Bressanne. This realme of Bosne he conquered over Stephen King of that countrie ann. 1463, but Mathias King of Hungarie soone after recovered it againe.

‡ Morea was in times past Peloponnesus.

§ This Archipel is *Mare Aegeum*, in the which the yles called Cyclades lie.

|| Nigrepont in times past was Eubœa.

¶ The French bookes have some of them the Carnian, some the Caramian, and some (because they will be sure not to erre) nothing. But undoubtedly it is to be read as I have here translated it. For further declaration whereof we must understand, that about the yeere 1250, fower noble houses came out of Persia with their captaines and armies, the Otthomans, Assembees, Scandelors or Candelors, and the Caramans. All these fower houses subdued every one of them some region: the Otthomans wan Bithynia, Phrygia, Galatia. The Assembees Syria, Armenia, Cappadocia, Paphlagonia. The Scandelors held the greatest part of Pontus: and the Caramans Cilicia, Lycia, Lycania, Pamphylia. But the house of Otthoman in the end devoured all the other three. The Assembees were vanquished by this Mahomet ann. 1459. For you shall understand, that Usumcassanes King of the

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much more mischief. There was no fleshly vice that he was free from, but in gluttony he passed, and according to his diet, diseases fell upon him: for everie spring (as I have heard those report that have seene him) his legs swelled as big as a mans body, notwithstanding they brake not, but the swelling asswaged of it selfe. No surgeon could tell the cause of this disease save onely that it proceeded of gluttonie, and it may be that it was some speciall punishment of God. His said disease was the cause he came so seldome abroad, and kept himselfe so close in his chariot, fearing that the miserable estate he was in, would cause his subjects to despise him. He died being two and fiftie yeeres of age* or there about, in maner suddenly: notwithstanding, he made his Testament, which my selfe have seene, wherein he made conscience of a subsidie lately levied upon his subjects, if the said Testament be true. Let Christian Princes then weigh well what they ought to do, considering that they have no authoritie in right and reason to levie any thing upon their subjects without their permission and consent.

CHAPTER
XIII
A discourse upon the miserie of mans life, by the examples of those Princes that lived in the authors time, and first of King Lewis.

Assembecs fought three great battels with this Mahomet. In the two first he overthrew him, but in the third he was utterly overthrown, by reason that Mahomet had great artillerie in his campe, which noveltie (unknowen before to the easterly nations) discomfited Usumcassanes armie, who in this battell lost also his sonne Zeinalde. After this battell Mahomet wan all Cappadocia, Paphlagonia, and tooke Trapezonde the seat of the Assembecs empire, with the greatest part of Armenia and Syria, as mention is here made. Further, after this battell Mahomet tooke from Pyramitus Prince of the Caramans, the greatest part of Cilicia; and after this Mahomets death Bajazet his sonne slue in battell Abraham the last Prince of the Caramans, and utterly destroyed that house. As touching the Scandelors, after the Assembecs and Caramans were destroyed, the Prince of the Scandelors yielded his countrie to Bajazet, and in exchange therof had certaine revenues given him in Natolia. And thus were all the three houses subdued by the house of Otthoman: which discourse for the better understanding of this place, I have beene forced to write somewhat at large.

* Others write 53, and others 56, but sure our author reporteth his age truest: for he was borne ann. 1430, the 24 of March, and died of the collicke 1481, the third of May, so that he was entred into his two and fiftith yeere.

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THE CONCLUSION OF THE AUTHOR



YOU see heere a number of great personages dead in short space, who travelled so mightily, and endured so many anguishes and sorrowes to purchase honor and renoume, whereby they abridged their lives, yea and peradventure charged their soules. I speake not this of the Turke, for I make account he is lodged with his predecessors; but our King and the rest, I trust, God hath taken to his mercy. Now to speake of this point as a man unlearned, but having some experience: had it not beene better both for these great Princes themselves and all their subjects that lived under them, and shall live under their successors, to have held a meane in all things, that is to say, to have attempted fewer enterprises, to have feared more to offend God, and persecute their subjects and neighbors so many sundry waies above rehearsed, and to have used honest pleasures and recreation? Yes sure. For by that meanes their lives should have beene prolonged, diseases should not so soone have assailed them, their death should have been more lamented, and lesse desired; yea, and they should have had lesse cause to feare death. What goodlier examples can we finde to teach us that man is but a shadow, that our life is miserable and short, and that we are nothing, neither great nor small? For immediately after our death, all men abhorre and loath our bodies, and so soone as the soule is severed from the body, it goeth to receive judgement; yea undoubtedly at the very instant that the soule and body part, the judgement of God is given according to our merits and deserts, which is called the particular judgement of God.

**A SUPPLY
OF THE HISTORIE OF
PHILIP DE COMMINES**

From the death of King LEWIS the XI.
till the beginning of the wars of Naples,
to wit, from 1483 till 1493,
of all the which time
Communes writeth nothing.



A SUPPLY OF THE HISTORIE

CHAPTER I

Of King Charles his comming to the crowne, of the death of Oliver King Lewis his Barber, and others, and of the revoking of King Lewis his superfluous gifts.



AFTER the death of Lewis the eleventh, Charles the 8 his onely sonne being 13 yeeres of age and two moneths, succeeded to the crowne : notwithstanding his coronation was deferred til the moneth of Iune in the next yeere, to the end he might be full fowerteene when he should be crowned. The K. his father had brought him up at

Amboise in such solitarines, that none besides his ordinary servants could have accesse unto him : neither permitted he him to learne any more Latine than this one sentence : ' He that cannot dissemble cannot raigne ' : which he did not for that he hated learning, but bicause he feared that studie would hurt the tender and delicate complexion of the childe. Notwithstanding King Charles after he came to the crowne, grew very studious of learning, and gave himselfe to the reading of stories and bookes of humanitie written in the French toong, and attempted to understand Latine.

Before the Kings coronation, the Princes of the blood and the nobles of the realme, who so often had beene injured in the late King Lewis his time by Oliver le Dain his barber, by Daniell a Flemming the said Olivers servant, and by Iohn D'Oyac ; (which three had wholly governed the said King Lewis,) caused informations secretly to be exhibited against

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CHAPTER

I

Of King Charles his comming to the crowne, of the death of Oliver King Lewis his Barber and others.

them for divers murthers, rapines, and other heinous crimes that they had committed in King Lewis his time, yea and some of them by his commandement: the which informations being seene by the court Parliament, they were foorthwith apprehended, their processe made, and in the end all three condemned: and the next yeere being 1484, the said Oliver and Daniell his man were hanged at Paris, and D'Oyac had his eares cut off, and his toong bored through with a hot iron. One of the crimes committed by Oliver and Daniell, for the which they were executed was this: A gentleman was committed to prison by King Lewis his commandement, whose wife being yong and beautifull, was contented to abandon hir selfe to the lust of this Oliver, upon promise that he should deliver hir husband out of prison to hir; but the next day he caused Daniell his man to put him into a sacke, and to throwe him into the river, where he was miserably drowned. This Oliver was a Flemming borne, and had bene barber to King Lewis, and of greater credit with him than any man in all Fraunce, which his credit grew by vile and slavish offices that he did about the King, so far foorth that he ordinarily sucked the Kings hemorrhoides; wherewith he was often troubled, which base service he did, not for good will that he bare the King, but onely for covetousnes and to maintaine his credit, which ended soone after the King his Masters death as you have heard: notwithstanding the great charge that the King upon his death-bed had given his sonne to love the said Oliver, and not to suffer him to be spoiled of that which he had bestowed upon him, because his service had long preserved his life. But howsoever Princes maintaine such lewd ministers in their lives, and how ready soever such servants be to execute their Masters unlawfull and wilfull commandements, supposing that they shall never be called to account therefore: yet in the end they finde that credit in Court is no inheritance, and that God who leaveth nothing unpunished, findeth a time to reward them according to their deserts. Further, soone after

King Lewis his death, consultation was had of the superfluous and superstitious gifts made by him in his life, all the which were revoked, and all that was given reunited to the crowne.

OF PHILIP DE COMMINES

CHAPTER II

Of the assembly of the States held at Touars, of the Duke of Orleans pursute for the regencie, of the war called the mad war raised by him, and of his departure into Britaine.



THE King in the moneth of Iuly after his coronation, being the yeere 1484, held a generall and free assembly of the States of his realme at Touars, far otherwise than had beene used in his fathers daies: for none came to these generall assemblies in his time, but such as were of his owne denomination, neither durst any man speake his minde freely, but was forced in all matters to yield to the Kings will, which was for the most part unrea-sonable and violent. But at this assemblie the presence was great, the voices free, the complaints lamentable: the Nobilitie, Commons and Clergie, everie one of them presented their griefes, complaining of the burdens that the late King (contrarie to the lawes of the realme, and cus- tomes of their ancestors) had laid upon them. In this assembly it was enacted that there should be no Regent in Fraunce; but that Anne Lady of Beaujeu the Kings eldest sister should have the government of his roiall person, according to the testament of King Lewis the xi. that the privy Councill should consist of twelve chosen out of the body of the Nobility, by whose advise all matters should be governed and dispatched; but all in the Kings name, and under the signature of his hand. Further, Iohn Duke of Bourbon was created Constable. But by little and little the whole government was derived to the said Lady of Beaujeu, because the King hir brothers person was in hir hands.

But Lewis Duke of Orleans being the necrest Prince of

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the blood royall, by the perswasion of those that were about him, who gaped for great preferment if the government were committed to his charge, and especially by the instigation of the Earle of Dunois named Francis, sonne to Iohn commonly called the Bastard of Orleans, (a man of a subtil spirit, and of great enterprise) abode still at Paris, and entered daily into the councill, (notwithstanding the decree of the three estates,) as one that would understand of all that was done there. Wherewith the Lady of Beaujeu was not a little discontented: which when the Prince of Orange, the Marshall of Rieux, and the rest of the Barons of Britaine that were at that time fugitives in Fraunce (as hereafter shall be declared) understood, they came to the said Lady of Beaujeu, and offered hir and the King their service, which the Duke of Orleans greatly stomacked. Further, the said Duke sought by all meanes possible to discredit the womanish government of the said Lady; but his perswasions little prevailed, because the Duke himselfe being not as yet fower and twentie yeeres old, was under the government of his mother, and it seemed no reason to commit the managing of the common wealth to him that was unable to governe his owne private estate: so that the same reason barred him from the government now, that excluded his grandfather in times past, during the phrensie of King Charles the sixt. But this reason satisfied not the Duke nor his friends. Wherefore the Lady of Beaujeu seeing that the Duke of Orleans remaining in Paris, wan daily those that were in authoritie to his side: seeking by that meanes to obtaine the regencie of the realme: sent by the resolution of the Kings councill, certaine to Paris to arrest the body of the said Duke. Who being advertised therof as he was at tenice, withdrew himselfe, and (pretending that he went to his lodging) departed in the company of Guyot Pot, and Iohn of Louen (one of the gentlemen of his chamber whom he greatly favoured) and lodged that night at Pointoise. The next day he went to Vernueil, and from thence to Alençon, where he remained a certain space: during the which, he practised to draw to his partie the Earle of Angoulesme, the Duke of Bourbon, and the Lord of Alebret, who in the ende

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declared themselves to be his friends and assistants in this enterprise. But all these because of this their confederacie with him, were forthwith remooved from all their offices and estates, and lost all their pensions, and their charge of men of armes: yet notwithstanding, they levied a great army of the people of their countries, and found meanes to win to their side the Duke of Lorraine, the Prince of Orange, and the Earle of Foix. Under the assurance of all the which Princes, the Duke of Orleans assembled his army at Blois, to march therewith to Orleans: but the citizens of the towne perceiving that their Duke came thither with a purpose to surprise it, and to make it the seate of the wars, shut their gates upon him, and would not suffer him to enter. Wherefore with an army of fower hundred launces, and a great number of footemen, he went to Bougencie, accompanied with the Earles of Dunois and Foix, and with Carquelevant, and other French captaines, where they remained a certaine space, and thither the King sent to besiege them. But because they saw the place not to be of defence; and further, that the Malcontents of the realme flocked not to them as they supposed they would: they made a sudden peace with the King, whereby it was agreed, that the Duke of Orleans should repair to the King, and so he did, and that the Earle of Dunois the contriver of all this enterprise should depart the realme, which also he did, and retired himselfe to Ast. But this notwithstanding, the Duke of Bourbon and the Earle of Angoulesme, who had levied their armies to succor the Duke of Orleans, marched towards Bourges, whither the King went with a great armie, accompanied with the said Duke of Orleans, who was constrained to arme himselfe against his late allies and confederates. Notwithstanding by the wisdomes of the Marshall of Gie and the Lord of Graville (which two had great authoritie in the Court under the Lady of Beaujeu,) peace was concluded betweene the King and his nobles, wherein the Lord of Albret was also comprehended; and thus departed all these armies without any bloodshed, and the King went to Amboise; the Duke of Orleans to Orleans; and the Earle of Foix and the Cardinall his brother to Nantes to the Duke

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Of the assembly of the States held at Touars, of the Duke of Orleans pursute for the regencie, of the war called the mad war raised by him, and of his departure into Britaine.

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CHAPTER II

Of the assembly of the States held at Touars, of the Duke of Orleans pursue for the regencie, of the war called the mad war raised by him, and of his departure into Britaine.

If you begin the yeeres at New-yeeres day, it was 1486.

of Britaine who had married their sister. This tumult was called the mad war, and hapned in the yeere 1485.

After all this, the Earle of Dunois returned from Ast, and went to his owne towne of Partenay in Poitou, which was then a strong towne with a double ditch, and a triple wall. Hereof the King being advertised, and withall that he fortified himselfe in the said towne, and knowing the said Earle of Dunois to be full of practise, and a man of great enterprize: he sent to the Duke of Orleans (who was at Orleans holding solemne justs and turneies) to come to him to Amboise. And after three or fower messengers, the last whereof was the Marshall of Gié, the Duke of Orleans went to Blois, and the next day being twelwe even in the said yeere 1485, he departed out of Blois early in the morning with his haukes, faining that he went to flie in the field, and without any bait rode that night to Frontevaulx, whereof his sister was then Ambesse: from thence he went to Clisson, and from Clisson to Nantes, where he was very honorably received of the Duke. This was the Duke of Orleans second comming into Britaine, as by that which followeth hereafter shall more plainly appeere. The King being advertised of his departure, determined to besiege the Earle of Dunois in his towne of Partenay, and found meanes (before any bruite was made thereof) to drawe to his service the Marshall of Rieux, and the other Barons of Britaine that were then retired to Chasteaubrian to the Lady of Laval, who was Lady thereof, bicause the Duke of Britaine by aide of the Duke of Orleans and the Earle of Dunois sought to avenge himselfe of the said Barons, for the death of Peter Landois Treasurer of Britaine, whereof
I will now begin to speake.

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CHAPTER III

Of the troubles that happened in Britaine betweene the Duke and his Nobles, and of Peter Landois death.



ABOUT the same time, or somewhat before, that the mad tumult above mentioned happened in Fraunce : a like stur chanced also in Britaine, though not with the like event ; the seedes of the which were privily sowen in the life of Lewis the xi. but sprang not up for feare of forren war (with the which the saide King Lewis continually threatened the Britaines) till after his death. But then all forren feare, which had hitherto preserved their peace, being remooved : the fire flamed out, which upon this occasion was first kindled. Chauvin Chauncellor of Britaine (a very woorthy man) died miserably in prison in the castell of L'Hermite, where the Duke had imprisoned him at the request of his Treasurer Peter Landois a hosiers sonne of Touars, who after the said Chauvins death wholly possessed the Duke. But the nobilitie, namely the Prince of Orenge, and the Martiall of Rieux (who were then at Nantes, and hated this Landois, as author of the others death) conspired together to his destruction : for the executing of which their purpose, they watched a time when they thought to surprise him either in the castell of Nantes with the Duke, or in a house of his owne called Pabotiere a mile from the towne. Wherefore they divided their company, and part they sent to besiege the said house, and with the rest entred into the castell : and to the ende he should by no meanes escape, they shut up the castell gates, they searched every corner of the castell, yea they rushed into the Dukes chamber, supposing that the said Landois might happily have retired himselfe thither, in hope to make the

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D. presence the buckler of his defence. But he being a mile from Nantes in his owne house above mentioned, escaped at a backe gate before the house was thoroughly beset, and so saved himselfe. But presently a great uprore began in the towne: for one of the Dukes servants, at the noble mens first entrie into the castell, being let downe the castell wall by a rope, made a great outcrie in the towne, aggravating the hainousnes of the fact, and affirming that the castell was forced, the Duke assaulted, and his life in great danger unles he were speedily succoured. The citizens (ignorant that this attempt was made onely for the surprising of Peter Landois) armed themselves, and ran to the castell threatning all the nobilitie with death, of whom not one durst shew himselfe upon the wall to speake to the furious multitude, bicause the people had planted shot against the castell, meaning to spare no man so soone as he should appeere, but the Duke alone. The Duke being in the hands of his nobles, shewed himselfe unto his people, who presently kneeled downe before him, congratulating with him for his safetie, and so the tumult ceased.

But the nobilitie for this bold attempt were banished, though their lives were pardoned, who presently retired themselves into Fraunce to King Charles, as before you have heard. Then Peter recovered his former credit with the Duke, and caused him to write to the Duke of Orleans his cosin germaine, that it would please him to come to him into Britaine; which the Duke of Orleans did by the perswasion of the Earle of Dunois, who sought to divorce him from the Kings sister, and to marrie him with Anne the Duke of Britaines eldest daughter and heire, which also happened after the said Duke of Orleans was King, though it were not now accomplished. The Duke of Orleans accompanied with the Duke of Alençon arrived at Nantes, in the moneth of Aprill after this tumult, being the yeere 1484, where they were honorably received of the Duke of Britaine, who complained to them of the outrage done unto him by the Prince of Orenge and the Marshall of Rieux, for the revenge whereof he desired their aide, which they promised him in generall termes, and then departed to go to Reimes

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to the coronation of King Charles. After the which the Duke of Orleans fell at variance with the King, and yet in the ende peace was concluded betweene them in the yeere 1485, as before you have heard.

Then Peter Landois seeing the Duke his Master in leaguc with the Duke of Orleans, and the said Duke of Orleans and his faction in peace with the King: determined to be revenged of his enimies: wherefore the Duke of Britaine, by his perswasion made an edict, that all the noblemens houses that had beene of the conspiracie above mentioned, should be rased. For the execution whereof an armie was levied in the Dukes name to rase Ancenix, where the Prince of Orenge and the Earle of Comminges then remained, who being advertised therof, by the aide of their friends and of the banished Barons that were returned out of exile to defend their patrimonies, levied likewise an armie to withstand Landois attempt: but when these two armies were come the one in face of the other, the remembrance and love to their common countrie altered their mindes in such sort, that they disarmed themselves, and each embraced other as friends. Then went the Prince of Orenge and the Earle of Comminges to the Duke, and recovered his favour and the government: by meanes whereof all the storme fell upon Peter Landois alone, whom when the nobles knew to be within the castell, with one consent they went thither, being fully resolved to seize upon him, though he were in the Dukes armes. Then one whom both the nobilitie and commons had by common consent chosen their new Chauncellor, by their constraint spake to the Duke, and advertised him that without the deliverie of Peter the tumult could not be appeased, against whom they would proceede onely by order of lawe, without executing any thing upon him before his cause were heard and thoroughly examined. Thus was he yeelded into their hands, and presently imprisoned, and for fashions sake examined: many hainous crimes were objected against him. To conclude, he was condemned and hanged before the Duke knew his cause to be tried, who was purposed to have granted him his pardon, howsoever law proceeded against him: for the preventing whereof the

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execution was hastened. But this fact of the nobilitie (which the Duke accounted as a most hainous injurie done to himselfe) made them ten times more odious to the Duke than they were before. The Duke created a new Chauncellor, and to make head against his nobles received very courteously the Duke of Orleans, who about this present fled to him out of Fraunce with a great company of his partakers : which when the said nobles of Britaine sawe, they were greatly astonied, and fled for feare the second time into Fraunce, where the King (meaning to make war upon the Duke of Britaine, for receiving the Duke of Orleans being fled from him) welcommed them, and entred into league with them, as in the end of the last chapter you have heard. The report went that the Duke of Orleans had a plot in his head to divorce himselfe from the Lady Iane the Kings sister, as forced upon him against his will by King Lewis XI. and to marrie with Anne the Duke of Britains eldest daughter and heire, the hope whereof was the cause of this his voiage into Britaine : but the selfe same hope entertained also Monsieur d'Alebret, and drew him to the Duke of Britains part, the rather bicause he had received assurance of the marriage in writing, under the hands of all the noble men that were about the said D. of Britaine, save of the D. of Orleans alone.

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CHAPTER IV

Of the war the King made in Britaine, and
of the Earle of Dunois ambassage to
the King for peace.



THE onely care of the banished nobles of Britaine was to returne and remaine in safetie in their countrie, and the Kings onely desire was to be revenged of the Duke of Britaine for receiving the Duke of Orleans. Wherefore the King, as before is said, entered into league with these nobles, and in their favour levied an armie, and began war upon the Duke of Britaine in the yeere 1486. This armie invaded Britaine three severall waies; for the Lord of Saint André with fower hundred launces, and five or sixe thousand footemen entred on one side; the Earle of Montpensier with a great band upon another side, and Lewis of Trimouille, Vicount of Touars, (who had married Gabriell of Bourbon the said Earle of Montpensiers sister) upon the third, in such sort that the countrie of Britaine was covered with French soldiers, with whom also the Barons of Britaine above mentioned, were joined, who caused divers castels in Britaine to be yeilded to the Kings armie by those that were of their faction: whereat the Duke of Britaine was greatly astonied. But the Duke of Orleans, the Earle of Dunois, and the Earle of Comminges being with him, comforted him, and under colour of a marriage to be made betweene the Lady Anne the Duke of Britaines eldest daughter and the Lord of Alebret, who had a hundred launces under his charge, and was able to levie great forces of footemen in Gascoine and Guienne, where he was mighty and of goodly revenues, the Earle of Dunois wan the said Lord of Alebret to joine with them: who presently forsooke the Kings service, and tooke part with them accordingly: yet that notwith-

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standing the Duke of Britaine leaving Nantes in the hands of his cosin the Prince of Orange, retired himselfe to the castell of Malestroit, being a strong place, where he levied an armie of sixe hundred launces, and 16000 footemen to succour Ploermel (distant three or fower leagues from Males-troit) which the Kings armie then besieged. But as this Britaine armie marched thitherward, one of the company brake foorth into these speeches, and asked what this war meant, and what was the end thereof, alleaging that their Duke was wholly governed by the French, and that the French made the Britaines at their pleasure to revenge French quarrels upon the French: wherefore he perswaded them to returne home to their wives and children, and not to spend their lives for other mens quarrels. Whereupon all the armie dispartkled, and returned home: by means whereof Ploermell seeing no hope of succours yeilded by composition, and yet notwithstanding was spoiled, and the rich men taken prisoners, and put to ransome. The Dukes of Britaine and Orleans, and the other Lords that were with them at Males-troit, being advertised of the departure of their armie, and of the taking of Ploermel, went to Vennes upon Whitson even being the yeere 1487, whither the Kings army so speedily followed them, that hardly they escaped by sea, and went to Croisick, and from thence by the river of Loire to Nantes, being constrained to leave part of their carriage in the said towne of Vennes, which presently after their de-parture yeilded without any resistance. Further, not long after the taking of this towne, the French in a skirmish at a place called Ioue betweene Chasteaubrian and Nantes, defeated a great band of Britaines, led by Amaulry of la Mossay towards Nantes, at the which time the King in person lay at Ancenix. After the taking of Vennes, the Kings army marched to Nantes, and laid the siege before the towne the 19 day of Iune in the said yeere 1487. Within the towne were the Duke of Britaine and his two daughters Anne and Isabell, the Duke of Orleans, the Prince of Orange, the Lady of Lavall and of Chasteaubrian, the Bishop of Nantes called du Chassault, a man of holy life, the Earle of Comminges, and divers other Lordes: all the which

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dislodged out of the castell, and lodged in the towne. And because the companie had some jelousie of the said Bishop of Nantes, and the Lady of Lavall that they were not thoroughly to be trusted: they were put in garde into certaine of the townes mens hands. At this siege were ten thousand French men, and great store of artillerie, wherewith the wals, towers, and vantmures of the castell and towne were throughly battered; but they without were as well plied by them within, both with shot and with salies of valiant men, where many a goodly feate of armes was done, both on the one side and the other. Further, you shall understand, that the Earle of Dunois being in base Britaine there to embarke towards England to have aide from thence, and perceiving that the winde would not suffer him so to do, brought with him to succour the towne of Nantes above fiftie thousand of the commons of Britaine, which the French suffered to passe, supposing them not to be men of service. But the King seeing the extreme heate of the weather, and perceiving that he could do no good before the towne, levied his siege the sixt day of August, and departed. Then marched the Kings armie before the towne of Dolle, which they tooke without resistance and spoiled, and all the Britaines and soldiers that were within it were taken prisoners. Further, the Kings armie spoiled all the countrie, slue the people, and drave away their cattell. But the Marshall of Rieux and the greatest part of the banished nobles of Britaine that were in the Kings service, lamenting the miserable estate of their country; waxed weary of the wars, and alleaged that their league with the King was onely to this ende, that they might recover their countrie, and the French that lived in Britaine be constrained to returne home into theirs. Wherefore seeing the French nobles being in Britaine, protested, that they would willingly returne home if the King would pardon their departure to the Duke; and that the Duke on the other side, with the consent of all his subjects, had offered these banished nobles of Britaine pardon, and restitution to all their goods and lands, they saw no cause why the wars should endure, but that each partie should returne home in peace: but the French, and

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CHAPTER IV

Of the war
the King made
in Britaine,
and of
the Earle
of Dunois
ambassage
to the King
for peace.

*If you begin the
yeere at Newe-
yeeres day
heere beginneth
1488.*

divers also of the Britaines themselves were little mooved with these allegations. Wherefore the said Marshall being the Lord of Ancenix, a towne very commodious for the maintenance of the Kings wars, and the which (notwithstanding that he held it for the King) he had manned with his owne tenants and servants: yeilded the place to the Duke of Britaine, and sware the townes men to be true to him. And further, before the fame of his revolt was spred abrode, he went with a great company to Chasteaubrian, which was also held for the King, and being received into towne as a friend, he placed a garrison of his owne soldiers in it, and banished all that refused to returne to the obedience of the Duke. From thence he went and laid the siege before Vennes the 25 day of Februarie, which was held by the French under the government of Gilbert of Grassay, and Philip of Moulins valiant captaines, who yeilded the place by composition the third day of March following.

On the other side the Kings army slept not: for Ancenix they tooke by assault, and rased the wals, towers, and houses by the Kings commandement, so that one stone was not left upon another, which the King did in spite of the Marshal of Rieux, whose the towne was, and who was newly revolted from him as you have heard. Chasteaubrian was also recovered by the Kings forces, and the castell rased. From thence the Kings army marched to Fougieres, being a frontier towne strong and of good resistance, and laid the siege before the place, whereupon the Duke of Britaine being stroken with a new feare, determined to send the Earle of Dunois in ambassage to the King, whereof hereafter you shall heare.

About this time being the beginning of the yeere 1488, the Lord of Albret who long had been resident in the Court of Spaine, came by sea and landed in base Britaine with fewer thousand men of war: his men went to Rennes, but himselfe to Nantes to the Duke of Britaine, where at his first comming he demanded to have the marriage betweene him and the Lady Anne the Dukes eldest daughter accomplished. But the said Lady would not consent thereunto, greatly to hir fathers discontentation, who knew nothing that she had

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cast hir phansie upon the Duke of Orleans, by the practise and perswasion of the Earle of Dunois. For the which cause the said Earle of Dunois (to save his honor) endeavored to withdraw his seale given for the accomplishment of the said marriage, being in the hands of the Lady Lavall sister to the said Alebret, among the scales of all the other Britaine Lords: which also in the end very cunningly he brought to passe. For he gave the said Lady to understand that this marriage could never be accomplished without the Duke of Britaines seale could be obtained, whereunto he (as he said) had mooved the Duke, whose answer was that he could willingly give his seale, provided that the instrument that he should scale, were written word for word by that which the Earle of Dunois had already sealed: wherefore if she would cause his writing to be delivered to him, he would make his secretarie to write that which should be presented to the Duke, word for word by his, and so get the Dukes seale to it. The Lady of Lavall supposing that he had meant good faith, delivered him the writing, which afterward he never restored: for presently after (as you shall now heare) he was sent with certaine lawyers in ambassage to Angiers to the King, to understand what the King demanded in the Duchy of Britaine, and why he destroied the castels and townes thereof.

The Duke of Britaine as above is mentioned, being in great feare when he sawe the Kings army before Fougieres, sent the Earle of Dunois with the consent of his nobles in ambassage to Angiers to the K. The said Earle in his journey thitherward, so preached in all places the great commodities that concord and peace bring with them, that all mens eies were fixed upon him. When he came to the K. being then eighteene yeeres of age, he very eloquently pleaded the cause of the Duke of Britaine, and of the other French noble men that were retired to him, alleaging that the Duke being worne with yeeres, consumed with diseases, having buried his wife, being destitute of issue male, his eldest daughter being hardly twelve yeeres of age, and his yoonger lesse; and lastly, being forsaken of his nobilitie for the hatred they bare to Peter Landois, and not for any evill

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desert of his owne, began to languish in sorow and griefe : for the which cause the noble men of Fraunce that were of kin and alied to him, being mooved with very naturall affection, were retired to him to comfort him in this distresse. Among whom, none were neerer to him (his owne children excepted) than the Duke of Orleans, and the Prince of Orenge, the one being his uncles sonne, the other his sisters, and that these and others his neere kinsmen were yet with him, onely to this end ; adding that the Duke was not to be accused bicause he forbade them not his countries, when they came to comfort him in his miseries, or they for comming to relieve him in his distresse. But quoth he, it will be objected that there are besides these, divers others with him of the nobilitie of Fraunce, that have levied war against the King : but what war? Forsooth, as the Britaines marched with force to levy the siege of Ploermel, being advertised that they could not so do without a battell with the French : the reverence they bare to the Kings Majestie was such, that willingly they gave place, and forbore to fight, and rather suffered their townes to be taken and spoiled, than they would encounter with the Kings troupes. Further so soone as the D. understood the K. desire to be, that the banished Nobles of Britaine should returne home, he foorthwith received them into his favor, and restored them to their former estate. What offence then (said he) hath the Duke made? What cause of war against him? Truly none. But on the contrary side many causes of commiseration, and many causes why the King should grant the Duke of Britaine peace. This was the effect of the speech he was commanded (as he said) to deliver to the King ; which charge he would not have taken upon him, but that he knew the Duke of Britaine to carie a minde singularly well affected to the Kings Majestie, and the French nobles that were in Britaine to be the Kings devout servants and subjects, and ready to shed their blood for the defence of him and his estate. This the Earles speech mooved the King to incline to peace, whereof the treatie was already begun, when the sudden report of a battell whereof you shall now heare as suddenly brake it off.

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CHAPTER V

Of the battell of S. Albin, wherein the Duke of Orleans was taken prisoner, of the treatie of peace betweene the King and the Duke of Britaine, and of the said Duke of Britaines death.



YOU have heard of the siege of Fougieres, which endured still, notwithstanding the Earle of Dunois ambassage, in such sort that the towne began to be greatly distressed: wherefore the Duke of Orleans and the rest of the noble men of Britaine fearing the losse of the towne, departed from Nantes and went to Rennes, where they assembled their forces to levy the siege. Their men of armes were fower hundred, and their footemen of their owne countries twelve thousand, as some write; as others, but eight thousand, besides three hundred Englishmen, and eight hundred Swissers, and of artillerie they had great plentie. Then in very good order they encamped abroad in the fields. The names of the noble men of the army were these: the Duke of Orleans, the Lord of Alebret, the Marshall of Rieux, the Lord of Chasteaubrian, the Lord Scales an Englishman, the Lord of Leon, the Lord of Rohans eldest sonne, the Lord of Crenettes, the Lord of Pont l'Abbe, the Lord of Plessis, the Lord of Balynes, the Lord of Montigny, the Lord of Montuet: all the which Lords with their companies and whole forces encamped at a village called Andouille; the Wednesday being the 23 of Iuly, the yeere 1488 above mentioned in the night there was an alarme among the Gascoines, whereof it was feared some quarrell would have growen betweene the Duke of Orleans and the Lord of Alebret, but the matter was soone pacified. In the

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meane time came newes to these Lords at the said village of Andouille the Saterdag the sixe and twentie of the said moneth of Iuly, that the French had taken Fougieres by composition, with these conditions, that the soldiers should depart in safetie with bag and baggage: upon which newes the Britains army determined to march to Saint Albin, hoping easily to take the towne bicause the French garrison within it was but small, and that in the meane time the soldiers that were departed out of Fougieres, should joine with them and increase their forces. On the other side the French army marched also towards Saint Albin meaning to be there before the Britains; but it so fell out that neither of them entered the towne, bicause before they came thither they met and fought. For you shall understand that the same Saterdag that the Britains received newes of the taking of Fougieres, they marched to a village called Orange two leagues from Saint Albin, where they were advertised that the Kings army marched against them with a full resolution to fight with them.

The Sunday morning the Britaines consulted of the order of their battell, and bicause the footemen were jealous of the French horsemen that were in their campe, and namely of the Duke of Orleans himselfe: it was thought good that he and the Prince of Orange should leave their horses, and put themselves on foote in the battell among the Swissers, and so they did. The vaward was lead by the Marshall of Ricux, the battell by the Lord of Alebret, and the reeward by the Lord of Chasteaubrian: upon one of their wings was placed their artillerie and their carriage. And the more to terrifie the French with the great number of English men, whereas there were in truth but three hundred Englishmen lead by the Lord Talbot, seaventeen hundred Britaine footemen were joined to them, armed with jacks and red crosses English like: and the Monday morning they raunged themselves in battell in this order above rehearsed, hard by a grove of wood attending the French army. The Kings army (whereof Master Lewis of Trimouille Vicount of Touars, being five or sixe and twentie yeeres of age, was generall,) departed out of Fougieres with a ful resolution to fight with the Britains.

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The vaward was lead by Adrian de l'Hospital, and Gabriell of Montfalzois : before the which, ten or twelve valiant French knights advanced themselves to discover the Britains actions, whose good order when they had viewed, they retired to their companie, and then being in troupe all close joined together approached the Britaines army, the artillerie in the meane time playing on both sides, and greatly endammaging both the parties. The French marched very couragiously, and charged the Britaines vawarde, where the Marshall of Rieux valiantly received them, and acquite himsef so well both he and his company, that the French left the vaward, and marched straight upon the Britaines battell, where the Britaine horsemen recoiled, by meanes whereof their rereward being discouraged fled. Then the French pursued them, and slue all the footemen they could overtake : which disorder when the Britaine vaward perceived, they also dispartled and sought to save themselves. To conclude, the French obtained the victorie, and slue all those that bare the red crosse, supposing them all to be English men, together with twelve or thirteene hundred Britaines as well horsemen as footemen. The Duke of Orleans was taken by the footemen, and likewise the Prince of Orenge, who had pulled away his blacke crosse from him, and had laid himselfe flat upon the ground among the dead bodies, faining himselfe to be slaine ; but he was knowen by a French archer, and both he and the Duke of Orleans led prisoners to Saint Albin under sure garde. The Lord of Alebret seeing all overthrowen, fled away and escaped. The Marshall of Rieux also saved himselfe, and retired to Dinan. The Lord of Leon, the Lord du Pont l'Abbe, the Lord of Montfort, and divers other noble men of Britaine were slaine ; and of other soldiers to the number of sixe thousand : of the Kings part was slaine Iames Galeot a valiant and a renowned capitaine, and to the number of a thousand or twelve hundred common soldiers. This battell was fought upon Monday the 28 of Iuly the yeere 1488. Soone after the Duke of Orleans was led to the castel of Luzignen, and from thence to Poitiers, where he remained a certaine space, and lastly to the great tower of Bourges.

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Of the battell of S. Albin, of the treatie of peace betweene the King and the Duke of Britaine, and of the said Duke of Britaines death.

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The second day after the battell, the Lord of Trimouille sent certaine heraults to Rennes to summon the towne to yeeld to the King: who after consultation had answered the said heraults, that the King had no right to the towne, and that wrongfully and without cause he made warre upon the countrie of Britaine, and that notwithstanding his great armie, he could not overrunne the countrie as he hoped: for God who defended the Britaines right, was able to doe as much to him as he did to King Iohn before Poictiers, and to King Philip of Valois at Crecy: adding further, that they would not yeeld the towne, and that if Monseur de la Trimouille came thither, he should finde fortie thousand men in the towne, whereof twentie thousand were men of defence. This answer was reported to the said Trimouille, who staid a long time without replying one word thereunto, and afterwards by the same heraults advertised the King thereof being at Angiers. Whereupon the King assembled his Councell to determine what was to be done in this case. Some, yea almost all were of opinion that the towne should be besieged: but Master William of Rochfort Chauncellor of Fraunce held the contrarie opinion, grounding himselfe upon the Kings title to the said Duchie of Britaine, which was said to grow by meanes of a certaine conveiance that Master Iohn of Brosse Lord of Boussac husband to dame Nicole of Britaine, daughter and heire to Charles of Blois Earle of Ponthieure, had made to the Kings ancestors, together with divers other titles, which were not yet proved good: adding, that if the King had no right thereunto, it should be a damnable and a tyrannous act to usurpe another mans countrie that appertained not to him. Wherefore his advice was, that according to the request of the ambassadors of Britaine being at Angiers, certaine grave and learned men should be appointed to examine the right of both sides. This opinion tooke place, and according thereunto the King agreed with the ambassadors of Britaine, that both he and the Duke would appoint some grave men of their Councell, who should meete in some indifferent towne, with the charters and writings of both sides, to determine in conscience to whom the said Duchie appertained, and that in the meane time the King should hold

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all the places in the said Duchie that alreadie he possessed. The Duke of Britaine liked this agreement well, and because the plague was vehement at Nantes, he departed thence with his two daughters, the Lady of Laval, the Lord of Alebret, the Earle of Dunoy, the Marshall of Rieux, the Earle of Comminges, and divers other Lords, to Coiron upon the river of Loyre three leagues beneath Nantes, where soone after namely upon Wednesday the seventh of September in the same yeere 1488, he ended his life thorow a sickenes which he got by a fall, leaving the government both of his Duchie of Britaine and of his two daughters to the Marshall of Rieux, to whom he appointed the Earle of Comminges for assistant.

His body was carried to Nantes and buried in the Church of the Carmelites.

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CHAPTER VI

Of the Kings mariage with the Ladie Anne of Britaine, whereby Britaine was united to the crowne of Fraunce.



SOONE after the Duke of Britaines death, died also Isabell his younger daughter, by reason whereof the Lady Anne remained his sole heire: about whose mariage the nobles of Britaine fell at great variance, for part of them inclined to the Lord of Alebret a great Lord in Guienne, who also as it was reported, (but falsely) was contracted to this young Princesse with the Duke hir fathers consent, but the day before the Duke died; but this faction was soone daunted, because the young Lady hir selfe utterly refused this match: part openly favored and furthered Maximilian the Emperor Fridericks sonne, alleaging that he would not onely be a protector of the libertie of their countrey, but also a strong rampier against all French attempts.

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marriage with
the Ladie
Anne of
Britaine,
whereby
Britaine was
united to the
crowne of
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Neither was the King of Fraunce ignorant of this treatie, but knew right well that ambassadors had passed to and fro betweene Maximilian and them, so far fourth that the said Maximilian supposing all matters to be thoroughly concluded and agreed on, began to imbrace all Britaine in his minde, and thought no enterprize too high for him if to his low countries obtained by his first mariage, he could now joine the Duchie of Britaine by his second. Great consultation was had in Fraunce how to repulse this terrible storme, but Maximilians owne slacknes most furthered their devises. The K. councill in the end resolved that the King should refuse his wife being Maximilians daughter, and seeke with all expedition the marriage of the Ladie Anne of Britaine, alleaging that the neighborhood of so mightie a Prince as Maximilian was, could not be but dangerous to his estate, of whom he could hope for nothing but dissembled friendship presently, and assured war in time to come, considering that the said Maximilian forgetting already his league and affinitie with the King, stirred up continually one war after another against him, and by that meanes professed himselfe an open enimie to him and his realme. Wherefore ambassadors were presently sent to treat of this marriage with the Lady Anne. She at the first woondered at the matter, and alleaged that she had given hir faith to Maximilian, which she might not breake: and further, that she had beene solemnly married to him (according to the accustomed maner of Princes) by Wolfgangus Poleme of Austrich his proctor, purposely sent by him into Britaine to that end. But the Lady of Laval and other noble women of Britaine, whose company and familiaritie this yoong Princes used and greatly delighted in, being corrupted with French rewards and promises, perswaded hir that this French match should be most for hir safety and advancement; alleaging that if she married with Maximilian he should hardly be able to defend Britaine, whereof already they had good prooffe, considering that he had ever disappointed them of the succors he had promised to send them. And as touching hir scruple of conscience, they said that the Pope who had power over all lawes Ecclesiasticall, would easily be brought to dispence therewith, the

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rather because this match should be best for her safetie, and for the preservation of her estate. The yoong Princesse though she were of a singular wit and rare vertues, yet being vanquished by these perswasions, yeilded to their request, and delivered both her selfe and her countrie into the Kings hands, and soone after was the marriage solemnly accomplished to the great rejoicing of the French. And thus received Britaine the French yoake, to the great grieffe of all the subjects, who desired to be governed by a particular Duke of their owne, as they had ever beene in times past.

Not long after this marriage, the Earle of Dunois who had beene the principall instrument of the peace, and a great furtherer of the marriage, and thereby throughly reconciled to the King suddenly died as he was on horsebacke for want of meate as it was said. When the King had set all things in good order in Britaine, he returned into Fraunce and appointed that the Ladie Margaret of Flaunders should remaine, accompanied with the Princes of Tarente in the castell of Melun upon the river of Seine.

Maximilian was forewarned of all these French practises, and seemed to make no account of them; but when he perceived this marriage to be accomplished, it doubled his hatred against the King, so far forth, that he openly railed upon him and vowed himselfe to destroy Fraunce with fire and sword, and presently invaded Picardie. But the Lord of Cordes governor thereof, made head against him, and valiantly defended the countrey, to his owne honor and the profit of Fraunce. Further, Maximilian meaning a thorow revenge upon this realme, stirred up the English men the ancient enimies of the crowne to passe into Fraunce, promising them great aide both of men and money out of his dominions. Wherefore I will heere speake a word or two of the affaires of England, because the Englishmen are our next neighbors, and both in peace and war have ever to do with us, and we with them.

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Of the troubles in England, and how the King of England passed the sea and besieged Bolloin, and of the peace betweene the King and him, and of the surprising of Arras and Saint Omers by the King of Romaines men.



KING EDWARD the fourth, the same that met with King Lewis the eleventh at Picquigny, dying in the yeere 1483, left behind him two sonnes being very yoong, and divers daughters, the government of the which sonnes together with the realme was committed to the Duke of Glocester King Edwards brother: but he most un-naturally murdered his two nephewes, slewe those of the nobilitie that he thought would impugne his proceedings, and usurped the crowne. In the end the Duke of Buckingham who had taken part with the Duke of Glocester (who intituled himselfe King Richard) in all his actions fell at variance with him, and sollicited Henry Earle of Richmond that had lived many yeeres in Britaine as a banished man; to passe over into England, promising him a great armie to joine with him so soone as he should be landed. The Earle communicated this matter with Peter Landois, who wholie at that time governed the Duke of Britaine. The said Landois hoping that the Earle if by his meanes he obtained the realme of England, would give him aide to revenge him of his enimies; perswaded the Duke of Britaine to succour him in his enterprise, who furnished him of three great ships well manned with soldiers, which tooke sea and sailed towards England: but when they were readie to land, the Earle was advertised that the Duke of Buckingham was beheaded, his armie defeated, and all his faction over-

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thrown, and that King Richard lay with a great army upon the sea coast attending his landing. Upon which newes the Earle of Richmond returned, thinking to recover the coast of Britaine from whence he was departed, but tempest drave him upon the coast of Normandy, where he was forced to take land. The Ladie of Beaujeu being advertised thereof, sent unto him, desiring him to come to speake with the King, and so he did. The King curteously received him, and entertained him well. Afterward he returned to Vannes in Britaine there to remaine as before, attending some better opportunitie. But Peter Landois seeing himselfe disappointed of his purpose, altered his minde, and practised with King Richard to deliver the Earle of Richmond into his hands: who being advertised thereof, under colour of going a hauking one morning with ten or twelve horses fled into Fraunce to King Charles, who not long after furnished the Earle of ships, and a good number of soldiers to accompany him into England, where by the helpe of the French and of divers of his owne kinsmen, who had called him into England and tooke part with him, he slew King Richard in the field, and was himselfe crowned King in his place. This good turne of King Charles, together with the desire the King of England had to live quietly at home in his countrey, and to gather wealth, was the cause that King Henry during all the wars and troubles in Britaine above mentioned, had not passed his forces into Fraunce: notwithstanding that he had bene often earnestly sollicitated thereunto, both by the Duke of Britaine, and the Earle of Dunois and others of that faction. For ordinarily when any troubles arise in Fraunce, our neighbors, especially the Englishmen, within a yeere are bidden to the banquet, and so was King Henry invited, and had come long ago, if the reasons above rehearsed together with some other respects, namely feare of domestick troubles, had not staid him at home.

But notwithstanding the King of Englands backwardnes heeretofore to invade Fraunce: yet in the yeere 1490 partly by the earnest sollicitation of Maximilian, who promised him great aide in his wars, and yet performed nothing: partly to content his owne people, who began to account him as too

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much affectionate to the French in that he had suffered them to the great prejudice of the realme of England, to unite to the crowne of Fraunce the Duchie of Britaine: he passed over his armie to Calice, and from thence marched and laide his siege before Bolyone, whither the Lord of Cordes and the bastard of Cardonne Captaine of Arras, with a small army went to make resistance. Further, the King levied his forces to succour the place, but because his armie proceeded but slowly forward: the said de Cordes and Cardonne tooke upon them the defence of the towne. This siege was nothing hot, for the which cause a herault was sent into the English campe to treat of peace; from the which King Henry seemed nothing strange as wel for the affection that he bare to the King, who had aided him to obtaine the realme of England; as also for that he feared sedition at home, and durst not long be absent out of his realme, because Maximilian had broken promise with him, and lastly because he hoped by this peace to receive of the King a great summe of money, which he loved as well as any Prince in his time. De Cordes finding the King of Englands inclination to peace, went and communed with him in his campe: his demaunds were, first a great summe of money that he said he had lent the late Duke of Britaine: and secondarily, that the King should defraie all the charges that he had been at in these wars. All the which the King yeelded unto, and order was given that the King of England should yeerely receive a certaine summe of money, till all the summes by him demanded were cleerely paid and discharged, and thus returned the King of England home.

In the meane time while de Cordes and Cardonne were at Bolloin treating with the King of England: the citizens of Arras knowing the garrison within the towne to be but weake, practised to yeeld it into Maximilians hands, who sent certaine bands thither, the which in great diligence approached neere to the towne. When all things were in a readines, and the gates being so negligently guarded, that the traitors with their counterfaieted keies had opened them, they began a song, whereby they willed the enimies to make haste, who presently repaired to the gates, and were received

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into the towne. Paul Carquelevant a Briton, governor of the towne in the absence of the bastard of Cardonne, at the enimies first entrie retired himselfe with his soldiers into the castell; but fearing least it should be taken by assault, he soone abandoned it, greatly to his reproch: for if he had held it but till the next day, divers French bands had come thither to his reliefe. The towne was spoiled, and many slaine, neither were the churches spared nor the traitors houses. The author of this treason was a poore smith that dwelled upon the towne wall, and had beene the onely man that was suffered to remaine in the towne by Lewis the eleventh, when he transported the townes men as a colonie into Fraunce. Carquelevant the governor, when the towne was surprised lay fast a sleepe, drowned in drinke and good cheere as it is said. The towne was spoiled by the soldiers because Maximilian was behinde with them for certaine moneths paie. Saint Omers was also taken at the same time, though some refer it to an other time, but whensoever it was taken, this is most certaine that the negligence of the watch was the losse thereof. For the enimies being led by George Dabecfin made shew at their first comming before the towne, as though they would have scaled it, at which time the French soldiers were ready to withstand them upon the wals, being strong and verie defensible both by Nature and by Arte: whereupon the enimies under pretence of feare, retired into their campe; yea and further, when the French issued foorth to skirmish with them, they ever retired faining the like feare, which dissimulation they used by the space of eight daies, and by this their pollicie, caused the French to remit much of their accustomed industry and diligence: which when the Burgundians and Almaines perceived, they with great expedition reared ladders against the wals and bulwarks of the towne, which they easily entered, the watch being fast a sleepe, and in some place no watch at all. Then brake they open the gates, slew the French soldiers and the citizens, and so became Masters of the towne.

At the same time was Amiens also attempted by the Burgundians in the night, and like to have beene surprised by the like negligence of the watch: but Katherine de Liques (a

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woman of a manlike courage) awaked the watch out of their dead sleepe, by meanes whereof the alarme was sounded, and all the towne arose in armes, and part went to defend the wals, and the rest issued foorth and skirmished, and put to flight Maximilians bands, who plainly confessed that the diligence and industrie of one woman had wrong the victorie out of their hands.

CHAPTER VIII

Of the restitution of the Counties of Roussillon and Parpignan to the King of Spaine, of the Emperor Fridericks death, of the peace betweene the King of Romaines and the King, and of the Duke of Orleans delivery out of prison.



FERDINAND King of Arragon desired nothing more than to recover out of the Kings hands the counties of Roussillon and Parpignan, engaged by him (as he said) to King Lewis the eleventh for fiftie thousand crownes. But the nobles of Fraunce would not condescend to this restitution, because these two Counties were a rampier for the realme on that side towards Spaine: adding that they were not engaged to King Lewis, but absolutely solde. And notwithstanding that the King of Spaine alleaged that King Lewis by his last will and Testament had commanded the said Counties to be restored, knowing that they were wrongfully withheld: yet his perswasions and allegations little availed. Wherefore hee perceiving that this way no good would bee done, fell to practise with them of religion, hoping by their preaching of conscience to King Charles to win that of him that otherwise he saw no meanes

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to obtaine. Wherefore he corrupted with a great summe of money Oliver Maillard, or as others write Iohn de Mauleon, a Frier Franciscane, confessor to the Lady of Beaujeu the Kings sister, who under his coule of religion cloking his hypocrisie and covetousnes, perswaded her, that except restitution were made of these territories to the King of Spaine, the King her brothers government could not prosper nor please God. She being mooved in conscience by this Friers perswasions, brake this matter to Lewis of Amboise bishop of Alby, the Kings schoolmaster, who together with her so terrified the Kings conscience, that he did not onely make restitution of the said territories by the hands of the said bishop, whom he sent thither to deliver them: but also freely released to the King of Arragon all the money that King Lewis his father had paid for them; with these conditions, that the said King of Arragon and his successors, should ever after love and honor the realme of Fraunce, that he should make no war against it, nor aide with money, victuals, or councell any of the enimies thereof, nor permit them to have passage through his dominions. And thus were these countries restored, greatly to the French mens grieffe and dammage; but in truth the King the rather inclined to restore them, because hee began alreadie by the perswasion of those that were about him to phansie a voyage into Italy, for the recoverie of the realme of Naples, which afterward tooke effect, though the King both now and long after this, kept his purpose secret to himselfe, and one or two more, which voyage I thinke was the principall cause that induced him to restore the foresaid countries, thereby to tie the King of Spaine to him, that he should not trouble him in his enterprise; but he misreckoned himselfe, for he was no sooner past the mountaines, but the King of Spaine forgot all his kindnes, and fell to practise a league with his enimies.

While these matters passed thus in Fraunce, Fridericke the Emperor died, to whom his sonne Maximilian succeeded, who notwithstanding was never crowned neither greatly desired so to be, although with a small request he might have obtained it. The Emperor Maximilian purposing to quiet the state of the Empire troubled by his fathers death,

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*The Emperor
Fridericke
died the 19 of
August, 1493.*

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CHAPTER VIII

Of the restitution of the Counties of Roussillon and Parpignan to the King of Spaine, of the Emperors Fridericks death, of the peace betweene the King of Romaines and the King.

**This peace was concluded at Senlis, anno 1494.*

seemed more enclined to peace with the King than heretofore he had beene, which happened verie fortunately for the Kings affaires: for without Maximilian were pacified, his voiage into Italie must of force have staide; but both the parties by this meanes inclining to concord, the peace* was soone concluded: the Emperors daughter was restored unto him, and the countie of Artois together with all the townes he quarrelled. And thus the King being in peace with all his neighbors: namely, with the Emperor and the Kings of England and Spaine, and possessing the Duchie of Britaine quietly by his marriage, and by that meanes having no body to feare, began wholly to dispose himselfe to his voiage into Italy, whereupon his minde was altogether fixed.

Further, about this verie time the King at the earnest sute and continuall teares of his sister Iane a Ladie of singular pietie and chastitie, restored not onely to liberty, but also to his favor and familiaritie, Lewis Duke of Orleans (husband to the saide Ladie,) taken prisoner at the battell of Saint Albin in Britaine, as before you have heard: whereby as the King deserved great commendation for his clemencie in preserving his enemy taken in battell and restoring him to his former dignitie and honor: so did he also thereby provide that no discontented subject at home should trouble his estate in his absence in his voyage to Naples: whereunto the historie of Commines now calleth us, which from the death of King Lewis the eleventh till this present, I have supplied out of other good authors, because the said Commines being imprisoned, or in disgrace almost ever sithence King Lewis his death till the saide voiage of Naples, (whereat he was present) was silent and left nothing in writing to the posteritie of all those yeeres.

THE SEVENTH BOOKE
OF THE HISTORIE OF PHILIP DE COMMINES,
TREATING OF THE PRINCIPALL ACTS OF
KING CHARLES THE EIGHT, SONNE
TO LEWIS THE ELEVENTH



THE SEVENTH BOOKE

THE PROLOGUE OF THE AUTHOR

Containing that which he mindeth to treat of in
this historie following.



TO continue the Historie written by me Philip de Commynes of the raigne of King Lewis the eleventh (whom God assoile,) I wil now declare the occasion that moved King Charles the eight his sonne to make his voiage into Italy, wherat my selfe was present. The said King departed from Vienna in Daulphin the 23 of August, the yeere 1494, and returned into his realme about October, the yeere 1495. Before the enterprise was fully resolved on, the matter was often debated whether he should go or not: for the voiage seemed very dangerous to all men of wisdom and experience, neither did any allow thereof, but the King himselfe, and one Stephen de Vers borne in Languedoc, a man of meane parentage, and utterly unacquainted with the wars, and all things thereunto appertaining. One other also being of the receipt was a furtherer thereof till his hart failed him, namely the generall Brissannet, who afterward by occasion of this voiage, was preferred to many goodly dignities and spirituall promotions, and created a Cardinall. The former had alreadie gotten goodly possessions, for he was Seneschall of Beaucaire, and president of the Compts at Paris: he had served the King in his youth very faithfully, being a groome of his chamber, and by his meanes the generall was woon to favour this voiage; so that they two

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were the onely authors thereof; for the which, fewe commended, but many blamed them: for all things necessarie for so great an enterprise were wanting. The King was yong, a weake body, wedded to his owne will, slenderly accompanied with wise men or good captaines, and so utterly unfurnished of money: that before his departure, he borrowed of the banke of Soly at Genua a hundred thousand franks upon great interest, from Mart to Mart.* In divers other places also he borrowed money as hereafter you shall heare. His army was unprovided of tents and pavillions, and winter was begun when he entred into Lombardy. One onely good thing had he, to wit, a couragious company of yong gentlemen: yet not in such militarie discipline as was requisite. Wherefore we must of necessitie conclude that this voiage was governed by God alone, both at our going forth, and our returne home; for the wisdom of the authors thereof above mentioned, served to no great purpose: notwithstanding they might justly vaunt themselves to be the occasion of the great honor and renowme their Master wan thereby.

* The interest of this monie, as he saith in the end of the fourth Chapter, amounted in fower moneths to fourteen thousand franks. Further, there are at Genua certaine Marts in the yere, from the one of the which to the other, they let out their money: it is betweene every Marte fower monthes.

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CHAPTER I

How René Duke of Lorraine came into Fraunce to demand the Duchie of Bar, and the Earledome of Provence which King Charles held, and how he failed to enter into the realme of Naples, whereunto he pretended title as the King did, and what right both of them had thereunto.



THE yeere of the Kings coronation* being the 14 or 15 of his age, the Duke of Lorraine came into Fraunce, to demand the Duchie of Bar which King Lewis the eleventh had withholden from him, and likewise the Earledome of Provence, left to the said King Lewis by the last will and Testament of King Charles of Anjou his cosen germaine; † who died without issue. The Duke of Lorraine pretended title to it, as sonne and heire to the daughter of Rene King of Sicilie, Duke of Anjou, and Earle of Provence, alleaging that the said King Rene had done him wrong; ‡ in preferring King Charles of Anjou being but his brother the Earle of Maines sonne, before him being his daughters sonne. § The other answered, that by their ancestors testaments Provence could not descend to the female. In the ende Bar was yelded to him, for the which the King demanded onely a summe of money. Further, because the said Duke of Lorraine was highly favored, and friended by divers of great authoritie in Fraunce, (especially by Iohn Duke of Bourbon, who was old, and desirous to marrie his

* King Charles was crowned ann. 1484, in Iune.

† This cosin german must be referred to King Lewis.

‡ For King Rene made Charles his brothers son his heire, omitting this Duke of Lorraine his daughters son.

§ The pedegree in the end of the worke will make this title plaine.

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sister) it was agreed that during the space of fower yeeres, in the which his title to the Earledome of Provence should be examined, his estate should be wholly defraied by the King, and that he should have charge of an hundred launces, together with a yeerely pension of sixe and thirtie thousand franks during the said fower yeeres. My selfe was present at the debating and ending of all these controversies, being one of the commissioners purposely chosen for the determination thereof, both by the Kings neerest kinsmen, and by the three estates of his realme: so was also Stephen de Vers above mentioned, who because he had gotten certaine possessions in Provence, caused the King (as yoong as he was) in the presence of his sister the Duchesse of Bourbon, to say to Monsieur de Comminges, and to Monsieur de Lau, (who were both also in the said commission) and to my selfe, that we should do our endeavor, that he might not lose the Earledome of Provence; which words he uttered before the agreement above mentioned was made.

Before the fower yeeres expired, certaine Lawyeres of Provence brought forth the testaments of King Charles the first, brother to Saint Lewis, and of other Kings of Sicilie* of the house of Fraunce. These Lawyeres (among other proofes) alleaged that not onely the Earledome of Provence, but also the realme of Sicilie, with all the house of Anjous other possessions, appertained of right to the King, and that the Duke of Lorraine had no right thereto, notwithstanding others maintained the contrarie. All these Lawyers depended wholly upon Stephen de Vers, who nourished his Master in this language, that King Charles Earle of Provence last deceased, sonne to Charles of Anjou Earle of Maine, and nephew† to King Rene, left Provence to King Lewis by his last will and Testament, and that King Rene before his death made the said Charles his heire, preferring him before the Duke of Lorraine his daughters sonne, because of the testaments of King Charles the first and his

* The author under the name of Sicily comprehendeth the realm of Naples also, because both the realmes bare the name of Sicily, the one beyond, the other on this side the far.

† By nephew he meaueth brothers son.

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wife Countesse of Provence : wherein they had willed that the realme* and the countie of Provence should not be severed nor descend to the heire female, so long as there was issue male remaining. The like testaments they alleaged also to have bene made, by their next successors in the said realme, namely by Charles the second. During these fower yeeres space, those that governed the King, that is to say, the Duke and Dutchesse of Bourbon, and certaine of the Kings chamber, namely Monsieur de Graville† and others, who at that time bare great sway in Fraunce ; called to the Court to high authoritie and estimation, the said Duke of Lorraine to have him for their support and aide : (for he was a hardie gentleman and more than a courtier,) not doubting but easily to rid their hands of him at their pleasure, as also they did when they found themselves strong ynough, and the force of the Duke of Orleans‡ and others (whom I neede not name) so weakened, that it was no more to be feared. But after the fower yeeres expired, they could no longer hold the Duke of Lorraine, unlesse they would put him in possession of the countie of Provence, or assure him of it by writing at a day, and continue still his pension of sixe and thirtie thousand franks : whereunto because they would not condescend, he departed the Court greatly discontented.

Fower or five moneths before his departure, a good overture was made unto him if he would have embraced it : for the whole realme of Naples rebelled against King Ferrande, because of his great tyrannie and his childrens, so farre forth that all the nobles and the third part of the realme yelded themselves to the Church. Notwithstanding King Ferrande being aided by the Florentines pressed them sore : for the which cause the Pope and the saide Nobles of the

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* Understand this of the realme of Sicilie and Naples.

† This de Graville was after Admirall of Fraunce.

‡ Madam de Beaujeu Duchesse of Bourbon was appointed by King Lewis and the three estates governor of King Charles her brother ; but the Duke of Orleans, called after Lewis the 12, withstood the decree, and was in armes with divers noble men, demanding the government as the first Prince of blood, as in my Supply is mentioned at large, against these they here named, called the Duke of Lorraine.

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realme that had rebelled, sent for the Duke of Lorraine purposing to crowne him King, and so forward the enterprise was, that the Gallies and the Cardinall Saint Peter ad Vincula (who should have conveighed him thither,) staid for him a long time at Genua: during the which space he was busied with these broiles in Court, and delayed his departure, notwithstanding that he had messengers with him from all the Nobles of the saide realme, earnestly pressing him to come with speede. To be short, the King and his Councill shewed themselves willing by all meanes they could to aide and succour him, and gave him sixtie thousand frankes, (whereof he received twentie thousand but lost the rest,) and agreed also that he should leade with him the hundred launces that were under his charge, promising further to send ambassadors round about in his favour. Notwithstanding the King was now nineteene yeeres of age or more, and governed by those above named, who daily beate into his head, that the realme of Naples of right appertained to himselfe, which I write because divers of meane estate raised great contention about this matter: as I understood both by certaine of the ambassadors, sent to Rome, Florence, Genua, and other places in the Duke of Lorraines favor; and also by the Duke himselfe, when he passed through Moulins where I then lay with Iohn Duke of Bourbon, because of the troubles in Court. But his enterprise was now halfe lost through his long delaie. I went fourth to receive him, notwithstanding that he had deserved no such curtesie at my hands: for he was one of those that chased me from the Court* with rough and discourteous words: yet now he made the most of me that might be, lamenting much the government of the estate. He abode at Moulins two daies with Iohn Duke of Bourbon, and then tooke his journey towards Lyons.

To conclude, his friends were so wearied and weakned because of his long delay, that the Pope made peace, and the nobles of the realme also, who under suretie thereof went to Naples where they were all taken prisoners: not-

* For Philip de Commines was a folower of the Duke of Orleans, as himselfe writeth in the last chapter of the last booke.

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withstanding that both the Pope, the Venetians, the King of Spaine, and the Florentines had undertaken to see the treatie kept and observed, and had sworne and promised the Nobles safetie. The Prince of Salerne escaped and came into Fraunce, refusing to be comprehended in the treatie as one well acquainted with King Ferrands humour: but the Duke of Lorraine returned into his countrey with dishonor, and lost his credit with the King, lost his men of armes, and lost also the pension of sixe and thirtie thousand frankes which he received for Provence: and even at this present being the yeere 1497 he liveth yet in this estate.

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THE Prince of Salerne fled to Venice (where he was well friended) accompanied with three of his nephewes, sonnes to the Prince of Bisignan.* There they asked counsell of the Seniorie, (as the Prince himselfe told me) whether it would please them that they should retire, to the Duke of Lorraine, the King of Fraunce, or the King of Spaine. They answered, that the Duke of Lorraine was a dead man unable to do them good, and that the King of Spaine should be too strong, if to the yle of Sicilie and the other places which he held in the Venetian gulfe he

* Antōnel of Saint Severin Prince of Salerne, and Bernardin Prince of Besignan, were brethren.—Guicciar.

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should joine the realme of Naples; adding, that he was alreadie mightie upon the sea: wherefore they advised him to go into Fraunce, saying that with the Kings of Fraunce* that had held the said realme, they had ever lived in perfect amitie and friendship, and found them alwaies good neighbors. But I suppose, they thought not the enterprise should have had such successe, as afterward it had. Thus these noble men above named came into Fraunce, where they were curteously received, but their entertainment was small. They followed their sute earnestly the space of two yeeres, addressing themselves wholly to Stephan de Vers then Seneschall of Beaucaire and of the Kings privie chamber.

One day they lived in hope, another in despaire; but their friends used great diligence in Italie, specially at Milan, whereof Iohn Galeas was Duke, not the great Iohn Galeas that lieth buried in the Charterhouse of Pavia, but he that was sonne to Duke Galeas and the Duchesse Bonne daughter to the Duke of Savoy, a man of no great sense. The said Duchesse had the wardship of hir children, and my selfe have seen hir there in great authoritie, being a widow, and governed by one Cico a Secretarie, and an ancient servant of that house. This Cico had banished all Duke Galeas brethren for the said Ladies safetie and her childrens, and among the rest the Lord Lodovic (afterward Duke of Milan) whom she revoked being her enemie, and in war against hir, together with the Lord Robert of Saint Severine a valiant captaine, whom she had also banished by the said Cicos perswasion. To be short, at the request of a yoong man that carved before hir called Anthony Thesin, being a Ferrarian of verie meane parentage, she called them all home through great simplicitie, supposing they would do the said Cico no harme, and the truth is that so they had sworne and promised. But the third day after their returne, they tooke him notwithstanding their oath, and caried him in an emptie caske through the towne of Milan: he was

* He meaneth by Kings of Fraunce those Kings of the house of Fraunce, that had held the realme of Naples, to wit, the Dukes of Anjou.

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allied by marriage to one of the Viscomtes,* and if the said Viscomt had beene in the citie at that present, some say they durst not have taken him. Moreover the Lord Lodovic caused this matter so to be ordered, that the said Robert of S. Severin comming that way, should meete with this Cico as he passed through the towne in this estate, because he hated him extremely. Thus was he led prisoner to the castle of Pavie where he died.

They used this Ladie very honorably in hir judgement, seeking to content hir humor in all things; but all matters of importance they two dispatched, making hir privie but to what pleased them, and no greater pleasure could they do hir, than to communicate nothing with her.

They permitted her to give this Anthony Thesin what she would, they lodged him hard by hir chamber, he carried her on horsebacke behinde him in the towne, and in hir house was nothing but feasting and dauncing; but this jollitie endured but halfe a yeere. She gave many goodly things to this Thesin, and the couriers packets were adressed to him, which bred great disdain in many, wherein the L. Lodovic, uncle to the two children (aspiring to the Duchie, which afterward also he obtained) nourished them as much as in him lay. One morning they tooke her two sonnes from hir, and lodged them in a great tower within the castell called the rocke, whereunto consented the said Lodovic, the Lord Robert of Severin, one called de Pallevoisin governor of the yong Dukes person, and the captaine of the rocke,† who since Duke Galeas death had never departed out of the place, neither did many yeeres after this, till he was taken prisoner by the Lord Lodovickes subiltie, and his masters folly, being of his mothers disposition. After the above named had lodged these children in the rocke, they seized upon the treasure being at that time the richest in Christen-

* Viscomte in both these places, and divers others, is a proper name, not a name of honor, and signifieth as much as Biscomte, that is, wise Earle, because the Viscomti were Lords of Angiera and Milan.

† This captaine meant no treason to the children as others did, but consented to this deed, because he thought the children in more safetie with him than with their foolish mother.

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dome, and made her yeeld account thereof. Moreover, they caused three keies therof to be made, one of the which she kept, but the treasure after that day she never touched. They made her also to surrender the wardship of her children, and the said Lodovic was chosen their guardian. Further, they sent letters into divers countries especially into Fraunce (which my selfe saw) written to her great dishonor: for they charged her with this Anthony Thesin, whom notwithstanding they sent away unharmed for the Lord Robert saved both his life and goods. These two great men entred not into the rocke at their pleasure, for the captaine had his brother in it with a garrison of a hundred and fiftie soldiers or better, and when they entred, the gate was straightly kept, neither entred they accompanied at any time with more than a man or two, and this endured a long space.

In the meane time great variance arose between the Lord Lodovic and Robert of S. Severin, (for usually two great men cannot long agree :) but Lodovic wan the garland, and the other departed to the Venetians service. Notwithstanding, afterwards two of his sonnes returned to the service of the said Lodovic, and the state of Milan, (namely Master Galeas, and the Earle of Cajazze) some say with their fathers consent, others say no: but howsoever it were, the said Lodovic highly favoured them, and both hath beene and yet is very faithfully served by them. You shall understand that their father the Lord Robert of Saint Severin was issued of a base daughter of the house of Saint Severin, but in Italie they make no great difference betweene a bastard and a childe legitimate. This I write because they furthered our enterprise in Italy, aswell in favor of the Prince of Salerne chiefe of the said house of Saint Severin, as also for divers other respects, whereof hereafter you shall heare.

The Lord Lodovic declared immediately that he would by all meanes possible maintaine his authoritie, for he caused money to be coined, on the one side whereof the Dukes image was stamped, and on the other his owne, whereat many murmured. This Duke was married to the daughter of Alfonse Duke of Calabria, and King of Naples

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after his father King Ferrandes death. His said wife was a Ladie of a great courage, and would gladly have increased hir husbands authoritie if she could, but hir husband lacked wit, and disclosed all hir attempes. The captaine also of the rocke of Milan continued long in great authoritie, and never departed out of the place; for many jealousies were now arisen, so far foorth that when one of the children went abroad, the other abode within. To be short, a yeere or two before we entred into Italy, the Lord Lodovic having been abroad with the Duke, and purposing some mischiefe, waited upon him at his returne home to the castell according to his accustomed maner. The captaine came upon the draw-bridge with his men about him, to kisse the Dukes hand as their maner is. The Duke at this time was somewhat without the bridge, in such sort that the captaine was forced to step foorth a pace or two, where these two sonnes of Saint Severin, and others that were about them laid hold upon him. They within drew up the bridge, but the Lord Lodovic caused an end of a waxe candle to be lighted, and sware that he would smite off their heads* if they yeilded not the place before the candle were burned out; whereupon they delivered it, and then he furnished it well and surely for himselfe, but all in the Dukes name. Further, he edited the captaine of high treason, laying to his charge that he would have put the place into the Emperors hands: and staid certaine Almaines, charging them as practisers with the captaine about this enterprise, yet afterward dismissed them without further harme. He beheaded also one of his owne secretaries, charging him in like maner as a dealer in the matter, and yet one other who he said had been a messenger† between them. The captaine he held long in prison, yet in the end delivered him, pretending that Duchesse Bonne had once hired a Brother of the captaines to kill the said Lodovic

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* The sense in mine opinion were better to read *qu'il luy feriot*, then *qu'il leur feroit*, that is, that he would smite off the captaines head, if the place were not yeilded, for they within were out of Lodovicus power.

† The French had it in this sense. And another who said that he had beene a messenger betweene them: but undoubtedly the place is corrupted and to be read as I have amended it.

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as he entred into the castell, whom the captaine withheld from executing the fact, for the which cause he now saved his life. Notwithstanding if he had been giltie of so heinous a crime as a purpose to yeeld the place to the Emperor, who might have laid claime to it, both as Emperor and Duke of Austrich (for that house pretendeth some title thereunto :) I thinke he would not have pardoned him ; for it would have made a great alteration in Italie, and the whole estate of Milain would have revolted in one day. For when they lived under the Emperors, every household paid but halfe a ducat for tribute : but now they are cruelly and tyrannously governed, both the Spiritualtie, Nobilitie, and Commons.

The Lord Lodovic seeing himselfe seized of the castell, and all the force of the countrie at his commandement, determined to attempt further ; for he that possesseth Milan possesseth the whole estate, both bicause the chiefe of the countrie be resident there, and also bicause those that have the charge and government of the other places be all Milanois borne. Sure for the quantitie of this Duchie, I never saw a pleasanter or plentifuler peece of ground. For if the Prince would content himselfe with the yeerely revenues of five hundred thousand ducats ; his subjects should be but too rich, and the Prince live in safetic : but he levieth yeerely sixe hundred and fiftie thousand or seven hundred thousand which is great tyranny : and therefore the people desire nothing more than change of their Prince. Which the L. Lodovic considering, together with the other reasons above rehearsed, and being already married to the Duke of Ferraraes daughter, by whom he had many children, determined to accomplish his intent, and endeavored to win friends not onely in the said Duchie, but also abroad in Italie. Wherefore first he entred into league with the Venetians for the preservation of their estate, whereunto he was great friend to his father in lawes prejudice, from whom the said Venetians not long before had taken a little territorie called the Polesan, environed with water, and marvellouslie abound- ing with all kinde of wealth. This country being distant but halfe a league from Ferrara, the Venetians possesse yet at

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this day. There are in it two prety townes, which I have beene in my selfe, the one named Rovigue, the other Labadie. The Duke of Ferrara lost it in the war that himselfe first mooved against the Venetians: for notwithstanding that before the end of those wars, Alphonse Duke of Calabria (his father King Ferrande yet living) the Lord Lodovic with the force of Milan, the Florentines, the Pope, and the towne of Bologna came to his aide: by meanes whereof the Venetians were brought altogether under foote, or at the least to great extremitie, being utterly unfurnished of monie, and having lost divers places: yet the said Lodovic concluded a treatie to their honor and profit; for every man was restored to his owne save the poore Duke of Ferrara, who was forced to leave unto them the Polesan (which they yet hold :) notwithstanding that he had mooved this war at the request of the Lord Lodovic, and of King Ferrande* whose daughter he had married. The report went that Lodovic received threescore thousand ducats of the Venetians for making this treatie. Whether it were so or no, I know not, but sure I am that the Duke of Ferrara was once perswaded that it was so: for at that time the said Lodovic was not married to his daughter. From that day forward amitie ever continued betweene the Venetians and the said Lodovic. No servant nor kinsman of Iohn Galeas Duke of Milan sought to impeach and stop the Lord Lodovic from seizing the Duchie into his own hands, save onely the Duchesse his wife, who was yoong, but a very wise Lady. She was daughter to Alfonse Duke of Calabria before mentioned, sonne and heire to Ferrande King of Naples. In the yeere 1493 the said Lodovic sent to King Charles the 8 now rainging, to perswade him to come into Italie to conquer the realme of Naples, and to vanquish and subdue those that possessed it: for so long as they florished and were of force, he durst never attempt that which afterward he accomplished. At that time the said Ferrande King of Naples and Alphonse his sonne were puissant, rich, of great experience in the wars, and accounted Princes of haut courages, though afterward

* The Duke of Ferrara had married King Ferrandes daughter named Elenor.

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their actions declared the contrarie. The said Lodovic was also a very wise man, but marvellous timorous, and humble when he stood in feare, and void of all faith, if the breach thereof might turne to his profit. I speake as one that knew him throughly well, bicause I have dealt with him in many matters. But to proceede, in the yeere 1493 (as before I said) the Lord Lodovic began to tikle this yoong King Charles, being but two and twentie yeeres of age, with the ambitious vaine glories of Italie, shewing him what right he had to this goodly realme of Naples, which I warrant you he skilfully blazed and painted foorth. In all these negotiations he addressed himselfe to Stephan de Vers, then newly made Seneschall of Beaucaire, and marvellously enriched though not satisfied, and to the Generall Brissonet, a rich man, skilfull in matters of the receipt, and great friend at that time to the said Seneschall, by whose meanes the Lord Lodovic perswaded the said Brissonet to become a priest, promising to make him a Cardinall, but the Seneschall himselfe he promised to make a Duke. And to set all these practises on foote, the said Lodovic sent in the same yeere to Paris a goodly ambassage to the King, the chiefe whereof was the Earle of Cajazze sonne and heire to the above named Robert of Saint Severin, who found there the Prince of Salerne his cosin: for the said Prince was chiefe of the house of Saint Severin (as I have already made mention) and lived in Fraunce, being banished by King Ferrande of Naples, as before you have heard, and therefore travelled earnestly that this voiage to Naples might go forward. With the said Earle of Cajazze came also Charles Earle of Bellejoyeuse, and Master Galeas Viscount of Milan, who were both in very good order and well accompanied, but openly they used salutations onely and generall speeches. This was the first great ambassage that came from the Lord Lodovic to the King. True it is that he had sent before this, one of his Secretaries to negotiate with the King, to send his deputie into Italie to receive homage of his cosin the Duke of Milan for Genua, which was granted him against all reason: * notwithstanding I

* Duke Galeas ought to have come into Fraunce to have done homage to the King in person, but bicause Lodovic would not let him depart

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will not denie, but that the King of especial favor might assigne one to receive it of him ; for when this Duke Galeas was warde to his mother, I being then ambassador for King Lewis the xi. received his homage in the castell of Milan, having an expresse commission from the King so to do. But Genua was then out of the Duk of Milans hands, and held by Master Baptist de Campefourgouse ; but at this present the Lord Lodovic had recovered it, and gave to certaine of the Kings chamber eight thousand ducats for the investure thereof, who by receiving the money greatly prejudiced the King. For before the graunt of the said investure, they might have seized Genua to the Kings owne use, if they had would : * but seeing they meant to take money for it, they ought to have demanded more : for Duke Galeas paid at one payment for it to King Lewis my Master fiftie thousand ducats, wherof the King (whose soule God pardon) gave me thirtie thousand crownes in reward. Notwithstanding they said they received these eight thousand ducats with the Kings consent, and Stephen de Vers Seneschall of Beaucaire was one of those that tooke the money, happily to entertaine the better the Lord Lodovic for this enterprise, which he so much both favored and furthered. After audience given openly at Paris to the ambassadors above mentioned, the Earle of Cajazze had secret conference with the King. The said Earle was in great credit at Milan, but his brother Master Galeas of Saint Severin in greater, especially in marriall affaires. His Master could now dispose of the estate of Milan as of his owne : for the which cause he offered the King great services and aide as wel of men as money, affirming the enterprise to be of no difficultie. This done, he and Master Galeas Viscount tooke their leave and departed, leaving behinde them the Earle Charles of Bellejoyuse to out of his custody, he found meanes that it should be done to one sent thither by the King as his deputie for that purpose.

* Genua was forfeited, and under colour thereof, the Lord Lodovic had recovered it, but because it was held of the King (for the Genuois had given themselves to Charles the sixt, anno 1394, who sent thither for governor Iohn de Maingre, and afterward to Charles the seventh, anno 1446) it could be forfeited to none but to the King, but by giving away this investure, he gave away his right.

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entertaine the sute, who incontinent put himselfe into French apparell, and travelled so earnestly in this busines, that many began to like of the enterprise. The King sent into Italie to Pope Innocentius, to the Venetians, and to the Florentines one named Peron of Basche, who had beene brought up in the house of Anjou under Duke Iohn of Calabria, and was marvellously affectioned to this voiage. These practises and runnings to and fro continued the space of seven or eight moneths, and those that understood of this enterprise, communed among themselves diversly of it, but none thought that the King would go in person into Italie.

CHAPTER III

How King Charles the eight made peace with the King of Romanes and the Archduke of Austrich, restoring to them the Lady Margaret of Flaunders, befor he made his voiage to Naples.



DURING this delaie above mentioned, peace was treated of at Senlis betweene the King and the Archduke of Austrich, heire of the house of Burgundie, for notwithstanding that they were in truce, yet a breach happened betweene them, because the King refused the King of Romaines daughter sister to the said Archduke (being verie yoong,) and married the daughter of Frauncis Duke of Britaine, to enjoie peaceable thereby the Duchie of Britaine: all the which at the time of this treatie he held, save the towne of Renes and the said daughter being within in it; the which was governed by the Prince of Orange hir uncle, who had made a marriage betweene hir

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and the King of Romaines* and openly solemnised it in the church by a Proctor. All the which happened in the yeere 1492. To this treatie above mentioned came a great ambassage in favoure of the Duke of Austriche from the Emperor Frederick, who offered to be a mediator for the peace: The King of Romaines sent thither also,† and so did the Palzgrave, and the Swissers to pacifie this controversie, being all of opinion that it would kindle a great fire: for the King of Romaines seemed above all measure to be injured, having at one time hir taken from him whom he accounted his wife, and his daughter sent backe to him which many yeeres had bene Queene of Fraunce: but in the end the matter was quietly shut up, and peace concluded. For all parties were wearie of war, especially Duke Philips subjects, who had sustained so many troubles, partly because of wars with this realme, and partly through their owne domesticall divisions, that they could endure no more. The peace was concluded but for fower yeeres, whereunto the King of Romaines agreed, to the end he might repose his subjects, and receive againe his daughter: whom some that were about the King and the said daughter, made difficultie to restore. At this treatie my selfe was present with the rest of the Kings Commissioners being these, Peter Duke of Bourbon, the Prince of Orange, the Lord of Cordes, and divers other noble personages, and promise was there made to restore to the said Duke Philip all that the King held in Artois: for so was it agreed when this mariage was treated of in the yeere 1482, that if it were not accomplished, all the landes that were given with this Lady in mariage should returne againe with hir, or be restored to Duke Philip. But the said Archdukes men had alreadie surprised Arras and Saint Omer, so that onely Hedin, Aire, and Betune remained to be restored: the possession and seniorie whereof were presently delivered them, and they put officers into them: but the King held still the castels, and might place garrisons in them till the

* *Annal. Burgund.* write, with Philip, the King of Romaines sonne, but the best writers agree with our author.

† Maximilian was chosen King of Romaines, anno 1486.—
Funceius.

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fower yeeres were expired, which ended at the feast of Saint Iohn Baptist in the yeere 1498, at which time he was bound to restore them also to the said Archduke, and so he promised and sware to do.

Whether the alteration of these mariages agreed with the lawes of holy Church or no, let others judge: for many Doctors of divinitie said yea, and many nay: but were they lawfull or unlawfull; sure all these Ladies were unfortunate in their issue. Our Queene had three sonnes successively one after another in fower yeeres: one of them* lived almost three yeeres and then died, and the other two be dead also. The Lady Margaret of Austriche was afterward married to the Prince of Castile onely sonne to the King and Queene of Castile, and heire both of Castile and divers other realmes. The said Prince died the first yeere of his marriage in the yeere of our Lord 1497,† leaving his wife great bellied who immediately after hir husbands death fell in travell before hir time, and was delivered of a dead borne childe; which misfortune the King and Queene of Castile and their whole realme lamented a long time. The King of Romanes immediately after this alteration above mentioned, married the daughter of Galeas Duke of Milan, sister to Duke Iohn Galeas before named, the which marriage was made by the Lord Lodovics onely procurement: but it displeased greatly both the Princes of the Empire, and many also of the King of Romanes friends, bicause she was not of a house noble ynough in their opinion to match with their Emperor. For as touching the Viscounts of whom the Dukes of Milan are descended, small nobilitie is in them, and lesse yet in the Sforces; for the first of that house was Francis Sforce Duke of Milan, whose father was a shoemaker‡ dwelling in a little towne called Cotignoles, but a very valiant man, though not so valiant as his sonne, who by meanes of the great favour the people of Milan bare his wife, being base

* Of this childes death he writeth, lib. 3. cap. 13.

† Of this Princes death he writeth at large, lib. 3. cap. 17.

‡ Francis Sforces father (as some write) was first a cooke in the camp, after he became a soldier, and lastly for his valor was made a captaine and a knight.

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daughter to Duke Philip Marie, made himself Duke, and conquered and governed the whole cuntry not as a tyrant, but as a good and just Prince: so that in worthines and vertue, he was comparable to the noblest Princes that lived in his daies. Thus much I have written to shew what followed the change of these marriages, neither know I what may yet hereafter ensue further thereof.

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How King
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eight made
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CHAPTER IV

How the King sent to the Venetians to practise with them before he enterprised his voiage to Naples, and of the preparation that was made for the said voiage.



HOW to returne to the principall matter: you have heard of the Earle of Cajazes and the other ambassadors departure from the King of Paris, and of divers practises entertained in Italie, and how the King as young as he was, greatly affected this voiage, notwithstanding that as yet he discovered his meaning but to the Seneschall and generall onely. Further, he required the Venetians to give him aide and counsell in this enterprise, who answered him that he should be welcome into Italy: but that aide him they could not, because they stood in doubt of the Turke, (yet were they in peace with him) and as touching counsell, it should be too great presumption in them to give counsell to so wise a Prince, having so grave a counsell about him; but they promised rather to helpe him than hinder him. This they tooke to be a wise answer, and so was it I confesse. But notwithstanding that they governe their affaires more circumspectly than any Prince or common wealth in the world; yet God will alwaies have us to know

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that wisdome and forecast of man availe nought, when he is purposed to strike the stroke. For he disposed of this enterprise far otherwise than they imagined, for they thought not that the King would have come in person into Italy, neither stooed they in any feare of the Turke, notwithstanding their forged excuse: for the Turke then rainging was a man of no valor:* but they hoped by this meanes to be revenged of the house of Arragon, which they hated extremely, both the father and the sonne, bicause by their perswasion (as they said) the Turke came to Scutary.† I meane the father of this Turke, called Mahumet Ottoman, who tooke Constantinople, and greatly endammaged the said Venetians. But apart to Alphonse Duke of Calabria they had many other quarrels, for they charged him, first, as onely author of the war the Duke of Ferrara mooved against them, wherein they consumed such infinit treasure, that it had well neere cleane undone them (of the which war a woord or two hath benee spoken before). Secondly, that he had sent a man purposely to Venice to poison their cesterns, at the least, as many as might be come unto, for divers of them be enclosed and locked. They use there none other water, for they are invironed with the sea, and sure that water is very good,‡ as my selfe can witnes: for twise I have benee at Venice, and in my first voiage dranke of it eight moneths together. But the chiefe cause of their hatred against this house of Arragon was none of these above rehearsed; but for that the said house kept them from growing great as well in Italy as Greece, on both the which countries they had their eies fixed: notwithstanding they had lately conquered the Ile of Ciprus upon no title in the world.§ For all these considerations the Venetians thought it their profit, that war should

* This Turke was Bajazed the second.

† Scodra in Latin, a towne in that part of Dalmatia now called Albania.

‡ This is raine water he meaneth. But the Venetians use also other water brought by boats from the mayne land to the yeerely valew of 20000 crownes, and yet notwithstanding all this, are in great distresse of water oftentimes.

§ Why they had no title appeereth by the Pedegree in the end of the worke.

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arise betweene the King and the house of Arragon : but they supposed that it could not have ended so soone as it did, and that it should but weaken their enimies, not utterly destroy them : and further, that if the worst fell, either the one partie or the other to have their helpe, would give them certaine townes in Pouille, lying upon their sea coast : as also in the ende it hapned, but they had well neere misreckoned themselves. Lastly, as touching the calling of the King into Italie, they thought it could not be laid to their charge, seeing they had given him neither counsell nor aide, as appeared by their answer to Peron of Basche.

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In the yeere 1494 the King went to Lyons to attend to his affaires, but no man thought he would passe the mountaines. Thither came to him the above named Master Galeas of Saint Severin, brother to the Earle of Cajazze with a goodly traine, sent from the Lord Lodovic, whose lieutenant and principall servant he was. He brought with him a great number of brave horses and armours to run in, and ran himselfe, and that very well, for he was a young and a gallant knight. The King entertained him very honorably, feasted him sumptuously, and gave him his order. This done, he returned into Italy. But the Earle of Bellejoyeuse remained still with the King to sollicit the voiage. At Genua they began to arme a great navie, whither the King sent the Lord of Ursé Master of his horse, with divers others. In the end he remooved to Vienna in Daulphine, about the beginning of August in the same yeere, whither the Nobles of Genua resorted dayly to him : wherefore to Genua he sent Lewis Duke of Orleans, now King of this realme, a young gentleman of goodly personage, but much given to his pleasures, of whom in this history ample mention shal be made. It was then thought that the said Duke of Orleans should have led this armie by sea to land in the realme of Naples, by the conduct and direction of the above named banished Princes of Salerne and Bisignan. The whole navie was fowerteene ships of Genua, besides a great number of gallies and galleons, and the King was as well obeied there in this case, as he should have been at Paris : for Genua was under the state of Milan, where the Lord Lodovic governed all, having none

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to gainsay him, save onely the Duchesse his nephewes wife, daughter to King Alphonse (for about this present his father King Ferrande died). But the said Lady prevailed little or nothing, both bicause men sawe the King in a readines either to passe into Italy in person, or to send his forces, and also bicause hir husband was a very simple man, and disclosed all hir dooings to the Lord Lodovic his uncle, who had already caused a messenger to be drowned sent by hir to hir father.

This navie did no service, notwithstanding that the charges thereof amounted to three hundred thousand franks, for all the treasure that the K. could levy was imploied that way, by meanes whereof he was unfurnished as before I said, both of good counsell, of money, and of all things necessary for such an enterprise: yet God of his meere grace (as manifestly he declared) gave it good successe. I meane not that the King was not wise of his age, but he was but two and twentie yeeres old, newly crept out of the shell. The two above named that governed him in all this voiage, to wit Stephen de Vers Seneschall of Beaucaire, and the generall Brissonnet now Cardinall of Saint Malo, were men of meane estate, and of no experience, whereby so much the more appeared the woonderfull worke of God: our enimies on the other side, were accounted wise, of great experience in the wars, rich, accompanied with wise men and good captaines, and in possession of the realme. I meane King Alphonse (lately crowned by Pope Alexander a Spaniard, borne in the realme of Arragon) who had the Florentines joined with him, and great intelligence with the Turke. He had also a son bearing armes, called Dom Ferrande, a curteous yoong gentleman, of the age of two or three and twentic yeeres, who was wel-beloved in the realme, and a brother also named Dom Frederic, who succeeded the said Ferrande in this our age, and was a verie wise man, and led their armie upon the sea. He had beene long trained up on this side the mountaines, and of him you had often assured me my Lord of Vienna by your knowledge in Astrologic, that he should be King, so that he once promised me fower thousand franks of yeerely renewes in the said realme, when that came to passe,

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which promise was made twenty yeeres before the prophesie tooke effect. CHAPTER IV

Now to proceede, the King altered his minde* through the Duke of Milans earnest sollicitation made both by letters, by the Earle Charles of Bellejoyeuse his ambassador, and by the two above named. Notwithstanding the Generall in the ende began to faint, seeing all men of wisdom and understanding to mislike this voiage for many respects, and especially because the Kings forces lay abroad in campe in August, unfurnished of money, and all other things necessaric: but the Seneschall alone carried the credit from them all, so far forth that the King shewed a countenance of displeasure to the Generall three or fower daies, but he soone recovered his favor againe. At this present died one of the Seneschals servants of the plague, as men said; for the which cause he durst not repaire to the Kings presence to his great grieffe, for no man sollicitated the voiage: but on the contrarie side the Duke and Duchesse of Bourbon were there, laboring all that in them lay to overthrow it, whereunto also the said Generall encouraged them, by meanes whereof one day the voyage was dashed, and another revived. In the end the King resolved to go, and my selfe mounted on horseback with the foremost, hoping to passe the mountaines the more commodiously with small companie: but I received a countermand, whereby I was advertised that all was altered againe. The selvesame day were borrowed fiftie thousand ducats of a merchant of Milan; but the Lord Lodovic delivered the money upon assurance made to the said merchant for the repayment: my selfe stood bound for six thousand, and others for the rest; but this monie was lent without interest. The King had borrowed before of the banke of Soly at Genua a hundred thousand franks, the interest whereof amounted in fower moneths to 14 thousand franks.† But some said that the two above named had part both in the principall, and also in the interest.

* For he was not minded at the first to have gone in person.

† That is after the rate of starling money, 14 pound in the hundred for fower moneths.

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CHAPTER V

How King Charles departed from Vienna in Daulphine to conquere the realme of Naples in person, and what his navie upon the sea did under the leading of the Duke of Orleans.



TO be short, the King departed from Vienna the 23 of August in the yeere 1494 and marched straight towards Ast.* At Suze Master Galeas of S. Severin came to him in post, from whence the King removed to Thurin, where he borrowed all the Duchesse of Savoyes jewels, who was daughter to the late Lord William Marques of Montferrat, and Duke Charles of Savoyes widowe, the which he engaged for twelve thousand ducats. A few daies after, he went to Casall to the Marques of Montferrats widow, being a wise yong Ladie, daughter to the King of Servia. The Turke had conquered her countrie, and the Emperor, whose kinswoman she was (having as I suppose, taken hir into his protection) had bestowed her in this house of Montferrat. She lent also hir jewels, which were in like manner engaged for twelve thousand ducats. Heereby you may perceive what successe this voiage was like to have had, if God alone had not guided the enterprise. The King abode at Ast a certaine space.† That yeere all the wines of Italy were sower, which our men much misliked, neither could they away with the great heate of the aire. To Ast came the Lord Lodovic and his wife with a goodly traine to visite the King, where they abode two daies: and then the said Lodovic departed to a castell of the Duchie of Milan, a league from Ast called Nom, whither the Kings Councill

* The King came to Ast the 9 of September 1494.—Guicciar.

† The King abode at Ast till the 6 of October.—*Annal. Franc. et Aquit.*

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repaired daily to him. King Alphonse had two armies abroad in the countrie, the one in Romaine* towards Ferrara, under the leading of his sonne, accompanied with the Lord Virgill Vrsin, the Earle of Petilhane, and the Lord Iohn Iames of Trevoul, who is now become French. Against these the King sent the Lord d'Aubigny† a valiant and wise Knight, with two hundred men of armes French, and five hundred men of armes Italians, being in the Kings service, under the leading of the Earle of Cajazze so often before mentioned, who was there as the Lord Lodovics lieutenant, and feared greatly the discomfiture of these forces: which if it had happened, wee had repaired home incontinent, and hee should have had his enemies upon his necke, whose intelligence was great in the Duchie of Milan.

The other armie was upon the sea, under the leading of Dom Frederike King Alphonses brother, and lay at Ligorne and at Pise; for the Florentines tooke part as yet with the house of Arragon, and furnished them of certaine galleies. Moreover, with the said Dom Frederike was Breto de Flisco, and certaine other Genuois, by whose intelligence he hoped to cause Genua to revolt.‡ And sure they had almost obtained their purpose at Specie and Rapalo neere to Genua, where they landed a thousand of their faction, by meanes whereof they had undoubtedly atchieved their enterprise, if they had not bene very speedily assailed. But the selvesame day or the next day, Lewis Duke of Orleans arrived there with certaine ships, and a good number of galleies, and one great galliasse being mine, the patrone whereof was one Master Albert Mely, and it carried the said Duke and the principall of the armie, and manie goodly peeces of artillerie; for it was very strong, and approched so neere the shore, that the verie artillerie almost discomfited the enimies, who

* Alphonse in person levied men in Abruzzo to have fought with Aubigny, but in an assembly held betweene him and the Pope at Vicovare the third of Iuly, it was agreed that he should passe no further, but give the charge of the armie to his son.—Guicciar.

† This Aubigny was a Scottish man and a Steward, and of him the now King of Scots is by his father lineally descended.

‡ Genua was ever divided into the factions of Fregosi (called here in many places Fourgousi) Adorni, Dorei, and Spinoli.

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before had never seene the like: for artillerie was at that time strange and new to the Italian nation. The soldiers landed also that were in the other ships: and from Genua where the Kings whole armie laie, came a band of Swiszers by land led by the Bailife of Digeon, who had joined with him certaine of the Duke of Milans forces (under the leading of Master Iohn Lewis de Flisco brother to the forenamed Breto, and of Master Iohn Adorne:) the which (notwithstanding that they were not at the skirmish) shewed themselves valiant soldiers in defending a straight against the enimies. To be short, because our men came to hand-strokes with the enimies, they were discomfited and put to flight, and a hundred or sixscore slaine, and eight or ten taken prisoners: among the which was one Fourgousin sonne to the Cardinall of Genua. Those prisoners that were dismissed, were all stripped to their shirts by the Duke of Milans bands, and other harm had they none, for such is the law of armes in Italie. I saw all the letters that were sent both to the King and to the Duke of Milan making report of this skirmish. Thus was the enimies Navie repulsed, which afterward approached no more so neer. At our mens returne, the Genuois thought to have raised a tumult and slew certaine Almains in the towne, certaine also of them were slaine, but the matter was soone pacified.

I must heere speake a word or two of the Florentines, who had sent twise to the King before his departure out of Fraunce meaning onely to dissemble with him, with their first ambassadors (being the Bishop of Arese,* and one named Peter Sonderin) the King commanded me, the Seneschall, and the Generall to negotiate. Our demaunds were onely these: First, to give the King passage through their countrie: and secondarily, to serve him with a hundred men of armes, paying them after the Italian intertainment, which was but ten thousand ducats the yeere.† These ambassadors depended

* The Italians have Aretio, which is a towne betweene Florence and Perouse, but Guazzo de Regio which is a litle towne neere to Parma.

† That was after the rate of one hundred ducats for every man of armes: for the Italian men of armes have not their archers as the French, and therefore their wages is lesse by the halfe.

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wholy upon Peter of Medicis a yong man of small wisdom, sonne to Laurence of Medicis who was dead, and had bene one of the wisest men in his time, and had governed the citie almost as Prince, as did also at this present his sonne : and as two descents of their house had already successively done, namely Laurence the father of this Peter, and Cosme of Medicis the first roote and founder of this house, a man woorthie among the woorthiest. And sure of their trade (being merchandise,) I thinke it hath bene the greatest house that ever was in the world: for their servants and factors have had so great credit under their name that it is wonderfull. My selfe have seene the prooffe thereof both in Flaunders and England. For I knew one called Gerard Quanvese by whose onely helpe (in a manner) King Edward the fourth kept the crowne on his head when civill wars were in the realme of England: for he lent him at times more then sixscore thousand crownes, little for his Masters profit, notwithstanding he recovered his principall in the ende. Another also I knew named Thomas Portunay, who was pledge at one time betweene the said King Edward and Duke Charles of Burgundie for fiftie thousand crownes, and at another time in another place for fourescore thousand. I commend not the wisdom of merchants in thus doing, but I commend Princes that use merchants well and keepe day with them, for they know not when they shall need their helpe, and sometime a little money doth great service.

It seemeth that this house of Medicis fell to ruine as mighty houses do in realmes and Empires, for the great authoritie of this Peter of Medicis predecessors did him harme: notwithstanding the government of Cosme the first of this house was milde and gentle, such as was agreeable with a free state. But Laurence this Peters father (whom we now presently write of) because of the great varience before mentioned in this historie, that was betweene him and them of Pisa and others (divers of the which at that time were hanged :) tooke a garde of 20 men for the defence of his person, by the commandement and leave of the Seniory, who commanded nothing, but at his pleasure: notwithstanding he behaved himselfe in this great authoritie

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How King Charles departed from Vienna in Daulphine to conquire the realme of Naples in person, and what his navie upon the sea did.

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very discretely and soberly, for (as before I said) he was one of the wisest men in his time. But this Peter who succeeded his father (supposing the like authoritie to be due to him of right) became terrible by meanes of this guard, and used great violence in the night, beating men as they went in the streetes, and abusing their common treasure, so had his father done also, but so wisely, that they held themselves in maner contented therewith.

In the second ambassage the said Peter sent to Lions, one called Peter Capon with divers others, by whom he excused himselfe, as before he had done, for not accomplishing the Kings requests, saying that King Lewis the eleventh had commanded the towne of Florence, to enter into league with King Ferrande in the time of Duke Iohn of Anjou, and to depart from their league with the said Duke: wherefore seeing by the Kings commandement they were entred into this league, which endured yet certaine yeeres; they could not abandon nor forsake the house of Arragon. But if the King hapned to come into their countrey, they promised to do him great services, which offer they made because they thought (as the Venetians did) that the King would not come into Italy. In both these ambassages there was some one enemie to the said de Medicis, especially in the latter this Capon, who often advertised us by what meanes the citie of Florence might be brought to rebell against the said Peter, and delivered also his message in far woorse termes than indeed it was sent; and further, gave advise to banish all the Florentines out of Fraunce, and so were they.* Thus much have I written, to the end you may the better understand that which afterward ensued: for the King became mortall enemy to the said Peter, and the Seneschall and generall had great intelligence with his enemies in the citie, especially with this Capon, yea and with two also of the said Peters cosin germaines being both of his owne name.

* They gave this counsell, to the end the Florentines being barred their trafficke in Fraunce, might murmur against Peter of Medicis: for what misfortune soever happeneth, the Prince is alwaies blamed as cause thereof.

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CHAPTER VI

How the King remaining yet in Ast, resolved to passe forth towards Naples at the earnest sute of Lodovic Sforce. How Philip de Commines was sent ambassador to Venice: of the Duke of Milans death; after whose decease the said Lodovic seized upon the Duchie, to the prejudice of a sonne the said Duke left behinde him.



HAVE told you alreadie what happened upon the sea at Rapalo. Dom Frederike retired to Pisa and Ligorne, leaving his footemen behinde him whom he had landed. The Florentines waxed marvelous wearie of him; for they be and ever have beene better affected to the house of Fraunce, than to that of Arragon. Our armie that was in Romanie (notwithstanding that it were the weaker) furthered greatly our affaires; for it made Dom Ferrande Duke of Calabria by little and little to retire: which when the King perceived, he resolved to passe forward, being earnestly sollicitated therunto by the Lord Lodovic, and the others above named. The said Lodovic at his first meeting with the King spake thus unto him: Sir, feare not this enterprise, there are in Italy but three mighty estates, one of the which taketh part with you which is Milan; another mooveth not, to wit, the Venetians, so that you have onely to do with the force of Naples. But divers of your ancestors have overthrowen us al three being joined together. Sir, if you will credit me, I will helpe to make you greater than ever was Charlemain: for we will easily chase the Turke out of the Empire of Constantinople, having subdued the

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realme of Naples. And sure he saide true of the Turke that now raigneth,* if all things had beene well ordered on our side. Then the King began to governe all his affaires by the order and direction of the said Lodovic, wherewith certaine of our men, I meane some of the Kings chamber, and such like, were not a little discontented, which was great folly; for without him we could do nothing: and this that they did, was onely to flatter the Duke of Orleans, who pretended title to the Duchie of Milan.† But the Generall especially was highly offended therewith; for now he thought himselfe a great man, and some breach was happened betweene the Seneschall and him: for the which cause the L. Lodovic mooved both the King and the said Seneschall that the Generall might be sent home, which his words caused the saide Generall openly to babble against him, and to say that he would deceive the whole company: but silence would better have becommed him. Notwithstanding as touching him, never wise man made account of him in matter of estate, both bicause he understood not what it meant, and also because he was light of talke: but sure he was well affected to his Master. They concluded in the end to send abrode divers ambassadors, and my selfe among the rest was appointed to go to Venice, but my dispatch was delaied awhile, because the King was sicke of the small pocks, and in danger of death: for an ague was joined with his disease, but it endured not past sixe or seven daies. Then I departed leaving the King in Ast, and verily beleeving that he would passe no further: In sixe daies I went to Venice with my mules and carriage; for the way was marvellous faire. But I departed from the said towne of Ast in great feare, doubting the Kings returne home: notwithstanding God had otherwise disposed of this enterprise, for he went straight to Pavie, and passed through Casall, where the Marchionesse of Montferrat lay, which was a good Ladie, and great friend to us, but deadly enimie to the Lord Lodovic, and he also to her. When the King arrived at Pavie, some small

* He meaneth because he was a man of no vertue, as before is said.

† What right the Duke of Orleans had to it. the pedegree in the end of the booke will declare.

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jealousie began to arise; for they would have lodged him in the towne and not in the castell, but he would not lodge but in the castell, and so he did. Those that were neere about him have told me, that he was there in some danger. Wherefore the selvesame night the watch was r'enforced, whereat the Lord Lodovic marvelled greatly, so far forth that he communed thereof with the King, demanding if he had conceived any suspicion of him. To be short, their behaviour was such on both sides, that their amitie could not long endure: but we babbled much more than they, not the King himselfe, but certaine of his neerest kinsmen.* In this castell of Pavie was Iohn Galeas Duke of Milan, and his wife daughter to King Alphonse in very piteous estate: for her husband being sicke, was held in this castell as under garde, and her sonne who is yet living, with a daughter or two. The childe was then about five yeeres old, and him every man might see, but no man might see the Duke: for my selfe passed that way three daies before the King, and could by no meanes be suffered to come to him. Every body said he was extreme sicke: notwithstanding the King spake with him; for he was his cosin germaine,† and he hath told me that their communication was only in generall termes, bicause he would in no wise offend the Lord Lodovic; notwithstanding that he were verie desirous to have advertised his said cosin of divers matters. At the same time the Duchesse fell upon her knees before the said Lodovic, desiring him to have pitie upon her father and brother. He answered that it could not be. But to say the truth, she might better have entreated for her husband and her selfe, being at that time a goodly yong Ladie.

From thence the King removed to Plaisance, where the said Lodovic received letters that his nephew the Duke of Milan lay at the point of death, wherefore he tooke his leave of the King to go to him. The King desired him to returne, and so he promised to do. Before he came to Pavie the

* He meaneth the Earle of Ligny, the King and who were sisters children.

† King Charles his mother was Charlotte, and this Dukes mother Bonne, both daughters to the Duke of Savoy.

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Duke died, whereupon he rid incontinent, as it were in post to Milan. All these newes I understood by a letter that the Venetian ambassador resident with the said Lodovic sent to Venice, wherein also he advertised the Seniorie that he meant to make himselfe Duke, which both the Duke of Venice and the Seniorie utterly misliked, so far fourth that they asked me whether the King would not defend the childe; which though reason required that he should: yet I made the matter doubtfull, considering how necessarie an instrument the said Lord Lodovic was at that time for the Kings affaires.

To be short, he made himselfe to be received at Milan as Duke, which was the onely end (as some said) why he had caused us to passe the Mountaines. Manie also charged him with his nephewes death, whose kinsfolkes and friends in Italy were in armes to have taken the government from him, which they would easily have done, had not the Kings comming stopped them. For they were already in Romanie (as you have heard.) But the Earle of Cajazze and the Lord of Aubigny made them to retire. For the said Lord of Aubigny had with him a company of a hundred and fifty or two hundred men of armes French, and a good band of Swissers. Dom Ferrande and his forces retired towards their friends, dislodging ever halfe a daies journey before our men, and marched towards Furly,* which belonged to a Ladie being a bastard of Milan, and widow of the Earle Hieronimo, nephew to Pope Sixtus.† This Ladie favored them as the report went, notwithstanding after our men had taken by assault a little towne of hers, being first beaten halfe a day with the canon: she revolted to us, being indeed well affected to us before. Further, the people of Italy began in all places to take hart and to desire change and alteration: for they sawe that which before they had never seene, I meane the seate of artillerie, which they were

* It was corruptly in the French Sorly for Furly, which the old Romaines called *Forum livii*.

† Octavian son to Hieronime of Riare, was Lord of Furly and Imola, with title of Vicar of the Church, but he was under the government of Katherin Sforce his mother here mentioned.—Guicciar.

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unacquainted with, and which in Fraunce was never more practised than at that time. The said Dom Ferrande approached still neerer and neerer to his realme, and went to Sesenne, a faire citie of the Popes in the Marque of Anconne; but the people spoiled his carriage and stuffe whensoever they tooke his men at advantage. And through all Italy they would have rebelled, if the wars had beene ordered on our side without spoile: but all was done cleane contrarie, to my great grieffe, because of the honor and renowme the French nation might have obtained by this voiage. For at our first arrivall the people honored us as saints, supposing all faith and vertue to be in us: but their opinion endured not long, partly because of the disorder and spoile our men used; and partly because of the slanderous reports our enemies made of us in all places, charging us that we forced women, and robbed and carried away money, and whatsoever we could lay hand on, of heinous crimes they could not have accused us in Italy, for no nation is so jelous and covetous as the Italian. As touching women they belied us, but the rest was not altogether untrue.

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How the King remaining yet in Ast, resolved to passe fourth towards Naples at the earnest sute of Lodovic Sforce. How Philip de Commines was sent ambassador to Venice, etc.

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CHAPTER VII

How Peter of Medices yeilded fower of the Florentines strongest places to the King, and how the King restored Pisa being one of them to their ancient libertie.



THE King (as before you have heard) was at Plaisance, where he caused a solemne funerall to be made for his cosin germaine the Duke of Milan; for other thing wist he not what to do, the new Duke of Milan being departed from him. They that best understood the course of these affaires, have tolde me that the whole companie desired to returne home, as well for that they were unprovided of all things necessarie, as also bicause of divers doubts that were arisen: for certaine that at the first seemed to have great good liking of this voiage, began now utterly to disallow thereof, namely the Lord of Vrse Master of the horse, who was not with the King, but lay sicke at Genua: whence he wrote him a letter, giving him therein to understand of divers doubts and jealousies whereof he was advertised. But (as before I have said in divers places) God manifestly declared that he himselfe governed this enterprise. For suddenly in the necke of this letter, newes came to the King that the Duke of Milan would shortly returne, and that the Florentines began to favour us in hatred of Peter de Medicis, who governed them as if he had been their Prince, to the great discontentation both of many of his own neere kinsmen, and of divers also of the best citizens, namely the Caponi, the Sonderini,* the Nerly, and in maner the whole citie. Wherefore the King departed from Plaisance and marched towards the Florentines territories,

* It was Fodormi in the French, but corruptly.

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meaning either to cause them to declare themselves for him, or to take their townes being unfortified, and lodge his men in them all the winter, which was alreadie begun. Divers small places yeelded unto him, so did also the citie of Luques enemie to the Florentines, shewing him all pleasure and service that in them lay. Now you shall understand that the Duke of Milan had two purposes in his head: first he sought by all meanes possible to stay the King from passing further that sommer.* Secundarily, he hoped to obtaine of him Pisa (a great and a faire citie) together with Serzane, and Petresancte, which two places had beene subject to the Genevois not long before, and were woon from them by the Florentines in Laurence de Medicis time.

How Peter of Medices yeelded fower of the Florentines strongest places to the King, and how the King restored Pisa being one of them to their ancient libertie.

The King passed through Pontreme one of the Duke of Milans townes, and went to besiege Serzane the strongest and best castle the Florentines had, but unfurnished because of their great division. To say the truth the Florentines never beare armes willingly against the house of Fraunce: for they have ever faithfully served it and taken part with it, both because of their great traficke in Fraunce, and also because they have ever been of the Guelphes faction.† If this place had beene well furnished the King must of necessitie have broken his armie: for the countrie is very barren and full of hils, and victuals there were none to be gotten: besides that the snow lay marvellous deepe upon the ground. After the Kings siege had lien before it three daies, the Duke of Milan came thither no composition being yet made betweene the Florentines and the King,‡ and passed through Pontreme, where the townesmen and the soldiers of the garrison fell at such variance with our Almaines (led by one Buser) that certaine of the said Almaines were slaine: of the which braule sprang a great

* He meaneth that the Duke of Milan found delaies to cause the King to stay all the winter in the Florentines territories, hoping that their townes would yeeld unto him (as indeed they did) and that then he might obtaine of the King such as he would.

† The factions of the Guelphes and Gibellines began in Italy under the Emperor Frederike the second anno 1240. The Gibellines held for the Emperor, the Guelphes for the Pope.

‡ This composition he speaketh of afterward in this chapter.

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inconvenience, as hereafter you shall heare. For although I were not my selfe prepared at these actions: yet understood I of them both by the King, the Duke, and divers others. The Florentines began now to practise, and appointed fifteene or sixteene to go to the King, saying, that they would no longer continue in this great danger, nor sustaine the displeasure of the King and the Duke of Milan, who had continually an ambassador resident at Florence. And Peter of Medices consented to the sending of this ambassage; for to say the truth, he could not remedie it, considering upon what termes they stood: for if they had done otherwise, they had beene undone, being unprovided of all things, and utterly unacquainted with the wars. When these ambassadors came to the Kings presence, they offered to receive him into Florence and their other places, neither cared the greater part of them how the world went, so that we would come to Florence to chase away Peter of Medices; which matter they earnestly pressed, bicause they had good intelligence with the above named that governed then the Kings affaires.

On the other side Peter of Medices practised by a servant of his own named Laurence Spinelly, who was his factor at Lyons, and an honest man in his vocation, and had lived long in Fraunce: but of the state of our Court he could understand nothing, no hardly they that had beene Courtiers all their lives, bicause of the often changes and alterations. This Spinelly negotiated with those that heretofore had borne all the sway, namely, the Lord of Bresse afterward Duke of Savoy, and the Lord of Miolans chamberlaine to the King. Soone after the above named ambassadors were returned to Florence, Peter of Medices accompanied with certaine of the citie, came himselfe to the King to make answere to our requests: for they within the citie saw utter destruction before their eies, unlesse they yeelded to all the Kings demaunds; whose favour they hoped to obtaine, by offering him some greater service than any of the other townes that had already received him. At his arrivall Monsieur de Piennes a Flemming borne, and Chamberlaine to the King, and the generall Brissonnet were sent to treat

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with him, who required him to yeeld unto the King the castell of Serzane, which presently he did. They required him further to lend the King Pisa, Ligorne, Petresancte, and Librefacto: whereunto he also agreed incontinent, never communicating the matter with his collegues, who supposed that the King should onely have lodged in Pisa, and these other places to refresh himselfe, but not have held them still: well, by this meanes they yeelded their whole estate and force into our hand. Those that negotiated with the said Peter have told both me and others since, scoffing and jesting at him, that they woondred to see him so lightly condescend to so waightie a matter, granting more than they looked for. To conclude, the King entred into Pisa, and the above named ambassadors returned to Florence, where the said Peter caused the Kings lodging to be made in his owne house, which was the goodliest of a citizens or merchants house that ever I saw, and better furnished than any mans house in the world of his estate.

I must heere speake a word or two of the Duke of Milan, who now wished the King with all his hart out of Italie, notwithstanding that both already he had made his profit by him, and sought also still so to do: for he was in hope to obtaine of him, the places yeelded by the Florentines, and pressed him earnestly for Serzane, and Petresancte, which he said appertained to the Genuois: he lent him also at that present 30 thousand ducats, and he hath since told both me and others, that these places were promised him. But when he sawe that he could not obtaine them, he departed in great displeasure from the King, pretending that earnest busines called him home, which was the last time the King saw him: notwithstanding, he left Master Galeas of Saint Severin behind him, whom he joined in commission in all matters with the Earle Charles of Bellejoyeuse. The said Master Galeas while the King lay in Pisa, sent (by his Masters advise) for the chiefe citizens of the towne to his lodging, where he perswaded them to rebell against the Florentines, and to desire the King to restore them to their ancient libertie, trusting by this meanes that Pisa would fall into the Duke of Milans clawes, under whose obedience it

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How Peter of Medices yeelded fower of the Florentines strongest places to the King, and how the King restored Pisa being one of them to their ancient libertie.

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had been* in the time of Iohn Galeas the first Duke of Milan of that name, (a great and wicked tyrant though very honorable) whose body lieth buried in the charterhouse of Pavia by the parke,† so high above the high altar, that men go up to it by a ladder: certaine of the monkes shewed me it, at the least his bones, which smelt, as naturally they should. Further, one of the said monkes who was borne at Bourges, called him Saint, as he talked with me; and I asked him in his eare why he called him Saint, considering he might behold painted round about him the armes of many cities which he had wrongfully usurped,‡ and seeing the image of him and his horse being of fine marble stood higher than the altar, and yet his body lay under his horse feete. He answered me softly: Sir, in this country we call all those Saints that have done us any good, and he built this goodly charterhouse church, which in very deed is the fairest that ever I saw, for it is all of fine marble. But to proceede, the said Master Galeas sought to make himselfe great, and so I thinke did the Duke of Milan also, bicause he had married his base daughter: for he manifestly declared that he would advance him, as his owne sonne, bicause at that time his owne children were all very yoong. The said Pisans were I confesse cruelly handled by the Florentines, for they used them like slaves. They had subdued them about a hundred yeeres before, even in the selfe same yeere that the Venetians conquered Padua, which was the first victorie that they obtained upon the firme land. And the fortune of these two cities was almost alike, for they had been ancient enimies to those whom now

* It was sold to this Iohn Galeas, and he sold it over to the Florentines.

† This parke was made by the said Iohn Galeas after he had conquered Pavia. It was twentie miles in circuit, walled round about, and stored with all kind of beasts, but now by meanes of the wars it is destroyed: by this parke he built also the castell. In this parke was Francis the French King taken prisoner, by the forces of the Emperor Charles the 5, the 24 of Februarie anno 1525, but the French say, 1524, bicause they begin not the yeere till Easter.

‡ This Duke conquered in Italy 29 cities, among the which were Pavia, Bolonia, Verona, Senes, Perouse, Luques, Verceil, etc.

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they served, many yeeres before they were conquered, and almost of equall force with them. These Pisans consulted together about this motion, and seeing themselves counselled by so great a personage, and being also of themselves desirous of libertie: a great number of them both men and women came crying to the King as he went to masse, Libertie, Libertie, desiring him with weeping eies to graunt it them. One of the Masters of the requests (who was a counsellor of the parliament in Daulphine named Robot) going before the King, or executing his office said unto him, were it bicause he had promised the Pisans so to do: or bicause he understood not what they demanded) that it was a lamentable case, and that of right he ought to graunt them their petition, adding, that never men were so cruelly handled. The King not understanding well what this word meant, but bewailing in his minde the miserable estate of the Italian nation, and the cruelty that both Princes and commonalties use towards their subjects (notwithstanding that in reason he could not graunt them their libertie, seeing the towne was none of his, but lent him upon friendship at his great need :) answered that he was contented to grant their request, and so the counsellor above named declared unto them: whereupon the people incontinent began to proclaime holiday in token of joy, and went to their bridge which is a very goodly one built over the river of Arne, and threw down to the ground, and afterward into the river a great lion standing upon a strong pillar of marble called maior, representing the Seniorie of Florence: upon the which pillar they caused to be erected the image of a K. of Fraunce holding a naked sword in his hand, and treading the maior or lion under his horse feet. But after when the K. of Romaines entred the towne, they did with the Kings image as now with the lion: for such is the nature of the Italian nation, to turne ever with the strongest. Notwithstanding these Pisans were then and yet are so cruelly handled that they are to be holden for excused.

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CHAPTER VIII

How the King departed from Pisato Florence, and of the flight and ruine of Peter de Medicis.



AFTER the K. had reposed himselfe a few daies at Pisa, he departed to Florence, where they had declared unto him the great wrong he had done their estate, by restoring the Pisans to libertie contrarie to his promise. Those that were appointed to make answer heereunto excused the fact: saying, that the King had not well understood with what conditions Pisa was delivered unto him, neither understood he another treatie he made with the Florentines: * whereof you shall heare after I have spoken somewhat of Peter de Medicis ruine, and shewed how the king entered into Florence, leaving a garrison in Pisa, and the other places lent him. The said Peter after he had yeilded to the King the places above mentioned with the consent of certaine of the towne, returned to the citie, supposing that the King would not hold them still, but restore them at his departure from Pisa, where he would but repose himselfe three or fower daies. Yet am I of opinion that if it had pleased him to winter there, they would willingly have agreed thereunto, notwithstanding that Pisa be of greater importance to them than Florence it selfe, save that their persons and goods be resident in Florence.† At the said Peters returne to Florence, every man frowned upon him, and not without cause: for he had dispossessed them of

* This is *Ironicè* spoken because the King brake this second treatie also, mentioned in the very next chapter, notwithstanding that he understood it wel ynough.

† It stood them in such steede, because it was strong, and the key of their countrie, and standeth neere the sea very commodiously for their traficke.

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their whole force, and of all that they had conquered in a hundred yeeres, so that their minds seemed already to foretell them the evils that afterward fell upon them. Wherefore partly for this cause (which I suppose to be the principall, though they never uttered it) partly for the great hatred before rehearsed, which they bare him, and partly also to recover their libertie, whereof they thought themselves bereaved by him: they determined to banish him the towne, forgetting all the benefits of Cosmus and Laurence de Medicis his ancestors. The said Peter having no certaine intelligence of this their determination, yet doubting it, went to the palace with his ordinarie garde to advertise them of the Kings comming, who was about three miles from the towne: but when he came to the palace gate and knocked, one of the house of Nerly (being the father and many sonnes whom my selfe knew well, all of great wealth) refused to let him in, saying, that if he would enter alone he should, otherwise not; and he that made him this refusall was armed. The said Peter returned incontinent to his house, and armed both himselfe and his servants, determining to make resistance against his enimies in the towne. Whereof he also advertised one Paule Vrsin, who was in pay with the Florentines (for the said Peter was by his mother of the house of Vrsins, and both his father and he had ever given entertainment to certaine of them) but immediately after, they heard the people crie, Libertie, libertie, and sawe them come towards his house in armes. Whereupon (following good advice) by the helpe of Paul Vrsin he departed the towne, which was a miserable departure to him: for in power and wealth both he and his ancestors, since the time of Cosmus de Medicis the first of that house, had bene in maner equall with great Princes: and this day fortune began to frowne upon him, so that he lost both honour and riches. At this present my selfe was at Venice, and by the ambassador of Florence there resident, understood of all these newes, which greatly displeased me; for I had loved his father well. If the said Peter had followed mine advice, all this had never happened: for immediately after my arrivall at Venice I wrote unto him, offering to make his peace with the King:

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King departed
from Pisa to
Florence, and
of the flight
and ruine of
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for I had commission by mouth both from the Seneschall of Beaucaire and the Generall so to do: and I am well assured the King would have held himselfe contented with passage through their countrie, at the most with Ligorne, and (that being obtained) have agreed to all the said Peters demaunds. But he by the perswasion of the above named Peter Capon, answered me in maner with scoffes. The said ambassador the next day delivered a letter to the Senate of Venice, the contents whereof were, that the said Peter was banished the towne, because he sought to make himselfe Lord thereof by the aide of the house of Arragon and the Vrsins, and divers other matters they charged him with, that were untrue. But such be the chaunces and changes of this world, that he that is in adversitie, hath not onely his enemies to pursue him, but his friends also become his foes, as appeared by this ambassador named Paul Anthony Sonderin, (one of the wisest men in Italy) who but the day before talked with me of this Peter as if he had been his soveraigne Lord, yet now declared himselfe his enimie. True it is that it was by the Seniories commandement; for of himselfe particularly he made no declaration. The next day I was advertised that the said Peter came to Venice, and that the King in great triumph was entred into Florence. Moreover, the Senate of Florence commanded their ambassador to take his leave of the Seniorie of Venice, and returne home with all speede. The letter himselfe shewed me, and then departed. Two daies after his departure arrived Peter de Medicis in his doublet and his hose, or in one of his servants clokes. The Venetians stode in great doubt to receive him; so much feared they the King's displeasure. And notwithstanding that they could not of their honor refuse him, yet made they him stay two daies without the towne, being very desirous to understand of me, how the King would take it, if they received him. I for my part desired to do him good, and the King had written nothing to me against him: wherefore I answered them, that I thought he was fled for feare of the people, not of the King. Whereupon he entred the towne, and the next day after he had beene with the Seniorie, I went to visit

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him. They lodged him well, and permitted both himselfe and fifteene or twentie of his servants that accompanied him, to weare their weapons in the towne.* And notwithstanding that Cosmus above mentioned had hindered them in times past from taking of Milan, yet used they him very well, and reverenced him for the honor of his house, which had been of so great estimation and renowne through all Christendome. When I saw him me thought he seemed a man of no great stuffe, he discoursed to me at large of all his misfortunes, and I, as well as I could, comforted him. Among other things, he told me that he had lost all, and that above all his other mishaps this most grieved him, that a factor of his in the towne had refused to give him credit for cloth but to the value of 100 ducats to apparell his brother and himselfe, which was a strange thing, considering his estate and authoritie: for by the space of threescore yeeres the estimation of his house had beene so great, that greater it could not be. Soone after, by meanes of the Lord of Bresse afterward Duke of Savoye, the said Peter received good newes; for the King wrote unto him, willing him to repaire to his presence. Notwithstanding the King was first departed from Florence, as now you shall heare, but somewhat I was forced by the way to speake of this Peter de Medicis.

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* For through the Venetians dominions no man may weare his weapou without leave.

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How the King entred into Florence, and through what other townes he passed till he came to Rome.



HE next day the King entered into Florence where the said Peter had prepared his owne house to receive him, but the Lord of Ballassat who was sent thither before to make the Kings lodging, understanding of the said Peters departure : fell to spoile all that he found in his house, pretending that his banke at Lyons ought him a great summe of money. Among other things he tooke one whole Vnicornes horne, valued at sixe or seaven thousand ducats, and two great peeces of another, with a number of other goodly things, which others seeing did the like. Into another house in the towne the said Peter had conveyed all his goodliest stuffe, but the people spoiled that also. The Seniorie had part of his richest jewels, twentie thousand ducats in coine that lay in his banke in the towne, divers faire pots of Agate, and such a number of goodly Camayeux excellently well cut, (all the which my selfe once saw) as is woonderfull, together with three thousand medales of gold and silver weying 40 pound weight, the number and goodnes whereof I thinke all Italy could not match. All that he lost that day in the citie, amounted to a hundred thousand crownes and better. The King being in Florence (as you have heard) made a treatie with the citzens to their great good liking as I suppose. The conditions were these: They gave him sixe score thousand ducats, whereof they paid him fiftie thousand presently, and the rest at two paiements very shortly after, they lent him all the places above mentioned, they changed their armes being the red flower de luce, and gave the Kings armes. And he for his part received them

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into his safegarde and protection, and promised and sware upon the altar of Saint Iohn to restore their places unto them, within fower moneths after he should be entred into Naples, or sooner, if sooner he returned into Fraunce. But the matter had other successe, as heereafter you shall heare.

The King staid not long at Florence, but went to Senes, where he was honorably received; and from thence to Viterbe, where Dom Ferrand (who as you have heard retired towards Rome) was once minded to have lodged and fortified his camp, and to have fought if he had seene his advantage, as I was advertised both by King Alphonses ambassador, and also by the Popes legate being at Venice. And sure I looked ever when King Alphonse being accounted a valiant Prince, should have come thither in person, leaving his sonne in his realme: for in mine opinion the place had bene greatly for his advantage, considering he should have had his owne realme, the dition of the church, and the places and territories of the Vrsins on his backe. Wherefore I was marvellously astonished when I received letters from the King that he was entred the towne of Viterbe, and likewise the castle, which soone after his entrie into the towne a commander yeilded unto him,* by meanes of the Cardinall Petri ad Vincula (who was governor thereof) and of the Colonna. And then began I to perswade my selfe that God was fully purposed to accomplish this enterprise, so far fourth that I repented me that in my letters I had advised the King not to refuse an honorable composition, for they offered him ynough. But to proccede, Aquipendant, Monteflascon, and all the places round about yeilded before Viterbe, as I was advertised both by the Kings and also the Seniories letters (who were daily informed by their ambassadors of all that hapned) divers of the which they shewed me, or caused one of their secretaries to report unto me. From thence the King marched to Rome, through the Vrsins territories, which were all yeilded to him by the Lord Charles Vrsin,

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* *Un commandeur*, is one that having Ecclesiasticall livings may not marry, and yet is not compelled to be a priest, as the Grand prior in Fraunce, and all the knights of Saint Iohns of Ierusalem.

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who said that he had commandement from his father * (notwithstanding that he were then in King Alphonses service) so to do, and that so long as Dom Ferrand should, have passage granted him through the dominions of the Church, and should be in the said dominions; so long he would accompanie him and no longer. Thus live they in Italy both Princes and captaines in continuall practise with their enimies, and turning ever as they see fortune encline. Further, the King was received into Brachane, the said Virgile Vrsins principall castle, which was faire, strong, and so well furnished of victuals, that I have heard the King oftentimes commend both the place and the good entertainment he found there. For his army was in such extreme penurie of victuals that in greater it could not be. To be short, who so shall consider how often this armie was upon the point to returne home since the time it first arrived at Vienna in Daulphine, and by what meanes and ouvertures the journey was still continued: I thinke he will confesse that God was the leader thereof.

* His father was Virgile Vrsine, of whom hereafter more mention is made.

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CHAPTER X

How the King sent the Cardinall Petri ad Vincula to Ostie; what the Pope did at Rome in the meane time, and how the King entred into Rome maugre all his enimies.



FROM Brachane the King sent the Cardinall Saint Peter ad Vincula to Ostie, whereof he was Bishop: the place was of great importance, and held by the Colonnois, who lately had recovered it from the Pope, whose forces not long before had taken it from the said Cardinall. It was of no defence, notwithstanding it hath since held Rome in great distresse a long time by the said Cardinals aide,* being great friend to the Colonnois, who joined at that time with us, partly by meanes of the Cardinall Ascanio brother to the Duke of Milan and Vicechauncellor, and partly in hatred of the Vrsins whose enimies they bee and ever have beene. These two factions breede great troubles in the Church dominions, as doe in Fraunce the factions of Luce and Grandmont, and in Holland of Houc and Caballiau †; but were it not for this division, the said dominions were the best countrie for the subjects in the world, for they paie no subsidies, and other dueties but fewe. Further, they are alwaies well governed, for the Popes are ever wise themselves, and have wise men about them: but

* This Cardinall was afterwards Pope Iulius the second, and proved a deadly enimie to the French. Further, this towne of Ostie distressed Rome, by meanes that being the very entry into the river of Tyber, it kept all victuals from coming to Rome by water, for the which cause the olde Romanes called the towne Ostia, because it was the very doore or mouth as it were of the river.

† The factions of Houc and Caballiau began in Holland 1444,—Berlandus. Read Meyer lib. 16. fol. 300, pag. 2.

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because of these factions many great and cruell murthers are often committed, as within these fower yeeres wee have seene a number on both sides. For since the time I now write of, the Coulonnois became our enemies, though to their great dishonour: for they possessed of the Kings gift in the realme of Naples, namely in the Earledome of Taillecouse, and other places which the Vrsins had held before, twentie thousand ducats and better of yeerely revenewes.* Further, all their other demands were graunted them, as well charge of men of armes as pensions. Wherefore they fell from us verie traiterously, and upon no occasion. But you shall understand that they had ever beene partakers with the house of Arragon and other enemies of Fraunce, because they were Gibelins, and the Vrsins had ever been friends to France because they were Guelphes. To Ostie the King sent with the said Cardinall Saint Peter ad Vincula, Peron de la Basche steward of his house, who was landed but three daies before at Plombin, and brought with him by sea twentie thousand ducats, parcell of that money the Duke of Milan lent the King. Upon the sea with the Kings armie (being very small) remained the Prince of Salerne, and one called the Lord of Sernon in Provence whom tempest drave into Corsique,† with their navy all to rent and torne, where they staid so long in repairing it, that it did no service, notwithstanding the great treasure employed thereon, for before it arrived at Naples, the King was entred the towne.

At Ostie with the saide Cardinall were five hundred men of armes, and two thousand Swisssers led by the Earle of Ligny (the Kings cosin germaine by the mother,) the Lord of Alegre, and divers others, who thought to have passed the river of Tybre there, and to have inclosed Dom Ferrande within Rome by aide of the Coulonnois, the principall of the which house were at that time Prospere and Fabrice Coulonne, and the Cardinall Coulonne, accompanied with

* The King gave to Fabrice Coloume the countrey of Albe and Taillecouse, which were before Virginiu Vrsins, and to Prosper the Duchie of Tracette, and the citie of Pondi.

† This Corsique being corrupted in the French, we have restored according to Paulus Iovius Guicciar, hath Corse.

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two thousand footemen, whom the King paide by the hands of the above named Basche. The said footemen they had levied at their owne pleasure, and mustered at Sannesonne, a towne of their owne.

You shall understand, that many matters concur here, and of every one somewhat is to be said. Before the King entred into Viterbe, he had sent to Rome Monsieur de la Trimoille his chamberlaine, the president Ganay keeper of the seale, and the general Bidaut, to enter into intelligence with the Pope, who practised continually after the manner of Italie. They being in Rome, the Pope in the night received Dom Ferrand with his whole forces into the towne, whereupon our ambassadors and some fewe of their servants were staid : but the selfe same day the Pope dismissed them. Notwithstanding he held still in prison the Cardinall Ascaigne his Vicechauncellor, and brother to the Duke of Milan, and Prosper Coulonne, some said by their owne accord. Of all these accidents I was advertised incontinent by the Kings letters, but the Seniorie more amply by their ambassadors. All this hapned before the King entred into Viterbe, for neither party staid above two daies in a place. But as touching our affaires they prospered better than we could wish, and no marvell : for the Lord of Lords gave them successe, as all men might manifestly perceive.

This armie that laie in Ostie could doe no service because of the foule weather ; further, you shall understand that the force which the Lord of Aubigny led, was returned to the King, and himselfe also, neither had he further charge thereof. The Italians were also dismissed that had bene with him in Romanie, under the leading of the Lord Rodolph of Mantua, the Lord Galeot of Mirandula, and of Fracasse brother to the Lord Galeas of Saint Severin, the which with their said company being to the number of five hundred men of armes, were well paide by the King, for they served him as before you have heard. The King after his departure from Viterbe, remooved to Naples,* which the Cardinall Ascaigne held. Further, it is most certaine that while our

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* This is not the city of Naples, but a little towne called in the *Annales of Fraunce* Neple, in Latin Nepesum, of the Italians Nepi.

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men lay in Ostie, above twentie fathomes of Rome was fell to the ground on the same side they should have entred. The Pope seeing this yong King come thus suddenly with such successe, agreed that he should enter the citie, (for to say the truth he could not otherwise choose) and desired a safe conduct,* (which the King willingly granted) for Dom Ferrand Duke of Calabria, and onely son of K. Alphonse, who in the night retired to Naples, the Cardinall Ascaigne conveying him to the gate.† Then the King entred the citie in armes, as a Prince having power to dispose of all things at his pleasure, and divers Cardinals with the governors and Senators of the towne came forth to receive him. He lodged in Saint Markes pallace, which is the Colonniois quarter, who were his friends and servants at that time. But the Pope retired into the castle of Saint Ange.

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How King Alphonse caused his sonne Ferrande to be crowned King, and fled himselfe into Sicilie : with a discourse of the evill life that his father the olde Ferrande and he had led.



HO would have thought that this proude King Alphonse (having beene trained up all the daies of his life in martiall affaires) that his son and al these Vrsins, whose faction was so great in Rome, would thus have abandoned the citie through cowardise, especially seeing they knew and understood perfectly, that the Duke of Milan began to waver, and the Venetians to stir and to

* Ferdinande Duke of Calabria refused the pasport.—Guicciar.

† Ferdinand was sonne to Hypolite sister to Duke Galeas of Milan, to the Lord Lodovic, and to this Cardinall.

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treate of a league, which had then beene concluded (as I was certainly informed) if they had made any resistance either at Viterbe or at Rome, to stay the King but a few daies: but God meant to shew that al these proceedings, passed far the reach and compasse of mans braine. And here note by the way, that as the wall of the cite of Rome fell downe, so did fifteene fathomes also of the vantmure of the castell of Saint Ange, as I have been advertised by divers, especially by two Cardinals there present. Now I must returne to speake a word or two of King Alphonse.

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So soone as the Duke of Calabria called the yoong Ferrande, was returned to Naples, his father King Alphonse judged himselfe unwoorthie longer to raigne, because of the evils he had committed, and the manifold cruelties he had used against divers barons and Princes of his realme. For you shall understand, that whereas his father King Ferrande and he had taken (notwithstanding their safe conduct) to the number of 24 of them, and had held them in prison from the time of their rebellion against the said Ferrande * till the hower of his death: this Alphonse immediately after his fathers decease for a surplusage of all crueltie, caused them miserably to be murdered, and with them two other whom his father had also taken under safe conduct, the one Duke of Seffe † a man of great authoritie, and the other Prince of Rosane, who had married the said Ferrandes sister, and had issue by hir a sonne, a verie goodly gentleman. True it is that the said Prince had wrought great treason against him, for the which he had well deserved death, if he had not beene taken under safe conduct: but King Ferrande to rid himselfe of all feare, tooke him (that notwithstanding) being come to him by his commandement, and laide him in a marvellous stinking prison, and afterward his said sonne also being betweene fifteene and sixeteene yeeres of age. Thus had the Prince of Rosane lived a prisoner

* That is since the time that they rebelled, when they sent for the Duke of Lorraine, whereof mention is made in the first chapter of this seventh booke.

† Jovian Pontan in the wars betweene D. Iohn of Anjou, and this olde Ferrand, maketh the Duke of Seffe and Prince of Rosane but one.

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when King Alphonse came to the state, about fower and thirtie yeeres. But the said Alphonse immediately after his coronation, commaunded these prisoners to be led into an Iland neere to Naples called Iscle* (whereof heereafter more mention shall be made) and there villanously to be slaine, all save one or two whom he held still in the castell of Naples, namely, the said Prince of Rosanes sonne, and the noble Earle of Popoli. I have diligently enquired after what sort he caused them thus cruelly to be murthered; (for many supposed they had been yet living, when the King entred into the good towne and citie of Naples) and divers of their principall servants have enformed me, that he caused them villanously and horribly to be slaine by a Moore of Afrike, not sparing these ancient Princes: some of the which had beene prisoners about fower or five and thirtie yeeres. Further, the said Moore immediately after the execution done, departed into Barbarie, to the ende no man should know what was become of them. To be short, never was man more cruell than this King Alphonse, more wicked, more vicious, more filthie, nor a greater glutton. Notwithstanding his father had been the more dangerous: for no man could be acquainted with his humor, or know when he was pleased or displeased; so that at feasts and bankets he tooke and betraied men: as for example, the Earle Iames son to Nicholas Picinnio, whom after that sort he took and murthered villanously, being ambassador to him from Duke Francis of Milan, whose base daughter he had married. True it is that the said Francis was consenting to the murther (notwithstanding he were his father in law) for they both feared the said Earle Iames, because the Braciques† in Italy were wholly at his devotion. After the like manner also tooke this Ferrande the Princes of his realme

* The Italians have Ischia, whereof Plinie writeth thus, lib. 3. cap. 7, 'Ischia insula est è Regione Velie alio nomine anotris dicta': others write that it was first named Ænaria. Iovius writeth that the Ile is named Ænaria, and that Ischle is the name of the castle in the Ile: it is thirtie miles from Naples,—Guicciar. Sabellicus saith Procyta *alias* Ischla, but Plinie maketh Procyta and Ischia twaine.

† These were soldiers so named of Bracio de Fortibraci, a great captaine in his time.

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above mentioned, and as touching pardon or mercie never was any to be obtained at his hands, as divers of his neerest kinsmen and friends have often told me ; neither had he at any time pitie or compassion upon his poore people, to ease them of paiments and subsidies. Moreover, he used within his realme all trade of merchandise himselfe, so far foorth that he delivered swine to his people to feede, which they were constrained to fatte to further their sale : and if any of them happened to die, they were forced to make them good. In those places where the oile olive groweth (namely in Pouille) he and his sonne bought it all up at their owne price : and in like maner the corne yet greene upon the ground, which they sold againe as deere as was possible ; and if the price thereof happened to fall, they constrained their subjects to buie it : besides that, during the time of their sale, all other were forbidden to sell. If any of their noble men were a good husband, and thought to spare some good thing for himselfe, they would foorthwith desire to borrow it ; and if he made refusall, he was constrained to deliver it perforce : so that they used to take from them the races of their horses (wherewith that countrey aboundeth) and to cause them to be broken and kept to their owne use : yea and that such numbers as well of horses as of mares and colts, that they were esteemed many thousands, which also they sent to feede in divers places in the pastures of their noble men and other their subjects to their great losse and dammage. Both of them had forced many women ; and as touching the Church, they had it in no reverence, neither would obey the lawes thereof, so farre foorth that they sold Bishoprikes for monie ; as for example, the Bishoprike of Tarente sold to a Iew by King Ferrande for thirteene thousand ducats, to bestow upon his sonne, who (he said) was a Christian. Abbeies they gave to faulconers and others, to bestow upon their children, with this condition, that some of them should enter them a certaine number of hauks, and keepe them flying to their use, and other some entertaine a number of soldiers, at their owne proper costs and charges. The sonne never observed Lent, neither seemed to thinke there was any, and many yeeres together never confessed

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himselfe, neither received the holy sacrament. To conclude, it was impossible for any man to commit more hainous crimes than both they had done; yet some reported the yoong Ferranda to be woorse than they both, notwithstanding that he were humble and curteous at his death; and no marvell, for he was then in great distresse.

The readers may happily thinke that I utter all this of some private hatred against them, which in good sooth I do not, but rehearse it onely to continue my historie, in the verie beginning whereof I have declared, that this enterprise could never have bene atchieved by those that were the chiefe managers thereof, had not God alone governed it, and given it good successe, to the ende he might make this good yoong King being so slenderly provided both of good counsell and all other things necessarie: his deputie to chastise these Princes so wise, so rich, of so great experience, so well accompanied with wise and noble personages whom the defence of the realme touched as neere as themselves, so allied and friended; yea and the which saw the storme a farre off, and yet never could provide for it, nor make resistance in any place. For out of the castle of Naples there was not one man that staid the King a day and a night: Whereupon Pope Alexander now living saide, that the French men came thither with wooden spurs, and chalke in their harbingers hands to make their lodgings without further trouble: which similitude of wooden spurs he used, because yet at this day, when the yoong gentlemen of this realme ride about the streetes on horsebacke, their Pages thrust little sticks into their shoues or pantofles, wherewith they pricke forward their mules. And to confesse the truth, this was so easie a conquest, that our men verie seldome armed themselves in all this voiage. Besides that, from the Kings departure out of Ast, till his entrie into Naples, it was but fower moneths and nineteen daies. An ambassador would almost have bene as long in journeying thither. I conclude therefore agreeably to the opinion of divers holy religious men, and others, and to the voice of the people (which is Gods voice) that God ment to punish these Princes so visibly that every man might behold it, to warne thereby all other Princes to

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live well, and according to his commandements. For these Princes of Arragon lost both honor and realme, with great riches and goodly furniture of divers and sundrie sorts, the which is so dispersed here and there, that a man can hardly tell what is become thereof: besides that, they ended their lives three in a yeeres space or little more (but I trust their soules be in Paradise.) For you shall understand that this old Ferrande (bastard to King Alphonse, a wise, vertuous and honorable Prince) was marvellously disquieted when he saw this French warre first mooved against him, which he could finde no meanes to avoide. For he was wise and knew that he and his sonne had lived ill, and were marvellously hated in their realme: divers also of those that were neerest about him have informed me, that as he razed a certaine chappel, he found a booke whereon these words were written; 'Truth with her secret counsell';* the which contained all the evilles that afterward fell upon him. There were but three that saw the booke, for immediately after he had read it, he threw it into the fire. Another thing that greatly troubled him was this, his sonne Alphonse and Ferrande his sonnes sonne, could never be perswaded that the King would come into Italie. Wherefore they used proude and threatning words against him, and spake verie contemptuously of him, saying, they would go as far as the mountaines to meete him. But one that stood by, wished that never King of Fraunce might come into Italy; for he had seene a poore man of the house of Anjou scourge it shrewdly, meaning Duke Iohn sonne to King Rene. King Ferrand had travelled verie earnestly the yeere before, by his ambassador called Camillo Pendolfo, to stay the King in Fraunce, offering to pay him yeerely a tribute of fiftie thousand ducats, and to holde the realme of him by homage and fealtie. But when he saw that he could by no meanes obtaine peace, nor pacifie the estate of Milan, he fell into the disease whereof he died: notwithstanding in the midst of his pangues he confessed himselfe, and as I

* How this booke was strangely revealed by a vision of one Cataldus (who had beene bishop of Tarente more than a thousand yeeres before) to a yong childe, who thereof enformed the King, read *Alexander in diebus genialibus*, lib. 3. cap. 15.

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CHAPTER XI

How King
Alphonse
caused his
sonne Fer-
rante to be
crowned
King, and
fled himselfe
into Sicilie.

trust repented him of his sinnes. His sonne Alphonse who had beene so terrible a Prince, so cruell, and so long trained up in the wars, before the King departed from Rome, resigned his crowne, and was stricken with such feare, that in the night he never ceased to crie, That he heard the French men comming, and that the trees and stones sounded Fraunce. He never was so hardie as once to issue fourth of Naples, but upon his sonnes returne from Rome, put him in possession of the realme, and caused him to be crowned, and to ride about the streets of the citie accompanied with the nobliest personages that were there, namely, with Dom Fredericke his brother, and the Cardinall of Genua (betweene whom the new King rode) and with the ambassadors there resident. He caused also all other solemnities belonging to the coronation to be accomplished, and then fled himselfe and sailed into Sicily with his mother in law (sister to K. Ferrand of Castile now raigning, to whom the said realme of Sicily was in subjection) to a house that she had there: which was strange news through the whole world, especially at Venice where I then was. Some said he went to the Turke; others thought his departure to be, to the end his sonne who was not hated in the realme might the better win the harts of the people. But mine opinion was ever that he fled for very cowardise: for cruel man was never hardy, as appeereth in histories by Nero and others, who before their death fell into great feare and desperation. To be short, this Alphonse made such haste to be gone, that he said to his mother in law the selfe same daie that they departed (as divers of his servants have told me,) that unlesse she would depart with speede, he would leave her behinde him. And when she desired him to staie but three daies onely, to the ende she* might be a whole yeere in his realme: he answered that rather than he would tarrie any longer he would through himselfe headlong out at the windows, asking hir if she heard not how everie man cried Fraunce. Thus he embarked in his Gallies with his said

* This she, Gucciar. understandeth he, meaning that she desired Alphonse to tarrie three or foure daies, to the end he might have beene King a whole yeere.

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mother in law and departed, carrying with him all sorts of wines, (whereunto he was marvellously given,) and of all kinds of seedes for gardens. But as touching his mooveables and goods he left no order for them, but the greatest part remained in the castle of Naples: notwithstanding certaine jewels he carried also with him, and a little money. And in this estate sailed he and his mother in lawe to her said house in Sicilie, whence he departed and went to Messine, whither he called and led with him divers religious men, vowing himselfe to be no more of this world. Above all other orders of religion he loved especially those of the Mount Olivet (who are clad in white) as themselves tolde me at Venice, where the body of Saint Heleine lieth in their cloister. Moreover, he began to lead a marvellous holy life, and to serve God howerly both day and night with the said religious men as they doe in their covents. He used also great fasting, abstinence, and almes, and soone after fell into a sharpe sicknes of excoriation and the stone, in such sorte that the said religious men reported that they never sawe man so tormented. Notwithstanding he endured patiently all these pangues, being fully resolved to have spent the rest of his life in an Abbey at Valence the great in Spaine, and there to have registred himselfe a religious man. But he was so tormented with this disease, that he died soone after: and it is to be hoped because of his great repentance, that his soule is joyfull in Paradise: his sonne also died soone after him of an ague joyned with a fluxe, and I trust they are both in better case then they were in this world. But marke heere by the way that in lesse than two yeeres space, five wore the crowne of Naples, to wit the three above named, Charles the eight King of Fraunce, and Dom Fredericke (brother to the saide Alphonse) now rainging.

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CHAPTER XII

How the young Ferrand after he was crowned King of Naples, went and encamped at Germain, to resist the Kings comming, and of the treatie that King Charles made with the Pope at Rome.



NOW to the end all these matters may be plaine and evident: you shall understand that King Ferrand being crowned, became as it were a newe man, supposing all old injuries and offences to be forgotten by his fathers flight: wherefore he levied all the force he could, aswel horsemen as footemen, and came to Saint Germain, which is the very entry into his realme, and a strong place, and of great defence, through the which the Frenchmen had passed wise before.* There he encamped and manned the towne, and then his friends began somewhat to recover their spirits. The towne is strong, both because of a little river † which sometime is passable on foote, sometime not, and also because of the hill hanging over it.

The King was yet at Rome, where he remained about twenty daies busied with a number of matters. He had with him at the least eighteene Cardinals, besides divers others that repaired to the cite from all parts. The names of these Cardinals were the Cardinall Ascaigne, the Popes vicechauncellor, and brother to the Duke of Milan, the Cardinall Petri-ad-Vincula (the which two were deadly enimies to the Pope, and great friends each to other) the Cardinals of Guese, ‡ Saint Denis, Saint Severin, Savelli, Coulonne,

* He meaneth in their voiaages to Naples under the house of Anjou.

† This river is called Liris or Gariliano.

‡ Gurseense Guazzo, and I suppose our author write it Gurse, but

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and divers others, all the which would needs have proceeded to a new election, and deposed the Pope, being within the castell of Saint Ange, against the which the artillerie was twice bent, as I have heard the noblest personages there present report, but the King of his goodnes ever withstood it. The place was not of defence, for the seate thereof is upon a little hill made by force of man: besides that, these Cardinals alleaged that the wals thereof were fallen downe by miracle, and charged the Pope that he had obtained this holy dignitie by simonie, and they said true; but Cardinall Ascaigne himselve was the chiefe merchant that solde it, and received a great summe of money for his part, together with the Popes house where he lodged before he was Pope, being then Vicechauncellor, and all the furniture thereof, and his said office of Vicechauncellor, with divers places of the patrimonie of the Church. For great controversie had bene betwene them two for the said dignitie.* Notwithstanding I thinke they would both willingly have agreed to chuse a new Pope of the Kings naming, yea and a French man; so that I know not whether the King did well or evill in concluding peace, though all things considered I suppose he tooke the best course for himselve was yoong, and unprovided of men sufficient to manage so waightie a matter as the reformation of the Church, though I confesse his power to have bene sufficient thereunto. Sure if he could have reformed it, I thinke all men of wisdome and understanding would have accounted it a good, a woorthie, and a holy worke. But there were too many things requisite to so high an enterprise, notwithstanding the Kings will was good, and yet is if he had good assistance.

The King being in Rome made a treatie with the Pope, which could not long endure, for it was unreasonable in the letters of the ancient copie being defaced, the unskilfull corrector at the first Printing gessing but at the word, changed R into E. Guicciar. hath Gurce.

* The Pope before his papacie had bene Vicechauncellor. Ascanio and he strove for the dignitie, but in the ende Ascanio relented, being recompensed as here is mentioned. Notwithstanding, seeing an occasion against the Pope offered by the Kings comming, his rancor brake forth a new.

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How the yoong Ferrand encamped at Germain, to resist the Kings comming, and of the treatie that King Charles made with the Pope.

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How the
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some points, and served for the chiefe colour of the league, whereof hereafter you shall heare. By the said treatie peace was concluded betweene the Pope and his Cardinals, and all other their adherents and partakers. And it was agreed that the Cardinals should receive all rights and duties belonging to their Cardinals hat as well absent as present: and that the Pope should lend the King fower places, to wit, Terracine, Civita-vechia, Viterbe (which the King alreadie held) and Spolete, but this last he never delivered notwithstanding his promise. All the which places the King sware to restore at his returne from Naples, as also he did notwithstanding that the Pope had abused him. By this treatie he delivered also into the Kings hands the Turks brother: for the safe keeping of whom he received yeerely of the Turke sixtie thousand ducats, and held him also by meanes of his said brother in great feare.* He promised further to put no Legate into any fortified place or towne of the Church without the Kings consent. Certaine other articles there were touching the consistorie or colledge of Cardinals which I over passe. For the performance of all these conditions, the Pope delivered his sonne the Cardinall of Valence in hostage to the King, who accompanied him as his Legate, and the King did unto the Pope the dutie of a sonne, with all humilitie and obedience. Further, the Pope created two Cardinals at his request, the one the generall Brissonnet, so often before named, lately made Bishop of Saint Malo, and the other the Bishop of Mans, of the house of Luxembourg, who was here in Fraunce.

* Gemes or Gemin Ottoman here mentioned, brother to Bajazet the second, rebelling against his brother fled to the Soldan of Ægypt for aide, but bevanquished he fled to Rhodes, from whence he was sent into Fraunce to King Lewis the eleventh, to the ende he might not escape; for the Turke for his safe keeping paid yeerely to the knights of the Rhodes, 40000 crownes. King Lewis gave him to Pope Innocent the 8. So he remained till this present, that he was delivered to King Charles, at Rome in the Popes hands.

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CHAPTER XIII

How the King departed from Rome towards Naples, what hapned in the meane time in diuers parts of the same realme : and through what places he passed till he came to Naples.



THESE matters being thus ended, the King removed from Rome in great amitie and friendship with the Pope in apparance, at which time eight Cardinals departed also out of the citie highly displeased with this treatie, namely the said Vice-chancellor Ascaigne, and the Cardinall S. Peter-ad-Vincula, with sixe of their faction. But many thought that Ascaigne did but dissemble, and that in deede he was in good amitie with the Pope; notwithstanding I am able to affirme nothing thereof, for his brother had not as yet declared himselfe our enimie. From Rome the King removed to Iannesanne, and from thence to Belistre, where the Cardinall of Valence escaped away.

The next day the King tooke Chastelfortin by assault and put all that were with in it to the sword, because the place belonged to Iames Comte who was revolted from the King, notwithstanding that he had taken his pay: for the Comtes have ever been partakers with the Vrsins. From thence he marched to Valmonton a town of the Colonnois, and from thence remooved and lodged about fower miles from mont Saint Ichan, which is a towne held of the Church, but belonging to the Marques of Pescaire and very well fortified: notwithstanding after it had beene beaten seaven or eight howers with the canon; it was taken by assault, and all that were within it or the greatest part slaine, and there the Kings whole force joyned together.* Then he marched to-

* For the Coulonnois and certaine of the Kings captaines had beene

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wards Saint Germain sixteene miles thence, where this new King Ferrande (as you have heard) lay in campe with all the force he could levy. And indeede this was his onely refuge, and the place where he must fight or never, bicause it was the very keie as it were of his realme, and a place much for his advantage as well bicause of the river as of the mountaine. Further, he had sent men to defend the straight of Canello, lying among the mountaines sixe miles from Saint Germain: yet notwithstanding all this preparation before the Kings arrivall at S. Germain, he raised his campe and departed in great disorder abandoning both the towne and the passage.

Our vaward was led that day by the L. of Guise, the L. of Rieux was sent to this strait of Canello against the Arragonnois, but they also before his comming abandoned the place: and then entered the King into S. Germain. K. Ferrande rid straight to Capoua, where they refused to give his soldiers entrance, but received his person with a fewe that attended upon him; he staid not there, but desired them to continue true and faithfull subjects to him, promising the next day to returne, and so departed towards Naples fearing the rebellion that afterwards happened. All his force or the greatest part should have tarried him at Capoua: but the next daie when he returned he found them all departed. The Lord Virgile Vrsin with his cosin the Earle of Petillane, went to Nola, where they and all their company were taken prisoners by our men. They alleaged that they had a safe conduct and that we did them wrong, so had they indeede, but their safe conduct was not yet in their hands: notwithstanding they paid no ransome, but much they lost when they were taken, and sure in mine opinion they had wrong done them.

From Saint Germain the King removed to Mingamer, and to Triague, and lodged at Calvi, two miles from Capoua, whither they of Capoua came and yielded themselves by composition, and the King entered into the towne with his

sent about to come upon King Ferrandes backe. These tooke the towne of Aquila, and all those parts, and here joyned againe with the King, bicause they looked for the battell.

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whole army. From Capoua the next day he marched to Aversa, being in the midway betweene Capoua and Naples, and five miles distant from each of them. Thither came they of Naples and yeelded themselves in like maner by composition, having received assurance of the King that their ancient liberties should not be infringed nor empaired. The King sent thither before him the Marshall Gié, the Sene-schall of Beaucaire, the president Ganay keeper of the Seale, and certaine Secretaries: whereof King Ferrande being advertised, and seeing the people and Nobles of his realme in armes against him (who also at his first arrivall thither had spoiled his stable being marvellous great) tooke sea and sailed into Iscle, an Iland eighteene miles from Naples:* then the King was received into the towne with great joy and triumph. For all the people came foorth to meete him, yea, and those first that were most bound to the house of Arragon, namely all the Carraffes, who held of the said house of Arragon to the value of fortie thousand ducats of yeerely revenues, partly of inheritance, and partly of gift from the Prince; for the Kings of Naples may give away their crowne lands, so do they also other mens, and I thinke there are not three in the realme whose lands be not crowne lands or other mens.

How the King departed from Rome towards Naples, what hapned in the meane time in divers parts of the same realme.

Never people shewed so great affection to Prince or nation as they shewed to the King: the reason whereof was, because now they thought themselves delivered from all tyranny, so that they voluntarily yeelded unto us. For all Calabria became French incontinent, whither Monseur d'Aubigny and Peron of Basche were sent themselves alone without any force. All the countrey of Abrouso† yeelded likewise the towne of Aquila (which hath ever been great friend to the French) giving them the first example. In like maner all Pouille turned saving the castle of Brandis, which was strong and well manned, and Gallipoli which had a garrison in it, otherwise the people would have turned also. In Calabria three

* Guicciar. saith thirtie miles. The King was received into Naples the 21 of Februarie 1494 not beginning the yeere before Easter, but 1495 if you begin it the first of Ianuarie.—Guicciar.

† Samnium or Samnites.

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places held for King Ferrand, two of them were Mantie and Turpie (ancient partakers with the house of Anjou) the which at the first had set up the armes of Fraunce, but bicause the K. gave them to the L. of Persi, and would not receive them as percell of the demaines of his crowne,* they reared up againe the armes of Arragon. The third was the castle of Reges, which held also for King Ferrande. But it was our owne fault that ought held, for we sent no forces thither: no, I am well assured that into Pouille and Calabria, there went not men sufficient to have defended one castel for the King. Tarente yeelded both castell and towne, so did also Otrante,† Monopoli, Trani, Manfredonne, Barle, and all the other places, the above named onely excepted. Moreover the people came from their cities three daies journey to meete our men and to yeelde themselves. To be short, the whole realme sent to Naples, and all the Princes and noble men repaired thither to do homage to the King, saving the Marques of Pescaire‡ whose brethren and nephewes came notwithstanding. The Earle of Acrie, and the Marques of Squillazo, fled into Sicilie bicause the King had given their lands to the Lord of Aubigny. At Naples also arrived the Prince of Salerne newly come from the sea, but having done no service. Thither came also his brother the Prince of Bisignan and his sonnes, being accompanied with the Dukes of Melfe, of Gravine, and the olde Duke of Sora, who not long before had sold his Duchie to the Cardinall Petri ad Vincula, whose brother yet at this day possesseth it.§ To Naples also repaired the Earles of Montorio, of Fondi, of Tripalda and of Celano (who had long beene banished out of the realme, and was now newly returned with the King.) The Earle of Troy was there in like maner (who was a yoong gentleman of Scotland, brought up in Fraunce) and the Earle of Popoli whom we found prisoner at Naples.

* These were lands held in Capite of the King of Naples.

† Otrante called in Latin Aydruntum first yeelded to the French, then revolted againe.—Guicciar.

‡ Alphonse Davalo, Marques of Pescaire.—Guicciar.

§ John de Rouvere prefect of Rome was the Cardinals brother, and he it was that held this Duchie.

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The young Prince of Rosane before mentioned, after his long imprisonment with his father (who had lien in prison fower and thirtie yeeres) was at the length delivered and went with King Ferrand, whether willingly or by constraint I know not. To Naples came also besides these above named, the Marques of Guefron with all the Caldor-
esques, and the Earles of Matalon and Merillano, the which had, both they and their ancestors, ever governed the house of Arragon. To conclude, thither repaired all the nobles of the realme, the three above named onely excepted.

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XIII
How the King departed from Rome towards Naples, what hapned in the meane time, etc.

CHAPTER XIV

How King Charles was crowned King of Naples, of the faults he committed in the defence of the realme, and how an enterprise attempted on his behalfe against the Turke, was discovered by the Venetians.



ING FERRAND at his departure from Naples, left the Marques of Pescare with certaine Almaines to defend the castle,* and sailed himselfe for aide into Sicilie to his father. Dom Frederic lay still upon the sea with a few gallies, and came twise to parle with the King under safe conduct. His demands were that some part of the realme might remain to his nephew with the title of

* He meaneth Castelnuovo: for there are in Naples fower castels. The castell of Capoana where the King lodged: Castel novo situate partly in the sea, partly on the land with a citadelle by it: Castel del ovo situate on a rocke in the sea with a great tower called of the French Prince faulay, and betweene the castels Novo and Del ovo is a fort upon a rocke in the sea with a strong tower. The fourth is castel S. Ermo, and above Naples is an abbey that looketh into the towne called S. Martin, in maner of a castell.

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How King Charles was crowned King of Naples, of the faults he committed in the defence of the realme.

King,* and that himselfe might enjoy all his owne lands and his wives. His request in respect of himselfe was not great, for his partage was small. The King offered him possessions in Fraunce both for him and his nephew, and I thinke would willingly have given them a good and a great Duchie: but they would not accept this offer, neither would he graunt their demands. For what treatie soever had beene made, they would have broken it, when they had seene their advantage, being still resident in the realme. The Kings artillerie was bent and shot against the castle of Naples, within the which were onely the Almaines, for the Marques of Pescare was departed thence. And if we had sent but fower cannons to the Ile of Iscle† we had taken it, and then all had beene ours: for from thence returned all the mischief;‡ but if that had beene once woon, all the other places they held, being not past fower or five, would have yielded. But our men fell to feasting, to justs and banking, and were so puffed up with pride, that they accounted the Italians no men. Moreover, the King was crowned and lodged in Capouane, and went sometime to Mont Imperial.§ True it is that he shewed great grace and favor to the subjects of the realme, for he abated their charges. And I thinke verily the people of themselves would not have revolted from us (notwithstanding their great inconstancie) if we had contented a few of the nobles: but them no man regarded; besides that they were very roughly used at the gates. Those that were best dealt with, were the Carraffes the house of Arragons greatest friends, for their estates were but somewhat diminished: but the offices and pensions of

* Guicciar. saith he desired Calabria for his nephew without title of King.

† The King sent to Iscle, but the French men finding the towne desolate through negligence never assaulted the castel.

‡ He meaneth bicause all Ferrandes partie was retired thither.

§ The French Corrector supposeth that this should be *en manteau Imperial*, bicause some write that King Charles was crowned Emperor of Constantinople at Rome: but I thinke rather he meaneth Mont de la Crote, or the hill Vesuvius, whither the King often walked for recreation, and peradventure bicause of the singularities which he saw there, named one of these hills Mont Imperial.

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the rest cleane taken away ; yea the partakers with the house of Anjou woorse handled than the Arragonois. Further, into the county of Merillano a commandement was sent, for the which the president Ganaye, and the Seneschall newly created Duke of Nola, and Lord great chamberlaine of the realme, were burthened to have taken money. By the said commandement everie man was confirmed in his possession, and the partakers with the house of Anjou barred from their lands, unlesse they could recover them by proces. Further, as touching such as had made entries upon their own head, (as for example the Earle of Celano) aide was given to the parties grieved, to dispossesse them againe by force. All estates and offices were bestowed upon two or three Frenchmen, and all the provision of victuals within the castell of Naples,* when it yeelded (being marvellous great) given to every man that demanded it, at the least all that came to the Kings knowledge.

In the meane time the Almaines by practise yeelded the castle,† in the which they obtained infinit riches, the castle of l'Oeuf‡ was also taken by batterry. By these faults above rehearsed a man may manifestly perceive that this great conquest was atchieved by the meere grace of God, and not by their wisdome that governed the enterprise: but these foule faults were the works of men puffed up with pride and vaine glorie, and not understanding from whence all this their honour and good successe sprang. Wherefore they proceeded according to their nature and experience, by meanes whereof their good fortune changed as suddenly and visibly, as men may see the day spring in Island or Norway,§ where the daies in sommer are of greater length than in any other place, in such sort, that within a quarter of an hower after the one daies shutting in, the next day light beginneth to

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How King Charles was crowned King of Naples, of the faults he committed in the defence of the realme.

* He meaneth Castel novo.

† The Almaines yeelded the castell under condition, that they might have King Ferrandes mooveables that were within it.

‡ This castell was so named, bicause it was built in forme of an egge.

§ For Island and Norway, the unskilfull corrector had chopped in Holland and Auvergne, making the author report a meere untruth.

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appeere. Even so in as short space did every wise man perceive the alteration of our good and prosperous successes, whereof all Christendome should have reaped great profit and honor if we had acknowledged it to proceede from him, who was indeed the giver thereof. For the Turke then raigning (and yet living) might as easily have bene chased out of Europe, as King Alphonse was out of his realme, both for that he was a man of no valor, and also because the King had with him the said Turks brother, whom he feared above all men living. But this said brother died soone after the Cardinall of Valences escape: whereupon the report went that he was poisoned when the Pope delivered him to the King. Further, there were so many thousand Christians in Greece ready to rebell, as a man would hardly beleve, for from Otrante to Valonne* are but 60 miles,† and from Valonne to Constantinople but eighteene reasonable daies journeis, as divers that have travelled the way have enformed me. Betweene them are no strong places, at the most not above two or three, for all the rest be razed. Those countries are marvellous populous, and they that inhabite them be Albanois, Sclavons and Greekes, who understood of our Kings good success by their friends that were at Venice and in Pouille, unto whom also they sent letters, and looked daily, but for messengers to moove them to rebell. Whereupon the King sent thither the Archbishop of Duras‡ an Albanois borne, who found a marvellous number ready to revolt, being sonnes or nephewes of many noble and valiant men of those parts, namely the sonnes of Scanderbeg, the nephewes of the Emperor of Constantinople, and the nephewes of the Lord Constantine, (now governor of Montferrat) who were also Nephewes or cosins to the King of Servia. In Thessalia more than five thousand would have rebelled, yea and Scutaria should have bene surprised by intelligence that the Lord Constantine had within it, as himselfe advertised me at Venice, where he lay hidden many daies in my lodging. And sure he would easily have atchieved his enterprise: for Macedonie

* Oricum in Latine as some write, as others Apollonia.

† Others write but 55.

‡ Dyrrachium.

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and Thessaly were his inheritance,* which was the patrimonie of Alexander the great, Valonne also is part thereof, and upon his dominions Scutary and Croye † border, the which in his youth his father ‡ or uncle engaged to the Venetians, who lost Croye, and yelded Scutary to the Turke by treatie. The said Lord Constantine lay himselfe within three leagues of Scutarie, and the enterprise had beene executed, had not the said Archbishop of Duras staid at Venice too long after the Lord Constantines departure. I dayly pressed him very earnestly to depart, for he was a man light of talke, and vaunted in all places, that he would do some feate woorthie of immortall fame and renownme. But as the devill would, the selfe same day that the Venetians were advertised of the Turkes brothers death, whom the Pope had delivered to the King: they determined to send word thereof to the Turke by one of their Secretaries. And bicause they knew well that he should be highly rewarded that first brought this newes to the Turke: they commanded that no ship should passe that night betweene the two castles, which make the very entrie into the gulfe of Venice, § where also they caused watch and ward to be kept, bicause they feared the departure of some of the small boats, as gripes and such like, whereof there were a great number of the ports of Albany, and of their Iles adjoining to Greece. But the selfe same night this poore Archbishop would needes depart to this enterprise of the Lord Constantine, (who taried his comming) conveighing with him great store of swords, bucklers, and javelins, to furnish those with whom he had intelligence (for they are not permitted to have weapons in those countries :) but as he passed betweene the two castels above mentioned, he was taken and put into one of them, both he and his men: notwithstanding the ship that caried him was suffred to passe. Letters were found about him which dis-

How King Charles was crowned King of Naples, of the faults he committed in the defence of the realme.

* But the Turke held them from him.

† Troy in times past the strongest towne in Epirus.

‡ His fathers name was Commeneue.

§ He meaneth two castels standing at the entrie into the calme sea, which is within the naturall banke that defendeth the towne from the rage of the sea without the banke, the said castels be hard by Venice.

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crowned King
of Naples,
etc.

covered the enterprise, and the Lord Constantine hath told me since, that the Venetians advertised thereof both the Turkes garrisons that lay in those parts, and the Turke himselfe also, and had it not beene for the gripe that was permitted to passe (the patrone whereof was an Albanois, who informed him of all that was hapned) he had himselfe beene taken, but he escaped by sea, and fled into Pouille.

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A discourse somewhat out of the course of the historie, wherein Philip de Commines author of this present worke, treateth amply of the estate and government of the Seniorie of Venice, and of those things that he sawe there, and were done there during the time of his ambassage to the said Seniorie for the King.



WILL now leave the King in Naples, having atchieved his enterprise, and will speake somewhat of the Venetians, and the cause of mine ambassage thither. My departure from Ast to Venice was, partly to thanke them for the good answeres they had made to two of the Kings ambassadors sent thither, and partly to keepe them still his friends, if it were possible by any meanes: for because of their great forces, wisdomes, and good government, they might easily have mated his enterprise in Italy; but they being his friends, none in the countrie were to be feared. The Duke of Milan helped to dispatch me, and wrote to his ambassador their resident (for he hath one there continually) to accompanie me, and to give me instructions to whom I should addresse my selfe. His said ambassador received

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monethly of the Seniorie a hundred ducats, and had his house well furnished, and three barges (at their charge) to convey him up and downe the towne. Their ambassador hath the like allowance at Milan, save that he hath no barge; for at Milan men ride altogether on horsebacke, but at Venice they are caried by bote. In my journie thitherward, I passed through their cities, namely Bresse, Veronne, Vincense, and Padua with divers others; at every one of the which I was very honorably entertained, for the honor of him whom I represented: for alwaies either the Potestate or the Captaine came to receive me, accompanied with a goodly traine: but they both issued never foorth of the towne; for the captaine used to come no further than the gate. After I was entred the towne, they conveyed me to my lodging, commanding the host that I should be plentifully served, and all my charges they defraied, entertaining me with very honorable words. But if a man consider what he must bestow upon drums and trumpets, he saveth not much though he lie upon free cost, notwithstanding the entertainment is verie honorable. The same day I entred into Venice, they sent as far as Chafousine* to receive me, which is a place five miles from the towne, where men leave the botes that convey them downe the river from Padua,† and enter into other little botes very proper and neate, covered with tapestrie, and furnished within, with goodly hangings and velvet cushions to sit upon. Thus far the sea floweth, and this is the neerest passage from the firme land to Venice: but their sea is marvellous calme (unles a tempest happen to arise) which is the cause that so great plentie of all kinde of fish is taken there. I woondred to behold the seate of this citie, so many steeples, so many religious houses, and so much building, and all in the water; but especially that the people had none other passage to and fro in the town but by botes, wherof I thinke there are to the number of 30000, but they be verie small. Further, about the citie (I meane within the compas round about of lesse than halfe a French league) are 70 houses of religion, as well of men as women, all in

* Liccia or Lizafusina, Italians.

† The river is called Brenta.

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Ilands, sumptuously built, richly furnished within, and having goodly gardens belonging to them. Those within the citie I comprehend not in this number ; for within, there are, besides these, the fower orders of friers, and threescore and twelve parishes, besides a number of chappels of the companies of occupations, commonly called Confrairies.* And sure it is a strange sight to behold so many great and goodly churches built in the sea. To the said place of Chafousine came five and twentie gentlemen to receive me, sumptuously apparelled in silke and scarlet, the which welcommed me with an oration, and convaied me to the church of Saint Andrew neere to the towne, where as many other gentlemen met me, being accompanied with the ambassadors of Milan and Ferrara : and heere also they received me with an oration, and afterwards led me into other botes which they cal flat, being much greater than the former, two of them were covered with crimosin sattin, and decked within with arras, ech of them being large inough to have received 40 persons. They placed me between these two ambassadors, (for the midst in Italy is the honorablest place) and convaied me along through the great streete called the great chanell, † which is so large that the gallies passe to and fro through it, yea I have seen hard by the houses ships of foure hundred tun and above. Sure in mine opinion it is the goodliest streete in the world and the best built, and reacheth in length from the one end of the towne to the other. Their buildings are high and stately, and all of fine stone. ‡ The ancient houses be all painted ; but the rest that have been built within these hundred yeeres, have their front all of white marble, brought thither out of Istria an hundred miles thence, and are beautified with many great peeces of Porphire §

* I thinke he meaneth not the Confrairiez des Sainctz which be but five, as Contaren. writeth lib. 5, but rather I suppose, bicause our author saith many Confrairies, that every company in Venice hath a chappell, as in London they have hals.

† I suppose it to be that which they call Rivo alto.

‡ There are in Venice 200 palaces able to lodge kings.

§ A kind of red marble full of white spots called Leucosticos or Porphyrites : it is knowen to every man.

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and Sarpentine.* In the most part of them are at the least two chambers, the seeling whereof is gilded, the mantletrees of the chimneies verie rich, to wit, of graven marble, the bedsteds gilded, the presses painted and vermiled with golde, and marvellous well furnished with stuffe. To be short, it is the most triumphant citie that ever I sawe, and where ambassadors and strangers are most honorably entertained, the commonwealth best governed, and God most devoutly served; so far forth, that notwithstanding they have divers imperfections, yet thinke I verily that God prospereth them, because of the reverence they beare to the service of the Church. In the companie of these fittie gentlemen I passed to Saint Georges, which is an abbey of reformed blacke monks where I lodged. The next day they returned againe to me, and led me to the Seniorie, where I delivered my letters to the Duke, who presideth in all their assemblies, being honored as a King,† and all letters are directed to him, but of himselfe he cannot do much. Notwithstanding this Duke is of great authoritie, yea greater than ever was any of his predecessors;‡ and no marvell, for he hath beene Duke these twelve yeeres:§ and for my part I ever found him a vertuous and a wise man, of great experience in the affaires of Italie, and a curteous and gentle person: This was all that I did the first day, save that they led me into the palace, and shewed me three or fower chambers, the seelings whereof were richly gilded, and likewise the beds and presses: and sure it is a verie stately and sumptuous building for the greatnes thereof: for it is all of square marble, and all the front vermiled with gold, and likewise the edges and borders of the angles, about the bredth of an inch. There are moreover fower goodly halts within it richly gilded, and a number of

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* A greene stone, I suppose it to be also a kind of marble, which is greene as Porphire is, red and spotted also with white for the most part as that is: it is called Ophytes.

† Of the Dukes office read Contaren. lib. 2.

‡ This Dukes name was Augustinus Barbaricus or Barbadicus, he was chosen anno 1486, and was after som the 77, after others the 74, Duke.

§ Reckon these 12 yeeres not at the time that the author was at Venice, but at the time that he wrote this historie: for at his being there, he had been Duke but 8 yeeres.

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faire lodgings, but the court is verie small. The Duke out of his chamber may heare masse at the high altar of the chappell of Saint Marke,* which is the goodliest and richest Church in the world, bearing but the name of a chappell: for it is built throughout of the curious worke called Musaique, or Marqueterie;† the art also whereof they vaunt themselves to be authors of: and sure they have divers workemen thereof, as my selfe can testifie. In this chappell is their treasure so famous through the world, being onely things appointed for the furniture of the Church; among the which are twelve or fowerteene Rubie ballais, the greatest that ever I saw: for two of them waigh the one above seven hundred, and the other above eight hundred carrets, but they are unpolished. There are twelve other stones like to little pillers set in golde, and garnished and bordred with excellent good stone. Moreover, twelve crownes there are of gold, wherewith in times past at certaine feasts in the yeere twelve women decked themselves (whom they called Queenes) the which went about these ylands and churches: but the said Queenes, and the greatest part of the women of the citie, were stolen and carried away perforce by theeves that came out of Istria or Friole,‡ being borderers upon the Venetians, the which lurked privily behind these yles: but their husbands pursued these theeves, and recovered their women, and offered all these crownes to Saint Marke, and built also a chappell upon the place, whither the Seniorie resorteth yeerely the same day they obtained this victorie. Sure this is a goodly furniture for the Church: for besides these things above rehearsed, there are divers other jewels of gold, and a sute of Amethysts and Agates, and a fewe Emeraulds. But this is no such treasure to make account of as ready money; and yet of money they have no treasure: for the Duke himselfe told me before the Seniorie, that it is among them a

* Saint Marks church is described by Contaren. in the verie end of the fourth booke.

† Mousaique or Marqueterie, Musæa, Musaica, or Musiva, in Latine, workes wrought of stones of divers colours and divers mettals into knots and devises so curiously, that they seeme all one, and not to be wrought in together by art.

‡ Forum Iulii.

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capitall crime to make mention of treasure in coine. And sure in mine opinion they do therein very wisely, for feare of division that thereby might arise among them. Afterward they shewed me their other treasure, namely their Arsenal,* where they arme their galleies, and prepare all other furniture necessarie for their navie, which undoubtedly is the goodliest thing at this day in the world, and the best in order for that purpose.

To be short, I abode there eight moneths upon their charge, as did all the other ambassadors there resident. And sure thus much I dare boldly say of them, that they are men of such wisdom, and so inclined to enlarge their dominions, that unlesse they be looked to in time, all their neighbors shall repent it too late: for the Kings comming into Italy, and the warrs that have been betweene him and them since that time (which yet endure) have made them much skilfuller in fortification and defence of places then they were before. Besides that, they have of late enlarged their Seniorie, for they have seven or eight cities engaged to them in Pouille, which I doubt me they will never restore. At the Kings first comming into Italie they could not be perswaded that places might be taken so easily, and in so short space: for they made not war with such expedition; † but both they and divers others have fortified since, and do daily fortifie many places in Italy. They cannot grow mightie upon a sudden as the Romaines did, for their bodies cannot endure such labour and travell as theirs could, because they are unaccustomed therunto, by reason that none of them go into their wars upon their firme land ‡ (as the Romaines did) save their provisors and treasurers which accompanie their generall §; assist him with their counsell, and provide all things necessarie for their armie. True it is that their armies upon the sea are led || by their gentlemen, who are

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* This Arsenal is described by Contaren. lib. 4.

† He meaneth, because they understood not the feate of artillerie.

‡ The Venetians armies upon the land are all strangers.—Contaren.

lib. 5.

§ Their Generall upon the land is also a stranger.

|| Contaren. *ibidem*.

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captaines of their galleies and ships; and consist wholly of their owne subjects. Moreover, another good order have they as touching these provisors whom they send in person with their armies upon the land, which is, that they imploye in that service no man of such courage and vertue as may seeme woorthie to be their Prince (as the Romaines did) whereby they avoid all factions in the citie, which sure is a great point of wisdome. And undoubtedly against civill contention they have marvellously well provided divers and sundrie other waies, for they have no tribunes of the people, as they had in Rome, which partly were cause of their ruine. But the people at Venice beare no swaie, neither are called to counsel in any matter:* for all their officers† be gentlemen, save their secretaries.‡ And the greatest part of their people be strangers. Moreover, they understand by T. Livius what imperfections were in the state of Rome; for they have his historie, and his bodie lieth buried in their palace at Padua. For these reasons and divers others which I could alleage, I say yet once againe, that they are in the way to be great Lords in time to come.

I must now declare the cause of mine ambassage to them, which was, to thanke them for the good answers they had made to two ambassadors sent thither by the King: and for the good comfort they had given him, in willing him upon their word to proceede with his enterprise. All the which was done before he departed out of Ast. At my arrivall I discoursed unto them of the ancient league that had beene betweene the Kings of Fraunce and them. And further, I offered them Brandis and the towne of Otrante, under this condition, that when we delivered them better townes in Greece, they should be bound to restore these. They used very honorable termes both of the King and his affaires, supposing that he could not enter farre into Italie. And as touching the offer I made, they answered that they were his friends and servants, and would not sell him their friendship,

* Understand any matter of waight.

† Understand their principal officers.

‡ Their chancellor also is no gentleman, neither may a gentleman be chancellor or Secretarie.—Contaren. lib. 5.

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(and in deede as yet we had not the places offered.) Further they said, that they had force sufficient in a readines to move war against him, if they were so disposed, but they would not so do; notwithstanding that the ambassador of Naples daily sollicited them thereunto, and offered them in consideration thereof, whatsoever they would demaund. Moreover, King Alphonse (who then raigned) confessed that he had many waies misbehaved himselfe towards them, and declared unto them the great danger themselves should be in, if the King obtained his purpose. The Turke on the other side sent an ambassador to them with all speede, (whom my selfe sawe divers times) the which at the Popes request threatened them, unlesse they declared themselves the Kings enemies. They gave everie one of these good answeres, notwithstanding at the first they stooode in no feare of us, but laughed at our voiage: and the rather because the Duke of Milan sent them word by his ambassador, that they should not trouble themselves about this enterprize: for he would finde meanes to send the King home with emptie hands. The like message sent he also to Peter of Medicis, as himselfe told me. But when both they and the Duke of Milan sawe all the Florentines places, especially Pisa in the Kings hands, they began to feare and to consult how to stop him from passing further: but their matters were long in debating, and in the meane time while ambassadors passed to and fro betweene them, the King marched forward. The King of Spaine in like manner began to feare, because of the yles of Sicilie and Sardinia. And the King of Romaines envied our Kings good successe: for divers there were that put him in doubt of the crowne imperiall, saying, that the King would take it, and had required the Pope to give him leave so to do, but this was most untrue. Notwithstanding for these doubts, these two Kings sent honorable ambassages to Venice, I being there, as you have heard. The King of Romaines, because he was their neighbor, sent first: the principall of his ambassage was the Bishop of Trente, accompanied with two knights and a doctor of the law: they were verie honorably and solemnly received, and their lodgings made and furnished as mine. Moreover, they had ten ducats

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a day allowed them for their diet, and their horses which they had left behinde them at Trevis, were kept upon the Seniories charge. Soone after arrived also a worshipfull knight of Spaine* well accompanied and well appalled, who was in like manner honorably received, and his charges defraied. The Duke of Milan, besides his ambassador there resident, sent thither the bishop of Come, and Master Francis Bernardin Viscount, all the which began at the first to negotiate together covertly and in the night by their Secretaries: for they durst not as yet openly discover themselves against the King, especially the Duke of Milan and the Venetians, because they doubted what successe the league which was in communication should have. These ambassadors of Milan came to visite me, and brought me letters from their Master, pretending the cause of their comming to be, for that the Venetians had sent two ambassadors to Milan, whereas they were wont to have but one resident there: no more had they in the end; and this was but a colour of their lying, deceit, and false dealing: for they were all assembled together to conclude a league against the good King, but so many strings could not be turned on a sudden. They desired me afterward (if I could) to informe them what the cause was of the King of Spaines and the King of Romaines ambassadors arrivall, to the ende they might advertise their Master thereof. But I had intelligence alreadie from divers places, both by the said ambassadors servants and others, that the ambassador of Spaine had passed through Milan disguised, that the Almaines governed their affaires wholly by the Duke of Milans counsell and advise, and that the ambassador of Naples delivered howerly packets of letters from his Master. For you must understand, that the treatie of their league was begun before the King departed from Florence, and I spent money largely to have intelligence of all their doings,

* The King of Spaine used this colour for breach of his league with K. Charles, because there was a clause that they should not be bound to any thing prejudiciall to the church, and the realme of Naples was held of the church. Further, another clause there was, that he should not resist K. Charles his conquest, if it appeered by law the crown of Naples to appertaine to him, which he sought not to proove, but proceeded by force.

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and wrought by good instruments, so that I knew already all their articles, which were propounded but not agreed upon: for the Venetians are verie long in their resolutions. For these causes I seeing the league in such forwardnes, would no longer pretend ignorance therein, but answered these ambassadors of Milan, that sith they used such strange termes to me, I thought good to say thus much unto them, that the King would not lose the Duke of Milans friendship if by any meanes it might be kept, and that I as his servant would doe my dutie to my Master, and excuse him of the evill reports which peradventure had beene made of him to the Duke their Master, who I thought was misinformed: saying further, that he ought well to bethinke himselfe, before he lost the recompence of the great service he had done the King: for the Kings of France were never ingrate; adding also, that the speaking of a foolish worde ought not to dissolve their friendship, the continuance whereof was so necessarie for them both. Wherefore I desired them to open unto me their griefes, that I might advertise the King thereof before they proceeded further: they sware all unto me and protested, that there was no such matter as I imagined; but they lied, for they were come thither to treat of the said league.

The next daie I went to the Seniorie to commune with them about their league, and to tell them my opinion thereof. Among other things I alleaged, that by the league concluded betweene the King and them, and the late King Lewis his father and them, they might not maintaine the one the others enemies: wherefore they could not conclude the league now treated of without breach of their promise. Then they caused me to withdraw my selfe a little, and at my returne the Duke saide unto me, that I must not beleeve all that I heard in the towne: for all men live there in libertie, and might speake what them listed; and that as touching them they never meant to enter into league against the King, neither heard ever of any such matter: but on the contrarie side they sought to conclude a league betweene the King, and these two other Kings and all Italy, against the Turke, at the common charges of them all, and that if any in Italy

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refused to paie that he should be rated at, the King and they would constraine him thereunto by force. Moreover, they said that they travelled to conclude a good peace for the King, to wit, that he should receive of Dom Ferrand presently a summe of money, which they offered to lend, so that they might have engaged for it, those places in Pouille which now they possesse, and that the realme should be held of the King by the Popes consent,* and pay him yeerely a certaine tribute. And further, that he should hold in it three places, and I would to God the King would then have given eare to this offer: but I answered them that I durst not deale therein, because I had no commission nor authoritie so to do. Moreover, I desired them not to be hastie in concluding this league, because I would advertise the King of these their ouvertures. I required them also (as I had done the others) to open unto me their griefes, and not to dissemble them as they of Milan had done. Then they told me plainly that they were greaved because the King held certaine of the Popes townes, but much more because of the Florentines places, especially Pisa, saying, that the King himselfe had written both unto them and divers others, that he would take nothing in Italy, but the realme of Naples onely, and afterward go against the Turke: but now it plainly appeered that he would conquere all that he could in Italy, and leave the Turke in peace. They said further, that the Duke of Orleans (whom the King had left behinde him in Ast) put the Duke of Milan in great doubt and feare, and that his servants used marvellous threatning words against him. Notwithstanding they promised to conclude nothing before they received answer from the King, at the least not before a convenient time to receive answer were expired, and they dealt more honorably with me than they of Milan had done.† Of all these matters I advertised the King, and

* This is added, because realme of Naples was held of the church.

† He meaneth, because they dealt plainly with him, but they of Milan had dissembled. Notwithstanding the French had it thus: 'They shewed greater honor to me than to them of Milan': but in mine opinion it was the Printers fault, who for *que ceulx de Milan*, had put *qu'a ceulx de Milan*: for sure the sence is much better thus.

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received a cold answer from him: from that day forward they began daily to assemble together, because they knew their enterprize to be discovered. The King was yet at Florence, and if he had found any resistance at Viterbe (as they thought he should) they would have sent men to defend Rome: yea or if King Ferrande had not abandoned Rome, as they thought undoubtedly he would never have done: but when they heard of his departure thence they began to feare. Notwithstanding the ambassadors of these two Kings pressed them earnestly to conclude, saying, that otherwise they would depart, for they had bene there fower moneths daily negotiating with the Seniorie. In the meane time I labored all that might be to overthrow their league.

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But when the Venetians saw all these places yeilded, and were also advertised, that the King was entred into Naples, they sent for me, and tolde me these newes, seeming greatly to rejoyce thereat: notwithstanding they saide that the castle was verie wel furnished, and I perceived by them, that they hoped assuredly it would have held good. Moreover, they licensed the ambassador of Naples to levy men at Venice to send to Brandis; and they were even upon the point to have concluded their league, when suddenly they received letters from their ambassadors, that the castell was yeilded also to the King. Then they sent for me againe in a morning, and I found fiftie or sixtie of them assembled together in the Dukes chamber, who lay sicke of the collicke. He told me these newes with a cheerfull countenance, but none of the rest could dissemble so cunningly as himselfe: for some of them sate upon a lowe bench leaning upon their elbowes, other some after one sort, and others after another; their outward countenances bewraying their inward griefe. And I thinke verily when word came to Rome of the battell lost at Cannas against Hannibal, that the Senators which remained in the citie, were not more astonished nor troubled than these: for none of them once looked upon me, none of them gave me one word but the Duke alone; so that I woondered to beholde them. The Duke asked me if the King would performe that which hee had alwaies promised both by his

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letters and by me: I assured him that he would, and opened certaine ouvertures of peace, and offered my selfe to travell therein, trusting to put them out of all doubt, and so departed.

Their league was as yet neither fully concluded, nor fully broken off; for the which cause the Almaines would needes have departed in great heate. The Duke of Milan would not yet condescend I wot not to which of their articles: notwithstanding in the ende he sent word to his ambassadors to seale with speede to all; and thus at the length was their league concluded. During the space that these practises were thus entertained among them, I had from time to time advertised the King of them all, pressing him earnestly to resolve either to tarrie in the realme, and to make provision of greater forces of footemen and money; or in time to retire homeward before his enimiys were all assembled, leaving the principall places well manned. I advertised also the Duke of Orleans (who lay in Ast with his housholde servants onely, for his company was with the King) of all that was done, willing him to put men into the towne, and assuring him that they would incontinent assaile him. I wrote also to the Duke of Bourbon (whom the King had left regent in Fraunce) to send men to Ast with all speed possible to defend the towne, because that place being lost, no aide could come to the King. In like maner I advertised the Marchionesse of Montferrat of all these proceedings (who was a great friend to us, and deadly enemie to the Duke of Milan) to the end she might aide the Duke of Orleans with men, if neede so required: for Ast being lost, the Marquisats of Montferrat and Saluces were also lost.

Their league was concluded one night very late.* The next morning the Seniorie sent for me earlier then they were accustomed. And when I was come and set downe, the Duke told me, that in the honor of the holy Trinitie, there was a league concluded betweene our holy father the Pope, the Kings of Romaines and Castile, them, and the Duke of Milan, for three purposes. The first, for the defence of the estate of Christendome against the Turke; the second, for

* Their league was concluded in Aprill.—Guicciar.

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the defence of Italy; and the third for the preservation of their owne estates, whereof he willed me to advertise the King. They were assembled to the number of a hundred or more, and looked up with cheerefull countenances, and sate not as they did the day they advertised me of the taking of the castle of Naples. The Duke tolde me moreover that they had written to their ambassadors that were with the King, to take their leave and to returne home, their names were Master Dominic Loredan, and Master Dominic Trevisan. I was marvellously troubled with this newes, for I stood in doubt both of the Kings person, and of all his companie, supposing their armie to have beene readier than in deed it was, as did themselves also. I feared further least the Almaines had beene at hand; and not without cause; for if they had, undoubtedly the King had never departed out of Italie. I was resolved not to speake much in this heate; but they so provoked me that I was forced to change my minde; and then I said unto them, that both the night before and divers other times, I had advertised the King of their league, and that he also had sent me word that he had intelligence thereof both from Rome and from Milan. They looked all marvellous strangely upon me, when I said that I had advertised the King thereof the night before: for there is no nation under the sunne so suspicious as they, nor so secret in their affaires, so that oftentimes they banish men upon suspicion onely, for the which cause I said thus much unto them. I told them moreover that I had sent word thereof both to the Duke of Orleans and to the Duke of Bourbon, to the ende they might put men into Ast: which words I uttered hoping to delay their going thither. For if they had indeed been as readie as they vaunted and supposed themselves to have been: they must needs have taken the towne, for it was unmanned both then and long after. Then they told me that they meant not to attempt ought against the King, but onely to defend themselves, adding that they would not have him thus to abuse the world with words, in saying that he would take nothing but the realme of Naples, and afterward go against the Turke: and yet do cleane contrary, and seeke to destroy the Duke of Milan, and the

CHAPTER
XV

A discourse,
wherein
Philip de
Commines
treateth
amply of the
estate and
government
of the Seniorie
of Venice.

THE SEVENTH BOOKE OF

CHAPTER XV

A discourse, wherein Philip de Commines treateth amply of the estate and government of the Seniorie of Venice.

Florentines, and hold also the places of the Church. Wherunto I answered that the Kings of Fraunce had ever enlarged and augmented the dition of the Church, and defended it, and that the King my Master would rather do the like than the contrarie. Wherefore these (I said) were not the reasons that mooved them to enter into this war, but that they desired to trouble the estate of Italy, thereby to make their owne profit, as in the end I thought they would; which words they tooke in evill part as afterward I was advertised: notwithstanding it appeereth by those townes in Pouille which they have in gage of King Ferrand to aide him against us, that I said true. At this instant I would have risen to depart, but they caused me to sit downe againe, and then the Duke asked me if I would make any overture of peace, bicause the day before I had offered so to do, but that was under condition that they should have staid the conclusion of their league fifteene daies, to the end I might advertise the King thereof, and receive his answer thereunto. Our communication being ended, I returned to my lodging, and then they sent for the ambassadors of the league one after another, and as I came foorth from them I met with the ambassador of Naples, who ware a faire new gowne and shewed a cheerefull countenance, so had he great cause to do, for these were good newes for him. After dinner all the ambassadors of the league accompanied with their servants met together, at the charges of the Seniory, upon the water (which is all the pastime of Venice) I thinke they were in all fortie boates, every ambassador having his boate garnished with a flagge of his Masters armes. I saw all this company passe underneath my window with goodly melodie. And the ambassadors of Milan (at the least one of them) who had been woont very often before to beare me company; made a countenance now as though he knew me no more. By the space of three daies I never stirred out of my lodging, neither any of my servants: notwithstanding that, not one man in the towne gave me or any of mine a foule word at any time. The same night they made great pastime with squibs, which were set on fire a high in the steeples and turrets of the towne, and a number of torches were lighted in the top of

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these ambassadors houses, and divers peeces of artillerie discharged. I was in a covered barge upon the water to behold all this triumph, about ten of the clocke at night, especially before these ambassadors lodgings, where was banketting and great cheere: notwithstanding this was not the great festivall day, on the which their league was proclaimed: for the Pope had given commandement that the proclamation thereof should be deferred till Palmsunday, and that every one of the confederated Princes, when it should be proclaimed, and the ambassadors that should be present thereat, should beare in their hands an olive branch in token of peace and confederacie as he said. He commanded further, that upon that day it should be proclaimed both in Spaine and in Almaine. Moreover, at Venice they made a scaffold of wood, which they raised a great height from the ground, as they use to do upon Corpus Christi day, and it was richly hanged, and reached from the palace to the end of the market place of Saint Marke. Upon this scaffold (after the Popes ambassador had soong masse, and given full absolution to all men that should be present at the said proclamation) they went on procession, the Senators and the ambassadors being all very well appavelled: for unto divers of the said ambassadors the Seniorie had given crimosin velvet gownes, especially to the Almaines, and new gownes also to all their servants, but they were verie short. After their returne from procession, a great number of pageants and devises were shewed, representing first Italy, and then all these Kings and Princes, and the Queene of Spaine. And as they returned from beholding the said pageants, at a Porphire stone where all their proclamations are made, they proclaimed the said league, and the Turks ambassador hard it, standing close at a window, and having his dispatch, save that they staid him to behold this triumph. At night he came to talke with me by meanes of a certaine Greeke, and was with me fower howers in my chamber, being very desirous that his Prince and the King my Master might enter together into amitie. I was twice invited to this feast, but I excused my selfe. I remained in the towne about a moneth after this proclamation, being as well entertained

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A discourse, wherein Philip de Commines treateth amply of the estate and government of the Seniorie of Venice.

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as at my first arrivall. Afterward the King sent for me, and I tooke my leave and departed, being safely conveyed by them, and upon their charges to Ferrara, where the Duke came foorth and received me, and feasted me two daies, and defraied me. The like did Master Iohn de Bentivole at Bologna, whither the Florentines sent for me.

Wherfore I departed thence and went to Florence there to abide the Kings comming, of whom
I will now returne to speake.

THE EIGHT BOOKE

CONTINUING THE DISCOURSE
OF THE PRINCIPALL ACTS OF
KING CHARLES THE EIGHT

PHILIP DE COMMINES

CHAPTER I

Of the order and provision the King left in
the realme of Naples at his returne
into Fraunce.



TO continue the better this my historie, and to informe you of all that happened, I must now returne to speake of the King, who from the time he entred into Naples till his departure thence, thought onely upon sports and pleasures, and those that were about him upon their owne private profit and gaine: notwithstanding his yoong yeeres excused him; but on their behalfe, no just excuse can be made: for he committed all his affaires to their government. And if they had advised him to leave well furnished in the countrie at his departure but three or fower castels onely, namely that of Cajetta, and one or two more: but yet the castell of Naples alone (the provision whereof he had given away as already you have heard) the realme had never beene lost: for if the castell of Naples had beene kept, the towne had never revolted. So soone as he understood the league above mentioned to be concluded, he commanded his whole forces to repaire to him, and appointed five hundred men of armes French and 2500 Swissers,* and a few French footemen for the defence of the realme, determining with the rest to returne home the same way he came; but the confederates made preparation to stop his passage. The King of Spaine had sent and daily did send certaine Caravels† into Sicilie, the which notwithstanding that they were but slenderly manned, had before the Kings

* Guicciar. saith, the King left behinde him his Swissers, part of his French footmen, 300 French launces, and 500 Italian men of armes.

† These are certaine ships having both saile and ore, the which are very much used in the meridionall seas.

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I

Of the order and provision the King left in the realme of Naples at his returne into Fraunce.

departure, put men into Reges in Calabria neere to Sicilie. I had eftsoones advertised the King that there they would land ; for the ambassador of Naples had so informed me himselfe, supposing they had already beene landed : but if the King had sent thither in time, he had taken the castell ; for the towne held for him. Out of Sicilie came certaine bands also to Mantia and to Turpia, all through our owne fault, bicause we had sent no forces thither. In like maner the towne of Otrante in Pouille (which had once set up the armes of Fraunce) seeing the league concluded, and themselves seated neere to Brandis and Gallipoli, and no meanes possible to levie men to put into their towne, reared up againe the armes of Arragon ; and Dom Frederick being at Brandis, sent a garrison thither. To be short, fortune began now to frowne upon us, which but two moneths before so highly had favored us, in such sort, that through the whole realme they began to revolt, as well bicause of the league, as also of the Kings departure, and the small forces he left behinde him, which was nothing in respect of the number of soldiers, though divers of the captaines were of great valor. He appointed for his lieuetenant generall in the said realme, the Lord of Montpensier of the house of Bourbon, a valiant and a hardy knight, but of no great sense, and so careles, that he kept his bed every day till noone. In Calabria he left the Lord of Aubigny a Scottish man borne, a vertuous, wise, honorable, and a valiant knight, him he created high Constable of the realme, and gave him (as before you have heard) the Earledome of Acri, and the Marquisat of Squillazzo. He had made Lord great Chamberloine of the realme at his first comming thither, the Seneschall of Beaucaire, called Stephan de Vers, who was also captaine of Cajetta, Duke of Nola, and Lord of divers other Seniories. Further, all the treasure of the realme passed through his hands, so that his charge was much too waightie for him ; but sure he was well affected to the defence of the realme. He created the Lord Don Iulian Lorrain a Duke, and left him in the towne of Saint Angelo, where he behaved himselfe passing well. He left in Manfredonia Master Gabriel of Montfaulcon, a man of whom he made great account ; and to all

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CHAPTER I

these he gave goodly possessions : but this Gabriell behaved himselfe very childishly ; for at fower daies end he yeilded the towne for lacke of victuals : notwithstanding that at his entrie into it he found it very well furnished ; besides that it was seated in a countrie abounding with all kinde of graine. Divers sold all the provision they found in the castels, and the report went that this Gabriell fled himselfe, and left William of Vilneufue for defence of the towne, whom his owne servants sold to Dom Frederick, who put him into the gallies, where he remained a long time. At Tarente the King left George of Suilly, who carried himselfe there very gallantly, and died of the plague : and this citie held for the King, till famine forced it to yeeld. In Aquila he left the bailife of Vitry, where he did great service : and in Abruzzo Master Gracian des guerres, who likewise made good prooffe of his valor there. They were all left unfurnished of monie : for order was given that they should receive their pay there, of the revenues of the crowne, but all was too little. Notwithstanding the King left the Princes of Salerne and Bisignan very well appointed, who did him good service as long as they were able. He dealt also very bountifully with the Coulonnois : for he granted them all their demaunds, and put above thirtie places into their hands and their friends, which if they would have defended for him, as both by dutie and oth they were bound, they had done him great service, and purchased to themselves both honor and profit. For I thinke they were not so highly advanced these hundred yeeres, as by the King at that time : yet notwithstanding before his departure they began to practise with his enimies. True it is that they served him in favor onely of the Duke of Milan, bicause they have ever bene of the faction Gibilin, but they ought not in respect thereof, to have dealt faithlesly with him, who so highly had advanced and pleased them, not onely this way but divers others. For in their favor he led prisoners with him under gard, the Lord Virgill Vrsin, and the Earle of Petillane*, with divers others of the Vrsins their enimies, yea and that

Of the order and provision the King left in the realme of Naples at his returne into Fraunce.

* Virginio Vrsin and the Earle of Petillane followed the King onely upon their word not to depart without leave.

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against all right and reason: for notwithstanding that they were taken prisoners, yet knew the King right well that they had a safe conduct, the benefit also whereof he meant they should enjoy, as himselfe well declared: for he was determined to leade them no further than Ast, and there to release them. All this did he at the Courlonnois request, and yet before his returne to Ast they shrunke from him, yea they were the very first that revolted, though they could alleage no cause that mooved them thereunto.

CHAPTER II

How the King departed from Naples, and passed againe through Rome, whereupon the Pope fled to Orviette: of the communication the King had with Monsieur D'Argenton at his returne from Venice: how he tooke advise whether he should restore the Florentines places to them or not: and of the Sermons woorthy of memorie of Frier Ierome of Florence.



THE King having given order for his affaires, as he thought good, put himselfe upon the way homeward with the rest of his forces,* being (as I suppose) nine hundred men of armes at the least (comprehending therein the ordinary retinue of his house) and two thousand five hundred Swisssers, so that I thinke the whole army contained seven thousand men taking paie, besides the traine of the Court being to the number of fifteen hundred able to do

* He departed from Naples the 20 of May.—*Annal. Franc.*, Guicciar.

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service.* The Earle of Petillane who tooke the just muster of them, told me after the battell (whereof you shall heare) that the whole force was nine thousand men. The King marched straight to Rome, where the Pope would not tarie his comming, but was first determined to have gone to Padua into the Venetians dominions, so far forth that his lodging was made there. But afterward he altered his minde: for both the Venetians and the Duke of Milan sent him certaine bands of men to Rome, where (though they arrived in time) yet durst he not abide; notwithstanding that the King meant him no harme, but would have done him all honor and service, and had also sent an ambassador thither purposely to desire him to staie. But he retired to Orviette, and thence to Perouse, leaving the Cardinals at Rome to receive the King, who staide not there, † neither harmed any man. The King wrote unto me that I should meet him at Sene, whither I repaired accordingly, he received me of his goodnes very graciously, and asked me (somewhat merily) whether the Venetians would send to stop him upon the way: for his army consisted altogither of yoong men who thought none in the world comparable to themselves. I answered, that the Seniorie told me at my departure, in the presence of one of his Secretaries named Lourdin, that they and the Duke of Milan would put fortie thousand men into the field, not to offend him, but to defend themselves: adding further that they advertised me the day I departed from Padua by one of their provisors, who came with their army that they sent against us, that their forces should not passe a certaine river in their dominions neere to Parma ‡ called (as I remem-

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* The King departed Naples with 800 French launcers, two hundred gentlemen of his garde, a hundred launces under Trivulce, three thousand footemen Swiszers, a thousand French, and a thousand Gascoines.—Guicciar.

† He arrived at Rome the first of Iune, and abode there two daies.—*Annal. Franc.*

‡ For Parma it is better to read Creme or Bergame: for the Venetians dominions lay not neere to Parma; besides that the river Olio is not neere Parma: for the Pau runneth betweene Parma and it, so that the Venetians must have passed the Pau after they had passed Olie, before they could have come to Parma.

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ber) Olye, unlesse he invaded the Duke of Milan. The said Provisor and I gave secret tokens each to other, by the which messengers might passe to and fro betweene us, if need should so require to treat of some good end: for I would breake off no ouverture of peace, bicause I knew not what might happen to the King my Master. At this our communication was present one Master Lewis Marcell, who by the Seniories appointment accompanied me out of their dominions, and governed for that yeere the Motz viere,* which is a certaine treasure they have: in like maner certaine of the Marques of Mantuas men who caried money to their Master, were also present at it, but they heard not our talke. From these or from some other I brought the King in writing the number of their horsemen, footemen, and Estradiots,† and the names of their captaines: but few of those that were neerest about him credited my words.

After the King had reposed himselfe two daies at Sene, and well refreshed his horses and his company, I earnestly pressed him to depart: for his enimies were not yet assembled, and I feared onely the Almaines arrivall, of whom the King of Romaines mustered great force, and levied great summes of money for their paiement. But notwithstanding all my sollicitation, the King put fourth two matters to his Councell which were soone debated: the one, whether he should restore the Florentines places to them and accept the offers they made for the restitution of them, being these, to pay him the thirtie thousand ducats remaining yet unpaid of the summe they gave him;‡ to lend him besides, seaventie thousand, and to serve him as he passed out of Italie with three hundred men of armes, and two thousand footemen under the leading of Master Frauncis Secco, a valiant knight and in good credit with the King. My selfe and divers others were of opinion that he should accept these conditions, retaining

* The French Corrector readeth it *Mont vieil*, called in Italian *Monte Vechio*, which is a certaine treasure the Venetians have to pay the interests due unto the ancientest creditors of their common wealth, as appeareth in the booke of *Donato Giannotti*.

† What these Estradiottes were looke after *Cap. 5.*

‡ They had given the King 120000 ducats, as mention is made *Cap. 9, lib. 7.*

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CHAPTER II

onely Ligorne in his hands till his returne to Ast. And if he had so done, he might have paied his soldiers, and reserved money ynough to have withdrawn part of his enimies forces, and then have fought with them. But this resolution tooke no place; for Monseur de Ligny a yoong man cosin german to the King overthrew it, not alleaging any reason to the contrarie, but onely for pity of the Pisans. The other point debated was a matter that Monsieur de Ligny himselfe caused to be propounded by Gaucher of Tinteville, and by one of the factions of the Senois, the which desired the said Monseur de Ligny for their captaine. For you shall understand that these Senois are ever in division, and governe their common wealth more fondly than any other towne in Italy.* I being first asked mine advise said, that I thought it best for the King to march forward, and not to busie himselfe with these foolish offers which could not stand him in steed one weeke to an end: alleaging further that because this was an imperiall towne, we should by this meanes provoke the whole Empire against us. All the rest were of the same opinion, yet was the cleane contrarie done: for the Senois received Monseur de Ligny for their Captaine, and promised him yeerely a certaine summe of money, whereof he never received peny. This foolish matter staid the King there sixe or seaven daies, during the which space he solaced himselfe with the Dames. Further, he left there three hundred of his men diminishing his force by so much, and then removed to Pisa passing by Poggibonzi a castle of the Florentines. But they whom he left at Sene were chased thence within a moneth after.

How the King departed from Naples, and passed againe through Rome, whereupon the Pope fled to Orviette, etc.

I had forgotten to tell you how I being at Florence journeying towards the King, went with one of the stewards of his house named Iohn Francois a wise and discreet person, to visite a Frier Iacobin called Frier Hieronime,† a man of

* The people of Sene were divided against the order of Montenove, which held a gard of soldiers in the palace. The citizens promised de Ligny 20000 ducats a yeere, to protect them against the said Montenove, but forthwith after the Kings departure the faction of Montenove chased Ligny and his men out of the towne.—Guicciar.

† This Friers surname was Savanarola, who hath written many goodly homilies and sermons: he was borne at Ferrara.

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holy life (as all men reported) abiding in a reformed covent where he had remained fifteene yeers. The cause why I went to commune with him was, for that he had ever preached very favorably on the Kings behalfe, so far fourth that his words had staide the Florentines from revolting from us, for never preacher caried so great credit in any citie: he had ever assured them of the Kings comming, whatsoever was said or written to the contrarie; affirming that he was sent of God to chastice the tyrants of Italie, and that no force should be able to withstand him. He preached further that the King should come to Pisa and enter into the towne, and that the selfe samedaie the estate of Florence should be altered as also it happened: for the same day was Peter of Medicis banished the towne. Divers other things, also foretold he long before they happened, namely the Lord of Laurence of Medicis: all the which he said he understood by revelation. He preached yet further that the estate of the Church should be reformed by the sword. This is not yet come to passe, but was verie neere, and he avoweth still that it shall be. Many found great fault with him because he saide that God revealed these things to him, but some beleevved him: sure I for my part account him a holy man. I asked him whether the King should passe out of Italy without danger of his person, seeing the great preparation the Venetians made against him, whereof he discoursed perfectlier than my selfe that came from thence. He answered me that the King should have some trouble upon the way, but that the honor thereof should be his, though he were accompanied but with an hundred men, and that God who had guided him at his comming, would also protect him at his return. Adding notwithstanding that because he had not done his duetie in the reformation of the Church, but had suffered his men to spoile and rob the people, as well those that tooke his part, and voluntarily received him into their cities, as his enimies: God had pronounced sentence against him, and would shortly scourge him. Neverthelesse he bad me tell him that if he would have compassion on the poore people, and endeavour himselfe to keepe his men from doing evil, and punish the offenders (as he was bound by his office to

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do,) that then God would revoke his sentence, at the least mitigate it: adding thereunto that he ought not to thinke it a sufficient excuse, that he in his owne person did no harme. He said moreover that himselfe would go and tell the King thus much, and so indeed he did, and perswaded with him to restore the Florentines places to them. When he spake thus of Gods sentence, the death of my Lord the Daulphine came suddenly to my minde, for I saw no other thing that could greatly trouble the King. Thus much I have written to the end it may yet more manifestly appeere, that this voiage was in deed a meere miracle of God.

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How the King departed from Naples, and passed againe through Rome, whereupon the Pope fled to Orviette, etc.

CHAPTER III

How the King retained in his hands the towne of Pisa, and certaine other of the Florentines places: and how in the meane time the Duke of Orleans entred on the other side into Novarre, a towne of the Duchie of Milan.



AFTER the King was entred into Pisa, (as you have heard) all the Pisans both men and women besought their guests for Gods love to make intercession to the King, that they might no more returne under the Florentines tyrannie, who in truth handled them extremely; but divers cities in Italy that be in subjection to others, are as evill intreated as they: besides that, the Pisans and Florentines had beene in wars together the space of three hundred yeeres before the Florentines subdued them. These lamentable words before mentioned joined with teares mooved our men to pitie, and caused them so far forth to forget the Kings promise and oath made upon the altar of Saint Iohn at Florence, that all sorts of men busied them-

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CHAPTER III

How the King retained in his hands the towne of Pisa, and how the Duke of Orleans entred on the other side into Novarre, a towne of the Duchie of Milan.

selves in this matter, even the poore archers and the Swislers, who also threatned those that they thought perswaded the King to performe his promise, namely the Cardinall Saint Malo, so often before named generall of Languedoc, whom my selfe heard an archer threaten. There were in like manner that gave very rough language to the Marshall of Gie. The president Gannay by the space of three daies and more, durst not lye in his lodging. But the Earle of Ligny above all the rest favoured the Pisans cause, who came in troupes weeping and lamenting to the King, in such sort, that we all pitied them, and would willingly have releved them, if it had lien in us so to do. One day after dinner, fortie or fiftie gentlemen of the Kings house assembled themselves together, and went with their partisans into the Kings chamber, where he was playing at tables with Monsieur de Piennes, accompanied onely with two groomes of his chamber. One of these gentlemen sonne to Sallezard the elder, spake as mouth of the rest to the King, desiring him to be gracious Lord to the Pisans, and accusing certaine of those lately named as traitors to him. But the King with so stout language commaunded them to depart, that after, the like never hapned. The King spent sixe or seven daies needlesly in the towne of Pisa, and then changed the garrison, and made captaine of the Citadelle one Entragues, a man of lewd conditions, servant to the D. of Orleans, whom he thus preferred by Monsieur de Lignys sute, and left with him in the said Citadelle certaine footemen of the Duchie of Berrie. Further, the said Entragues procured such friendship (I suppose by his money) that he was also made captaine of Petrosancte, and of another place neere to it called Mortron,* and in like manner of Librefacto, which is neere to Luques. The castell of Serzane being very strong, was put at the request of the said Earle of Ligny, into the hands of a bastard of Roussi, and an other place called Serzanelle, into the hands of another, being both his owne servants. In these places the King left a great part of his forces :

* The French corrector supposeth it should be Motron, but the author himselfe afterward chap. 14, calleth it Mortron. Guicciar. hath it Mutron.

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notwithstanding that he shall never have such neede of men, as he had at that time. Moreover, he refused the Florentines aid and offers above mentioned, and drave them into utter despaire. Yet was he advertised before his departure from Sene, that the Duke of Orleans (whom he had left behind him in Ast)* had taken the city of Novarre in the Duchie of Milan, and therefore was well assured that the Venetians would declare themselves his enimies: for they sent him word that if he invaded the Duke of Milan, they would aide the Duke with their whole force, according to their league lately made, and their force was great and in a readines. Now you shall understand that presently upon the conclusion of their league, the Duke of Milan thought to have surprisid Ast, supposing to finde it utterly unmanned: but my letters had hastened the forces that the Duke of Bourbon sent thither, and the first that arrived were about fortie launces of the Marshall of Gies companie, which had tarried behinde in Fraunce, and came thither in good time. Soone after them arrived also five hundred footmen, sent thither by the Marques of Saluce. The comming of the which staid the Duke of Milans forces led by Master Galeas of Saint Sevarin, who hearing these newes retired to Nom, a castle of the Duchie of Milan, two miles from Ast. In the necke of these arrived also three hundred and fiftie men of armes, and certaine gentlemen of Daulphine, and two thousand Swiszers, with certaine franke archers of the said countrey of Daulphine, so that their whole number was 7500 men taking pay. But they lingred so long upon the way that they served not to the purpose they were sent for. For the K. sent for them to come and succor him, but in stead of aiding him he was forced to aid them. The K. had also given commandement to the D. of Orleans and his captaines not to attempt any thing against the Duke of Milan, but onely to defend the towne of Ast, and to meet him at the river of Thesin to helpe to convey him over it,

* The Duke of Orleans immediately after the skirmish upon the sea at Rapalo, fell sicke of an ague, and returned to Ast: and passed no further with the King, two gentlemen called Opizins brought the Duke of Orleans into Novarre.—Guicci.

CHAPTER III

How the King retained in his hands the towne of Pisa, and how the Duke of Orleans entred on the other side into Novarre, a towne of the Duchie of Milan.

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III

How the King retained in his hands the towne of Pisa, and how the Duke of Orleans entred on the other side into Novarre, a towne of the Duchie of Milan.

for that was the onely river to trouble him. But notwithstanding all that the King writ to the Duke of Orleans, this enterprise of Novarre (which is but ten leagues from Milan,) liked him so well, that he was contented to give eare thereunto, and was received into the citie in great triumph both of the Guelphes and Gibelines, which his exploit the Marchionesse of Montferrat greatly furthered. The castle held two or three daies and then yeelded also. But if in the meane time, the Duke had gone or sent to Milan (where he had good intelligence) he had beene received into the towne with greater joy, than ever he was into his castle of Blois, as divers of the noblest men of the cuntry have informed me. And the three first daies he might have gone thither in safetie, for when Novarre was taken, the Duke of Milans whole force lay yet at Nom neere to Ast, and returned not to Milan till the fourth day after. But

I suppose the Duke beleaved not all the intelligence he received thence.

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CHAPTER IV

How King Charles passed divers dangerous straights in the mountaines betweene Pisa and Serzane : how the towne of Pontreme was burned by his Almaines, and how the Duke of Orleans behaved himselfe in the meane time at Novarre.



YOU have heard alreadie of the Kings departure from Sene to Pisa, and of all that he did at Pisa. Thence he remooved to Luques where the citzens honorably received him, and there he abode two daies. Afterward he marched to Petrosancte (which Entragues held) making no account of his enimies, neither himselfe nor those that carried all the credit with him. He passed marvellous straights in the mountaines betweene Luques and Petrosancte, which a handfull of footemen might easily have defended against him : but our enimies were not yet assembled. Neere to the said Petrosancte is the straight of Sejere on the one side, and the straight of Roctaille on the other, being great deepe salt marishes, where we were forced to passe over a narrow way, like to a causey in a standing poole : and this was the straight that between Pisa and Pontreme I most feared, and which was reported to be most dangerous : for one cart set overthwart the way with two good peeces of artillerie, and but a handfull of men, might have stopped our passage, had our force beene never so great. From Petrosancte the King remooved to Serzane, where the Cardinall Saint Peter ad Vincula offered to make Genua revolt, and desired to have some part of the Kings forces sent thither. The matter was debated by the Kings Councell, my selfe being present at it in the companie of a great many wise

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men and good captaines : all the which concluded, that no eare should be given to this enterprise, because if the King obtained the victorie, Genua would yeeld of it selfe ; and if he were overthrowen, it could do him no service : and this was the first time that I perceived any of them to doubt the battell. Report was made to the King of our resolution ; yet notwithstanding thither he sent the Lord of Bresse afterward Duke of Savoy, the Lord of Beaumont, the Lord of Polignac my brother in lawe, and the Lord of Ambejou of the house of Amboise, with sixscore men of armes, and five hundred crossebow men newly come out of Fraunce by sea. But I woondred that so yoong a Prince had no trustie servants about him, that durst boldly tell him into how great danger he put himselfe by diminishing his force after this sort : for as touching me, me thought he beleaved not all that I said.

We had a small armie upon the sea returning from Naples, under the leading of the Lord of Myolens governor of Daulphine, and one Stephan de Neves of Montpellier. They were in all about eight gallies, and sailed to Specie and Repalo, where at this present they were all defeated and led prisoners to Genua, in the selfesame place where he had vanquished King Alphonses forces at the beginning of this voiage, and by the selfesame men that tooke part with us at that battell, namely Master Iohn Lewis de Flisco, and Master Iohn Adorne : but if the matter had been wel ordered, they should have beene with the King, and all little ynough. The Lord of Bresse and the Cardinall above mentioned went and lodged in the suburbes of Genua, supposing that their faction within the towne would have risen in their favor. But the Duke of Milan and the Adornes that governed the towne, and Master Iohn Lewis de Flisco (a wise knight) had given so good order to prevent this mischiefe, that our men were in great danger to be defeated heere also, as the others were before upon the sea : for their number was small, and had it not beene because the faction that ruled at Genua durst not issue foorth of the towne, for feare least the Fourgouses should rebell and shut the gates upon them, undoubtedly they had all beene slaine ; for this notwithstanding they

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were in great distresse upon the way as they retired to Ast : besides that, they were not at the battell with the King, where their service might have stood him in good stead. From Serzane the King marched to Pontreme, through the which he was forced to passe, because it is the verie entrie into the mountaines. The towne and castell were well fortified, and the seate of them marvellous strong, but within them were not above three or fower hundred footemen ; for if they had beene well manned, they had beene impregnable. Wherefore Frier Ieroms prophesie proved true, which was, that God would leade the King by the hand, till he were out of danger : for it seemed that his enimies were blinded and bereft of their wits, in that they defended not this straight. To the said place of Pontreme the King sent his vaward led by the Marshall Gie, accompanied with Master Iohn Iames of Trevoul, whom the King had received into his service at Naples after King Ferrandes departure thence, with whom he was then in pay : he was a gentleman of Milan of a good house, a good captaine, a very valiant man, and great enimie to the Duke of Milan : for he was banished by him when King Ferrande received him into his service. By the said Master Iohn Iames his meanes, the place yeilded immediately without batterie, and the garrison that was within it departed. But a great inconvenience happened there : for (as before is mentioned) when the Duke of Milan passed last that way, they of the towne and certaine of our Swisssers fell at variance (of whom about fortie at that time were slaine) for revenge whereof, the said Swisssers at this present (notwithstanding the composition) slue all the men they found in the towne, spoiled it and burnt both victuals and all that was within it, and above ten also of themselves being drunke, neither could the Marshall Gie by any meanes make them to retire. They besieged the castell also, meaning to have done the like to those that were within it, being the said Master Iohn Iames of Trevoles servants, whom he had put into it when the garrison of the enimies yeilded it, neither would the said Almaines depart thence till the King himselve sent to them. It was great pitie that the towne was thus destroyed, both because of the dishonor we received thereby,

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and also because there was great plentie of victuals within it, whereof we were alreadie in great distresse,* notwithstanding the people were no where against us, save onely the people of the countrey neere to Pontreme, because of the harmes we did there. Now to proccede, if the King would have followed the said Master Iohn Iames his advise, divers places of the Duchie of Milan would have yeilded, and divers gentlemen of the countrey have revolted to him: for he gave him counsell to reare up in everie place the yoong Dukes armes, whom the Lord Lodovic held in his hands, being sonne to Iohn Galeas the Duke that last died at Pavia, as before you have heard. But the King refused so to do, for the favor he bare to the Duke of Orleans, who pretended and doth yet pretend title to the said Duchie. Thus marched the King beyond Pontreme, and lodged in a little valley neere to a village that had not ten houses in it; the name whereof I know not. There he abode five daies upon no occasion, his armie being almost famished, and his battell lying thirtie miles behinde his vaward in the midst of huge and sharpe mountaines, over the which such great cannons and culverins passed then, as never had passed before. For Duke Galeas in his time conveyed over but fower faulcons, waying not past five hundred pound a peece, which was a great woonder in those daies.

I must now returne to the Duke of Orleans, who after he had taken the castell of Novarre, staid there a few daies to no purpose, and then went to Vigesue, neere to the which were two little townes that sent unto him, offering to receive him, but by wise advise he refused their offer. They of Pavia sent also twise to him to the same end, and them he should not have refused. Moreover, he marched in order of battell before the said towne of Vigesue, where the Duke of Milans whole force lay, being led by the two brethren of Saint Severin, so often above named. The towne is hardly so good as Saint Martin-de-Candé, which is not woorth sixe pence. My selfe arrived there not long after, at which time the Duke of Milan being there with certaine of his captaines, shewed me the place where both the armies had stood in

* The cause of their lacke was the barrennes of the countrey.

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order of battell hard by the towne and within the towne. And if the Duke of Orleans had marched but an hundred paces further, they had retired beyond the river of Thessin, for they stood hard by the river side, and had built a great bridge of boates over it. Moreover, I saw them at my being there, beat downe a great bulwark of earth which they had made on the other side of the river to defend the passage; whereby it appeared that they were fully minded if the Duke had marched forward, to abandon both the towne and castell, which had beene much to their disadvantage. This is the place where the Duke of Milan useth most to reside, and sure it is seated in the pleasantest countrey for all kinde of pastime, especially hauking and hunting, that ever I sawe. But peradventure the Duke of Orleans thought the place strong where his enimies lodged, and himselfe to have passed far ynough: wherefore he retired to Trecas, the Lord whereof (who had charge under the Duke of Milan) and my selfe communed together of these affaires a fewe daies after. To the said towne of Trecas certaine of the principall of Milan sent to the Duke of Orleans, promising to receive him into the towne, and offering for performance thereof, to deliver their children in hostage. Which their enterprise they might easily have executed, as divers of great authoritie being then within the towne and acquainted with all these practises have advertised me: saying that the Duke of Milan could not have found men ynow to have defended the castell of Milan for him, because both nobles and people desired the destruction of this house of Sforce. The Duke of Orleans also and his men have informed me of these practises above mentioned, but they had no great affiance in those that negotiated with them, and they lacked a man that understood these affaires better than themselves: whereunto I also adde, that the said Dukes captaines were not all of one opinion as touching this enterprise. With the Duke of Milans forces joined two thousand Almaines, whom the King of Romanes sent thither, and a thousand Dutch horsemen under the leading of Master Frederic Capelare, borne in the countie of Ferrette. Their arrivall so much encouraged Master Galeas and his companie, that they went before Trecas to present

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the battell to the Duke of Orleans, who refused it (notwithstanding that his force were greater then theirs,) because his captaines as I suppose would not hazard the battell, fearing least the losse thereof should be the Kings destruction, of whom they could heare no newes, because the passages were all stopped; wherefore they retired to Novarre, giving no order for their provision of victuals, no not for the preservation of the store they had within the towne alreadie, much lesse for any new supply, whereof notwithstanding they might plentifully have bene furnished at that time in the country about without money, whereas afterward they were greatly distressed through their owne follie.

To conclude, their enimes came and lodged within halfe a league of them.

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YOU have heard how the King upon no occasion lay in a valley on this side Pontreme five daies together, in great distresse of victuals. Our Almaines did there one great peece of service: for those that committed the foule fault at Pontreme above mentioned, fearing that they had thereby procured themselves the Kings indignation for ever; came and offered to passe the artillerie over these monstrous waies in the mountaines, for so may I wel terme them, bicause they were so high and steep that there lay no beaten way over them. I have seene all the highest mountaines both of Italy and Spaine, which undoubtedly are not

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comparable to these. The Almains made this offer upon condition that the K. would pardon their fault, which he promised to do. We had fourteen great and massie peeces of artillery, and immediately after we were out of the valley, we mounted up such a marvellous steepe and upright hill, that our mules could hardly clime up to it. But these Almains coupled themselves two and two together with strong cordes, and drew a hundred or two at a time, and when one companie was wearied, a fresh succeeded. Besides this, all the horses appointed for conveiance of the artillery helped them, and every man of the Kings house that had any traine, lent a horse to convey it over with the more speed: but had it not been for the Almains, the horses would never have passed it over. To say the truth they conveighed over not the artillery onely, but the whole armie, for had it not beene for them there could not a man have passed. But it is no marvell if they drew with good courages, because thereby they passed as well themselves as us, whereof they were no lesse desirous than we. They did much harme I confesse, but their good service far surmounted their evill deedes. The greatest difficultie was not to draw up the artillery, for when they were at the top of the mountaine, they might behold a great deepe valley underneath, for the way is such as nature hath made it, and by Art it was never holpen. Wherefore undoubtedly the difficultie was much greater in conveighing the artillery downe than in drawing it up; for both horses and men were forced to draw countermount at the taile of everie peece: besides that, carpenters or smiths were continually working upon them, for when a peece fell, great trouble it was to hoise it up againe. Many gave advise to breake all the great artillery, but the King would in no wise agree thereunto.

The Marshall of Gie who lay with our vaward thirtie miles before us, pressed the King to make haste: but it was three daies before we could joine with him. The enemies campe lay directly in his face within halfe a league of him, who in mine opinion should have had a good bootie if they had assailed him. Afterward he lodged in the village of Fornove to keepe them from assailing us in the mountaines, for the which

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purpose the village served well, bicause it is at the foote of the mountains, and the very entrie into the plaine. Notwithstanding we had a better protector than him, I meane God, who put another conceit into our enimies heads: for so great was their covetousnes that they resolved to tarie us in the plaine, to the end none of us should escape, supposing if they had assailed us in the mountaines, that we would retire to Pisa and the Florentines places that we held. But therein they were much deceived, for we were too far from those places; besides that, if our force and theirs had joyned and fought, they might have pursued as fast as we could have fled, especially knowing the countrie better than we: hitherto in all this voiage we had no war,* but now it began. For the Marshall of Gie advertised the King that he was past the mountaines, and had sent fortie light horse to give an alarme to the enimies campe thereby to discover their actions, who were incontinent encountered by the Estradiots,† the which slew a gentleman of ours named le Beuf, and cut off his head and hung it at one of their launces, and caried it to their Provisors to receive a ducat for it. These Estradiots are soldiers like to the Turkes Ianizaries, and attired both on foote and horsebacke like to the Turks, save that they weare not upon their head such a great roule of linnen as the Turkes do, called Tolliban. They are rough soldiers, for both they and their horses keepe the fields winter and sommer. They were all Greekes come from the places that the Venetians hold there, some from Naples,‡ in the countrie of Morea, some out of Albanie, and some from Duras. Their horses are excellent good, for they are all Turkish. The Venetians use their service much and trust them well. I saw them all when they landed at Venice, and mustered in an Ile wherein the Abbey of Saint Nicholas standeth: they were to the number of fifteen hundred, and are valiant men, and

* For you heard before how easily without blowes they entred into Naples.

† It seemeth that this word is derived of the Greeke, for *στρατιώτης* in Greeke signifieth a soldier.

‡ This Naples is a towne in Morea or Peloponnesus under the Venetians government, called in times past Nauplia, and now Neapolis Romanæ.

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trouble an army exceedingly with their alarmes when they are disposed so to do. These Estradiots followed the chase even to the Marshalls lodging, and entred into our Almaines campe, of whom they slew three or fower, and caried their heads away with them, for such is their maner. Bicause when the Venetians were in war with the Turke Mahomet Otthoman this Turkes father that now raigneth: he commanded his men to take no prisoners, but gave them a ducat for everie head, and the Venetians did the like, which maner I thinke they now used, the more to terrifie us, as indeed they did. But the said Estradiots were no lesse daunted themselves with our artillerie: for one faulken shot slew one of their horses, whereupon they retired incontinent, for they understood not the feat of artillerie: but in their retraits, they tooke a Captaine of our Almaines prisoner, who was mounted on horsebacke to see if they retired. He was stricken through the bodie with a lance, for he was unarmed. He was a wise fellow, and they led him to the Marques of Mantua Generall of the Venetians armie, being then accompanied with his uncle the Lord Rodolphe of Mantua, and the Earle of Cajazze Captaine of the Duke of Milans forces, who knew this Captaine that was taken very well. Now you shall understand that our enimies whole force was abroad in order of battell,* at the least all that was assembled: for all their forces were not yet come together, notwithstanding that they had lien their eight daies making their musters, so that the King had leasure ynough to have returned into Fraunce without all danger, had it not been for the long abode he made to no purpose in the places above rehearsed. But God had otherwise disposed of this busines.

The said Marshall fearing to be assailed, encamped upon the mountaine, having with him onely eight score men of armes and eight hundred Almaines as he told me himselfe: and as touching us we could not have succoured him, for it was a daie and a halfe after before we could joine with him bicause of our artillerie.† The King lodged by the way at

* For they were come forth of their campe with intent to have assailed the Marshall.

† Understand this day and a halfe after he lodged upon the moun-

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two young Marquesses houses. Our vaward lay upon the hill in great feare waiting howerly when their enimies (who stood in order of battell, a prettie way from them in the plaine) would assaile them. But God who alwaies manifestly declared that he would preserve the companie, tooke away our enimies senses from them: for the Earle of Cajazze asked our Almaine who it was that led this vaward, and how great the force was, for he knew our number better than our selves, bicause he had been with us all the sommer. The Almaine made the force great, and reported them to be three hundred men of armes, and fifteene hundred Swissers: whereunto the Earle answered that he lied, alleaging that in the whole armie were but three thousand Swissers, and that it was unlike we would send the halfe before with the vaward. Then this Almaine was sent prisoner to the Marques of Mantuas pavilion, and they consulted whether they should assaile the Marshall or no. But the Marques crediting the Almaines report, alleaged that their footemen were not able to match our Almaines, and that part of their force was not yet arrived, without the which they should do wrong to fight. Adding further, that if they should happen to be discomfited, the Seniorie might justly be displeased: wherefore he liked better to tarie us in the plaine, seeing we could passe no way but just before them: of which opinion were also the two provisors, against whose advise they durst not fight: but others said that if this vaward were defeated, the King must of necessitie be taken: notwithstanding in the ende they agreed all to tarie us in the plaine, trusting that not one of us should escape. All this I understood by the parties themselves above named: for after the battell we and they met together, and the Marshall of Gie and my selfe had great communication with them about these affaires. Thus they retired into their campe, being well assured that within a day or two the King would passe the mountaines and lodge in the village of Fornove. In the meane time all the rest of their forces arrived, and we could not passe but hard before

tain, not after his first arrivall there: for from his first comming, it was three daies before the King joyned with him, as he said a little before.

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them: so straight and narrow was the way. When we came downe the mountaines we beheld the champaigne country of Lombardy, which is the pleasantest, best, and fruitfullest soile in the world. But notwithstanding I call it champaigne; yet is it very troublesome for horsemen, because it is full of ditches like to Flaunders, yea fuller I thinke: but withall it is much pleasanter and plentifuller both of good corne, good wines, and fruits, for their grounds beare every yeere. We were right glad to behold it, because of the great famine and penurie we had sustained in our journey ever since our departure from Luques. But our artillerie tired us exceedingly as we came downe the hill, so steepe and painfull was the way. Our enemies campe was well furnished of tents and pavilions, which made it shew marvellous great, and sure so was it: for the Venetians had performed their promise made to the King by me, which was that they and the Duke of Milan would put fortie thousand men into the field, at the least if they performed it not fully, they failed not much thereof: for in this armie were five and thirtie thousand taking pay, fower parts of five being of Saint Marke.*

They were at the least two thousand men of armes barded, every one of them accompanied with fower men on horseback, bearing crosse bowes or some other weapon,† their Estradiots and light horse men, were to the number of five thousand, the rest were footemen, and they lodged in a strong place well fortified, and well furnished with artillerie.

The King came downe the mountaine about nocne, and lodged in the village of Fornove, upon Sunday being the fift of Iuly, the yeere 1495. We found in the village great plentie of meale, wine, and provender for horses, brought thither by the people of the country, who received us friendly every where (for no honest man did them harme) and victualled us with bread and wine and some fruit,

* That is to say, of the Seniorie of Venice, which have Saint Marke for their patrone.

† He said lib. 7. cap. 5, and saith also againe in this booke cap. 15, that the Italian men of armes were allowed no archers: but note that this that the Venetians did here, was contrarie to the ancient maner of Italie, and that they did it to imitate the French.

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whereby they somewhat eased the armie : but their bread was little and blacke, and they sold it deere, and three parts of their wine was water. My selfe caused some of their victuals to be bought for me, which notwithstanding I durst not tast of, bicause we suspected they meant to poison us, so that at the first no man durst adventure to eate of them ; and the suspition increased, bicause two Swissers were found dead in a seller, having drunke themselves to death, or taken cold after they had drunke. But before midnight the horses began first to feede, and afterward the men, and then we refreshed our selves well. I must here speake somewhat in the honor of the Italian nation, bicause we never found in all this voiage that they sought by poison to do us harme, yet if they would, we could hardly have avoided it. We arrived at Fornove (as you have heard) upon Sunday at noone : the King lighted and ate and dranke a little, to refresh himselfe, but a number of gentlemen there were that hardly could get a morsell of bread, for there was small store of other victuals than such as we found in the place, whereof till midnight (as before you have heard) none of us durst taste.

Immediately after dinner, certaine of their Estradiots came and gave us a hot alarme even within our campe. Our men were as yet unacquainted with them, for the which cause all our armie came forth into the field in very good order, and in three battels, vaward, battell, and rereward, the one being not above a bowles cast from the other, so that ech of them might with speed have succoured other : but in the end this hote alarme proved nothing, wherefore we returned to our lodging. We had a few tents and pavilions, and our campe lay in length avauncing it selfe towards theirs : besides that, there was a wood through the which the enimies might come under covert almost to us,* by meanes whereof twentie of their Estradiots might easily give us alarme at all times, and so I warrant you they did, for they lay continually at the end of our campe. We encamped in a valley, betweene two little hills,† through the which ran a river, that a man may easilie

* The Kings campe lay among fallowes and willowes.—*Annal. Franc. et Aquit.*

† Of the seate of both the camps reade Guicciar. fol. 38, pag. 2.

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passee over on foote, unlesse it happen to arise, as it doth often upon a sudden in that countrey, but the waters tarrie not long, the rivers name is Tarro. All the said valley is gravell and great stone, very troublesome for horsemen, and not above a quarter of a league broade. Upon the hill on the right hand lay our enimies (hardly halfe a league from us) so that we were forced to passe just before them, the river running betweene us : for notwithstanding that on the backe side of the hill on the left hand (underneath the which we encamped) there lay another way that we might have taken, yet would we not so do, least we should seeme to flie, but encamped in the valley at the foote of the said hill, in the face of our enimies. Those in our campe that were of the wiser sort began now to feare, in such sort, that about two daies before, they had desired me to go and parle with the enimies, taking one with me to view them, and to number how great their force was. I was loth to take this journey upon me, bicause without safe conduct I could not go in safetie. Wherefore I answered that both at my departure from Venice, and the same night also that I arrived at Padua, I was entred into good intelligence with their provisors, so that I thought they would not refuse to commune with me in the midway betweene both the armies : but if I should offer my selfe to go to them I should thereby too much encourage them ; adding further, that this matter was mooved too late. Notwithstanding, the selfe same Sunday that the King arrived at Fornove, I writ to their provisors (one of the which was named Master Luques Pisan, and the other Master Melchior Trevisan) desiring them that under safe conduct, one of them would come and parle with me, according to their offer made at our departure from Padua (as before you have heard). They answered that they would willingly have satisfied my request, if the war had not been begun upon the Duke of Milan : notwithstanding, they promised that one of them (whether of the twaine should be appointed) would come into some place in the midway to commune with me if we so thought good ; which answer I received the same Sunday at night : but those that had all the credit with the King, made no account thereof. As

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touching my selfe, I durst not take too much upon me, nor presse the matter too earnestly, least they should charge me with cowardise: wherefore I waded no further in it that night; notwithstanding, that I would with all my hart have helped the King and his army out of that straight, if I might have done it without danger.

About midnight the Cardinall of Saint Malo, whose pavilion was hard by mine, told me as he came from the King, that we should depart the next morning by breake of day, and that the King would commaund a cannon to be shot into the enimies campe as we passed along by them, to signifie that he was there ready to present them battell, and so march forward without any more adoe. And I suppose that this advise proceeded from the Cardinall himselfe, as a man unable to talke of the wars, neither understanding what they meant. But it had beene requisite that the King should have assembled the wisest men and best Captaines in his armie, to debate so weightie a matter as this was. And yet perhaps that should have beene but to small purpose neither; for I sawe many matters debated in this voiage, the which were executed cleane contrarie to the resolution. I answered the Cardinall that if we approached so neere them, as to shoote into their campe, undoubtedly men would issue forth on both sides to the skirmish, the which could never be retired without battell: alleaging further, that this was cleane contrarie to that I had already begun with their Provisors, and it greeved me, that we should take this course: but such had mine estate beene ever since the beginning of the Kings raigne, that I durst not wade too far in any matter, least I should have procured my selfe the displeasure of them that were in authoritie about him, which was so great where he liked, that it was but too great.

The selvesame night we had two other great alarmes all through our owne fault, bicause we had given no order against their Estradiots as we ought to have done, and the use is to do in the wars against light horsemen: for twentie of our men of armes with their archers would have matched two hundred of them; but they were as yet strange to us. There fell also this night a terrible raine, and such lightning

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and thundering as was never since the world began : so that heaven and earth seemed to go together, or that this fore-shewed some great inconvenience to ensue. For notwithstanding that we knew well, that the reverberation of these great mountaines (at the foote of the which we lay) made this thlunder seeme greater than indeed it was ; and further, that thunder and lightning be naturall in a hot countrie, especially in sommer : yet seemed they at that present the more dreadfull and terrible to us, bicause we sawe so many enimies encamped before us, we having none other meanes to passe through them but by battell, our force being so small as it was ; for we were not above nine thousand able men good and bad : of the which two thousand were noble mens servants of the campe ; but I comprehend not in this number pages nor straglers, nor such kinde of people.

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Of the battell of Fornove, wherein the enimies of Fraunce were put to flight, and how the Earle of Petillane, who the same day brake the Kings prison, relied them together againe.



THE Monday morning about seven of the clocke, being the sixth day of Iuly, the yeere of our Lord 1495, the noble King mounted on horsebacke calling often for me. At my comming to him I found him armed at all peeces, and mounted upon the bravest horse that ever I saw, called Savoy, which some said was a horse of Bresse. Duke Charles of Savoy gave him to the King : he was blacke, and had but one eie, and of a meane stature,

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but tall ynough for him he carried. This yoong Prince seemed that day altogither another man than either his nature, person, or complexion would beare: for naturally he was, and yet is very fearefull in speech, bicause he had ever been brought up in great awe, and with men of meane estate: but this horse made him seeme great, and he had a good countenance and a good colour, and his talke was stout and wise: whereby appeered (as I then called to minde) that Frier Ierom told me truth, when he said that God would leade him by the hand, and that he should have somewhat to do upon the way, but that the honor thereof should be his. His words to me were these: If these men will parlement, go and commune with them, and bicause the Cardinall was there present, he named him to accompany me, and the Marshall of Gie, who was out of patience bicause of a broile that had happened betweene the Earles* of Narbonne and Guise, the which Guise sometime had led certaine bands, and ought of right to have led the vaward,† as all men said. I answered the King that I would do his commandement, but that I never saw two so great forces so neere together depart without battell.

Our whole armie marched foorth upon the plaine in good order, the one battell neere to the other as the day before: but as touching the force, it seemed but a handfull to that I had seene with Duke Charles of Burgundie, and King Lewis this Kings Father. Vpon the said plaine the Cardinall and I withdrew our selves aside, and endited a letter to the two Provisors above named, the which was written by one Master Robertet a Secretarie of the Kings, and in good credit. The contents of our letter were, that it appertained to the estate and office of the Cardinall to procure peace, and unto me also having so lately beene ambassador at

* Vicount of Narbonne.—Feron.

† Rereward after the French corrector, the leading wherof Iovius giveth to two that strave for it. Feron and our author to Narbonne (otherwise called Earle of Foix) alone. *Annal. Franc.* to Monsieur de la Trimouille Vicount de Touars and to Monsieur de Guise: but it appeereth lib. 7. cap. 13, when the King thought to have fought with Dom Ferrand at Saint Germain that Monsieur de Guise led the vaward, so that I know not how it is best here to be read.

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Venice; for the which cause I might as yet take upon me the office of mediator between the King and them. We signified further to them on the Kings behalfe, that he would but passe foorth his way without doing harme to any man: wherefore if they minded to parlement, according to the order taken the day before, we for our parts were willing thereunto, and would imploy our selves to do all the good we could. The skirmishes were already begun round about us, and after our armie had marched a while, softly passing along before them, the river running betweene them and us (as you have heard) we approached so neere to them, that we came within a quarter of a league of their camp, within the which they stood all in martiall aray: for their maner is to make their campe so large, that they may all stand in order of battell within it.

They sent foorth incontinent part of their Estradiots and crossebow men on horsebacke, and certaine men of armes, the which came along upon the way almost under covert, towards the village of Fornove, (out of the which we were departed) meaning there to passe this little river, and to assaile our carriage, which was so great, that I thinke it laded above 6000 mules, horses, and asses. They had set their battels in such order many daies before they fought, that better they could not be ordered: for they were so placed, that their great number halfe assured them of the victory, bicause they assailed the King and his armie on every side, in such sort that not one of us could have escaped if we had beene broken, considering the straight we were in. Those above mentioned came and assailed our carriage, and on the left hand came the Marquesse of Mantua, the Lord Rodolph his uncle, and the Earle Bernardin of Dalmouton, with all the flower of their armie, being to the number of sixe hundred men of armes, as themselves afterward confessed, all the which entred into the plaine directly behind us. Their men of armes were all barded, and furnished with brave plumes and goodly bourdonasses,* and well accom-

* Bourdonasses were hollow horsemens staves used in Italy, cunningly painted: our author himselfe in this Chapter describeth them at large.

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panied with crossebowe men on horsebacke, Estradiots, and footemen. Against the Marshall of Gie and our vaward, marched the Earle of Cajazze with fower hundred men of armes (accompanied as the others above mentioned) and with a great band of footemen: with him also was another company of two hundred men of armes, led by Master Iohn de Bentivoille of Bolonia his sonne, a young man, who before had never scene the wars, for they were as slenderly provided of good captaines as we. This young Bentivoille was placed there, to give a newe charge upon our vaward immediately after the Earle of Cajazze had charged it. With the Marquesse of Mantua was also a like companie of men of armes for the same purpose, under the leading of Master Anthony of Vrbin bastard to the late Duke of Vrbin. Besides these there remained yet in their campe two great troupes of men of armes, as I understood the next day by themselves when they and I communed together, and I saw them also with mine eies. And this they did because the Venetians would not hazard all at once, nor unfurnish their campe. Notwithstanding in mine opinion it had bene better for them to have adventured their whole force, seeing they meant to fight.

I will now tell you what became of the letter, the Cardinall and I sent to their campe by a trumpeter. The Provisors received it, and immediately after they had read it, brast foorth the first peece of our artillerie, then shot theirs which was not so good as ours. The said Provisors incontinent sent backe our trumpeter, accompanied with a trumpeter of the Marquesses, who brought word that they were content to parlement, if we would cause our artillerie to cease, saying, that they on their side would do the like. I was then a great way from the King, who rid about heere and there, and sent backe these two trumpeters with answer, that he would make the artillerie to cease, and gave commandement to the Master of the ordinance to stay the shot, and so all ceased a while on both sides. But soone after upon a sudden they discharged one of their peeces, and then shot ours againe freshlier than before, and we approched three of our peeces neerer to them. After the two trumpeters were

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arrived at their campe, they tooke ours and sent him to the Marquesses pavilion, resolving to fight. For the Earle of Cajazze (as those that were present have informed me) said that it was now no time to parlement, seeing that we were halfe vanquished already; and one of their Provisors was of his opinion, and agreed to fight (as I have heard himselfe report) but the other would not consent thereunto. The Marquesse in like maner desired the battell, but his uncle, who was a vertuous and a wise gentleman, and loved us well, and bare armes against us with an evill will, withstood it to the uttermost of his power; but in the end they agreed all to fight.

Now you shall understand, that the King had put his whole force into his vaward, in the which were three hundred and fiftie men of armes, and three thousand Swissers (the onely hope of our army) with whom he commanded three hundred archers of his garde to joine themselves on foote, and likewise certaine crossebowe men on horsebacke of the two hundreth that were also of his garde, which was a great diminishing of the safetie of his person. In our army were but few footemen besides these, for all that we had were placed in the vaward. On foote with our Almaines were the Lord Englebert brother to the Duke of Cleves, Lornay, and the bailife of Digeon, the said Almaines captaine, and before them marched our artillerie. Here they whom we left in the Florentines places, and those that were sent to Genua would have done good service, contrarie to the opinion of all men. Our vaward had now marched almost as far as their campe, so that all men thought they should have begun the battell: but our two other battells were not so neere it, nor so well placed to have succoured it as the day before. Further, because the Marques of Mantua (who was entred into the plaine and past the river) was directly upon our backe, about a quarter of a league behinde our rereward, marching with his force softly and close together, which was a marvellous pleasant sight to behold; the King was forced to turne his backe to his vawarde, and his face towards his enimics, and so to approach neerer to his rereward, and retire from his vaward. I was then with the Cardinall

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attending an answeere of our letter, but I told him I perceived it was no time to stay any longer there; wherefore I departed being hard by the Swissers, and went to the King. But before I could come to him, I lost a page who was my cosin germaine, and a groome of my chamber, and a lackey which followed a pretie way behinde me, so that I saw not when they were slaine.

I had not ridden above a hundred paces, when suddenly a crie began to arise in the selfe same place from whence I was departed, or but little beyond. For you shall understand that their Estradiots at this verie instant came to our carriage, and entred into the Kings lodging where were three or fower houses, in the which they slew or hurt fower or five soldiers, but the rest escaped, they slew also about an hundred of our straglers, and put our carriage in great disorder. When I came to the King, I found him dubbing of knights, but because the enimies were at hand, we caused him to cease, and then I heard the bastard of Bourbon named Mathew (who was in good credit with the King) and one Philip de Moulin (a poore gentleman but verie valiant) call the King, saying, Passe foorth sir, passe foorth: whereupon he went into the front of his battell, and placed himselfe before his standard, so that (the bastard of Bourbon excepted) I sawe none neerer the enimies then himselfe. Our enimies marched lustely forward, in such sort that within lesse than a quarter of an hower after my arrivall, they were come within a hundred paces of the King, who was as evill garded and as evil waited on, as ever was Prince or noble man; but mauger the divel, he is wel defended whom God defends. And sure the prophesie of the reverend father Frier Hierom proved true, who told me (as before you have heard) that God led him by the hand. His rereward stood upon his right hand, being reconciled somewhat from him; and the neerest companie to him on that side was the D. of Orleans companie, being to the number of 80 launces led by Robinet of Frainezelles, and Monsieur de la Trimouilles companie, being about forty launces, and the hundred Scottish archers of his gard, who thrust themselves into the presse as men of armes. My selfe stood upon the

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left hand with the gentlemen, pensioners, and servants of the Kings house. This rereward was led by the Earle of Foix: but as touching the names of the other captaines, I passe them over for brevitie.

Within a quarter of an hower after my arrivall, the enimies being so neere the King, as you have heard, charged their staves, and began a soft gallop. They were divided into two troupes; one of the which charged the two companies of our horsemen, and the Scottish archers standing on the Kings right hand; and the other, the King himselfe; so that both they and the King were charged almost at one instant: we that stood upon the left hand charged them upon the flanke greatly to our advantage; and undoubtedly it is impossible for men to meete roughlier than we met. But the Estradiots that accompanied them, seeing our mules and carriage flie towards our vaward, and their companions* get all the bootie, turned their horses that way, and forsooke their men of armes, who by meanes thereof were unfollowed; whereby it manifestly appeered, that God meant to preserve us: for if these fiftene hundred light horsemen had broken in amongst us with their Cimenterres (which are terrible swords like to the Turks) undoubtedly we had bene defeated, our number being so small. The Italian men of armes, immediately after they had broken their staves fled, and their footemen or the greatest part shrunke aside, and fled also. At the selvesame time that they charged us, the Earle of Cajazze gave a charge also upon our vaward, but they met not so roughly as we: for at the very instant that they should have couched their staves, they began to faint, and disordered themselves in such sort, that fiftene or twentie of them being scattered amongst our bands, were taken and slaine by our Almaines; the rest were but easily pursued: for the Marshall of Gie endeavored to keepe his forces together, because he saw yet a great troupe of enimies not far from him. Notwithstanding part of his men followed the chase, and part of the Earle of Cajazzes men that fled, passed over the place where

* By their companions he meaneth the Estradiots that had assailed the Kings carriage at the first.

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the Marques and we had fought, with their swords in their hands; for they had thrown away their staves. But they that assailed the King fled immediately after they had charged, and were marvellous swiftly pursued, for wee all followed the chase: part of them tooke the way to the village from whence we were departed, the rest fled the next way to their campe, we all pursuing them, save the King who staid behinde with a few men, and put himselfe in great danger, because he followed not after them with us. One of the first that was slaine of their side, was the Lord Rodolph of Mantua, uncle to the Marques, who should have sent word to the above named Master Anthonie of Vrbin, when he should march; for they thought that this battell would have endured as their battells in Italy doe; which their error served the said Master Anthonie for a good excuse: but to say the truth, I thinke he saw ynough to stay him from marching. We had a great number of straglers and servants following us, all the which flocked about the Italian men of armes being overthrowen, and slue the most of them. For the greatest part of the said straglers had their hatchets in their hands, wherewith they used to cut wood to make our lodgings, with the which hatchets they brake the visards of their head peeces, and then clave their heads, for otherwise they could hardly have bene slaine, they were so surely armed; so that there were ever three or fewer about one of them. Moreover, the long swords that our archers and servants had, did that day a great execution. The King tarried upon the place where the charge was given, accompanied with seven or eight yoong gentlemen, whom he had appointed to attend upon him, for neither would he follow the chase, neither retire to his vaward because it was somewhat farre off. He escaped wel at the first encounter, considering that he was one of the foremost, for the bastard of Bourbon was taken within lesse than twenty paces of him,* and led prisoner to the enimies campe.

The King abode in the said place marvellous weakly

* *Annal. Franc.* write that this bastard Mathew, Monsieur de Ligny, and Monsieur de Piennes were armed like to the King and continually about him.

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accompanied: for he had with him not a man more than one groome of his chamber called Anthonie de Ambus, a little fellow and evill armed: the rest were scattered heere and there, as himselfe tolde me at night even in the presence of those that were appointed to waite upon him, who deserved great reproche for leaving their Prince in such estate. Notwithstanding they arrived in time, for a certaine small broken troupe of Italian men of armes passing along upon the plaine (where they saw no man stirring) came and assailed the King and this groome of his chamber: but the King being mounted upon the bravest horse in the world for a man of his stature, remooved to and fro, and defended himselfe valiantly: and at that very instant certaine of the rest of his men being not far from him arrived, whereupon the Italians fled, and then the King followed good advice and retired to his vaward, which had never mooved out of the place they first possessed. Thus the King with his battell had good successe: and if his vaward had marched but one hundred paces farther, our enimies whole army had fled. Some said they ought so to have done, but others held opinion that they did best to staie.

Our companie that followed the chase pursued the enimies hard to their campe, which lay in length almost as far as Fornove, and not one of us received a blow save Iulien Bourgneuf, whom I sawe fall dead to the ground with a stroke that an Italian gave him as he passed by (for he was evill armed:) whereupon certaine of us staied, saying, Let us returne to the King, and with that word all the whole troupe stood still to give their horses breath, which were verie wearie because they had chased a great way, and all upon sharpe stones. Hard by us fled a troupe of thirtie men of armes, whom we let passe quietly fearing to assaile them. When we had breathed our horses, we ridde foorth a fast trot towards the King, not knowing what was become of him, but after a while we descried him a far off. Then caused we our servants to light on foote, and gather up the launces wherewith the place lay strawed, especially with Bourdonasses, which were not much woorth, for they were hollowe and hardly so waightie as a javelin, but trimly

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Painted, and by this meanes we were better furnished of launces than in the morning. Thus as we rid towards the King, by the way we met a broken band of the enimies footemen crossing over the fiede, being of those that had lien hid among the hils, and had led the Marques of Mantua upon the Kings backe: many of them were slaine, and the rest escaped, and waded through the river, and we staid not long about them. Divers of our men cried often during the whole conflict, Remember Guynegate, which was a battell lost in Picardie in the time of K. Lewis the eleventh against the K. of Romaines,* through the follie of our men, who fell to spoile the enimies carriage: notwithstanding in that battell no whit of their carriage was taken nor spoiled: but in this, their Estradiots tooke all our carriage horses, of which notwithstanding they led away but five and fiftie being the best and best covered, namely all the Kings, and all his chamberlains. They tooke also a grooms of the Kings chamber called Gabriell, who had about him the ancient jewels of the Kings of Fraunce, which he then caried with him, because the King was there in person. True it is that a number of coffers were also lost, but they were overthrowen and spoiled by our owne men, for we had in our campe a great many varlets and harlots that stripped the dead bodies, and spoiled all that they could come by, but as touching the enimies they tooke onely those above rehearsed. There were slaine on both sides (as I have been credibly enformed both by them and certaine of our owne men) to this number. We lost Iulian Bourgneuf, the sergeant porter of the Kings house, a gentleman of the Kings house, and nine Scottish archers, of horsemen of our vaward to the number of twentie, and about our carriage three or fower score horse-keepers. And they lost three hundred and fiftie men of armes, slaine upon the place: but not one of them was taken prisoner, which chance I thinke never hapned before in any battell. Of these Estradiots few were slaine, for they turned all to the spoile as you have heard. There died of them in all three thousand and five hundred men, as divers of the best of their army have enformed me: others have told me more, but sure they

* Of this battell he writeth lib. 6. cap. 6.

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lost many gentlemen: for I sawe my selfe a role wherein were the names of eightene gentlemen of good houses, and among them fower or five of the Marques owne name which was Gonzague, besides the which, the Marques lost also at the least three score gentlemen of his owne dominions, all the which were horsemen, and not one footeman among them. It is strange that so many were slaine with hand strokes; for as touching the artillerie, I thinke it slew not ten on both sides. The fight endured not a quarter of an hower, for so soone as they had broken or throwen away their launces they fled all: the chase continued about three quarters of an hower. Their battels in Italy are not fought after this sort, for they fight squadron after squadron, so that a battell endureth there sometime a whole day, neither partie obtaining victorie.

The flight on their side was great, for three hundred of their men of armes and the greatest part of their Estradiots fled, some to Rege* (being far thence) and others to Parma, being about eight leagues off.† In the morning the very same hower that the two armies joined, the Earle of Petillane and the Lord Virgile Vrsin escaped from us. The said Virgile went but to a gentlemans house thereby, where he remained upon his word, but the Earle fled straight to our enimies, and to say the truth, we did them both great wrong to leade them with us after this sort. The Earle being a man well knowen among the soldiers (for he had alwaies had charge both under the Florentines and under King Ferrand) began to crie Petillane, Petillane, and ranne after them that fled above three leagues, saying that all was theirs, and calling them to the spoile, by the which meanes he brought backe the greatest part of them, and put them out of all feare, assuring them upon his word that there was no danger, so that had it not been for him alone, their whole

* Understand not Rege in Calabria, but Rege neere to Parma called in Latin *Regium Lepidi*, and I doubt me the unskilfull corrector at the first printing of the worke chopped in this parenthesis, supposing the author to meane Rege in Calabria, wherfore I had rather leave the parenthesis out.

† The French corrector supposeth this number to be also corrupted.

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army had fled: for the word of such a man newly departed from us was no small staie to them. The said Earle (as himselfe hath since told me) gave advise to assaile us againe the same night, but they would not harken thereunto. The Marques hath also since communed with me of these affaires chalinging this advise as his: but to say the truth had it not benee for the Earle alone they had all fled the same night.

When we were come to the King, we discovered a great number of men of armes and footemen standing yet in order of battell without their campe, whose heads and launces onely we could descrie. They had stood there all the day, and never mooved from that place, notwithstanding they were further from us than they seemed: for they and we could not have joined without passing the river, which was risen and arose howerly, because all the day it had thundred, lightened, and rained terribly, especially during the battell and the chase. The King debated with his captaines whether we should assaile these new discovered enimies or not: with him were three Italian knights, one named Master Iohn Iames of Trevoul, who is yet living, and behaved himselfe that day like a woorthie gentleman; another Master Francis Secco a valiant knight, in pay with the Florentines, and of the age of 72 yeeres; and the third Master Camillo Vitelly, who with his three brethren was in service with the King, and came unsent for from Civita de Castello, as far as Serzane (which is a great journey) to be at this battell: but perceiving that he could not overtake the King with his companie, he came himselfe alone. These two latter gave advice to march against these enimies newly discovered: but the French men were of a contrarie opinion, saying, that they had done ynough, and that it was late, and time to make their lodgings. But the said Master Francis Secco maintained stoutly his opinion, shewing people that passed to and fro upon the high way that leadeth to Parma (the neerest towne that the enimies could retire into) whom he affirmed to be enimies flying thither or returning thence, and in deede he said true, as we understood afterward; and sure both his wordes and countenance shewed him to be

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a hardie and a wise knight. For all their captaines confessed to me (yea some of them before the Duke of Milan himselfe) that if we had marched forward, they had all fled ; by meanes whereof we should have obtained the goodliest, honorablest, and profitablest victorie that happened in ten yeeres before : for if a man could have used it well, have made his profit of it, have behaved himselfe wisely, and entreated the people gently ; the Duke of Milan by the space of eight daies after, should not have had any one place to hold for him in his countrey, except the castell of Milan, yea and I doubt of that too : so desirous were his subjects to rebell. The like would also have happened to the Venetians, so that the King should not have needed to take care for Naples : for the Venetians should not have beene able to levie a man out of Venice, Bressa, and Cremone, which is but a small towne, because all the rest that they held in Italie would have revolted. But God had performed that which Frier Ierom promised, to wit, that the honor of the field should be ours ; for considering our small experience and evill government, we were unwoorthie of this good successe that God gave us, because we could not then tell how to use it : but I thinke if at this present, which is the yeere of our Lord 1497 the like victorie should happen to the King ; he could tell better how to make his profit thereof.

While we stood debating this matter, the night approached, and the band of our enimies, which we saw before us, retired into their campe, and we for our part went and lodged about a quarter of a league from the place of the battell. The King himselfe lay in a farme house, being an old beggerly thing : notwithstanding the barnes about it were full of come unthressed, which I warrant you our army quickly found. Certaine other old houses there were also, which stood us but in small stead : everie man lodged himselfe as commodiously as he could ; for we had no lodgings made. As touching my selfe I lay upon the bare ground under a vine, in a verie straight roome, having nothing under me, no not my cloke : for the King had borrowed mine in the morning, and my carriage was far off, and it was too late to seeke it. He that had meate ate it, but few there were that had

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any, unles it were a morsell of bread, snatched out of some of their servants bosoms : I waited upon the King to his chamber, where he found certaine that were hurt, namely the Seneschall of Lyons and others, whom he caused to be dressed. Himselfe was merrie and made good cheere, and each man thought himselfe happie that he was so well escaped: neither were we puffed up with pride and vaine glorie, as before the battell, because we sawe our enimies encamped so neere us.

The same night all our Almaines kept the watch, and the King gave them three hundred crownes ; whereupon they kept the watch verie diligently, and strake up their drums bravely.

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THE next morning I determined to continue our treaty of peace desiring nothing more than the Kings safe passage. But I could get never a Trumpeter to go to the enemies campe, partly because nine of theirs were slaine in the battell being unknowen, and partly because they had taken one of ours, and slaine another, whom the King (as you have heard) sent to them a little before the battell began : notwithstanding in the end one went and carried the Kings safe conduct with him, and brought me one from them to commune in the midway betwene both the armies, which me thought a hard matter

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to bee brought to passe, but I would not seeme to draw backe nor make difficultie therein. The King named the Cardinall of Saint Malo, the Lord of Gie Marshall of France, and the Lord of Piennes his Chamberlaine to accompanie me: and they named for them, the Marques of Mantua Generall of the Venetians armie, the Earle of Cajazze (who not long before had taken part with us, and was captaine of the forces the Duke of Milan had there) and Master Luques Pisan, and Master Melchior Trevisan provisors of the Seniorie of Venice. We approached so neere them, that we might easily discover them fower upon the plaine. The river ran between us and them, which was risen exceedingly since the day before: on their side there was not one man without their campe but themselves onely, neither any on ours, but only we and our watch which stood over against them. We sent a herault to them to know whether they would passe the river, whereunto me thought it a hard matter to perswade either partie, for I supposed both parties would make difficultie therein as well appeered by them: for they answered that the place of communication was appointed in the mid-way betweene both the armies, and that they were come alreadie more than the halfe way: wherefore they would not passe the river, nor put themselves in such danger being all the principall of their armie. They also of our side alleaged the like doubts, making no lesse account of their persons than the others. Wherefore they willed me to go to them, giving me no instructions for my direction: I answered that I would not go alone, but would have some body with me to testifie of al that should be done. Wherefore being accompanied with one master Robertet the Kings Secretarie, and a servant of mine owne, and an herault, I passed the river: for notwithstanding that I well perceived I should do no good, yet thought I by this meanes to acquit my selfe towards them, being come thither by my procurement. When I came to them, I told them they were not come halfe the way according to their promise, wherefore I desired them, at the least to come to the rivers side, assuring my selfe that if we were once so nigh together, we should not depart without communication. They answered, that the river was so

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brode, and ran with so great violence and noise, that no talke could be heard from the one side to the other; wherefore they would go no neerer to parlement, neither could I by any meanes bring them one foote further: but they willed me to make some ouverture, which I had no commission to do. Wherefore I answered, that alone I could doe nothing; but if they would propound any conditions of peace, I would make report thereof to the King. While we were in this communication, one of our heraults arrived, who brought me word that the Lords above named that had accompanied me, were ready to depart, and willed me to make what ouverture I thought good; which I refused to do, because they understood further of the Kings pleasure than I did: for they were neerer him than I was, and had also talked with him in his eare at our departure: notwithstanding as touching these affaires which I now speake of, I understood what was to be done in them as well as the best of them. The Marquesse of Mantua entred into great communication with me of the battell, and asked me (if he had beene taken) whether the King would have slaine him. I answered, no; but have entertained him well, alleaging that he had good cause to love him, seeing the honor he had woon by his assailing him. Then he recommended unto me the prisoners we had, especially his uncle the Lord Rodolph, whom he supposed to be yet living: but I knew well the contrarie; notwithstanding I answered, that all the prisoners should be well intreated, and recommended in like maner to him the bastard of Bourbon whom they had taken. Small entertainment would serve all the prisoners we had; for we had none, which I suppose never happened before in any battell. But the said Marquesse lost there of his kinsmen to the number of seven or eight, and of his owne company at the least six-score men of armes. This talke being ended, I tooke my leave of them, saying, that before night I would returne againe; whereupon we made truce till night.

At my returne to the King with the said Secretarie, they asked me what newes, and the King sate in counsell in a poore chamber where nothing was concluded, but each man beheld other. The King talked with the Cardinall in his

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care, and afterward bad me returne againe to the enimies to see what they would say. But bicause this communication of peace proceeded of me, the enimies looked that I should make some ouverture and not they. Afterward the Cardinall bad me conclude nothing, but that speech was needlesse, for I was not like to conclude any thing, bicause they gave me no direction: notwithstanding I would not replie to the Kings commandement, nor breake off my journey; for besides that I was sure to do no harme, I was in some hope to gather somewhat by our enimies countenances, who undoubtedly were more afraid than we, and happily might passe some speeches that would turne both the parties to good. Wherefore I tooke my journey thitherward, and came to the rivers side almost at night, where one of their trumpeters met me, and advertised me that the fower above named sent me word to passe no further that night, bicause their watch was already set, being altogether of Estradiots, who knew not one man from another, wherefore I might happily endanger my selfe, if I passed further: notwithstanding the trumpeter offered to tarrie with me all night, to the end he might convey me thither the next morning: but I sent him backe againe, saying that the next morning I would returne to the rivers side where I willed him to tarrie me, or if the King should otherwise determine, I promised to send thither a herald to advertise them thereof; for I would not bring this trumpeter into our campe, partly bicause I would not have him privie to our actions there that night: and partly bicause I knew not what the King meant to do, for I sawe whispering in his eare, which put me in some doubt, wherefore I returned to advertise the King what I had done.

Every man supped with that he could get, and slept upon the ground. Soone after midnight I repaired to the Kings chamber, where I found his chamberlaines readie to mount on horsebacke, who told me that the King would depart with all speed towards Ast, and the Marchionesse of Montferrates territories, willing me to stay behinde, to hold the Parliament according to my promise: but I made my excuse, saying, that I would not willingly kill my selfe, but be on horsebacke with the formost. Soone after the King arose

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and heard masse, and mounted on horsebacke. Not past an hower before day, a trumpeter sounded *Bon guet*, but at our dislodging nothing was sounded, neither needed it, for every man was in a readines. Notwithstanding this was sufficient to have put the whole armie in feare, at the least those that were acquainted with the wars: for besides this we turned our backs to our enimies, seeking wholly our owne safetie, which is a dangerous matter in an armie. Further, the waies at our departure from our lodging were very cumbersome, in such sort that we were forced to march over mountaines, and through woods and by-waies, for we had no guides to lead us: my selfe heard the soldiers aske the ensigne bearers, and him that executed the office of Master of the horse, where the guides were, who answered that there were none. To say the truth we needed none, for as God alone had guided the armie at our going foorth: even so (according to Frier Hierames prophesie) meant he to do at our returne: otherwise it is not to be thought that such a Prince would have ridden in the night without a guide, in a place where ynow might have beene had. But God shewed yet a maniferster token that he meant to preserve us, for our enimies understood nothing of our departure till the afternoone, but waiting for this parlamenting I had begun: besides that, the river was risen so high, that it was fower of the clocke at after noone before any man durst adventure over to follow us, and then passed the Earle of Cajazze with two hundred Italian light horse, in such danger bicause of the force of the water, that one or two of his men were drowned, as himselfe afterward confessed. We travelled over hils and through woods, and were constrained by the space of sixe miles to march one by one after another in the narrow waies, and then came we to a goodly large plaine, where our vaward, artillerie, and carriage lay, which seemed so great a band a far off, that at the first we stood in feare of them, bicause Master Iohn Iames of Trevoules ensigne was square and white, like to the Marques of Mantuas the day of the battell. The said vaward was in like maner afeard of our rereward, which they saw a farre of forsake the high way to come the next way to them, whereupon both they and we set our selves in order of battell:

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but this feare soone ended, for the scoutes issued foorth on both sides, and discovered one another incontinent. From thence we went to refresh us at Bourg Saint Denis, where we our selves made an alarme of purpose to retire our Almains out of the towne, least they should have spoiled it. Thence we remooved and lodged all night at Florensole, the second night we encamped neere to Plaisance, and passed the river of Trebia, leaving on the other side of the river two hundred launces, all our Swiszers, and all the artillerie except six peeces, which the King passed over with him. For he had given this order, to the end he might be the better and more commodiously lodged, thinking to command them to passe at his pleasure, bicause the river is commonly very shallow, especially at that time of the yeere: notwithstanding about ten of the clocke at night, it arose so high that no man could passe over it, neither on horsebacke nor on foote, neither could the one company have succoured the other, which was a great danger, considering how neere our enimies were to us. All that night both they and we sought to remedie this mischiefe, but no helpe could be found till the water fell of it selfe, which was about five of the clocke in the morning, and then we stretched coardes from the one side to the other to helpe over the footemen, who waded in the water up to their neckes: immediately after them passed also our horsemen and our artillerie. This was a sudden and dangerous adventure, considering the place where we were, for our enimies lay hard by us, I meane the garrison of Plaisance, and the Earle of Cajazze, who was entred in thither, bicause certaine of the citizens practised to put the towne into the Kings hands, under the title of the yoong Duke sonne to Iohn Galeas, Duke of Milan that last died, as before you have heard. And undoubtedly if the King would have given care to this practise, a great number of townes and noble men would have revolted by Master Iohn Iames of Trevoules meanes: but he refused so to do, bicause of the favor he bare the Duke of Orleans his cosin, who was already entred into Novarre, although to say the truth on the other side he desired not greatly to see his said cosin so mightie, wherefore he was well content to let this matter

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passee as it came. The third daie after our departure from the place of the battell the King dined at castle S. John and lodged all night in a wood. The fourth day he dined at Voghera, and lay that night at Pontcuron. The fift day he lodged neere to Tortone and passed the river of Scrivia which Fracasse defended with the garrison of Tortone, being under his charge for the Duke of Milane. But when he understood by those that made the Kings lodging that he would onely passe without doing harme to any man, he retired againe into the towne, and sent us word that we should have as great plentie of victuals as we would; which promise he also performed: for all our armie passed hard by the gate of Tortone, where the said Fracasse came foorth to welcome the King, being armed, but accompanied only with two men: he excused himselfe very humbly to the King, that he lodged him not in the towne, and sent out great store of victuals, which refreshed well our armie, and at night came also himselfe to the Kings lodging. For you shall understand, that he was of the house of S. Severin, brother to the Earle of Cajazze and Master Galeas, and had not long before beene in the Kings service in Romania, as you have heard. From thence the King remooved to Nice de la Paille in the Marquisat of Montferrat, whereof we were right glad, because we were then in safetie, and in our friends countrie. For these light horsemen that the Earle of Cajazze led, were continually at our backe, and traveled us marvellously the three or fower first daies, because our horsemen would not put themselves behinde to make resistance: for the neerer we approached to the place of safetie, the more unwilling were our men to fight; and some say such is the nature of us French men. Wherefore the Italians write in their histories, that the French men at their arrival are better than men; but at their returne worse than women. The first point undoubtedly is true: for they are the roughest men to encounter within the world, I meane the horsemen: but all men at their returne from an enterprize are lesse couragious than at their departure from their houses. Now to proceede, our backes were defended by three hundred Almaines, having among them a great band

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of harquebusiers on foote, with whom also a number of harquebusiers on horsebacke were joyned: these made their Estradiots, being but few in number, to retire. Further, notwithstanding that their whole armie which had fought with us, marched after us as fast as they might, yet could they not overtake us, both bicause they were departed from the place of the battell a day after us; and also bicause of their barded horses, so that we lost not one man upon the way. The said armie never came within a mile of us; wherefore seeing they could not overtake us, and peradventure not being greatly desirous so to doe, they marched straight towards Novarre, whither both the Duke of Milan and the Venetians had already sent certain bands, as before you have heard. But if they could have overtaken us neere to the places of our retrait, peradventure they might have sped better than in the valley of Fornove.

I have shewed before sufficiently in divers places how God guided this enterprise, but yet for further prooffe thereof, a word or two more. You shall understand therefore, that notwithstanding that from the day of the battell till our arrivall at the said place of Nice de la Paille, the lodgings were unorderedly and unequally made; yet every man lodged with patience as commodiously as he could, without strife or contention. Of victuals we had great lacke: notwithstanding they of the countrey brought us some, who might easily have poisoned us if they would, both in their meates and wines, and also in their wels and waters, which were dried up sometimes in a moment, bicause they were but small springs. If they had minded to have poisoned them, they would sure have done it; but bicause they did it not, it is to be thought that our Saviour and redeemer Iesus Christ tooke from them all desire to do it. I sawe such thirst in our army, that a number of footemen dranke of stinking puddles in the villages through the which we passed. Our journeies were long, and our drinke foule standing water, which notwithstanding our men were so greedy of, that they ran into the pooles up to the girdlestead to drinke. For you shall understand, that a number of people followed us, being no men of war, bicause our carriage was marvellous

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great. The King departed from his lodging every morning before day, and I remember not that ever he had guide. Moreover, he rode till noone before he baited; and every man made provision for himselfe, and looked to his owne horse, and was forced to provide provender for him, and to beare it to him in his armes, as my selfe did twise; and two daies I ate nothing but naughty blacke bread; yet was I none of those that stood in most need. Sure one thing was especially to be commended in this armie, to wit, that never man complained of necessity, yet was this the miserablest voiage that ever I saw; notwithstanding that I have beene in divers sharp and hard voiaiges with Charles Duke of Burgundie. We marched no faster than the great artillerie, the mending whereof often troubled us: besides that, we lacked horses to draw it; but at all times when we stood in neede, we borrowed of the gentlemen in our armie, who willingly lent theirs; so that there was not one peece nor one pound of powder lost. And I thinke never man saw artillerie of such greatnes passe so speedily over such places as this did. All the which disorder both in our lodgings and all other things, happened not for lacke of wise and expert men in the campe, but it was their chaunce to have least credit at that time; for the King was yong and wedded to his owne will, as before you have heard. To conclude therefore, it seemed that our Lord Iesus Christ would, that the honor of this voiage should be attributed wholly to himselfe. The seventh day after our departure from the place of the battell, we marched from Nice de la Paille, and encamped altogether hard by Alexandria; our watch that night being very strong. The next morning before day we departed and went to Ast: the King and his houshold lodged in the towne, but the soldiers encamped without: we found the said towne of Ast furnished of all kinde of victuals, wherewith the whole armie was well refreshed, which undoubtedly stood in great neede thereof, because they had indured great hunger, thirst, and heate, and lacked sleepe; besides that, their apparell was all tottered and torne. Immediately after the Kings arrivall thither, before I slept, I sent a gentleman called Philip de la Coudre (who sometime had

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beene my servant, and served then the Duke of Orleans) to Novarre, where the said Duke was besieged by his enimies, as you may understand by that which is above rehearsed: but the siege was not yet so straight but that men might passe in and out, because the enimies onely endeavor was to famish the towne. I advertised the Duke by this gentleman, of divers treaties that were entertained between the King and the Duke of Milan, in one of the which my selfe negotiated by the Duke of Ferraras meanes; wherefore I advised him to repaire to the King, having first assured his men whom he should leave behinde him, either shortly to returne, or bring force to levie the siege. Within the said towne were with him to the number of 7500 soldiers both French and Swissers, being as goodly a band, so many for so many, as ever was seene. The King the next day after his arrivall, was advertised both by the said Duke of Orleans and others, that the two armies were joyned together before Novarre: wherefore the said Duke desired aide, bicause his victuals daily diminished; for the which they had given no order at their first entrie into the towne. For they might then have recovered ynow in the townes about, especially corne; and if their provision had beene made in time, and well looked to, they should never have beene forced to yeele the towne: for if they could have held it but one moneth longer, they had come forth with honour, and their enimies departed with shame.

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CHAPTER VIII

How the King sent ships to the sea to succour the castles of Naples, and why the said castles could not be succoured.



AFTER the King had reposed himselfe a few daies in Ast, he removed to Thurin, dispatching at his departure from Ast one of the stewards of his house called Peron de Basche with a commission to arme certaine ships to the sea,* to succour the castles of Naples which held yet for us. The said Peron did as he was commanded, and appointed Monsieur d'Arban Admirall of that flecte, which sailed as far as the citie of Pruce:† where (our men being within the view of our enimies:) a sudden tempest arose which would not suffer the two armies to joine, by meanes whereof this Navie did no service: for the said d'Arban returned to Ligorne,‡ where the most part of his men fled to land and abandoned their ships. But the enimies Navie came to the haven of Bougen§ neere to Plambin, whence it departed not the space of two moneths, so that our men might without all danger have succoured the said castles: for the nature of this haven of Bougen is such, that a ship cannot come forth of it but with one

* This Peron was sent to Nice, being a haven towne in Provence to prepare this Navie.

† I suppose this to be some haven towne not far from Naples, or rather thinke it should be read the Ile of Prusse, whereof mention is made cap. 14, which Guicciar. calleth the Ile of Poreze, or the Ile of Procida which as Boccace writeth was neere to the Ile of Ischia.

‡ To the Ile of Elbe.—Guicciar.

§ The place is corrupted, for this haven is afterward called Bengon: wherefore the French Corrector readeth it (as Blondus and the description of Italy led him) *Porto Barato pres Piombino*.

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winde which bloweth seldome in winter. The said d'Arban was a valiant soldier and a very good sea man.*

While the King lay in Thurin, divers treaties were entertained betweene him and the Duke of Milan: in one of the which the Duches of Savoy was a dealer, she was daughter to the Marques of Montferratte, and a widow, and mother to the yoong Duke of Savoy then living. Others negotiated also as well as she: and among the rest my selfe laboured for conclusion of the peace as before I have made mention; and the confederates, that is to say, the captaines that were in the enimies campe before Novarre, desired to deale with me, and sent me a safe conduct. But envie ever raigneth in Princes courts; for the Cardinall so often above named, overthrew all that I did, and would that the Duches of Savoie negotiation should go forward, which was committed to the said Cardinals hoste, who was Treasurer of Savoy, a wise man and a faithfull servant to his Mistres. This treatie endured so long without effect that in the ende all hope of peace ceasing, the Bailife of Digeon was sent ambassador into Swisserland to levie there five thousand men.

I have made mention already how the Kings Navie that departed from Nice in Provence to succour the castels of Naples, could not succour them for the reasons there rehearsed. Wherefore the Lord of Montpensier and the other gentlemen that were with him in those castels understanding of this misfortune, espied a convenient time when the army that the King left behinde him in divers parts of the realme lay neere to the said castles, and by helpe thereof salied foorth (leaving within force sufficient for their defence according to the proportion of their victuals which was very small) and departed themselves with two thousand and five hundred soldiers, appointing Ognas and two other gentlemen captaines of the castles. The said L. of Montpensier, the Prince of Salerne, the Seneschall of Beaucaire, and the rest that were with them departed to Salerne, for the which cause King Ferrand said, that he might lawfully put to

* Guicciar. saith, Arban was unskillfull on the sea, and I doubt this place be corrupted here, and that we should read for, *et expérimenté, mais peu expérimenté.*

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death the hostages delivered to him a few daies before, whose names were these, the Lord of Alegre, one called de la Marche d'Ardaine, the Lord de la Chapelle d'Anjou, one named Roquebertin Catelane, and one Genly: for you shall understand that not past three moneths before, the said King Ferrand was entred into Naples by intelligence, or rather through the negligence of our men, who understood of all their practises in the towne, and yet never sought to countermine them. But hereof I will write no farther, bicause I speake but upon report: for notwithstanding that I had mine intelligence from the principall of those that were there, yet do I not willingly discourse long of any matter, that I have not beene present at my selfe. The said King Ferrand being in Naples, was advertised that the King was slaine at the battell of Fornove, as were our men also within the castle by the Duke of Milans letters, to the which credit was given: notwithstanding that they reported no thing but lies. And thereupon the Coulonnois (whose maner is, alwaies to turne with the strongest) revolted incontinent from us, though sundry waies bound to the King, as before you have heard. Wherefore our men (partly through these untrue reports, but especially bicause a great number of them were retired into the castell, being utterly unfurnished of victuals, and partly also bicause they had lost their horses, and all their goods within the towne :) made a composition, the sixt day of October in the yeere 1495, after they had beene besieged three moneths and fowerteene daies, promising if they were not succoured within a certaine space, to depart into Provence, and yeeld the castles without making further war, either by sea or land upon the realme of Naples; for the performance of which conditions they delivered these hostages above named; and yet within twentie daies after the composition, departed as you have heard: for the which cause King Ferrand said that they had broken the composition in that they departed without leave: and notwithstanding that our men maintained the contrary, yet were the hostages in great danger and not without cause. For although I will not deny but that our men did wisely to depart notwith-

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standing the composition; yet had they done much better if the day of their departure they had yeilded the castles for their hostages safetie, and received againe the said hostages. For the castles held but twentie daies after they were departed, partly for lacke of victuals; and partly because they despaired of succours. To conclude, the losse of the castell of Naples, was the losse of the whole realme.

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Of the great famine and miserie the Duke of Orleans and his men were in at Novarre: of the Marchionesse of Montferrats death, and likewise of Monseur de Vendosmes: and how after long deliberation the King inclined to peace, to save those that were besieged.



THE King being at Thurin (as you have heard) and at Quiers, (whither he went sometime to solace himselfe) attended daily for newes of the Almaines whom he had sent for, and travelled to recover the Duke of Milan, whose friendship he much desired, neither cared he greatly for the Duke of Orleans successe, who began now to be sore distressed for victuals, and wrote daily for succours because the enimies were approched neerer the towne. Besides that their force was increased with a thousand Almaine horsemen, and eleven thousand footemen called launce Knights, levied in the King of Romaines dominions: the horsemen being led by Master Frederic Capelare of the countie of Ferrette (a valiant knight who long had been trained up both in Fraunce and Italy,) and the footemen by a courageous knight of Austrie called Master George

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d'Abecfin,* the selfe same that tooke Saint Omer for the King of Romaines. The King therefore seeing his enimies forces daily to increase, and that no honorable ende could be made, was advised to remoove to Verceil, there to devise some way to save the Duke of Orleans and his company, who (as before you have heard) had given no order at all for their victuals at their first entrie into Novarre. And sure the Duke should have done much better, in following the advise I gave him at the Kings returne to Ast, as before is mentioned ; which was to depart out of Novarre, putting all that were unable to do service out of the towne, and to repaire himsef to the King : for his presence would much have furthered his affaires, at the least those that he had left behinde him, should not have suffered such extreme famine as they did : for he would have made a composition sooner, when hee had seene no remedie. But the Archbishop of Rouen, who had been with him in Novarre from the very beginning ; and for the furtherance of his affaires was come to the King, and present at the debating of all matters ; sent him word daily not to depart, because shortly he should be succoured, grounding himsef wholly upon the Cardinall of Saint Malos promise, who had all the credit with the King. Good affection caused him to write thus, but I was well assured of the contrarie. For no man would returne to the battell, unlesse the King went in person ; and as touching him he desired nothing lesse : for this was but a private quarrell for one towne which the Duke of Orleans would needes retaine, and the Duke of Milan needes have restored, because it is but ten leagues from Milan ; so that of necessitie one of them must have had all. For there are in the Duchie of Milan nine or ten great cities, the one neere to the other. Further, the Duke of Milan said, that in restoring Novarre, and not demanding Genua, he would do any thing for the King. We sent meale oftentimes to Novarre, whereof the halfe was ever lost upon the way ; and once threescore men of armes were defeated going thither, being led by a yoong

* All the Italians name him Georgio di Pietrapiana. The author himsef also afterward nameth him Petreplane, which variance ariseth, because the one is his surname, the other the name of his seuiorie.

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gentleman of the Kings house, named Chastillon : some of them were taken, some entred the towne, and the rest hardly escaped. It is impossible to expresse the great miserie of our men within Novarre ; for every day some died of famine, and two parts of them were sicke, so that pitious letters came from thence in cipher, though with great difficultie. They received ever faire promises, and all was but abuse. But those that governed the Kings affaires desired the battell, not considering that no man was of that opinion but themselves : for all the best men of war in the armie, namely, the Prince of Orenge lately arrived, and to whom the K. gave great credit in martiall affaires, and all the other captaines, desired to make a good ende by treatie. For winter approched, we were unfurnished of money, the number of the French was small, and many of them sicke ; so that they departed daily, some with the Kings leave, and some without leave : but notwithstanding all these inconveniences, all the wise men in the campe could not dissuade those above mentioned, from sending word to the Duke of Orleans not to depart the towne ; whereby undoubtedly they greatly endangered him. And this they did, because they trusted upon the great force of Almaines, whereof the Bailife of Digeon assured them ; to whom also certaine of them sent word to bring as many as he could levie. To be short, their companie was divided, and every man said and writ what him listed.

Those that would have no peace, nor meeting to treat thereof, alleaged that the enimies ought to make the first ouverture, and not the King ; but they on the other side said, that they would not first breake the yce : in the meane time the miserie of our men in Novarre daily increased, in such sort, that now their letters made mention only of those that died daily for hunger, and that they could hold the towne but ten daies, and afterward eight daies, yea and once they came to three daies, but they had first passed their day before prefixed. To be short, so great extremitie hath not beene scene of long time, no I am sure that a hundred yeeres before we were borne, never men sustained so great famine as they did.

In the meane time died the Marchionesse of Montferrat

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(a great friend to the French,) wherupon some strife arose in that country for the government, the which on the one side the Marques of Saluce demanded, and on the other the Lord Constantine uncle to the said Marchionesse, who was a Greeke, and she a Greekesse, daughter to the King of Servia, but the Turke had destroyed them both. The said Lord Constantine had fortified himselfe in the castell of Casall, and had in his hands the late Marques his two sonnes, begotten of this wise and beautiful Lady, the which died the 29 yeere of her age, her eldest sonne being but nine yeeres old. Other particular men also aspired to the government, so that great part taking arose about that matter in our campe. The King commanded me to go thither, and determine the controversie for the childrens safetie, and to the contentation of the greatest part of the people. For he feared that this variance would make them call the Duke of Milan into their country, greatly to our discontentment: for the friendship of this house of Montferrat stood us in great stead, I was loth to depart before I had brought into better tune those that contraried the peace: for I considered both the inconveniences above rehearsed, and also that winter approached, and feared least these Prelats should perswade the King to adventure another battell, whose power was small, unlesse great force of Swiszers hapned to come, and though so many came as they vaunted of, yet seemed it to me a dangerous case to put the King and his estate into their hands. Further, our enimies were mightie, and lodged in a strong place, and well fortified. Wherefore all these points being well weighed, I adventured to perswade the King not to hazard his person and estate for a trifle. I desired him to remember the great danger he was in at Fornove, which could not then be avoided, because necessitie forced him to fight: but now (I said) there was no such necessitie. I advised him further, not to refuse a good end, because of this fond objection, that he ought not first to breake the yce, for if it so pleased him, I would finde meanes that ouvertures should be made in such sort, that the honor of both parties should be saved. He bad me repaire to the Cardinall; and so I did: but the Cardinall gave me strange answers, and desired the

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battell, assuring himselfe of the victorie : and further alleaging that the Duke of Orleans had promised him ten thousand ducats of yeerely revenues for one of his sonnes, if he obtained the Duchie of Milan. The next day, as I went to take my leave of the King to depart to Casal (being distant from thence about a daies journey and a halfe) I met with Monsieur de la Trimouille by the waie, whom I advertised of my communication had with the King : and because hee was neere about him, I asked his advise whether I should presse forward the matter, whereunto he earnestly perswaded me, for all men desired to repaire home. The King was in a garden, and when I came to him, I began to perswade with him (as the daie before) in presence of the Cardinall, who answered me that it appertained to him being a Church man, to be the first moover of the King to peace : whereunto I replied that if he would not, I would. For I perceived well that both the King and those that were neerest about him desired to returne home. Then I tooke my leave, and at my departure told the Prince of Orenge (who had the principall charge of the army) that if I entred into any communication of peace, I would addresse my selfe wholly to him. This being done I tooke my journey towards Casall, where I was well received by the whole kinred of this house of Montferrat, and found the greatest part of them inclined to the Lord Constantine, whose government was thought by them all most convenient for the childrens saftie, because he could pretend no title to the succession as the Marques of Saluce did. I assembled by the space of certaine daies both the Nobles of the countrey, the Spirituall men, and the Burgesses of the good townes, and at the request of them, at the least the greatest part of them, declared the Kings pleasure to be, that the Lord Constantine should remaine governor. For I was sure they would not withstand the Kings commandement, both because of the force he had then on that side the mountaines, and also because of the good affection the whole countrey beareth to the house of Fraunce.

About three daies after my arrivall at Casall, the Marquesse of Mantua the Venetians Generall, sent the steward

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of his house thither to condole the late deceased Marchinesse death: for the said Marquesse was of kinne to this house of Montferrat. The same Steward and I entered into communication how wee might agree these two armies without battell: for both the parties disposed themselves to fight, and the King lay in campe neere to Verceil, but to say the truth he did but passe the river onely* and lodge his campe, which was utterly unprovided of tents and pavilions: for our men had brought forth but few with them, and those few also were lost. Moreover the ground was wet, both because winter approched, and because the countrey lieth low. The King lodged in his campe but one night, and the next day returned to the towne: but the Prince of Orenge abode still with the armie, so did also the Earle of Foix, and the Earle of Vendosme, who fell into a fluxe there whereof he died, which sure was great pitie: for he was a goodly gentleman, yoong, and wise, and was come thither in poste, because the bruite ranne that there we should fight. For you shall understand that he had not beene with the King in this voiage into Italy. Besides these the Marshall of Gie aboade also in the campe and divers other captaines, but the greatest force were the Almaines that had beene with the King in this voiage: for the Frenchmen would by no meanes lodge abroad, the towne being so neere; besides that, divers of them were sicke, and many returned home some with leave, and some without leave. Novarre was distant from our camp ten great Italian miles, containing six French leagues at the lest, the way is cumbersome: for the ground is tough and soft as in Flaunders, bicause of ditches that are on both sides of the way, much deeper than the ditches of Flaunders. In winter the waies there are very foule, and in sommer marvellous dustie. Moreover, betweene our campe and Novarre, there was a little place which we held, called Bourg, about a league from us, and another that they held about a league from their camp, called Camarian. But the waters were risen so high, that a man could hardly passe betweene us and them.

The Marquesse of Mantuas steward above mentioned that

* This river is called Seruo, Guicciar. nameth it Stesie.

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was come to Casall, and my selfe continued stil our communication of peace, and divers reasons I alleaged to him to perswade his Master to shun the battell. First, I put him in minde of the great danger he had beene in at Fornove: secondarily, I told him that he fought for them that never had advaunced him, notwithstanding the great services he had done them: wherefore his best way should be to incline to peace, which I for my part promised to further on our side as much as in me lay. He answered that his Master desired nothing more than peace, but that we must make the first motion thereof, as word had beene sent me heretofore, considering that their league, that is to say, the Pope, the Kings of Romanes and Spaine, the Venetians, and the Duke of Milan were more woorthie than the King alone. I answered, that to make such a ceremonie about so small a trifle, was meere follie: notwithstanding if any ceremonie were to be observed, that the King ought to have the preheminance and honor thereof, considering that himselfe was there in person, and the others had but their lieutenants there. But to avoid all such fond cavillation, I offered that he and I jointly as mediators (if he so thought good) would breake the yce, so that I were sure his Master the Marquesse of Mantua would agree thereunto, and proceed accordingly. Whereupon we concluded, that the next day I should send a trumpeter to their campe, by whom I should write to Master Lucas Pisan, and Master Melchior Trevisan the two Venetian Provisors, the which are officers appointed to consult with their captaines, and to provide things necessarie for their armie. According to the which resolution, the next morning I writ unto them the effect of that I had said before to the steward: for I had good colour to continue still a mediator, because I had promised so to do at my departure from Venice. Besides that, I was sure the King desired peace, and me thought also that our affaires required it. Lastly, there are ever men ynow to breake off a good appointment, but few that have skil and will withall to travel for the pacifying of so great a controversie, nor that will endure so many hard speeches as are used of them that deale in such affaires; for in great armies all are not of one

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humor. The said Provisors were glad of these newes, and promised that I should shortly have answere of my letter : whereof foorthwith they sent word to Venice in post, and received answere with great expedition from the Seniorie, and not long after, sent an Earle that served the Duke of Ferrara, to our campe. The said Duke had men in their armie ; for his eldest sonne was in pay with the Duke of Milan,* but another of his sonnes with the King our Master. This Earles name was Albertin, and he pretended openly, that the occasion of his arrivall was to visite Master Iohn Iames of Trevoul, with whom he had a sonne in service.† He addressed himselfe to the Prince of Orenge, according to the stewards agreement and mine at our departure from Casall, and advertised him that he had a commission from the Marquesse of Mantua, the Provisors, and the other captaines of their armie, to demaund a safe conduct for the said Marquesse and others, to the number of fiftie horses, to come and treat with such as it should please the King to appoint ; for they acknowledged that it was reason they should first come to the King and his Commissioners, and declared also that they would do him that honor. Afterward the said Earle desired to commune with the King apart : which his request being graunted ; he then counselled him not to make peace, reporting our enimies armie to be in so great feare, that shortly they would raise their siege and depart : by which words he seemed rather desirous to break off the treatie than to further it ; notwithstanding that his commission openly were such as you have heard. At this communication M. Iohn Iames of Trevoul was present, who bicause he was great enimie to the Duke of Milan, would also gladly have broken off the treatie. But above all others, the Duke of Ferrara the said Earle Albertins Master (being newly arrived at the Duke of Milans campe, who had married his daughter) desired war ; for he was great enimie to the Venetians, bicause they withheld from him divers countries, namely, the Polesan and

* His eldest sonnes name was Alfonse.—Guicciar.

† He used this colour openly because the Venetians would not seeme first to seeke peace.

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others. After the King had communed with this Earle, he sent for me, and debated with his Counsell, whether he should graunt this safe conduct or not. Those that would gladly have broken off the treatie, as Master Iohn Iames, and others (who spake in favor of the Duke of Orleans, as they pretended) desired the battell, saying, that they were sure the enimies would shortly dislodge because they starved for hunger: but the greatest part of those that gave this advise were clergie men, who would not have beene at the battell themselves. Divers others, and my selfe among the rest, were of the contrarie opinion, saying, that we should sooner starve for hunger than they, being in their owne countrie. And as touching their dislodging we answered, that their force was too great to flie for feare of us, and by that means to cast themselves away. Wherefore these words (we said) proceeded of men that would have us fight and hazard our lives for their particular quarrels. To be short, the safe conduct was granted and sent, and promise made, that the next day by two of the clocke at after noone, the Prince of Orenge, the Marshall of Gie, the Lord of Piennes, and my selfe should meete the said Marquesse and his collegues betweene Bourg and Camarian, neere to a towre where they kept their watch, to the end we might there commune together. According to the which appointment the next day thither we went, accompanied with a good band of soldiers: and there the said Marquesse of Mantua and a Venetian that had the charge of their Estradiots met us,* and gave us verie courteous language, saying, that for their parts they desired peace. Further, we there concluded, that to the end we might the more conveniently commune together, they should send certaine Commissioners to our campe, and afterward the King certaine of his to them: whereunto they agreed, and sent unto us the next day on the Duke of Milans behalfe Master Francisco Bernardin Viscomte, and with him one of the Marquesse of Mantuas Secretaries; with whom we above named, and the Cardinall of S. Malo began to negotiate. They demaunded Novarre where the Duke of Orleans was besieged, and we

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* This Venetians name was Bernarde Contareu.—Guicciar.

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Genua, saying, that it was held of the King by homage, and that the Duke of Milan had taken it by confiscation.* Then they made their excuses, saying, that they had attempted nothing against the King, but onely in their owne defence, that the Duke of Orleans had taken the said citie of Novarre with the Kings forces, and had first mooved this warre: and further, that they thought their Masters would never agree to such conditions, but willingly do any other thing to content the King. They were with us two daies and afterward returned againe to their campe, whither the Marshal of Gie, Monsieur de Piennes and my selfe were sent after them, to demand the said citie of Genua; and as touching Novarre, we offered to deliver it to the King of Romans men that were in their campe, under the leading of Master George de Pietreplane, and Master Frederick Capelare, and one named Master Haunce. For we could not succour it but by battell, and that we desired not: wherefore this offer we made to discharge our selves of it with honor; for the Duchie of Milan is held by homage of the Emperor. Divers messengers ran to and fro betweene our campe and theirs, but nothing was concluded. Notwithstanding I lodged every night in their campe; for the Kings pleasure was that I should do so, because he would breake off no overture. In the end all we above named returned againe to them, being accompanied with the President of Gannay, and Morvillier Bailife of Amiens, which two went with us to open the articles in Latin; for hitherto I had negotiated with them in such bad Italian as I had. Our order of proceeding was this. When we arrived at the Dukes lodging, he and the Duchesse came foorth to receive us at the end of a gallerie, and then we entred all before him into his chamber, where we found two long ranks of chaires, set neere together the one before the other; in the one of the which they sate downe, and we in the other. They sate in this order; first one for the King of Romanes, then the ambassador of Spaine, then the Marquesse of Mantua, and the two Provisors of Venice, and an ambassador of Venice, then the

* Seeing it was forfeited, it ought of right to have been forfeited into the Kings hands, of whom it was held, but not to the Duke of Milan.

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Duke of Milan and his wife, and last of all the ambassador of Ferrara : of their side none spake but the Duke alone, and of our side but one. But our maner is not to proceed so calmly or so orderly as they : for we spake sometimes two or three together ; but then the Duke used to reclaime us, saying Ho, one to one. When we came to pen the articles, all that was agreed upon, was written by one of our Secretaries, and likewise by one of theirs, which also at our departure the two Secretaries read, the one in Italian and the other in French, and likewise at our next meeting, as well to the end that nothing should be altered, as also for the more expedition : and sure it is a good manner of proceeding in great and waightie affaires. This treatie endured about fiftene daies or more : but it was agreed the first day, that the Duke of Orleans might depart out of the towne, and the selfesame day we made truce, which continued from day to day till the peace was concluded. Moreover, the Marquesse of Mantua* put himselfe in hostage into the Earle of Foix his hands, rather for his owne pleasure, than for any doubt we had of the Duke of Orleans person. But they made us first swear that we would proceed in the treatie of peace uprightly and sincerely without dissimulation, onely to deliver the said Duke.

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* The Marquesse of Mantua put himselfe in hostage, because the Duke of Orleans was to passe thorough the Italians campe.—Guicciar.

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THE Marshall of Gie accompanied with certaine of the Duke of Milans servants, went to Novarre, and caused the Duke of Orleans with a small traine to come forth of the towne whereof he was right glad. They within the towne were so miserably persecuted with famine and sickenes, that the said Marshall was forced to leave his nephew called Monseur de Romefort in hostage with them, promising that within three daies they should all come forth. You have heard before how the Bailife of Digeon was sent into Swisserland to levie five thousand men among their Cantons, the which were not yet arrived when the D. of Orleans came forth of Novarre: for if they had, undoubtedly in mine opinion we had fought. But notwithstanding that we were certainly advertised that there came a much greater number than we sent for: yet could we not tarie their comming bicause of our mens great distresse in Novarre, where there died at the least two thousand of famine and sicknes: the rest also being so poore and miserable that they seemed rather dead carcasses than living creatures. And I thinke verily (setting the siege of Hierusalem aside) that never men sustained such hunger as they did. But if at their first entrie into the towne they had made good provision of Corne, (whereof they might have recovered plentie in the villages there about) they should never have been brought to such extremitie: but on the other side, their enimies have beene forced to depart with great dishonor.

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Three or fower daies after the Duke of Orleans departed out of Novarre, it was agreed by both the parties that all the soldiers should likewise be permitted to come foorth, and the Marques of Mantua, and Master Galeas of Saint Severin, Captaines, the one of the Venetians, the other of the Duke of Milans forces, were appointed to conveigh them in safetie, and so they did. Further, as touching the towne of Novarre it was put into the citizens hands, who were sworne to receive into it neither French nor Italian, before the treatie of peace were fully concluded. Moreover, thirtie of our men remained still in the castell, whom the Duke of Milan permitted to have victuals for their money from day to day. Undoubtedly a man would never beleeve the great miserie they were in that came foorth of the towne, unlesse he had scene them. Horses they brought foorth but fewe, for they were in maner all eaten, and there were hardly sixe hundred men among them able to doe service, notwithstanding that there came foorth 5500. A great number lay by the waies whome the enimies themselves relieved. I for my part for the value of a crowne saved fiftie of them, as they lay succourlesse in a garden neere to a little castle that the enimies held called Camarian, where I caused porrige to be given them, which so well refreshed them that in the said garden there died but one, and afterward upon the way about fower, for it was ten miles from Navarre to Verceil; whither when they arrived, the King bestowed his charitie upon them, and commaunded eight hundred franks to be devided among them, and paide them also their wages, as well the dead as the living, and the Swissers in like maner, of whom about fower hundred died in Novarre; but notwithstanding all this their good cheerishing three hundred of them died at Verceil after their returne, some by feeding too greedily after their long famine, and some by sicknes, so that a great number lay dead upon the dunghils of the towne. About this present, after all our men were come foorth of the towne, except thirtie that remained in the castell: (some of the which also daily sallied foorth) arrived the Swissers, eight or ten thousand of the which came and lodged with us in our campe, where were already two thousand that had

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beene with the King in this voiage of Naples: the rest of their company being likewise to the number of ten thousand encamped neere to Verceil. The King was advised not to suffer these two bands to joyne together, in the which were to the number of twentie and two thousand men: so that I thinke so many soldiers of their country were never together before. For the opinion of all those that knew their country was, that they left but few able men behinde them, and sure the greatest part of these came whether we would or not, in such sort that their wives and children would have come with them, had not the straights at the entrie into Piemont been defended to stop them. A man may doubt whether this their comming proceeded of good affection or no, bicause the late King Lewis had bestowed great benefits upon them, and was the cause of the great honor and renowne they have won in the world. True it is that there were some olde men among them, that had borne great good will to King Lewis: for there came a number of Captaines above seaventie two yeeres of age, the which had served against Duke Charles of Burgundy: but the chiefe cause of their comming was covetousnes and povertie. To say the truth all the able men that they could levie came, and such a number of tall fellows they were, and so goodly a bande, that me thought it impossible to discomfite them, otherwise than by famine or cold, or some such distresse.

Let us now returne to the principall matter, to wit the treatie. The Duke of Orleans (after he had well refreshed himselfe eight or ten daies, being accompanied with men of all sorts) supposing his honor to be stained, bicause such a number of men as were with him in Novarre, had suffered themselves through meere folly to be brought to so great extremitie, began to wish that we might fight, and talked verie stoutly of the battell, and one or two more of his followers. Further, Monsieur de Ligny, and the Archbishop of Rouen (who governed the said Dukes affaires) and two or three other meane personages, suborned certaine Swissers to come and offer themselves to fight. But no reason could be alleaged why we should so do: for the Duke of Orleans had no men in the towne more than the thirtie remaining in the

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castle, so that there was no cause why we should adventure the battell; for the King had no quarell, neither meant to fight but onely for saving the said Dukes person and his servants. Besides this, our enimies were mightie, and it was impossible to assaile them in their campe, as well bicause they were entrenched round about, and their trenches full of water, as also bicause of the strong seate thereof. Moreover, they had no enimies to invade them but us onely, for they stood now in no more feare of the towne. They were above 2800 men of armes barded, and five thousand light horsemen, and 11500 Almaines led by good captaines, to wit, Master George of Pietreplane, Master Frederick Capelare, and Master Haunce, besides great force of footemen of their owne countries; so that they seemed to speake but upon a bravery, that said we might take them in their campe, or that they would flie. Besides all this, another thing there was greatly to be feared, to wit, least these Swissers, if they joyned all together, should take the King and the noble men of the armie, being but a handfull in respect of them, and leade them prisoners into their countrie; for some apparance there was that they meant so to do, as you shall heare at the conclusion of the peace.

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How the peace was concluded betweene the King and the Duke of Orleans on the one side, and the enimies on the other: and of the conditions and articles thereof.



WHILE these matters were thus debated to and fro among us, in such heate that the Duke of Orleans and the Prince of Orange fell at variance about them, so far forth that the Duke gave him the lie: the Marshal of Gie, the Lord of Piennes, the President Gannay, the Lord Morvillier, the Vidasme of Chartres, and my selfe returned to the enimies campe and concluded peace:* which notwithstanding that we perceived by manifest tokens to be unlike long to endure; yet necessitie forced us to conclude it, both bicause of divers reasons above alleaged, bicause the winter constrained us thereunto, bicause we lacked money: and also to the ende we might depart with an honorable peace, which should be sent abroad into the world in writing, as the King had concluded with his Councell, the Duke of Orleans being there present. The articles of the peace were these. That the Duke of Milan should beare the King his faith for Genua against all men: and that in respect thereof he should arme two ships to the sea at his owne proper costs and charges, to succour the castels of Naples which held yet for the King. And further, that the next yeere he should furnish the King of three ships, and serve him in person in the conquest of the said realme, if the King himselfe happened to returne to conquer it againe. That he should give passage to the Kings forces. And if the Venetians would not accept the peace within two

* This treatie of Verceil was concluded the 9 of October.

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moneths, but continue to defend the house of Arragon; that then he should take part with the King against them, and employ his person and subjects for the Kings service, under this condition, that all that should be conquered of their dominions should be his. That he should release to the King fowerscore thousand ducats of the hundred and fower and twentie thousand that he had lent him in this voiage. That for performance of these conditions, he should deliver to the King two hostages of Genua. That the castell of Genua should be put into the Duke of Ferraras hands, as neuter for two yeeres, and that the Duke of Milan should pay the one halfe of the garrison within it, and the King the other: and further, if the said Duke of Milan should refuse to do such services to the King for Genua, as he was bound to do by this treatie; that then it should be lawfull for the Duke of Ferrara to put the said castell into the Kings hands. Last of all, that the said Duke of Milan should deliver to the King two other hostages of Milan. These he delivered, and so would he also the others of Genua, if the King had not departed so suddenly; but so soone as he sawe him gone, he made delaiacs.

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After we were returned from the enimies campe, and had advertised the King that the Duke of Milan had sworne the treatie, and the Venetians taken two moneths respit to accept or refuse it (for more they would not condescend unto) the King sware it also, and the second day after determined to depart, being very desirous both he and all the company to returne into Fraunce: but the selfe same night the Swissers that were in our campe assembled together each Canton apart, and strake up their drums, standing in order of battell by their ensignes, as their maner is in their consultations. All the which I write upon the report of Lornay, who was then, and long before had been one of their capitaines, and understandeth well their language, and lodged that night in their campe, and came and advertised the King of all these their actions.

Some of these Swissers gave advise to take the King and all his companie, that is to say, the principall of the armie; others would not agree thereunto, but gave counsell to

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demaund paiment for three moneths, saying, that the King his father had promised them this paiment as often as they should depart out of their cuntry with ensigne displaid: others were of opinion to take the principall of the armie, not touching the Kings person. This last opinion tooke place, so far forth that they began to dispose themselves to execute it, a great number of their men being already within the towne: but before they had fully concluded, the King parted and went to Trin, a towne in the Marquisat of Montferrat. Sure they did us great wrong, to demaund three moneths paiment (whereas King Lewis had promised them but one;) especially having done no service. To be short, in the end we made an agreement with them, but they that had bene with us at Naples, had first taken the Bailife of Digeon and Lornay (who had ever been their captaines) demanding paiment of 15 daies for their departure. But the others had three moneths pay, amounting to five hundred thousand franks; for the which summe, they were contented to take pledges and hostages. All this disorder happened by practise of certaine of our owne men, who mooved them thus to do, because they misliked the peace, as one of their Captaines came and told the Prince of Orange, who advertised the King thereof.

When the King arrived at Trin, he sent the Marshall of Gie, the President Gannay and me, to the Duke of Milan, to desire him to come and speake with him. We alleaged many reasons to perswade him thereunto, saying, that by this meanes the peace should be fully confirmed: but he gave fourth divers reasons to the contrary, and refused so to do; excusing himselfe upon certaine speeches uttered by Monsieur de Ligny (who had advised to take him prisoner when he was with the King at Pavia) and likewise by the Cardinall, who had all the credit with the King. But notwithstanding that many foolish words were indeede spoken, I know not by whom; yet sure I am that at this present the King greatly desired his friendship. He was in a place called Bolie, and agreed to speake with the King, so that a grate might be betweene them built upon a bridge over a river. Upon the returne of which answer the King departed

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to Quiers, where he stayed but a night or two, and then tooke his journey to passe over the mountaines, and sent me againe to Venice, and others to Genua to cause the two ships to be manned,* which the Duke of Milan was bound to lende him: but he performed no whit of that he promised; for after the King had beene at great charges in arming of men to the said ships, the Duke would not let them depart; but on the contrarie side sent two to our enimies.

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Y ambassage to the Venetians was to know whether they would accept the peace, and agree to these three articles. First, to restore Monopoly to the King, which they had lately woon from us.† Secondly, to revoke the Marquesse of Mantua, and the forces they had in the realme of Naples, from King Ferrandes service.

Lastly, to declare King Ferrande to be none of their confederates, bicause none were comprehended in their league but the Pope, the King of Romans, the King of Spaine, and the Duke of Milan. When I arrived at Venice, they received me very honorably, though not so honorably as at my former being there, and no marvell; for then we were in peace, but now in hostilitie. I did my message to the Duke, who welcommed me, and told me that shortly I

* The Duke was bound to arme these ships, but the King would have manned them with his owne men.

† The Venetians having sent aide to King Ferrand had won Monopoly and Pulignane.—Guicciar.

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should receive mine answer, but that he would first consult with the Senate. Three daies they commanded generall processions and publike sermons, and dealt great almes, desiring God of his grace to direct them into the wisest course ; which maner of proceeding (as I was there informed) they use ordinarily in such like cases. Wherefore I must needs confesse, that this city seemed to me the most devout, as touching matters of religion, that ever I came in, and their Churches the best decked and trimmed ; so that herein I account them equall with the ancient Romanes, and am fully perswaded, that thereof springeth the greatnes of their Seniorie : which sure is woorthie rather to increase than diminish. But to returne to mine ambassage, I abode there fiftene daies before I was dispatched. The answer I received was a flat refusall of all my demaunds, with this excuse that they were not in war with the King, neither had done any thing but in defence of their confederate the Duke of Milan, whom the King sought to destroy. Afterward they caused the Duke to commune with me apart, who offered me a good composition, to wit, that King Ferrande by the Popes consent should hold the realme of Naples of the King by homage, and pay him yeerely fiftie thousand ducats for tribute, and a certaine summe of money presently, the which they offered to lend, meaning to have in gage for it the places which they now hold in Pouille, namely Brandis, Otrante, Trani, and the rest. And further, that for performance of these conditions, the said Dom Ferrande should deliver to the King, or leave in his hands certain townes in Pouille, they meant Tarente which the King yet held, and one or two more that the said Ferrande should have delivered, which townes they offered us on that side of Italie, because it was the furthest from us, notwithstanding that they pretended the offer to be, because they stood commodiously to invade the Turke : whereof the King had put men in great hope at his first entrie into Italie, saying, that he attempted this conquest of Naples, to the end he might with the more expedition transport his forces against the said Turke, which was a wicked device, and a meere lie ; for he meant nothing lesse, but from God no man can hide his

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thoughts. Moreover, the Duke of Venice offered me, that if the King would attempt any thing against the Turke, he should have free accesse to these places above named, that all Italy should be contributors to the wars; that the King of Romanes should invade also on the other side, and that the King and they would governe Italie in such sort, that no man should refuse to pay that he should be rated at; and further, that they for their part would aide him upon their owne proper costs and charges with an hundred gallies upon the sea, and five thousand horses upon the land.

I tooke my leave of the Duke and the Seniorie, saying, that I would make report of their answer to the King. Then returned I to Milan, and found the Duke at Vigesue, and the Kings ambassador with him, who was one of the Stewards of his house named Rigaut Dorelles. The Duke came forth himselfe to meete me, under colour of going a hunting: for they use there to receive ambassadors with great reverence, and lodged me in his castle very honorably. I desired to commune with him apart, and he promised that I should so do, though halfe against his will as it seemed. The castle of Naples held yet for the King: wherefore I meant earnestly to presse him for the two ships promised us by the treatie of Verceil, the which were ready to depart, he in outward apparance seemed willing thereunto: But Peron of Basche Steward of the Kings house, and Stephen de Neves (who were at Genua for the King) so soone as they understood of my arrivall at Vigesue, wrote unto me, complaining of the Duke of Milans falshood, who would not suffer the two ships to depart which he had promised us, but on the contrary side had sent two to aide our enimies. They advertised me further, that one day the governor of Genua made them answer that he would not suffer the said ships to be manned with any French men, and another day that he would put into each of them but five and twentie at the most, with divers such like dissimulations, dallying and delaying the time till the castle of Naples were yeilded, which the Duke knew well to be victualled but for a moneth or little more. And as touching the armie that the King levied in Provence, it was not able to succour the castle

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without these two ships : for the enimies lay before it with a great Navie, as well of their owne, as of the Venetians, and the King of Spaines. Three daies I abode with the Duke, and one day he sate in counsell with me, seeming to be discontented that I misliked his answer touching the said ships, and alleaged that by the treatie of Verceil he had promised to serve the King with two ships, but not that they should be manned with French men. Whereunto I answered that this seemed to me a very slender excuse : for if he should lend me a good mule to passe the mountaines withall, and afterward make me lead hir in my hand and not to ride upon hir, but looke upon hir only, what pleasure did he me ? After much debating, he and I withdrew our selves into a gallery, where I declared unto him what great paines, both I and others had taken to conclude this treatie of Verceil, and into how great danger he brought us by contraryng thus his promise, and causing the King by that meanes to lose the castles of Naples, and consequently the whole realme, whereby he should also ingender perpetuall hatred betweene the King and him. Further, I offered him the Princedome of Tarente and the Duchie of Bary, the which Duchie he held already. Lastly I shewed him the danger he put both himselfe and the whole estate of Italie into, by suffering the Venetians to hold these places in Pouille.* And he confessed I said true, especially touching the Venetians : but his last resolution was that he could find no faith nor assurance with the King.

After this communication I tooke my leave of him, he accompanying me upon the way about a league. But even at our very departure he devised yet a cunninger lie than all the rest (if a man may use such termes of a Prince,) for bicause I seemed to depart sad and melancholick : he said unto me (as a man suddenly altered) that he would do me a friendly turne to the end the King might have good cause to welcom me : for the next day he would send Master Galeas to Genua (more I could not wish when he named him to me) to cause the two ships to depart, and joine with our armie,

* For King Ferrand since King Charles his departure had ingaged to the Venetians sixe towns in Pouille under certaine conditions which are rehearsed hereafter, cap. 14.

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by meanes whereof he would save the King the castle of Naples, and consequently the whole realme, as he should indeed if he had done as he promised. He said further, that immediately after their departure he would advertise me thereof with his owne hand, to the end I might be the first man that should bring newes to the King, of this great service that I had done him, adding also that the Courier should overtake me with his letters before my arrivall at Lyons. In this good hope departed I and tooke my journey to passe the mountaines, thinking every Poste that came after me to be the same that should have brought me these letters. Notwithstanding I doubted somewhat thereof, knowing the nature of the man so well as I did. But to procede in my voiage, I came to Chambéry where I found the Duke of Savoy who honorably intreated me, and staid me with him a day. Afterward I arrived at Lyons (without my Courier) to make report to the King of all that I had done, whom I found banketting and justing, and wholly given to sport and pastime. Those that had misliked this treatie of Verceil were glad that the Duke of Milan had thus deluded us : for their credit increased thereby, but me they potted at, as in such cases is usuall in Princes courts, greatly to my grieffe and discontentment.

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I made report to the King by mouth, and shewed him also in writing the Venetians offers above rehearsed, whereof he made small account, and the Cardinall who governed all, much lesse. But that notwithstanding I mooved it to him afterward againe : for me thought it better to accept this offer then to lose all. Besides that, the King had no men about him able to deale in so waightie an enterprize :* for those that were able and of experience, they that had all the credit never or very seldome called to counsell in any matter. The King would gladly they should oftner have bene called, but he feared to displeas those that were of authoritie about him, especially those that governed his treasure, namely the said Cardinall and his brethren and kinsmen. Wherefore let all other Princes learne by the example of this, how fit and convenient it is for themselves to take paines in the governing

* He meaneth the enterprize of succouring the castle of Naples.

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of their owne affaires ; at the least sometimes, how requisite it is to call more than one or two to counsell, according to the varietie of the matters that are debated ; and how necessarie it is to hold their counsellors almost in equal authoritie : for if one of them be so great, that the rest feare him (as one was both then and ever since about King Charles) he is King and Lord in effect, and the Prince himselfe is evill served, as this King was by his governors, who sought onely their owne profit and little regarded his, whereby himselfe was the lesse esteemed and the woorse thought of.

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How the King after his returne into Fraunce forgot those that he left behinde him in the realme of Naples : and how the Daulphine died, whose death the King and Queene much lamented.



RETURNED to Lyons the yeere 1495 the twelfe of December, where the King was alreadie arrived with his armie, a yeere and two moneths after his departure out of his realme. The castles of Naples held yet for him as before you have heard, and Monsieur de Montpensier his lieutenant there, was yet at Salerne in the realme of Naples with the Prince of Salerne: likewise Monsieur d'Aubigny was yet in Calabria where he had done great service: notwithstanding that he had beene sicke almost ever since the Kings departure. Master Gratian des Guerres was yet also in l'Abruzzo, Dom Iulian at Mont-saint-Ange, and George of Suly at Tarente: but they were all in greater distresse than is credible. Besides that, they could hardly receive any newes or letters out of France, and those few they did receive, were but abuses and faire promises without

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effect. For the King as you have heard, dispatched nothing himselfe: and if they had been furnished in time but of the sixt part of the money that was spent afterward, they had never lost the realme. But in the end when all was yeilded, they received fortie thousand ducats onely, for part of a yeeres pay already passed: and yet if this small summe had come but one moneth sooner, the miseries and divisions they afterward fell into, and the dishonor they received, had never chanced. All the which inconveniences hapned because the King dispatched nothing himselfe, neither would give the messengers audience that came from them. And as touching his servants to whom he committed the government of his affaires: they were men of small experience, idle, and negligent, and some of them I thinke had intelligence with the Pope, whereby it manifestly appeered, that God had now altogether withdrawn his grace from the King, which at his going to Naples he had poured downe so plentifully upon him.

After the King had sojourned at Lyons about two moneths, word was brought him that the Daulphin his sonne lay at the point of death, and within three daies after that hee was dead, which newes he tooke heavily as nature would: notwithstanding his sorrow soone ended. But the Queene of Fraunce and Duchesse of Britaine called Anne, lamented the death of her sonne, a long time, as much as was possible for a woman to do. And I thinke verily that besides the naturall griefe that women use to conceive in such cases, her minde gave her that some greater evill hung over her head. The King her husband (as I have said) mourned not long, but sought to comfort her, by causing certaine yoong gentlemen to daunce before hir, of the which the Duke of Orleans was one, being of the age of fower and thirtie yeeres, who seemed to rejoyce at the Daulphins death, because he was heire apparant to the crowne next after the King: for the which cause the K. and he saw not one another in a long time after. The Daulphin was about three yeeres olde, a goodly childe, bold in speech, and no whit fearing those things that commonly children use to feare. Wherefore (to be plaine with you) his fathers sorrow soone ended: for he began already to doubt if this childe grew to yeeres, and continued in his

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noble conditions, that happily he might diminish his estimation and authoritie: for the King himselfe was a man of very small stature and of no great sense, but of so good a nature, that it was impossible to finde a gentler creature.

Hereby you may perceiue in how miserable estate Kings and Princes liue, who stand in feare of their owne children. King Lewis the eleventh who was so wise and vertuous a Prince, stood in feare of this King Charles his sonne, but he provided well for it, and afterward died, leaving his said sonne King, being but fowerteene yeeres of age. The said King Lewis also had put King Charles the seven his father in feare of him: for being but thirteene yeeres of age, he mooued warre against him with certaine noble men and gentlemen of the realme, that misliked those that bare the sway in Court, and governed the estate, as King Lewis himselfe hath eftsoones told me: but this broile soon ended. Afterward also being come to mans estate, he fell at great variance with his father, and retired himselfe into Daulphine, and from thence into Flaunders, leaving the cuntry of Daulphine to the said King his father, as I have made mention about the beginning of this historie written of King Lewis the eleventh. Wherefore it is manifest that no creature is exempt from trouble, but that all men eate their bread in travell and sorrow, as God promised us that we should soone after he had created man, the which promise he hath truely performed to all sorts of men. But great diversitie there is of troubles and sorrowes: for those of the bodie are the lesse, and those of the minde the greater: the sorrowes of wise men are of one sort, and the sorrowes of fooles of another; but much greater grieffe and passion endureth the foole than the wise man, and lesse comfort receiveth he in his sorrowes, though many suppose otherwise. The poore man that travelleth and toileth his bodie to get foode to sustaine himselfe and his children, and paieth customs and subsidies to his Prince, should live in too great discomfort and dispaire, if Princes and great men had nothing but pleasure in this world, and he nothing on the contrarie side but travell and miserie. But God hath otherwise disposed thereof; for if I should take upon me to rehearse the sundrie griefes,

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sorrows, and passions that I have seene divers great personages sustaine, as well men as women within these thirtie yeeres onely, a great volume would hardly containe them. I meane not such great personages as Bocace writeth of in his booke,* but such as we see abound with wealth, and live in health and prosperitie; yea such as those that have not bene conversant with them as I have bene, would account in all respects happie: but I have often seene their sorrows and griefes arise of so small occasions, that they that were unacquainted with them would hardly beleeve it, the most part being grounded upon jealousies and reports, which is disease that lurketh secretly in great Princes Courts, and traineth with it infinite mischiefs both to their owne persons, their servants, and all their subjects, and so much shorteneth their lives, that hardly any King of Fraunce since Charles the great hath passed the age of sixtie yeeres. For the which cause, when King Lewis the eleventh approached neere to that age (being sicke of this disease) he accounted himselfe a dead man. His father King Charles the seventh, who had done so manie noble acts in Fraunce, conceived an imagination in his sickenes, that his servants went about to poison him, and therefore refused to receive sustenance. Likewise his father King Charles the sixt was troubled with so many suspicions, that he lost his wits, and all by reports. And sure this is the fault greatly to be blamed in Princes, that in these cases they cause not such matters as concerne themselves (be they of never so small importance) to be ripped up: which if they did, they should not so often be troubled with false tales. For if they would examine the parties the one before the other, I meane the accuser, and him that is accused, no man durst report any thing to them that were untrue. But some Princes there are of so doltish disposition, that they will promise and sweare to the accusers never to disclose their reports, wherby they are often troubled with these anguishes before mentioned, and hate and injurie their trustiest and faithfulest servants and subjects, at the pleasure and upon the complaint many times of lewd and naughtie persons.

* Of unfortunate noble men.

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CHAPTER XIV

How the King was advertised of the losse of the castle of Naples: and how the Florentines places were sold to divers men: of the treaty of Atelle in Pouille, to the great dammage of the French: and of the death of King Ferrande of Naples.



THE Daulphin the Kings only sonne died about the beginning of the yeere 1496, which was the greatest misfortune that ever happened or could happen to the King: for he never had childe after, that lived. But this mischiefe came not without company, for at the verie same time received he newes that the castle of Naples was yeeled by those that the Lord of Montpensier left within it, who were forced thereunto, partly by famine, and partly to recover the hostages delivered by the said Montpensier to King Ferrande, whose names were Monsieur d'Alegre, one of the house de la Marche-d'Ardaine, one called de la Capelle de Loudonnois,* and one named Iohn Roquebertin Catelan. They that were within the castell returned by sea into Fraunce. Another great dishonor and losse received the King also at the same time which was this. Entragues, who held the Citadelle of Pisa (being the fort that keepeth the towne in subjection,) delivered the saide Citadelle to the Pisans contrarie to the Kings oth,† who had

* Before cap. 8 he named him de la Chapelle d'Anjou, but if Loudonnois be in Anjou the places be reconciled.

† The Venetians paid the money, for the Pisans were not able to redeeme it: but after the Citadelle delivered, the Pisans put themselves into the Venetians protection, who razed the Citadelle.—Guicciar.

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twice sworne to the Florentines to restore unto them the saide Citadelle and their other places, namely Serzane, Serzanelle, Pietresancte, Librefacto, and Mortron, which they had lent him in his great necessitie at his first comming into Italy: at which time they gave him also sixescore thousand ducats, whereof there remained unpaid to us but thirtie thousand at our returne home, as before you have heard. To be short, all these the Florentines places above named were solde: the Genuois bought Serzane and Serzanelle of a bastard of Saint Paul,* Pietresancte Entragues solde to the Luquois,† and Librefacto to the Venetians,‡ to the great dishonor both of the King and all his subjects, and to the utter losse of the realme of Naples. The first othe the King sware for the restitution of these places (as before you have heard) was at Florence upon the high altar of the cathedrall Church of Saint Iohn: the second in Ast at his returne, at which time the Florentines lent him thirtie thousand ducats (in his great neede) under condition that if Pisa were restored to them, he should repaie no part nor parcell of this summe: but they would make restitution of the jewels engaged to them for it, and lend him 60000 ducats more, which they promised to cause to be paid then presently in the realme of Naples, to the Kings forces there. They offered further, to entertaine continually in the saide realme at their proper costs and charges, three hundred men of armes to doe the King service till the said conquest were fully atchieved, of the which conditions none were performed, because of this evill dealing above mentioned. Besides that, we were forced to restore the thirtie thousand ducats that they lent us, all the which inconveniences happened through disobedience and privy whispering in the Kings eare, for some of those that were nearest about him, encouraged Entragues to sell these places.

At the selfe same time within two moneths over or under, in the beginning of this yeere 1496 the Lord of Montpen-

* This bastards name was de Bienne.—Guicciar.

† Mutron was also sold to the Luquois.—Guicciar.

‡ Librefacto was sold to the Pisans, but the Venetians paid the money.—Guicciar.

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sier, the Lord Virgill Vrsin,* Master Camelly Vitelly, and the rest of the French captaines, seeing all thus lost : put themselves into the field, and tooke certaine small places. But King Ferrande sonne of King Alphonse, who was entred into religion (as before you have heard) accompanied with the Marquesse of Mantua, brother to the said Montpensiers wife, and Generall of the Venetians, marched against them. They found the saide Montpensier lodged in a towne called Atelle, a place verie commodious for provisions of victuals, and seated on a hill, upon the which our enimies fortified their campe as men fearing the battell, because the said King Ferrand and his forces had beene discomfited in all places, as was also the Marques of Mantua at Fornove where we fought with him. The said Marques the Venetians had lent to King Ferrand with a certaine summe of money, but of small value in respect of the places they had in gage for it, which were these sixe townes in Pouille of great importance, Brandis, Trani, Galipoli, Crana, Otrante, and Monopoly, the last of the which since the Kings departure they had woon from us. Moreover in the said summe of money they comprehended the wages of their soldiers that served the saide Ferrand, so that they hold these places for two hundred thousand ducats ; yea, and now they require the charges they have beene at in the fortification and defence of them, so that I am fully perswaded they minde never to restore them : for they use not so to do, when towns lie commodiously for them, as these do, being scituate upon the Adriatike gulfe, so that by meanes of them they are Lords of the said gulfe, which [is] one of the things they principally desire ; and no marvell, for it is from Otrante (which is the very point of the said gulfe) to Venice at the least nine hundred miles. And notwithstanding that the Pope held certaine places also upon the said gulfe intermingled among these Venetian townes : yet were all passengers forced to pay custome to Venice : wherefore the possession of these places is more beneficiall to them than the world weeneth, for

* This Virgill Vrsin is he above mentioned, who after the Coulonnois revolt from King Charles, turned to him, and of his foe became his friend and servant.

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they receive yeerely from thence great plentie of corne and oile, which are two necessarie things for their provision.

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How the King was advertised of the losse of the castle of Naples: of the treaty of Atelle in Pouille: and of the death of King Ferrande of Naples.

At the said place of Atelle above mentioned, our men fell at variance as well for their victuals which began now to diminish, as also for their paie the soldiers were unpaid for eighteene moneths and more, by meanes whereof they had lived in great miserie. To the Almaines also much was due, but not so much: for all the money that Monseur de Montpensier could levie in the realme was paid to them, yet notwithstanding they were unpaide for a yeere and more, but they had spoiled divers small townes whereby they were marvellously enriched. If the fortie thousand ducats promised them had beene sent in time, or if they had knowen they should have received them at Florence, this variance had never hapned, but now they remained altogether in despaire: divers of our captaines have enformed me that if our men would have agreed to fight, they were like ynough to have obtained the victory: and if they had beene discomfited, yet should not their losse have been so great, as by the shamefull composition they made. Montpensier and Virgile Vrsin, who were the best men of warre among them would have fought, and evill hap it was to them that they did not: for King Ferrande brake the composition, and put them both in prison, where they miserably ended their lives. They laide the blame that they fought not upon Monsieur de Persi a yoong gentleman of Auvergne, whom they accursed as a mutinous knight, and disobedient to his captaine. You shall understand that in this armie were two sorts of Almaines, the first were Swiszers to the number of fifteene hundred, whom the King left there at his departure from Naples, the which served faithfully even till the hower of death, so that it was impossible for men to serve more valiantly than they did. The other sort were those whom we call commonly Lands knights (that is to say, servants of the countrey) the which hate naturally the Swiszers. They are of all parts of Germanie, as for example, of the countries lying upon the Rhine, and of Swobland, some there were also of the countrey of Vaulx in Senonie,*

* The French corrector readeth it Sionnie, meaning the countrey

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and some of Gelderland. These were to the number of eight hundred newly sent thither with two moneths pay, the which being spent before they came thither, and at there arrivall there no newe paie being found: they seeing themselves in this distresse, declared that they bare us no such good will as the Swissers do; for they practised with our enimies, and turned to King Ferrande, for the which cause partly, and partly for the division that was among our captaines, our men made a shamefull appointment with our enimies, the which King Ferrande sware to keepe and observe, being forced so to do by the Marquesse of Mantua, who thought thereby to assure the person of his brother in lawe Monsieur de Montpensier, yet notwithstanding the said Ferrande brake the treatie, as afterward mention shall be made more at large.

By the said composition they yeilded both themselves and all the Kings artillerie to their enimies, promising further, to cause to be rendred all the places that the King held in the realme, as well in Calabria where Monsieur de Aubigny was, as in L'Abruzzo where Master Gratian des Guerres was, together with the townes of Cajetta and Tarente; under this condition, that King Ferrande should send them by sea into Provence with bag and baggage, which was not much woorth: but notwithstanding the composition King Ferrande commanded them all to be led to Naples, being to the number of five or sixe thousand persons or more. So shamefull a composition hath not bene made in our time, neither do I remember that ever I read of the like, save that which the two consuls of Rome made (as rehearseth Titus Livius*) with the Samnites (whom I suppose to be those of Benevent) at a place called then Furculæ Caudinæ, which is a certaine straight in the mountaines: notwithstanding the Romanes would not agree to the composition, but sent the two Consuls prisoners to their enimies.

If our force had fought and bene discomfited, yet should

called in Latin *Valesia Sedustorum*, whereof Sedunum called in French Sion, is the chiefe towne: or else he supposeth it should be Vaulx in Savoy, whereof our author maketh mention lib. 5. cap. 1.

* *Decad.* 1. lib. 9.

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not their losse have beene so great, as by this composition : for two parts of them died ever of famine, or of the plague in their ships in the yle of Prusse,* whither they were sent from Naples by King Ferrande : and namely, there died Monsieur de Montpensier himselfe, some say of poyson, others of an ague, which I rather beleewe. And I thinke verily that of all this company never returned fiftene hundred : for of the Swissers which were thirteene hundred, returned but three hundred and fiftie all extreme sicke. Their faith and loyaltie was greatly to be commended : for they all chose rather to die than to serve King Ferrande, and so a number of them did in the said yle of Prusse, some of heate, some of sicknes, and some of famine : for they were held there a long time in their ships, in such penurie, and lacke of victuals, as is almost incredible. I saw them all that returned, especially the Swissers, who brought backe with them all their ensignes : and sure it well appeared that they had endured great miserie ; for they were all so extreme sicke, that when they came foorth of their ships to take the aire, they were faine to be staid up from falling. It was also agreed by the said composition, that the Lord Virgill Vrsin should returne home to his country in safetic, and his son, and all the Italians that served the King : yet notwithstanding the enimies detained him still, and his said legitimate sonne also ; for he had but one : and as touching his base sonne called the Lord Charles (who was a verie valiant gentleman) certaine Italians of their companie spoiled him as he repaired homeward. If this miserie had fallen but upon them onely that made this composition, they had not beene greatly to be moned. Immediately after King Ferrande had received this honor above mentioned, and married King Ferrande his grandfathers daughter, being a yong maide of thirteene or fowerteene yeeres of age, be-

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* Procida it is named by Collenutius, other Italians name it Ponze. I suppose it to be that, which Plinie lib. 3. cap. 6 calleth Proclita or Prochita, saying that it lieth in Sinu Puteolano not far from Naples, nor from the yle of Ischia. Boccace also *Decame*. 2 novell. 6, reporteth both Procida and Ponze to be neere to Naples. Guicciar. hath Pozzuole.

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gotten of the King of Castiles sister that now raigneth (so that his wife was sister to his owne father King Alfonse) he fell into a continuall ague, whereof soone after he died, and the crowne of the realme descended to King Frederick (the said King Ferrandes uncle) now presently raigning. It abhorreth me to write of such a marriage as this, notwithstanding divers such have beene contracted in this house of Arragon within these thirtie yeeres. King Ferrande died immediately after the composition above mentioned made in the towne of Atelle, the yeere of our Lord 1496. The said Ferrande during his life, and Dom Frederick also after he came to the crowne, excused the breach of this composition, because Monsieur de Montpensier had not performed the conditions thereof, nor rendred the places promised, which he could not to say the truth, Cajetta and divers others being out of his power. For notwithstanding that he were the Kings lieutenant, yet were not they that held these places for the King, bound to yeeld them at his commandement. Although all things well considered, the King should have sustained no great losse, if they had then beene yeelded; for he spent afterward great treasure in defending and victualling them, and yet lost them in the end. My selfe was present three or fower times at the dispatch of those that were sent to victual and succour, first the castles of Naples, and thrise after the towne of Cajetta. And I thinke

I shoud not lye, if I said that these fower voiages cost
the King above three hundred thousand franks :
and yet all to no purpose.

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THE King after his returne from Naples abode at Lyons a long time (as before you have heard) holding justs and turneies. It greeved him to lose the places in Italy above mentioned which he yet held; neither cared he what treasure he spent in defence of them, but he would take no paines himselfe in governing his owne affaires. Moreover, hee was advertised daily of divers practises entertained on his behalfe in Italy, which notwithstanding that they were both dangerous and chargeable: yet was he of power sufficient to have atchieved them because his realme is populous, and plentifull of graine in Provence and Languedoc, and hath also a number of other wealthie countries, where money might have been levied. But if any other Prince besides the King of Fraunce should attend to these Italian practises, and adventure to entermeddle in their enterprises, he should but undoe himselfe, spend his treasure, and effect nothing. For the Italians neither doe nor can serve but for money, except it be a Duke of Milan, or one of the greatest Seniories: but a poore captaine be he never so well affectioned to the service of a King of Fraunce pretending title to the realme of Naples, or the Duchie of Milan, be he never so faithfull and trustie, yet shall he not be able to do him service any long time after his paiment faileth, because his men will forsake him, and

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the poore captaine shall be utterly undone : for the greatest part of them live onely upon the credit they win by the service of their soldiers, who are paid by their captaine, and he of him whom he serveth, which is the cause why they desire in Italy nothing but factions and civile wars. But as touching the practises above mentioned, you shall understand that they began before the towne of Cajetta was lost, to wit, immediately after the King perceived that the Duke of Milan would not performe the conditions of the treatie of Verceil, and continued after the losse of the said towne, the whole space of two yeeres after the Kings returne home. As touching the said Duke of Milan, he brake not his promise altogether upon malice and trecherie, but partly for feare : for he doubted that the King would destroy him if he obtained the realme of Naples : besides that, he accounted the King a Prince in whom was no constancie nor assurance. But to proceede, one of these enterprises above mentioned was to invade the Duchie of Milan after this sort. Order was given that the Duke of Orleans should go to Ast to enter with a good band of men on that side, whom I sawe once so neere his departure, that his traine was already gone. We were sure of the Duke of Ferraras friendship, for he had promised to aide us (notwithstanding that he were the Duke of Milans father in lawe) with five hundred men of armes, and two thousand footemen, which his promise undoubtedly he would have performed, to the end he might have delivered himselfe of the danger he was in, lying just in the midst betweene the Venetians and the said Duke : for not long before (as I have already made mention) the Venetians had taken from him the Polesan, and sought wholly his destruction : wherefore he would have preferred his owne safetie and his childrens, before his sonne in lawes friendship ; yea, and peradventure he thought that the Duke of Milan seeing himselfe in this extremitie would make some appointment with the King.* Moreover, by the said Duke of Ferraras meanes, the Marques of Mantua was become our friend, who lately had beene and yet was generall of the Venetians, but held in

* Understand against the Venetians, by the which meanes he might have recovered the Polesan, and the rest that they withheld from him.

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great jelousie of them, and he likewise being discontented with them, sojourned with three hundred men of armes with his father in law the Duke of Ferrara: so you shall understand that he then had, and yet hath to wife the Duches of Milans sister, daughter to the said Duke of Ferrara. Master Iohn Bentivoille who governeth Bologna, and is as it were Lord thereof, promised to aide us with a hundred and fiftie men of armes, and a good band of footemen, and to send to the Kings service two of his sonnes, who were captaines of certaine companies of horsemen, and such was the seat of his cuntry that he might have done great service against the Duke of Milan. The Florentines who sawe themselves utterly undone (unlesse by large expences they recovered their losses) fearing to be diseased of Pisa and the other places above mentioned;* would have furnished eight hundred men of armes, and five thousand footemen upon their owne proper costes and charges, and had alreadie provided their paiments for sixe moneths. The Vrsins and the Prefect of Rome brother to the Cardinall Saint Peter ad Vincula (so often before named,) being in pay with the King, would have furnished a thousand men of armes: but you shall understand that their men of armes are not accompanied with archers as ours be, but their wages and ours are much alike: for a yeres pay of one of their men of armes amounteth to a hundreth ducats, and the wages of one of ours is double as much bicause of his archers. These mercenary soldiers the King should have paid, but as touching the Florentines they should have paid their forces themselves. The Duke of Ferrara also, the Marques of Mantua and Bentivoille, offered this aide upon their owne charge, for they hoped to conquer in the Duchie of Milan as much as should countervaile their coste. And if the Duke of Milan had been suddenly invaded by the Duke of Orleans, and all these above rehearsed at one instant, his confederates (namely the Venetians) could not have succoured him (though they would have spent all their treasure in his defence) before he must have bene forced to revolt to the King, who

* For you must understand that these practises began before their places were sold.

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would have kept these Italians in the field a long time. And the Duchie of Milan being once woon, the realme of Naples would have yeelded of it selfe.

The stay of this goodly enterprise proceeded of the Duke of Orleans, who suddenly altered his minde the night before he should have departed: for he had alreadie sent before him all things necessarie for his person, and none remained to depart but himselfe onely: for the army was in a readines, their wages paid them, and they all gone before to Ast, being to the number of eight hundred men of armes French, and sixe thousand footemen: among the which were fower hundred Swissers. But the said Duke of Orleans being thus suddenly altered, besought the King twice to propound this matter againe to his counsell, and so he did, my selfe being present at the debating of it both times, and the whole Counsell concluded that he should go, not one man speaking to the contrarie: notwithstanding that there were present at each time ten or twelve Counsellors at the least. And sure so had it beene most convenient, considering that we had thereof assured our friends in Italy above named: all the which had beene at great charges, and were in a readines. But the Duke of Orleans being present at the debating of this matter himselfe, made answer (either by the advise of some one, or for that he shunned this enterprise bicause he saw the King evill disposed of his body, whose heire he should be if he died) that he would never take upon him this voiage for his owne particular quarrell, but willingly by the Kings commandement as his lieutenant, with the which answer the counsell arose. The next day and many daies after, the ambassadors of Fiorence and divers others, pressed the King earnestly to command the Duke to depart. Whereunto the King answered, that he would never force him to the wars against his will. Thus was this voiage dashed to the Kings great greefe, both bicause of the great charges he had susteined; and also bicause he was in good hope (if it had proceeded) to have beene revenged of the Duke of Milan, considering what intelligences he had already, and what other intelligences he might have had at that time, by meanes of Master Iohn Iames of Trevoul, lieutenant generall

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for him and the Duke of Orleans in these Italian wars, who was a Milanois borne, and very well beloved and friended in his countrey, where he had good intelligence with many both of his kinsemen and others. This enterprize thus failing another succeeded, yea two or three at a clap against Genua: where the people are ever inclined to division; one of these enterprizes was managed by Master Baptiste de Campefourgouse, who was chiefe of one of the factions in the towne, but banished, and his faction of no authoritie at that time, neither yet the house of Oric, who are gentlemen, and they of Fourgousi none. The said D'Ories take part with the Fourgouses, but none of them may be Duke, bicause they are gentlemen, for no gentleman may be Duke of Genua: but this Baptiste had been Duke not long before, and lost the government by the trecherie of his unckle the Cardinall of Genua, who of late yeeres put the Seniorie of Genua into the Duke of Milans hands. So that at this present the Adornes governed Genua, who in like maner are no gentlemen, but have often been Dukes by helpe of the Spinoles who are gentlemen; so that the gentlemen make the Duke of Genua, but cannot be Dukes themselves. This Baptista trusted that his faction would arise in his favor, both in the towne and countrey, and that the towne being recovered, the soveraintie thereof should remaine to the King, but he and his faction governe, and banish their enimies. The other enterprize was this, divers of Savonne addressed themselves to the Cardinall Saint Peter ad Vincula,* and promised to yeeld the towne to him, hoping thereby to recover their libertie; for they are under the Genuois government, and pay tribute to them. If we had entred into this place, Genua should have been greatly distressed, the countrey of Provence being in subjection to the King, and Savoy wholly at his devotion. Wherefore the King being advertised of all these enterprizes, wrote to Master Iohn Iames of Trevoul to aide Master Baptiste de Campefourgouse with force to conveigh him to the gates of Genua, to see whether his faction would arise in his favor. And on the other side he was so earnestly pressed by the

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* This Cardinal was borne at Savonne.

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Cardinall S. Peter ad Vincula, that he sent other letters at the selfe same time to the said Master Iohn Iames, commanding him to lend the said Cardinall men to conveigh him to Savonne: and the like commandement sent he him also by mouth by the Lord of Sernon in Provence, who was great friend to the said Cardinall and a stout talker. Besides these two commandements, came yet a third, which was, that the said Master Iohn Iames should retire into some place where he might conveniently aide both these parties above mentioned, and yet attempt nothing against the Duke of Milan, nor the treatie of peace made the summer before with him, which commandement was cleane contrary to the two former.

Thus you see how great Princes affaires are governed when they understand them not themselves, but command letters and dispatch men upon a sudden before they heare matters well debated. For as touching the demaunds of Master Baptiste de Campefourgouse and the said Cardinall, it was impossible to satisfie them both at once, for Baptiste durst not go to the wals of Genua without great force, because the towne is very populous, and the people well armed, and hardy and valiant soldiers: wherfore if Master Iohn Iames should at the same time have lent men also to the Cardinall, his armie had been divided into three companies; for part of the force must have remained with himselfe. In the meane time divers bands arrived at Genua and at Savonne, sent thither by the Duke of Milan and the Venetians, who both feared greatly the revolt of Genua, as did also Dom Frederick and the Pope.

Besides these two enterprises, the said Master Iohn Iames had yet a third in his head, of his owne devise, which was this, hee would have broken off both these other enterprises, and have marched with the whole force straight against the Duke of Milan, and undoubtedly if he had not bene countermaunded, he would have done some great exploit. His enterprise he was already entred into, and had advertised the King thereof, pretending that he could not otherwise aide them that should go to Genua or Savonne to the enterprises above mentioned. Wherfore under colour thereof,

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he led his armie into the highway betweene Alexandria and Genua (which was the onely way the Duke of Milan could send to invade our bands that should go to Genua and Savonne) and three or fower small townes he tooke, which voluntarily received him, advertising the King that this notwithstanding, he made no war upon the Duke of Milan, seeing he was forced of necessitie (for the safetie of those that should go to the other enterprises) to do as he did; adding, that the King could not be said to make war upon the Duke of Milan, for seeking to conquer Genua or Savonne, bicause they were held of him and forfeited to him; but this enterprise was dashed by the Kings commandement. Further, to satisfie the Cardinall, the said Master Iohn Iames lent him part of the armie to conveigh him to Savonne, but he found the place manned, and thereupon gave over his enterprise and returned. He lent men also to Master Baptiste to conveigh him to Genua, who assured him that his enterprise should take effect: but when he was three or fower leagues upon the way, they that accompanied him began to be jelous of him, as well the Almaines as the French, wherein notwithstanding that they did him wrong, yet sure their company being but small, should have put themselves in great danger, if they had gone to Genua, and his faction had not happened to arise. Thus all these enterprises sped evill, and the Duke of Milan, who had beene greatly distressed, if Master Iohn Iames had beene suffered to invade him with the whole force, was now strong; for the Venetians had sent divers bands to his aide. Whereupon our armie retired, our footemen were dismissed, and these little townes that were taken abandoned: and thus ended these wars, smally to the Kings profit, who consumed infinite treasure therein.

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Of certaine controversies betweene King Charles and Ferrande King of Castile, and of the ambassadors that were sent to and fro to pacifie them.



LHAT happened from the Kings returne out of Italie (which was about 3 or 4 moneths before the end of the yeere 1495,) till the beginning of the yeere 1498, I have alreadie rehearsed: for all that space I was resident in the Court, and present at the dispatch of most part of those affaires. The King rode about from Lyons to Moulins, and from Moulins to Tours, holding tourneies and justs in all places, and minding nothing else. Those that were of the greatest authoritie about him, were so divided, that more they could not be; for some of them would that the conquest of Naples should still continue, because their profit and credit depended thereupon, namely, the Cardinall* and the Seneschall,† who governed all the Kings affaires: on the other side the Admirall, who before this voiage had borne all the sway with the yoong King, would in any wise that these Italian enterprises should cease, and travelled to overthrowe them, knowing that the quailing of them would turne greatly to his profite, and be a meanes whereby he might recover his former credit and authoritie, and the others fall into disgrace.

Thus passed the Kings affaires about a yeere and a halfe,

* Guicciar. reporteth that the Cardinall indeede was an enemie to the voiage of Naples, and staid all dispatches and paiments of money: wherby it was thought that he had intelligence with the Pope, though outwardly he seemed a friend to the enterprise.

† The Seneschall came by sea out of the realme of Naples into Fraunce to demanda aide, but before he could returne the realme was lost.

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during the which space he sent ambassadors to the King and Queene of Castile, who were in war with him, and whose friendship he greatly desired, because they were mightie both by sea and land. And notwithstanding that they did no great exploit upon the land, yet had they sent great aide by sea to King Ferrande and King Frederick of Naples: for the yle of Sicilie is distant from Reges in Calabria but a league and a halfe, so that some hold opinion it was once firme land with Italie,* and that the sea breaking in, made this straight† now named the Far‡ of Messine. The said yle of Sicilie was then and yet is, in subjection to the King and Queene of Castile, who sent from thence great aide to Naples, as well of great ships called Caravels that came out of Spaine, as also of men. Moreover, in the yle of Sicilie it selfe a company of men of armes was levied, the which passed into Calabria with a certaine number of genetaries,§ and made war upon the Kings forces there. Besides this, their ships were continually with the confederates navie, by meanes whereof, when all their forces were together, the King was much too weake for his enimies upon the sea, but otherwise the King of Castile endammaged him not much. True it is that once a great companie of horsemen entred into Languedock, and spoiled the countrey, and lodged in it three or fower daies; but other exploit did they none. Then the Lord of Saint André in Bourbonnois, who defended those frontiers for the Duke of Bourbon the Kings lieutenant in Languedock, attempted to take Sausses a little towne in the countrey of Roussillon, bicause on that side they had invaded the Kings dominions about two yeeres before. For you shall understand, that the King had restored unto them the saide countrey of Roussillon,|| whereof the

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* As Virgill *Aeneid.* lib. 3.

† This straight was called in times past Fretum Siculum, in the which are the famous rocke of Sylla and gulfe of Charibdis.

‡ Pharos here named Far, is a towre upon the promontorie Pelorus, ten miles from Messine, upon the very straight betweene Reges and Sicilie, to give light to those that passe in the night through the straight: of this towre the straight is now named Far.

§ These be Spanish horsemen so named of their ginnets.

|| Understand before his voiage to Naples.

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territorie of Parpignan is parcell, in the which this little towne of Sausses is situate. His enterprise was great and dangerous; for the towne was well manned though it were but small, and a great number of gentlemen of the King of Castiles house were within it; besides that, their armie being stronger than ours lay abroad in the fields encamped within a league of the place: yet notwithstanding the said Lord of Saint André so wisely and closely guided his enterprise that within ten howers he tooke the towne by assault, as my selfe can witnes, and at the breach were slaine thirtie or fortie Spanish gentlemen of marke, among whom was the Archbishop of Saint Iames his sonne, besides three or fower hundred common soldiers. They thought not that the towne could have been taken so suddenly; for they understood not the feate of our artillerie, which undoubtedly is the best in the world.

This is all the exploit that was done betweene these two Princes, whereof though the effects were but small: yet great was the shame and dishonor the King of Castile received thereby, his armie being so strong as it was: but where God is disposed to punish, commonly such small scourges run before. For the said King and Queene of Castile were shortly after otherwise punished, and so were we also. But sure as touching them they much stained their honor in violating their othe given to the King, who had dealt so bountifully with them, by restoring them the cuntry of Rousillon, the fortification and defence whereof had bene so chargeable to his father, who had it in pawne for three hundred thousand crownes, which summe also the King forgave them, all to the end they should not impeach nor hinder his voiage to Naples. Moreover, they renewed the ancient league betweene Fraunce and Castile, which is betweene King and King, realme and realme, and man and man of their subjects, and promised not to hinder his said conquest, nor marie any of their daughters into Naples, England or Flaunders, which straight offer of mariage proceeded of themselves: for a Frier Franciscan called Frier Iohn de Mauleon made this ouerture on the Queene of Castiles behalfe. Yet all this notwithstanding so soone as

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they saw the war begun, and heard that the King was at Rome, they sent ambassadors round about to enter into league against him, and namely to Venice, I being there present, where the league above mentioned was concluded betweene the Pope, the King of Romans, them, the Seniorie of Venice, and the Duke of Milan : immediately whereupon they invaded the Kings dominions, alleaging that such a promise was not to be performed, meaning the marriage of their children (being fower daughters and one sonne) into the houses above mentioned, which ouverture notwithstanding proceeded of themselves, as before you have heard.

But to returne to the matter. After these wars in Italie were ended, and all lost in the realme of Naples save Cajetta, which the King yet held when these treaties of peace began betweene him and the King and Queene of Castile : but soone after lost also, and the wars in the country of Rousillon being in like maner ended, so that none sought to endammage other, but each partie to defend their owne : they sent to King Charles a gentleman accompanied with certaine Monks of Montferrat, for all their affaires they governed by such men, either to save charges thereby, or to dissemble by such instruments with the lesse suspition, as for example they did by Iohn de Mauleon the Frier Franciscane above named, who perswaded the King to restore unto them the country of Rousillon. These ambassadors at their first audience, besought the King to forget the great wrong the King and Queene had done him. I name alwaies the Queene because the crowne of Castile mooved by hir, and because hir authoritie was greater there than hir husbands : and undoubtedly this was a very honorable mariage betweene the King hir husband and hir. Then these ambassadors began to treat of truce, desiring to have all their league comprehended therein. The ouvertures they made were these : that the King should keepe the possession of Cajetta, and the other places he yet held in the realme of Naples, and that during the truce he might victuall them at his pleasure. Further, that there should be a place assigned whither all the Princes of the league should send their ambassadors (at

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the least, as many as would) to treat of peace, the which being concluded: the said King and Queene meant to continue their conquest or enterprise against the Moores, and to passe the sea out of Granado into Africk, there to invade the King of Fessa who was their next neighbour on that side. Notwithstanding some were of opinion that they meant rather to hold themselves contented with that they had already conquered, I meane the realme of Granado, which undoubtedly was the greatest and honorablest conquest that hath bene obtained in our time; * yea such as their predecessors were never able to atchieve. And I wish with all my hart for the honor I beare them, that they had never mooved other war than this, but had faithfully performed their promise to the King. The King sent the Lord of Clerieux in Daulphine backe into Castile with their ambassadors, and sought to conclude a peace or truce wherein their confederates should not be comprehended: notwithstanding if he had accepted their offer made by these their ambassadors, he had saved Cajetta, which had bene sufficient for the recoverie of the whole realme of Naples, considering the great favour he had there. The said de Clerieux at his returne brought a new ouverture (for Cajetta was lost before he entred into Castile) which was, that the King and they should renew their former ancient league, and attempt betweene them at equall charges the conquest of all Italie, whereat the two Kings should be together in person: but they said they would first conclude a generall truce, wherein all their league should be comprehended, and then assigne a diet at some place in Piemont, whither every of their confederates should send their ambassadors, to the end they might honorably depart from their said league. All this ouverture as we suspected then and understood perfectly afterward, was but meere dissimulation to win time, to the end King Ferrand while he lived, and afterward Dom Frederic newly crowned King might repose themselves: notwithstanding I thinke they wished with all their harts the said realme of Naples to be their owne, and sure they had better title to it, than

* They conquered Granado anno 1486 which the Sarracens had held 700 yeeres.

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they that possessed it.* But undoubtedly the house of Anjous right which the King had was the best, although to say the truth considering both the seate of the countrey, and the disposition of the people that inhabite it, me thinke he hath best right to it that can get it, for they desire nothing but alteration. The King afterward sent the above named de Clerieux backe againe into Castile and one Michael of Grammont with him, with certaine other ouvertures. This de Clerieux bare some affection to these Princes of Arragon, and hoped to obtaine of them the Marquisat of Cotron in Calabria, which the King of Spaine conquered in the last voiage that his men made thither. The said de Clerieux pretended title to it, and he is a good plaine dealing man, and one that wil easily give credit, especially to such personages as these were. At his second returne he brought with him an ambassador from the King and Queene, and made his report to the King, which was, that they would hold themselves contented with that part of the realme of Naples that lies next to Sicilie (to wit, Calabria) for the right that they pretended to the said realme, and that the King should hold the rest: and farther that the said King of Castile would be in person at this conquest, and beare equall charges in all things with the King, and indeed he held then and yet holdeth fower or five strong places in Calabria, whereof Cotron is one, which is a good and a well fortified citie. I was present at this report, which seemed unto most of us but meere abuse and dissimulation. Wherefore it was determined that some wise man should be sent to them to sound the bottome of this ouverture, and thereupon the Lord of Bouchage was joined in commission with the former ambassadors: he was a man of deepe judgement, and one that had beene in great credit with King Lewis, and so is he also at this present with King Charles his sonne. The Spanish ambassador that came with de Clerieux would never avow his report, but answered that he thought the said de Clerieux would not make the report, if the King his Master and the Queene had not willed him so to do; which answere caused

* How they had better title, and how the house of Anjou had the best, the pedegree in the end of the booke will declare.

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us so much the more to suspect their dissimulation: besides that, no man would beleeeve that the King of Castile would go in person into Italy, or that he either would or could beare equall charges with the King.

After the said Lords of Bouchage, Clerieux, and Michaell of Grammont with the rest of their collegues were come to the King and Queene of Castiles court, they lodged them in a place where no man could come to commune with them, for the which purpose also certaine were appointed to watch their lodgings. But they themselves spake thrise with them: and when the said du Bouchage advertised them of the report above mentioned made to the King by de Clerieux and Michaell of Grammont: they answered that they would willingly endeavor themselves to conclude a peace for the Kings honor and profit. And as touching the said report, they confessed that indeed such speech had passed them by way of communication but not otherwise, with the which answere de Clerieux being discontented and not without cause, advowed his report to be true before them both, in the presence of the said Lord of Bouchage, who with the rest of his companions concluded a truce, (the King having two moneths respite to accept it or refuse it) wherein their confederates were not comprehended, but their sonnes in lawe, and the fathers of their sonnes in lawe, namely the Kings of Romanes and England* (for the Prince of Wales was at that time verie yoong) were comprehended therein, they had fower daughters, the eldest of the which was a widow, and had bene married to the King of Portugales sonne that last died, who brake his necke before her as he passed a carrier

* Their eldest daughter married first Alphonse Prince of Portugale, sonne to Iohn the second King of Portugale, who brake his neck passing a carrier, as here is mentioned in this chapter, and afterward she married Emanuel King of Portugale, as is mentioned in the next chapter, and died in childe-bed. Philip Duke of Austrich son and heire to Maximilian King of Romanes, married the second daughter: and Arthur Prince of Wales son to King Henry the seventh, the third: and the fourth whom our author here reporteth to be at that time unmarried, was afterward married to the same Emanuel K. of Portugal her eldest sisters husband: so that the said King married two sisters both daughters to the K. of Castile. The eldest daughters name was Isabel, the second Iane, the third Katherine, and the fourth Marie.

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upon a ginneth within three moneths after their marriage. The second and the third were married the one in Flaunders, and the other in England, and the fourth is yet to marrie. After the Lord of Bouchage was returned, and had made his report, the King perceived that de Clerieux had bene too credulous, and that he had done wisely in sending du Bouchage thither, because he was now assured of that which before he stood in doubt of. The said de Bouchage advertised him further, that he could effect nothing but the conclusion of the truce, the which he had liberty either to accept or refuse at his pleasure. The King accepted it, and sure it served him to good purpose: for it was the breach of their league which so much had troubled his affaires, and which hitherto he could by no meanes dissolve, notwithstanding that he had attempted al waies possible. Thirdly, the said de Bouchage informed the King, that the King and Queene of Castile had promised him at his departure to send ambassadors immediately after him, with ful authoritie to conclude peace. Lastly, he told him, that at his departure he left the Prince of Castile their onely sonne extreme sicke.

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A discourse of the misfortunes that happened to the house of Castile, in the Lord of Argentons time.



HE said du Bouchage about ten or twelve daies after his returne, received newes from one of the Kings heraults, whom he left behinde him in Castile, to convey the ambassage that should come into Fraunce; that the sending of the saide ambassadors was deferred for a time, because the Prince of Castile was departed this life, whose death the King and Queene lamented above all measure,

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especially the Queene, who seemed liker to die than to live; and undoubtedly never was such solemne mourning for any Princes death, as for his through all their dominions: for all men of occupation ceased from their labour fortie daies, as their ambassadors afterward advertised me, and everie man was clothed in thicke blacke cotton; so that the noble men and gentlemen covered their mules therewith downe to the knees, in such sort that onely their eies appeared. Moreover, blacke banners were set upon the gates of everie towne. When these pitifull newes came to the eares of the Ladie Margaret, daughter to the King of Romanes, sister to the Archduke of Austrich, and wife to the saide Prince: she suddenly fell in travell being gone sixe moneths with childe, and was delivered of a daughter dead borne. Were not these greevous tidings to these Princes? yes undoubtedly, and so much the more greevous, bicause they had hitherto raigned with such honor, and lived in such felicitie, that God seemed wholly bent to advance them, and the world to honor them, more than any other Prince living. For they possessed larger and ampler dominions than any Prince in Christendome (I meane of inheritance*) they had brought their subjects to due obedience, and were in perfect health as touching their persons. Moreover, they had obtained this goodly conquest of Granado, and caused a King renowned through the whole world, to depart out of Italie, and faile of his enterprise, which they accounted a great matter, as did the Pope himselfe also, who under colour of the said conquest of Granado would have given them the title of 'Most Christian,' and taken it from the King of Fraunce, so far fourth that divers letters he sent them with that superscription. But perceiving many of his Cardinals to gainsaie it, he gave them another, to wit, the title of 'Most Catholike,' which continueth yet, and is still like to continue at Rome. But in the midst of all these their good successes, happened this their sonnes death, which so much tormented them, that it seemed fully to countervaile all their former honor and felicitie.

* This he seemeth to adde, because the empire was greater, but it was not the Emperors inheritance.

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Yet was not this their last trouble, for their eldest daughter whom they loved above all their children next to their sonne the Prince of Castile lately deceased, was forced to depart from them, being affianced a little before the said Princes death, to Emanuell King of Portugale, a yong Prince lately come to the crowne by succession, after the death of the bloodie King of Portugale last deceased, who cruelly caused to be beheaded his wives father, and slew afterward her brother, being elder brother to this King of Portugale now raigning, whom also he held in great feare. He murthured likewise with his owne hand his owne brother as he sate at dinner with him, in the presence of his wife, to the ende he might make a bastard that he had his heire. But having committed these two cruell murthers,* be began to live in great feare and suspicion, and soone after lost his onely sonne, who brake his necke as before you have heard, in passing a carrier upon a gennet: which sonne was this Ladies first husband now mentioned, who married at this present the King of Portugale now raigning, so that she hath bene twice married into Portugale. She is a Ladie as the report goeth, woorthie to be compared in wisdome and vertue, with the woorthiest in the world. But to proceed in the rehearsall of the miseries that hapned to this house of Castile in short space, you shall understand that this King and Queene of Castile (who had lived in such glorie and felicitie till this present, that is to say, he till the fiftieth, and she till the two and fiftieth yeere of their age) had given their daughter in marriage to the King of Portugale for divers respects: first to the ende they might have no enimie in Spaine, which is all under their subjection save Navarre, whereof also they dispose at their pleasure, for they hold fower of the strongest places in it: secondarily, to pacifie by that meanes the contention that was about the said Ladies dowrie and her marriage money: † thirdly, to benefit thereby certaine noble men of Portugale their friends. For you shall understand that divers Lords and gentlemen were banished

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* Understand the two first murthers, of his wives father and brother: for his sonne was dead before he slue his owne brother.

† Understand her dowrie for her first marriage.

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the realme, and had lost all their lands by attainture, at the same time that the King that last died put to death the two Lords above mentioned, the which attainture stood yet in full force: notwithstanding that the onely cause of their attainture was for that they had attempted to make him King of Portugale that now reigneth. These Lords therefore and gentlemen were by meanes of this marriage recompensed in Castile by the King and Queene, and their landes which they had forfeited in Portugale by attainture, assigned to the Queene of Portugale (now mentioned) daughter to the said King and Queene of Castile. But notwithstanding all these considerations, the said King and Queene repented them of this marriage: for you shall understand that there is no nation in the world that the Spaniards hate more than the Portugales, so far forth that they disdain and scorne them: wherefore the said King and Queene lamented much that they had bestowed their daughter upon a man that should not be beloved in the realme of Castile and their other dominions: and if the marriage had been then unmade, they would never have made it, which undoubtedly was a great corrosive to them, yet nothing so great as this, that she should depart from them. Notwithstanding, after all their sorrowes ended, they led their said daughter and sonne in law through all the chiefe cities of their realme, and made the saide King of Portugale to be received for Prince, and their daughter for Princesse, and proclaimed them their successors after their death. Some comfort they received after all these sorrowes, for they were advertised that the said Ladie Princesse of Castile and Queene of Portugale, was great with childe; but this joy proved in the end double grieffe, so that I thinke they wished themselves out of the world: for this Lady whom they so tenderly loved and so much esteemed, died in travell of the saide childe, not past a moneth agone, and wee are nowe in October in the yeere 1498, but the childe liveth* and is called Emanuell after his

* But the child died also afterward, and the crowne of Spaine descended to Iane the second daughter wife to Philip Duke of Austrich, and mother to the Emperor Charles the fift. Further, you shall understand that our authors memorie failed him here: for

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fathers name. All these great misfortunes hapned to them in the space of three moneths. CHAPTER XVII

Now to returne to the estate of Fraunce. You shall understand that about fower or five moneths before the said Ladies death, a great misfortune happened also in this realme: I meane the death of King Charles the eight whereof heereafter you shall heare at large. It seemed therefore that God beheld both these houses with an angrie countenance, and would not that the one realme should scorne the other. For although the death of a Prince seeme but a trifle to many, yet it is sure far otherwise: for change of the Prince never happeneth in any realme, but it traineth with it great sorrowes and troubles; and notwithstanding that some gaine by it, yet an hundred fold more lose, because at an alteration men are forced to change their maner and forme of living: for that that pleaseth one Prince, displeaseth another. Wherefore (as before I have said) if a man will consider the sharpe and sudden punishments that God hath laide upon great Princes within these thirtie yeeres, in Fraunce, Castile, Portugale, England, Naples, Flaunders, and Britaine, he shall finde that they have beene heavier and greivouser than happened in two hundred yeeres before: and whosoever would take in hand to discourse upon all the particular misfortunes that my selfe have seene, and in a manner knowen all the persons as well men as women to whom they happened, should make thereof a huge volume and that of great admiration, yea though it contained onely such as have chanced within these ten yeeres. By these punishments, the power of God ought to be the better knowen, for the plagues he powreth downe upon great personages are sharper, grievouser, and endure longer than those he sendeth to the poorer sort. To conclude therefore, me thinke all things well waighed, that Princes are in no better estate in this world than other men, if they consider by the miseries they see happen to their neighbours what may happen to themselves. For as touching them they chastice

this Princes name was not Emanuel as Commines here writeth, but Michael, according to all good authors and pedegrees both of Spaine and Portugale.

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their subjects at their pleasures, and God disposeth of them at his pleasure, because other than him they have none over them: but happie is the realme that is governed by a Prince that is wise and feareth God and his commandements.

I have briefly rehearsed the misfortunes that happened in three moneths space to these two great and mightie realmes, which not long before were so inflamed the one against the other, so busied in enlarging their dominions, and so little contented with that they alreadie possessed. And notwithstanding that alwaies some (as before I saide) reioice at changes, and gaine by them: yet at the first (even to them) the death, especially the sudden death of their Prince is verie dreadful and dangerous.

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Of the sumptuous building King Charles began a little before his death, of the great desire he had to reforme the Church and himselfe, to diminish his revenues, and to redresse the processes of the lawe: and how he died suddenly in this good mind in his castle of Amboise.



WILL heere cease further to discourse of the affaires of Italie and Castile, and returne to our owne particular sorrowes and troubles in Fraunce, which notwithstanding were pleasant newes happily to those that gained by them. I will write of the sudden death of King Charles the eight, who being in his castel of Amboise, had begun the sumptuousest building, both in the castell and the towne, that any King tooke in hand these hundred

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yeeres, as appeereth by the towers, up to the which men ride on horsebacke, and by the foundation laid in the towne, the platformes whereof were drawn of such exquisitenes, that they well declared it to be a worke of marvellous charge, and that could not have been finished in long time. For you shal understand, that the King had brought with him from Naples, many excellent workemen in all kind of arts, especially gravers and painters, and sure it seemed by the foundation, an enterprize of a yoong King that thought not to die, but hoped of long life: for he joined together all the goodly things that were commended to him, were they in Fraunce, Italy, or Flanders. Further, he continued still desirous to returne into Italie, and confessed that he had committed many errors in his voiage thither, and oftentimes rehearsed them, determining if his fortune were to returne againe and recover his losses; to give better order for the defense of the countrie. The recoverie also whereof (because he had great intelligence in all places) he purposed to attempt, and to send thither fifteen hundred men of armes, Italians, under the leading of the Marquesse of Mantua, the Vrsins, the Vitellies, and the prefect of Rome brother to the Cardinall Saint Peter ad Vincula. Moreover, Monsieur d'Aubigny who had done him so great service in Calabria, was readie to take his journey towards Florence; for the Florentines offered to beare the halfe of these charges for sixe moneths, to the end the King with these forces above mentioned, might first take Pisa,* at the least the small places about it, and then all together enter into the realme of Naples, from whence messengers came daily to him. Alexander the Pope that now is, practised with him, and offered to become his perfect friend; for there was a breach betwene him and the Venetians, so far forth that he sent a secret messenger into Fraunce, whom my selfe conveyed into the Kings chamber a little before his death. The Venetians were ready to practise against Milan: as touching Spaine, you have heard how it was affected to him. The King of Romanes desired nothing so much as his friendship,

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* Understand, to the end he might deliver it to the Florentines.

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and that they two might joine their forces together, to recover that which appertained to them in Italy: for the saide Maximilian was great enimie to the Venetians, because they withhold divers things both from the house of Austrich (whereof he is heire) and also from the empire.*

Moreover, the King was wel disposed a litle before his death to lead his life according to the commandements of God, to reforme al abuses in the law and the Church, and to diminish his receipts and revenues, purposing to levy of his people only twelve hundred thousand franks over and above his demaines, which sum the three estates granted him by way of subsidie at Towers at his first comming to the crowne, and this money he meant to emploie upon the defence of the realme. But as touching himselfe he would have lived upon his demeanes, according to the manner of the ancient Kings of Fraunce, and so might he well have done: for the demeanes are great, yea so great, if they were well ordered, that they surmount a million of franks, certaine customes and subsidies being annexed to them. If this his determination had taken effect, he should thereby much have eased his people, who paie at this present above two millions and a halfe of frankes by way of subsidie. Moreover, he tooke great paines in reforming the abuses of the order of Saint Benet, and other orders of religion: he called neere about him holy religious men, and often heard them preach: he would willingly have brought to passe if he could, that a Bishop should have had but one Bishopricke, and a Cardinall but two, and that the clergie should have beene resident upon their benefices: but it had beene a hard matter to reforme the Church men. He gave great almes to poore people a little before his death, as his confessor the Bishop of Angers (who was a woorthie prelate) enformed me. Lastly, he had built a publike audience where himselfe heard the sutes of all men, especially of the poore, and dispatched many matters: my selfe saw him in this place two houres together but eight daies before his death, which was the last time that ever I saw him: no matters of great importance were dispatched there, but by

* They withhold from the house of Austrich a part of Istria and Furly, and from the empire of Padoa and Veronne.

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this meanes he held men in feare, especially his officers, some also of the which he displaced for extortion and briberie.

But the eight day of Aprill, the yeere 1498 upon Palme Sunday even, the King being in this glorie as touching the world, and in this good minde towards God : departed out of the chamber of Queene Anne Duches of Britaine his wife, leading her with him to see the tennice plaiers in the trenches of the castle, whither he had never led her before, and they two entred together into a gallerie, called Haquelebac gallerie, because the said Haquelebac had in times past held watch and warde in it. It was the uncleanest place about the castle, for everie man made water there, and the entrie into it was broken downe : moreover, the King as he entred, knocked his browe against the doore ; notwithstanding that he were of verie small stature. Afterward he beheld a great while the tennice playing, talking familiarly with all men. My selfe was not present there, but his saide confessor the Bishop of Angers, and those of his chamber that were neerest about him, have enformed me of this I write : for as touching my selfe, I was gone home eight daies before to my house. The last word he spake being in health was, that he hoped never after to commit deadly sin, nor veniall if he could : in uttering the which words he fell backward and lost his speech, about two of the clocke at after noone, and abode in this gallerie till eleven of the clocke at night. Thrise he recovered his speech, but it continued not with him, as the said confessor told me, who had shriven him twice that weeke, once of ordinarie, and once for those that came to be cured of the Kings evill. Every man that listed entred into the gallerie, where he lay upon an olde mattresse of strawe, from the which he never arose till he gave up the ghost, so that nine howers he continued upon it. The saide confessor who was continually by him told me, that all the three times he recovered his speech he cried : My God, and the glorious Virgin Marie, Saint Claude, and Saint Blase helpe me. Thus departed out of this world this mightie puissant Prince in this miserable place, not being able to recover one poore chamber to die in : notwithstanding that he had so many

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goodly houses, and built one so sumptuous at that present. These two examples above rehearsed declare the greatnes of Gods power, and the shortnes and miserie of mans life, which traineth with it great cares, for the purchasing of worldly goods and honors, and shew withall that death is common to all men, the which a Prince can no more avoid than a poore plowman.

CHAPTER XIX

How the holy man Frier Hierom was burned at Florence by the procurement of the Pope, and of divers Florentines and Venetians his enimies.



HAVE told you before in this discourse of our voiage to Naples that there was at Florence a Frier Iacobin called Hierome, who had been resident there the space of fifteen yeeres, being a man famous for his holy life, and whom my selfe saw and communed with in the yeere of our Lord 1495. The said Frier as above is mentioned foretold divers things, and affirmed alwaies that the King should passe over the mountaines into Italy, and preached so openly, saying, that he understood both this and all the other things whereof he spake by revelation. He said further, that the King was chosen of God to reforme the estate of the Church with the sword, and to chastice Tyrants. But bicause he affirmed that he understood these things by revelation, many murmured against him, and he procured himselfe the displeasure of the Pope and of divers others in the towne of Florence. He led the holiest life that any man could leade, as appeered both by his conversation, and also by his sermons, wherein he preached against all kinde of vice, so that he reformed the loose lives of many in

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How the holy man Frier Hierom was burned at Florence by the procurement of the Pope.

the said citie. But in this yeere 1498 about the selfe same time that King Charles ended his life, died also this Frier Hierom, within fower or five daies the one of the other. The cause why I write this unto you, is for that he preached alwaies openly that the King should returne againe into Italy, to execute the commission that God had given him, which was to reforme the Church by the sword, and to chase tyrants out of the countrey; and that in case he did it not, God would punish him cruelly; and all his former sermons, and all that he made at this present he put foorth in print, and they are to be sold. This threatning that he used against the King, saying that God would punish him cruelly unlesse he returned: the said Frier writ also divers times to him before his death, and the like told he me with his owne mouth, when I spake with him at our returne out of Italy, saying that God had pronounced sentence against the King in heaven, unlesse he executed that which he had commanded him, and restrained his men from spoile. Now you shall understand, that about the time of the Kings death, the Florentines were at great variance within the citie: some desired the Kings returne, and waited daily for it, bicause of the great hope Frier Hierom gave them thereof: but in the meane time they consumed themselves and waxed marvellous poore, by reason of the great charges they sustained in hope to recover Pisa, and the other places that they had put into the Kings hands, whereof the Venetians held Pisa. But other some gave advise to take part with the league, and utterly to abandon the King, saying that they were abused, that it was folly to looke for his returne, and that Frier Hierom was an heretike, and a whooremaster, and that it were almes to put him into a sacke, and throwe him into the river; but he was so friended in the towne, that they durst not attempt it. The Pope also and the Duke of Milan writ often against this Frier, offering the Florentines to cause Pisa and their other places to be restored them, if they would depart from their league with the King, and take Frier Hierom and punish him. And by chance at that present a new Seniorie was chosen in Florence, whereof many were enimies to this Frier. For you shall understand that the

THE EIGHT BOOKE OF

CHAPTER XIX

How the holy
man Frier
Hierom was
burned at
Florence by
the procure-
ment of the
Pope.

said Seniorie changeth at every two moneths end. Wherefore the said Hieroms enimies suborned a Frier Franciscan to picke a quarrell to him and call him heretike, affirming that he abused the people, in saying he understood any thing by revelation: for prooffe whereof he offered himselfe to the fire, and these words he spake before the Seniorie. Frier Hierom would not present himselfe to the fire, but a companion of his said, that he would enter into the fire for him: and then another companion of the Frier Franciscans presented himselfe on the other side: whereupon a day was assigned when they should enter into the fire. Upon the which they both came accordingly, accompanied each of them with his covent; but the Iacobine brought the sacrament in his hand, which the Friers Franciscans and the Seniorie also commanded him to lay downe, which he refused to do: wherefore they returned againe to their covents. Then the people mooved by the said Frier Hieroms enimies, went with the Seniories commission and tooke him, with two others of his companions in his covent, and at the very first racked him cruelly; they slue also the chiefest citizen in the towne called Francis Vallorie, because he was the said Friers great friend. Moreover, the Pope sent his commission, whereby he authorized them to make their processe; and in the end they burned them all three. They charged him with these two points onely; first, that he raised discord in the towne: and secondarily, that he understood by his friends of the councill, all that he vaunted to know by revelation. For my part I will neither accuse them, nor excuse them for this deede; neither know I whether they did well or evill, in putting him to death: but sure he told many things that proved true, which he could not receive from the council of Florence. And as touching the King, and the evils he said should happen to him, they came to passe as he prophesied: for first he tolde him, of the Daulphin his sonnes death, and after of his owne, as my selfe can witnesse, for I have seene the letters he writ thereof to the King.

PHILIP DE COMMINES

CHAPTER XX

Of the obsequies and funerals of King Charles the eight, and of the coronation of King Lewis the 12 his successor, with the genealogies of the Kings of Fraunce continuing to the said Lewis.



THE Kings disease was a Catarre or an Apoplexie: his Phisitions hoped it would have fallen down into one of his armes, the losse whereof they somewhat doubted, but feared no whit any danger of death: notwithstanding the contrarie to their expectation hapned. He had fower Phisitions, but gave credit onely to the woorst of them, and that so great, that the others durst not utter their minds: for they would gladly have purged him foure daies before he died, because they saw in his bodie the occasions of his death. Every man ran to the Duke of Orleans, who was to succede him as next heire to the crowne. But King Charles his chamberlaines caused him to be richly buried, and immediatly after his death began solemne service for him, which continued both day and night: for when the canons ended, the Friers Franciscans began; and when they ended the *Bons-hommes*,* which was an order founded by himsele: his body remained at Amboise eight daies, partly in his chamber, which was richly hanged, and partly in the Church. All solemnities belonging to his funerals, were more sumptuous than ever were any King of Fraunce: for his chamberlaines, officers, and those that were ncere about him, never departed from his bodie till it was laid in the ground, which was about a moneth after his death, all the which space this solemne service continued; so that the charges of his funerals amounted to five and fortie thousands

* This was an order of religion devised by the King.

THE EIGHT BOOKE OF

CHAPTER XX

Of the obsequies and funerals of King Charles the eight, and of the coronation of King Lewis the 12 his successor, with the genealogies of the Kings of Fraunce.

franks, as divers of the receit have informed me. I arrived at Amboise two daies after his death, and went to say my praiers over his body, where I abode five or sixe howers. And to say the truth, I never saw so great mourning, and lamentation, nor that continued so long for any Prince as for him : and no marvel ; for he had bestowed upon those that were neere about him, namely his chamberlaines, and ten or twelve gentlemen of his privie chamber, greater offices and gifts than ever did King of Fraunce, yea, too great to say the truth. Besides that, he was the mildest and courteousest Prince that ever lived ; for I thinke he never gave foule word to any man : wherefore in better hower could he not die, both to leave his fame behinde him in histories, and to be bewailed of those that served him. And I thinke verily, that my selfe am the man whom of all other he used roughliest, but bicause I knew it to be the fault of his youth and not to procede of himselfe, I could never love him the worse for it.

After I had staid one night at Amboise, I went to the newe King, with whom I had beene more familiar than any man : and further, for his sake had sustained all my troubles and losses, which now he seemed little to remember : notwithstanding with great wisdome he tooke possession of the crowne, for he changed no pensions that yeere, though halfe the yeere were yet to come, neither displaced many officers, but said that he would maintaine every man in his estate ; whereby he wan great honor. Moreover, with all speede possible he went to his coronation, whereat my selfe was present. And these that follow represented the peeres of Fraunce. The first was the Duke of Alençon, who represented the Duke of Burgundie ; the second the Duke of Bourbon, who represented the Duke of Normandie ; the third the Duke of Lorraine, who represented the Duke of Guienne. The first Earle was Philip Lord of Ravastaine, who represented the Earle of Flaunders ; the second Engilbert of Cleves, who represented the Earle of Champaine ; the third the Earle of Foix, who represented the Earle of Tholouze. And the said King Lewis the twelfth now raigning, was crowned at Reims the 27 of Maie, the yeere 1498, and is the fourth that hath come to the crowne by

PHILIP DE COMMINES

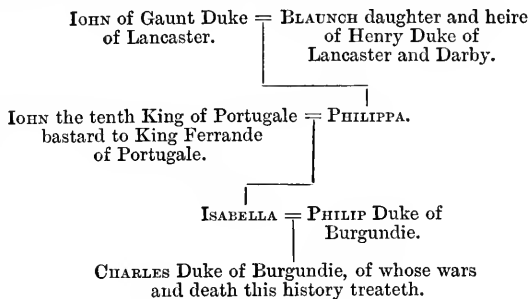
collaterall line. The two first were Charles Martell, or Pepin his sonne, and Hugh Capet, who were both of them Masters of the pallace or governors of those Kings, whom they deposed from the crowne, which afterward themselves usurped ; the third was King Philip of Valois ; and the fourth the King that now reigneth : but these two latter came to the crowne by just and lawfull title. The first genealogie of the Kings of Fraunce beginneth at Meronee : two Kings had reigned in Fraunce before the said Meronee, namely Pharamond, who was first chosen King of Fraunce (for his predecessors were called Dukes or Kings of Gaule) and his sonne Claudio. The said Pharamond was chosen King the yeere of grace 420 and reigned ten yeeres, and his sonne Claudio eighteene, so that these two Kings reigned eight and twentie yeeres : and Meronee who succeeded next after, was not sonne, but cosen to the said Claudio. Wherefore it seemeth that the right line of the Kings of Fraunce had failed five times : notwithstanding (as before I said) men begin the first line at Meronee, who was crowned King in the yeere of our Lord 448, from the which time to the coronation of King Lewis the twelfth are numbred 1050 yeeres. But if you reckon from Pharamond, you must adde eight and twentie more, which make 1078 yeeres since there was first King of Fraunce. From Meronee to the raigne of Pepin (when the line of the said Meronee failed) are numbred 333 yeeres. From Pepin to Hugh Capet reigned the true line of the said Pepin, and Charlemaine his sonne, the space of 237 yeeres. The right line of Hugh Capet reigned 339 yeeres, and ended in King Philip of Valois : and the right line of the said King Philip of Valois continued till the death of King Charles the eight, which hapned in the yeere of our Lord 1498. The said King Charles was the last of this line, the which had continued 169 yeeres, during the which space, these seven Kings reigned in Fraunce, Philip of Valois, King Iohn, Charles the fifth, Charles the sixth, Charles the seventh, Lewis the eleventh, and Charles the eight, in whom the right line of Philip of Valois ended.

CHAPTER XX

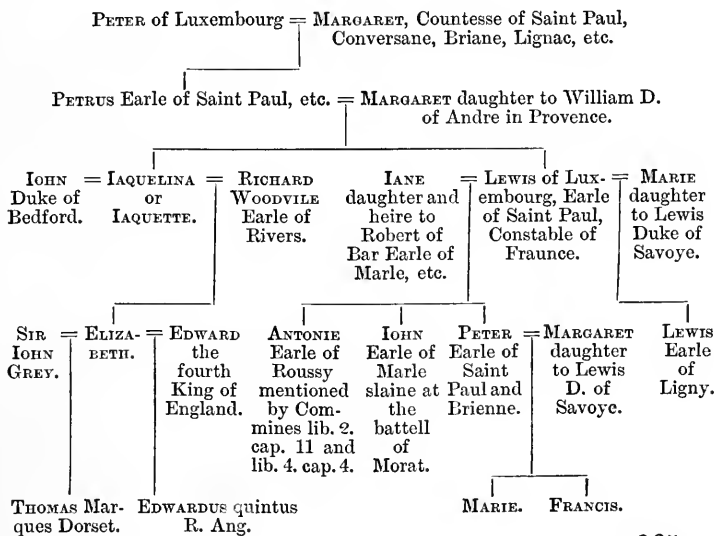
Of the obsequies and funerals of King Charles the eight, and of the coronation of King Lewis the 12 his successor, with the genealogies of the Kings of Fraunce.

PHILIP DE COMMINES

How CHARLES Duke of Burgundie was of the house
of LANCASTER as Commines mentioneth
Lib. 1. Cap. 5, and in other places.



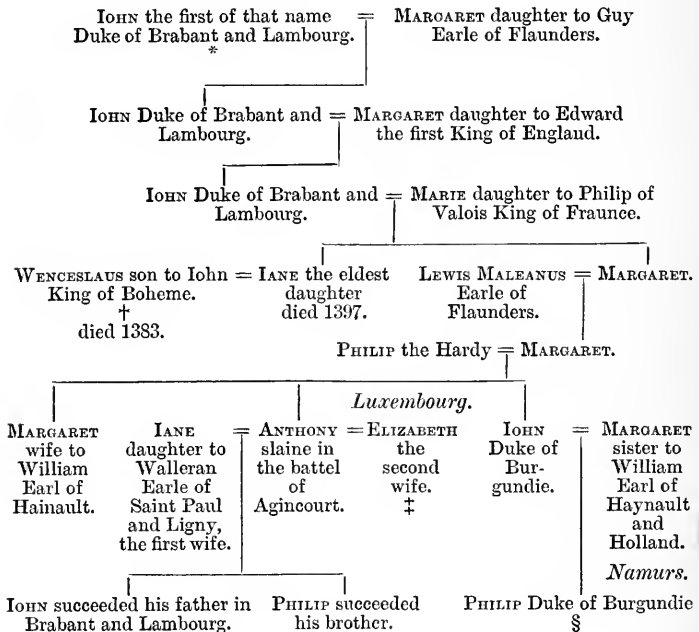
How ELIZABETH wife to King EDWARD the fourth, was
nee to the CONSTABLE of FRAUNCE, as mentioneth
Communes Lib. 4. Cap. 5.



THE HISTORIE OF

HOW BRABANT, LAMBURG, LUXEMBURG and NAMURS
came to PHILIP Duke of Burgundie, as mentioneth
 Commines Lib. 4. Cap. 13.

Brabant. Lambourg.



PHILIP DE COMMINES

* Lambourg was erected into a Duchie 1172, and Henrie the last Duke thereof (who died without issue 1293) sold it to Iohn the first of that name Duke of Brabant. But Henrie Earle of Luxembourg father to Henrie the Emperor, the Bishop of Colyn, and one called the Earle Ghelric invaded the Duchie of Lambourg. With them Duke Iohn fought neere to the castle of Voronc, and tooke the Earle Ghelric (who pretended title to Lambourg) and the Bishop of Colin prisoners: the Earle of Luxembourg with two of his brethren was slaine, the castell of Voronc razed, since the which time, Lambourg hath remained quiet under the Dukes of Brabant.

† Wenceslaus succeeded Iohn Duke of Brabant, but he died 1383, without issue, and after his wife dying ann. 1397, left Brabant and Lambourg to Anthonie second sonne to Philip the Hardie, the said Ianes grand nephew by Margaret hir yoonger sister, after whose death and his two sons Iohn and Philp, Brabant and Lambourg descended to Philip Duke of Burgundie, as mentioneth Commines in the place above rehearsed.

‡ Elizabeth second wife to Anthonie Duke of Brabant, was daughter to Iohn Duke of Gorlic, brother to the Emperors Wenceslaus and Sigismundus, who partly in respect of this marriage, partly for money gave to Duke Anthonie the Duchie of Luxembourg, but after his death, they and William Duke of Saxonie, who had married Sigismundus daughters daughter, sought to dispossesse her of it: but Duke Philip of Burgundie ever defended her, and after her death succeeded her as well by her gift as also as heire to Duke Anthonie, (his two sonnes being dead) who had paid money to Wenceslaus and Sigismund for it: afterward also Charles Duke of Burgundie bought the title of Isabella (wife to Cassimirus King of Polonia, and neece to the Emperor Sigismund) to the Duchie of Luxembourg to hold it without quarrell.

§ As touching Namurs Duke Philip bought it for his money of divers that pretended title to it, especially of Iohn Earle of Namur, who sold it to Duke Philip under condition to hold it during his life, which happened anno 1428.

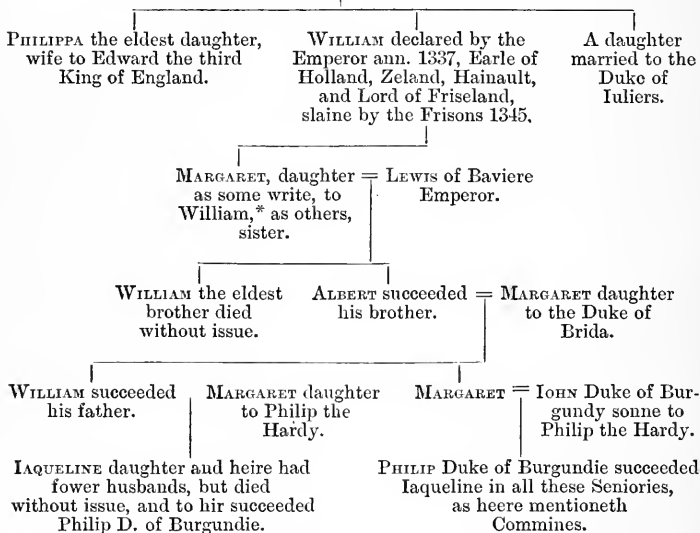
THE HISTORIE OF

How HOLLAND, HAINAULT, and ZELAND came to Duke PHILIP, as mentioneth

Communes Lib. 4. Cap. 13, where also the Queenes Majesties title to the said countries is somewhat touched.

Holland, Hainault, Zeland.

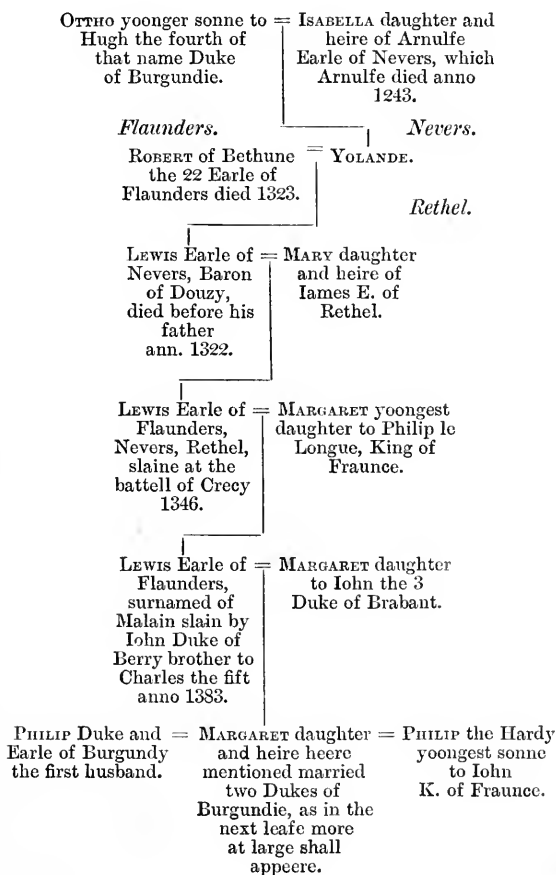
WILLIAM Earle of Holland, = IANE sister to Philip of Valois
Hainault, and Zeland. after K. of Fraunce.



* This Margaret Guicchiardin writeth to have bene daughter to William the younger Earle of Hainault, Holland and Zeland, but *Annales Genealogiques France* say that she was sister not daughter to William, as do also other most approved Authors. And if she were but sister, then the Queenes Majestie being descended of Philippa the said Williams eldest sister, is right heire of all these countries. Meyerus lib. 12. fol. 140 pag. 2, and fol. 147 pag. 1, saith, that Margaret was sister not daughter to Duke William, which also is the more manifestly proved, because the wife of this William was Iane the eldest daughter to Iohn Duke of Brabant, who over-lived her husband, and after married Wenceslaus brother to the Emperor Charles the fourth: which woman never had issue, yet finde we no mention of any other wife that William the younger Earle of Hainault had.

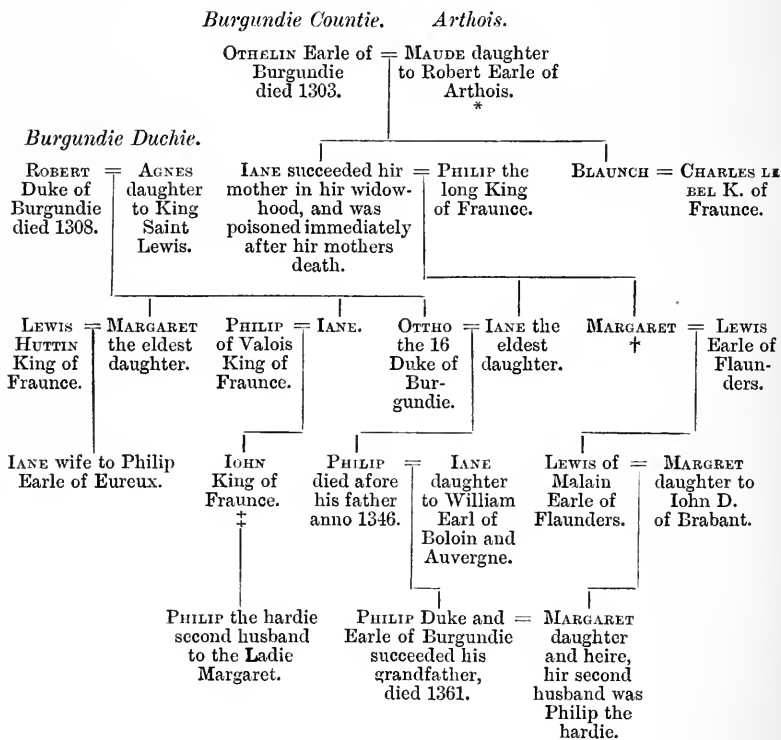
PHILIP DE COMMINES

How MARGARET of Flaunders was heire of Flaunders, Nevers and Rethel, *as mentioneth* Commines Lib. 4. Cap. 13, and Lib. 5. Cap. 11, the which Margaret married with Philip the Hardy, yongest sonne to Iohn King of Fraunce.



THE HISTORIE OF

How ARTHOIS and the COUNTY of BURGUNDY descended to the said *Lady MARGARET above mentioned*, and how she married two Dukes of Burgundy, and how Philip the Hardy hir second husband obtained the Duchy of Burgundie after the death of Philip Duke of Burgundie hir first husband.



PHILIP DE COMMINES

* Touching the title of Arthois this is to be observed, that Robert Earle of Arthois father to Maude, had a sonne named Philip, who died before his father, and left behinde him a sonne named Robert Earle of Beumont, who after his grandfathers death demanded the countrey of Arthois: but this Maude by favor of the French King obtained it, because she was adjudged neerer heire to the Earle Robert being his daughter, than the Earle of Beumont being his sonnes sonne: for spite whereof, the Earle of Beumont revolted to the King of England, of him are descended the Earles of Eu.

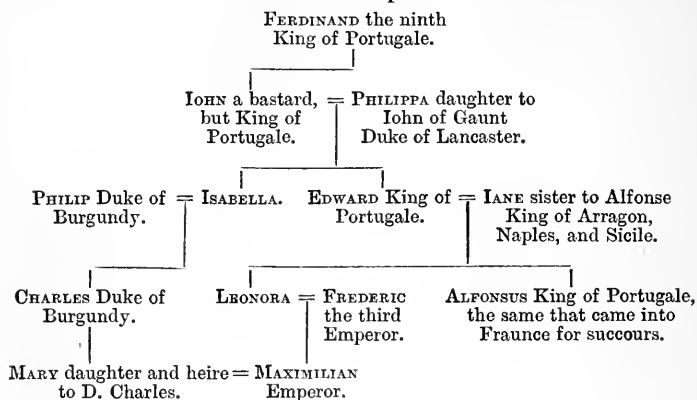
† This Margaret being in her widdowhood, succeeded in Arthois and the Countie of Burgundie to Philip hir sister Ianes sonnes sonne, and husband to Margaret hir sonnes daughter, to whom after hir death the said Segnories descended.

‡ Touching the Duchie of Burgundie, note that after the death of Philip Duke of Burgundie, nephew to Ottho the 16 Duke of Burgundie, King Iohn of Fraunce being sonne to Iane the said Otthos yoonger sister, seized the Duchie of Burgundie into his hands, excluding Iane daughter to Margaret the elder sister as suspected of bastardie, and after gave the said Duchie to his yoongest sonne Philip the hardie for his advancement in marriage with the Ladie Margaret of Flaunders.

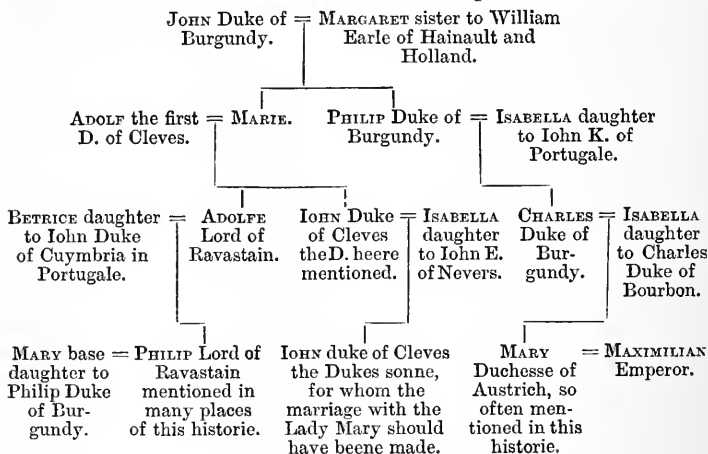
THE HISTORIE OF

How the King of PORTUGALE was cosin germane
to the Duke of BURGUNDY, *as is mentioned*

Lib. 5. Cap. 7.

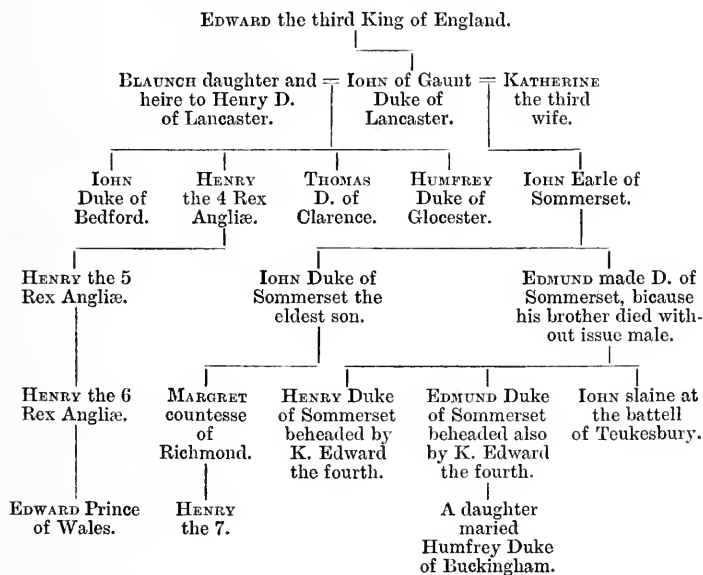


How the Dukè of CLEVES was the Lady of
BURGUNDIES neerest kinsman by his mother,
as is mentioned Lib. 5. Cap. 16.



PHILIP DE COMMINES

How King HENRY the 7 was right heire of the house of LANCASTER, *contrary to Commines who affirmeth the contrary* Lib. 5. cap. 18, together with the excuse of Commines error.

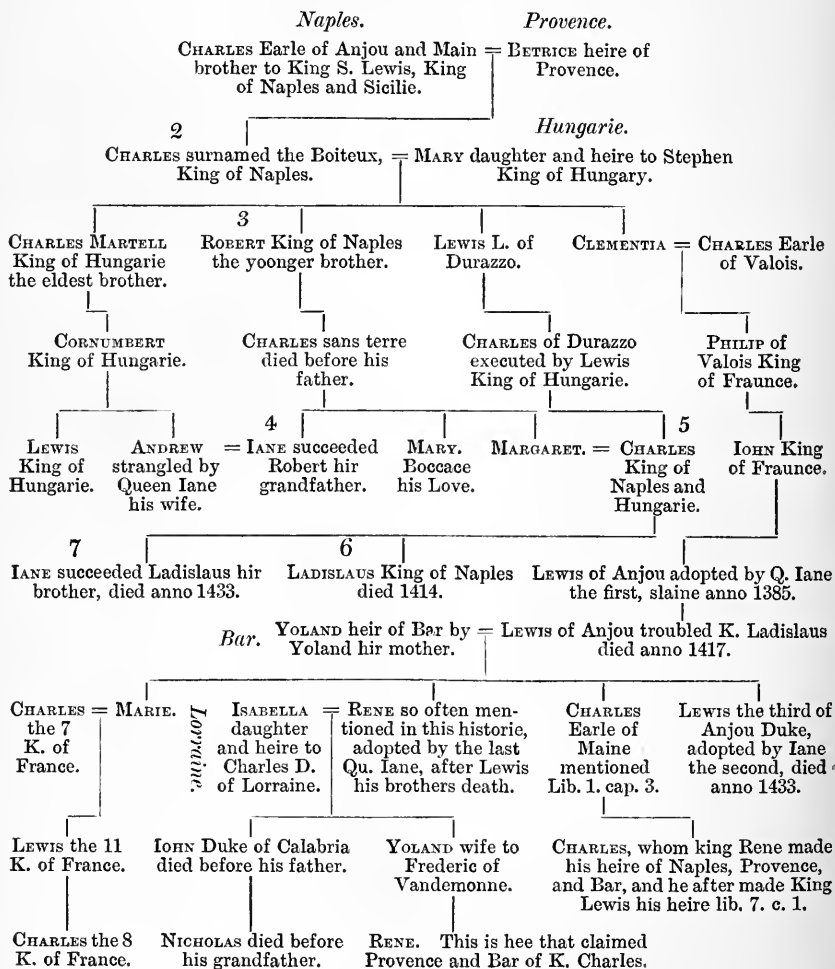


The excuse of Commines error.

The line of Henrie the fourth being failed in Prince Edward, the right of the house of Lancaster came to the house of Sommerset, as heere is set forth: but after the death of Iohn Duke of Sommerset, who died without heire male, Edmund his brother was made Duke of Sommerset. Wherefore Commines knowing Henry the 7 to claime the right of the house of Lancaster as heire of the house of Sommerset, and seeing others to be Dukes of Sommerset and not him: supposed them to be of the elder house to him; yet notwithstanding was Henry the 7 neerer heire than they, being by his mother descended of the elder brother, though they being of the male line obtained the title of Sommerset before him. But this in my fansie bred Commines error, and thus much in his excuse.

THE HISTORIE OF

The title the Duke of LORRAINE had to the realme of Sicilie, countie of Provence, and Duchy of Bar, *mentioned by Commines Lib. 7. Cap. 1,* and the Kings title thereto: together with the whole quarrell betweene the house of Arragon and Anjou: and why the house of Anjou had the best title, as mentioneth Commines Lib. 8. Cap. 16.



PHILIP DE COMMINES

Heereby appeereth that the Duke of Lorraine had the best title to Provence, as heire to Lewis the first of that name Duke of Anjou, to whom Queene Iane gave it : to Naples likewise as heire to the house of Anjou, by being daughters some to Rene, to whom Queene Iane the second left it by hir last will and testament, of Bar he was heire as heire to Yolande his great grandmother : and as touching the testaments of the two first Charles Kings of Naples, who, as it is alleaged, so united Provence, that it could not be severed from the realme of Naples, nor descend to the heire female as long as a male was living. First, the example of Queene Iane who succeeded Robert hir grandfather divers males living, prooveth there was never any such testament : besides that, King Charles was no more heire male to those Kings than the Duke of Lorraine, for they both descended of them by a woman, namely Clementia, wife to Charles of Valois. So that the King had no colour to Naples or Provence, but at this day the whole title of the house of Anjou thereto, resteth in the now Duke of Lorraine, who is lineally descended of King Rene. Lastly, the reason whereupon Commines groundeth the house of Anjous title to the realme of Naples to be best : is onely bicause Lewis of Anjou was made heire thereof by Queene Ianes last testament, which revoketh all former testaments.

The storie of this pedigree of Naples and Sicilie.

1. Charles brother to Saint Lewis King of Fraunce obtained Provence by marriage of Betrice daughter to Raymond, or Robert, or Berengarius Earle of Provence, who made hir his heire, though she were his younger daughter, after Urbanus the fourth Pope of Rome called him into Italy against Manfredus King of Naples and Sicilie, whom Charles slew in battell, and after beheaded Conradinus also, who quarreled the realmes of Naples and Sicily : but soone after Peter King of Arragon, who had married King Manfridus daughter, revolted Sicilie from him, slew all the French men in an evening, and possessed Sicilie, as his posteritie namely King Philip doth yet at this day. Charles was crowned King of Naples by Urbane the fourth, anno 1255, and after confirmed by Clement the fourth, and died anno 1274.

2. Charles his sonne in his fathers time seeking to recover Sicilie, was taken prisoner by King Peters forces, and carried into Arragon, where he should have beene executed in revenge of Conradinus death (as 200 gentlemen and nobles taken with him were) had not Constance King Peters wife saved his life : after he was restored to Naples, paying for his raunsome 30000 marks, and married the daughter and heire of Stephen King of Hungarie, by whom he had nine sonnes and five daughters, whose ofspring looke in Onufrius pag. 309, he died anno 1319. These two Kings are they that our author mentioneth lib. 7. cap. 1, that were said to have made testaments that Provence could not be severed from the realme of Naples, nor descend to the female

THE HISTORIE OF

as long as there was an heire male living, which appeereth to be false in the example of Queene Iane.

3. Robert King of Naples crowned by Clement the fift, died without issue male anno 1342, and left his realme to Iane his sonnes daughter, under condition that she should marrie Andrew yoonger sonne to Cornumbert King of Hungarie hir cosin germain removed: here is to be observed that this Robert was yoonger sonne to King Charles, but the said king gave to Charles his eldest sonne his realme of Hungarie, and Naples to this Robert. In his time lived Petrarcha and Boccace.

4. Iane daughter to Charles sans terre succeeded hir grandfather Robert, and married Andrew sonne to the king of Hungarie as hir said grandfather had appointed, whom within three yeeres she strangled: whereupon Lewis king of Hungarie his brother came into Italy, chased Q. Iane out of Naples, executed Charles of Durazzo as consenting to his brothers death, and carried Charles his sonne with him into Hungarie; after whose departure, Iane by helpe of Pope Clement returned and recovered Naples, but after she fell out with Pope Urbanus the sixt, who chased hir into Provence, where she adopted Lewis of Anjou sonne to King Iohn of Fraunce, and so returned to Naples, against whom the Pope called out of Hungarie Charles sonne to Charles of Durazzo, who recovered Naples, but Provence Lewis enjoyed: she was hanged anno 1381.

5. Charles (sonne to Charles of Durazzo beheaded) was led prisoner into Hungarie by king Lewis, as before is mentioned, after whose death, he succeeded him in Hungarie as his next heire male: he was invested King of Naples by Urbane the sixt against Queene Iane, whom he took prisoner anno 1381, and hung at the same window she had hung hir husband, and beheaded also Marie Queene Ianes sister (whom Boccace was enamored of) as consenting to hir sisters husbands death: he slew in battell anno 1385, Lewis of Anjou, adopted by Queene Iane, after he fell at variance with Pope Urbane. He was slaine in Hungarie by the treason of the old Queene King Lewis his wife and hir daughter at a feast, anno 1386, his wife was Margaret Queene Ianes sister.

6. Ladislaus lost Hungarie by his fathers murther, but was at length received and crowned king of Naples by Pope Boniface the ninth, anno 1390, and then he chased Lewis the second out of Italy, who after his fathers death was come thither and had got some part of the realme. After Ladislaus fell out with Alexander the fift, and tooke Rome, whereupon the Pope gave the realme of Naples to Lewis of Anjou, who returned and vanquished Ladislaus and recovered Rome, but not knowing how to use the victorie, Ladislaus recovered himselfe, forced Lewis to retire into Fraunce, and then againe tooke Rome, and died anno 1414.

7. Iane the second succeeded hir brother Ladislaus, after she fell out with the Pope, who called Lewis of Anjou the third of that name against hir, then she adopted Alfonse of Arragon, who chased Lewis

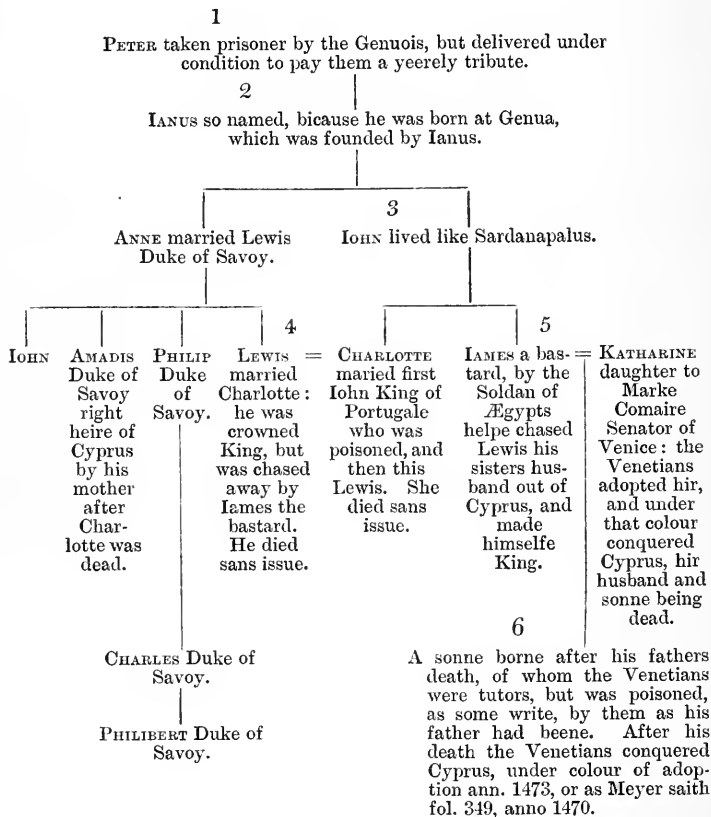
PHILIP DE COMMINES

out of Italie, but Alfonse and she falling at variauce, she adopted Lewis of Anjou hir enimie, who recovered Naples, anno 1424, and raigned with hir till anno 1432, or 1433, when they both died : and then she made Rene brother to Lewis his heire : but he being then prisoner with Philip Duke of Burgundie, could not come to Naples, and then Alfonse being dismissed out of prison by Philip Maria Duke of Milan, where he was also prisoner at the same time, prevailed and conquered Naples, and was invested by Pope Eugenius. Since the which time the Anjouins have but quarrelled Naples, and as for the succession of this Alfonse, you shall see it in the last pedegree in the end of this worke.

THE HISTORIE OF

Why the Venetians had no right to the realme
of Cyprus, *as Commines writeth*

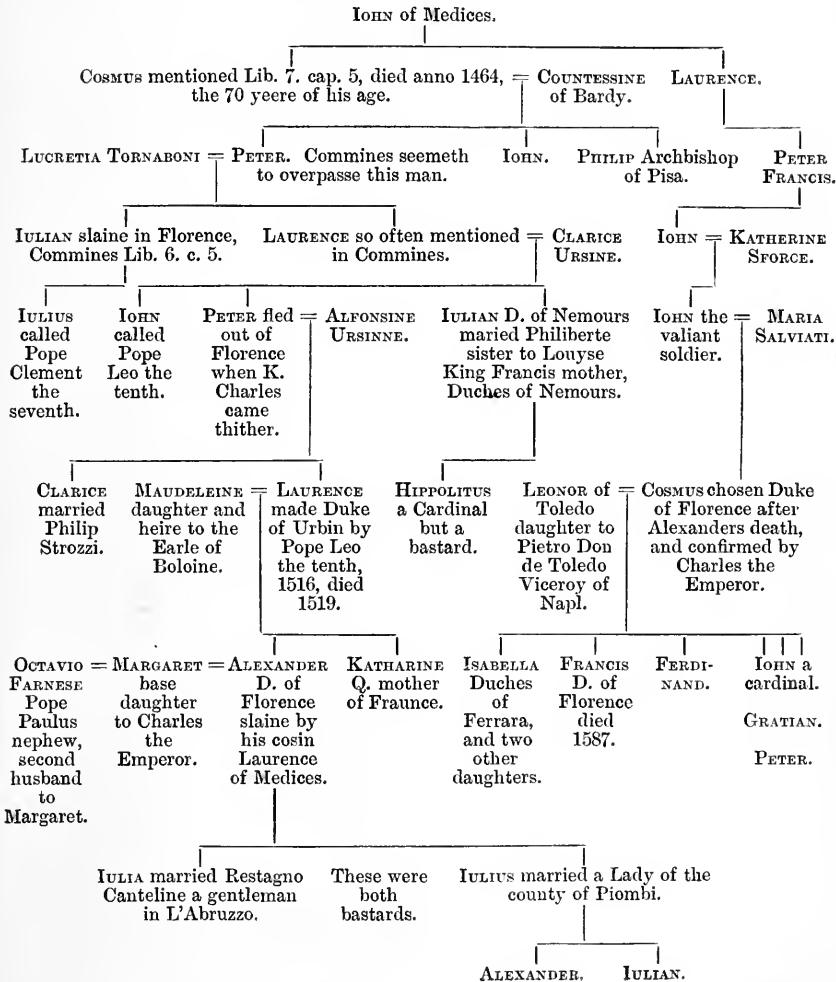
Lib. 7. Cap. 4.



Heereby appeereth that the Duke of Savoy hath the right to Cyprus, not the Venetians: for Iames husband to their adopted daughter was a bastarde and an usurper: and their adopted daughter a stranger to the crowne, and could pretend no title to it, *Sed malè parta, malè dilabuntur.*

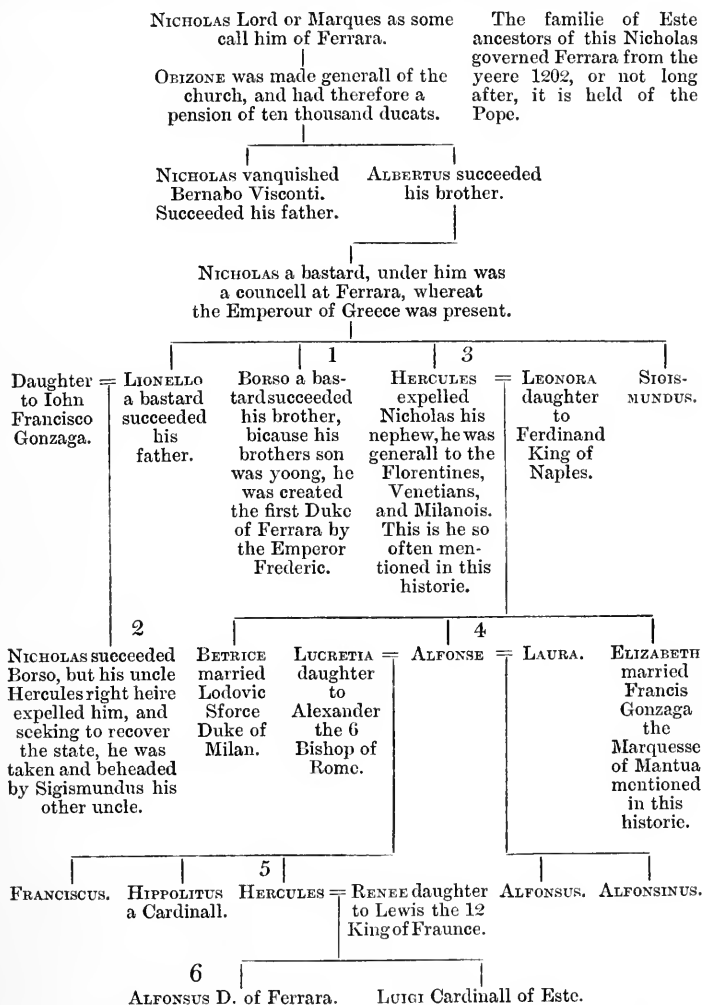
PHILIP DE COMMINES

The house of MEDICES, whereof so ample mention *is made*
 Lib. 7. Cap. 5.



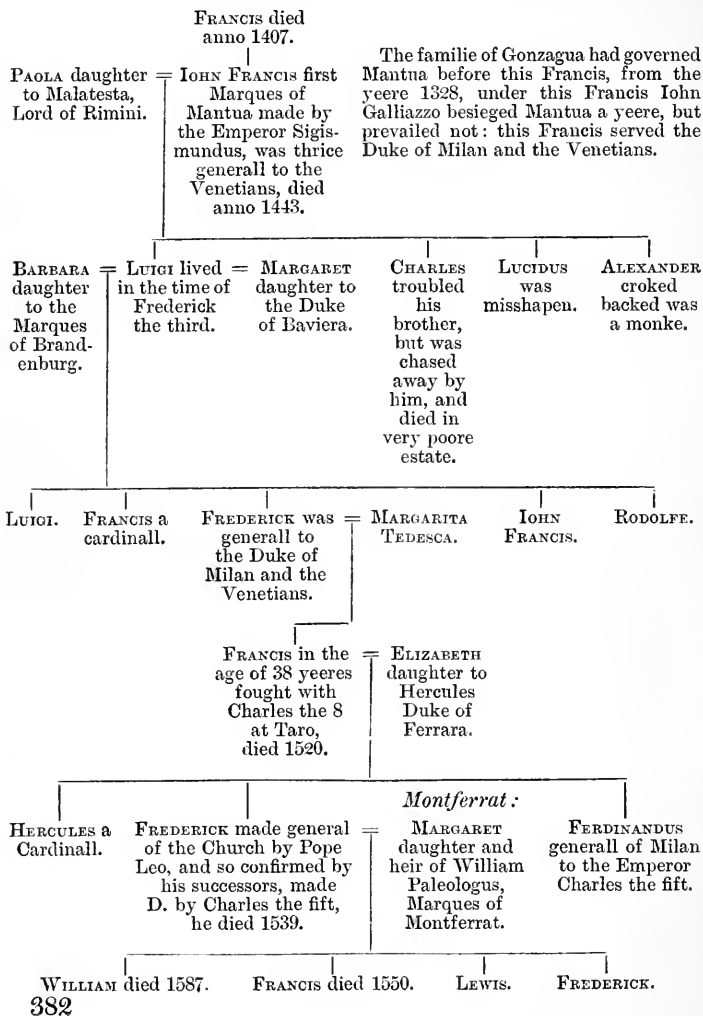
PHILIP DE COMMINES

The pedegree of HERCULES Duke of Ferrara, of whom *so often mention is made in this historie.*



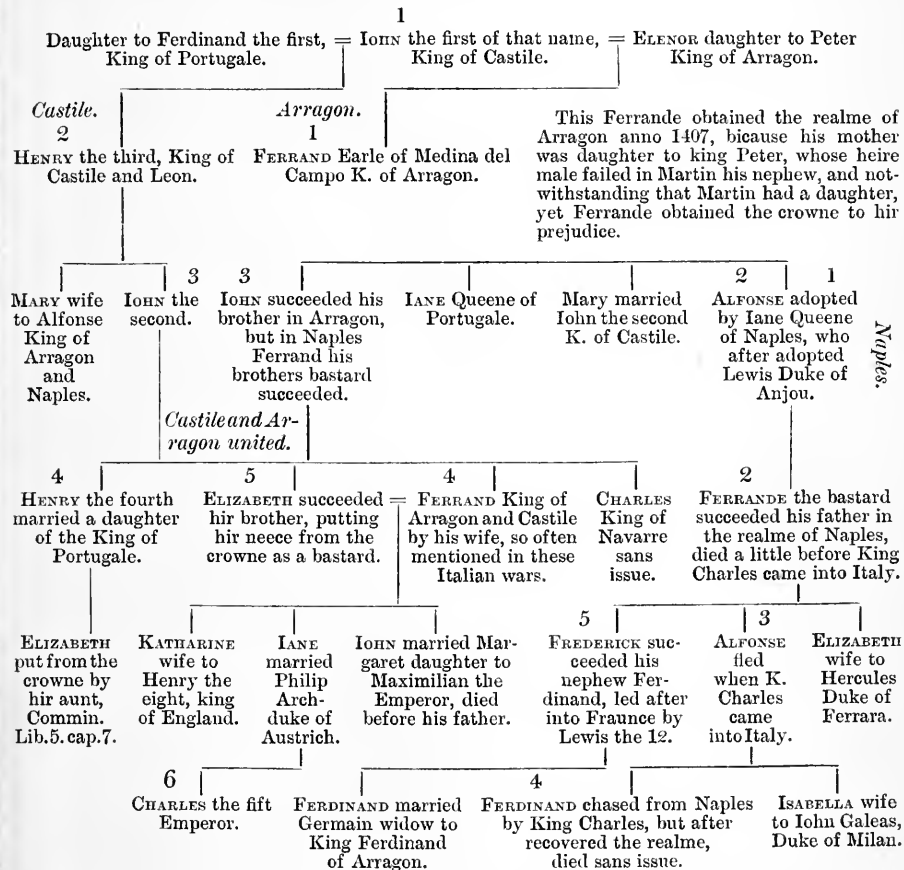
THE HISTORIE OF

The pedegree of FRANCIS Marques of Mantua,
so often mentioned in this historie.



PHILIP DE COMMINES

How FERDINAND King of Arragon had more right to the realme of Naples than the Kings of the house of Arragon that possessed it, as writeth Commines Lib. 8. Cap. 17.



The King of Spaine had better right to Naples, than Alfonse that possessed it when King Charles came into Italie, because Alfonses father was a bastard, and king Ferrands father being the first Alfonses brother, ought to have succeeded him before his base sonne. Further, you shall understand, that after Frederick was led into Fraunce by Lewis the 12 the said K. Lewis eniojed Naples, but within fower yeeres Ferrande king of Arragon by the great captaine Consalvo chased King Lewis out of the realme, and left it to his nephew Charles the Emperor, from whom the French K. could never recover it: but at this day it is in the possession of the King of Spaine sonne to the said Emperor Charles.



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