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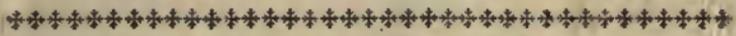
THE
HISTORY
OF
ITALY,

Written in *Italian* by

FRANCESCO GUICCIARDINI,

A Nobleman of *Florence*.

IN TWENTY BOOKS.



Translated into ENGLISH by the

Chevalier AUSTIN PARKE GODDARD,

Knight of the Military Order of *St. Stephen*.



V O L . II.

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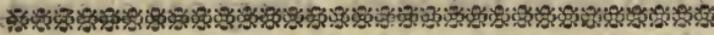
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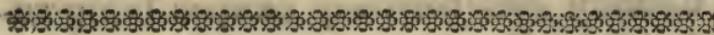
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Francesco Guicciardini's
H I S T O R Y
 O F
The WARS in ITALY.



B O O K III.



T H E C O N T E N T S.

The Venetians give Assistance to the Pisans. Preparations in France for another Expedition into Italy. Quarrels between the Guelf and Ghibelline Parties. Maximilian Cæsar invited into Italy by the Duke of Milan. The Death of Ferdinando King of Naples. The War between the Pope and the Orsini. A Plot of Piero de Medici defeated. The Execution of Savonarola.

T H E dishonourable Return of
 the *French King* to the other
 side of the *Alps*, tho' it had
 proceeded rather from Indiscretion and

A. D.
 1495.

A. D.

1495

ill-weighed Counsels, than from the Puffillanimity, or Weakness of his Forces, gave great Hopes to the People, that *Italy* would be restored to its pristine Tranquillity, and intirely freed from the insolent Dominion of the *French*. The Conduct of the *Venetians*, and the Duke of *Milan's* Resolution and Wisdom were cried up to the Skies. Every one allowed, that it was through their Means so fine a Country had narrowly escaped being enslaved by Foreigners. The People's Expectations of a lasting Prosperity were justly grounded; but their Deliverers, blinded by ambitious Views, and which in the End proved hurtful to themselves, infamously sacrificed the Public Good to Private Interest, and instead of confirming and establishing by their Counsels and Arms the peaceable Prospect they had procured, made use of their Power to bring farther Calamities on their Country. Ambition, which would not suffer them to remain contented within their proper Bounds, soon threw every thing again into Confusion, and prevented their reaping the Fruits of a Victory they had afterwards

THE WARS IN ITALY. 5

wards obtained against the *French* who ^{A. D.} were left in the Kingdom of *Naples*: A ^{1495.} Victory made easy, through the Negligence of *Charles*, and the Weakness of his Counsels; for his Army was not supplied with Provisions, and was disappointed of the Succours promised by the *Florentines*.

Lodovico laid no Strefs on this Peace; he well knew how he had offend- ed the King, and that the nature of his Offence was such, that he should never be forgiven. It had been purely out of a Desire of recovering *Novara*, and freeing his own Territory from the *French*, that he had been induced to promise what he never intended to perform; nor is there any Reason to doubt but that the *Venetians* gave their Consent to this Peace, only because it relieved them from the immense Expence they were at in the *Novarese*. However *Lodovico* did not think proper as yet to declare his Mind, but wait till a rea- sonable Opportunity offered; and there- fore fulfilled all those Articles of the Capitulation, which might be said to be

A. D. 1495. in his immediate Power to comply with.
 He gave Hostages, set the Prisoners at Liberty, paying their Ransom to the Captors with his own Money, restored the Ships taken at *Rapalle*, removed *Eracassa* from *Pisa*, as he could no longer conceal his acting there under his Direction; and within the Month delivered the *Castelletto* of *Genoa* to the Duke of *Ferrara*, who went in Person to receive it. But on the other hand, he left *Lucio Malvezzo* in *Pisa* with a good Body of Troops, pretending he was in the *Genoese* Pay, and permitted two armed Vessels to sail from *Genoa* to *Naples* for *Ferdinando's* Service; excusing himself, that they were equipped before the Peace, and that now he had not a sufficient Power to hinder the *Genoese* from taking their own Course: He also secretly persuaded them not to send the Hostages. But what mostly contributed to the Loss of the Castles of *Naples*, was the Delay which he artfully procured to be made in sending out the Six Ships which were destined for their Succour. For as soon as the King had armed his Four Ships, and *Lodovico* the

THE WARS IN ITALY.

the Two he had engaged for, he prevailed on the *Genoese* to pretend to be alarmed, and oppose their being manned with *French* Soldiers, unless the King would give Security, that the Ships should be restored them, and that they should not be employed against themselves. *Charles* made heavy Complaints to *Lodovico* of these Proceedings: His Answer was, that he had fulfilled his Engagement by arming his Two Vessels, for no mention was then made that *French* Troops were to be put on board them; and as the Command he had in *Genoa* was not absolute, but limited, it was not in his Power to oblige the *Genoese* to act in every thing as he pleased; and more especially in what they pretended had an immediate Tendency to endanger their Liberties and Safety. To give a greater Force to these Excuses, he prevailed on the Pope to order the *Genoese* and himself, under Pain of Excommunication, not to let any armed Vessel belonging to the *French* go out of the Port of *Genoa*. These were the Means by which the *French* in *Naples* were frustrated of their chief Succour.

7
A. D.

1495.

A. D.

1495.

L O D O V I C O obstructed likewise the Assistance they expected from the *Florentines*, both of Men and Money; for as soon as the Treaty before-mentioned was signed at *Turin*, *Guido Antonio Vespucci* one of the *Florentine* Ambassadors, set out with all Expedition with the Articles; but in passing through the Dutchy of *Milan*, where he imagined himself secure, as his Masters had been neuter, he was stopped by the Duke's Order at *Alexandria*, rifled of all his Papers, and brought to *Milan*. At the Time the *French* quitted *Pisa*, the *Pisans* had sent to the *Venetians* and the Duke of *Milan* to implore their Assistance, and now, with the Approbation of all the Ministers of the Allies, they came to a Resolution, not to suffer *Pisa* to fall into the Hands of the *Florentines*; for on Perusal of the *Turin* Treaty, they found, that as soon as *Pisa* and its Territory were reduced, the *Florentines* engaged to provide the *French* in the Kingdom of *Naples* with Men and Money. They were all apprehensive that the *Florentines* would become too powerful with

THE WARS IN ITALY.

with the Acquisition of *Pisa*, and that their Union with *France*, when they were disengaged from a *Pisan* War; might endanger the Liberties of *Italy*.

9
A. D.

1495.

BUT the principal View, both of the *Venetians* and *Lodovico*, was to get *Pisa* into their own Possession. The last had long since a Design on that State; and the *Venetians*, at the Dissolution of the formidable League made against them, began to entertain Thoughts and Hopes of making themselves Sovereigns of *Italy*, and imagined *Pisa* a very proper Place to begin with, on account of the Conveniency of the Haven of *Livorno*, which they knew could not be long preserved by the *Florentines*, unless they were Masters of *Pisa*; and this Port would give them the Command of the *Mediterranean*, and the City of *Pisa* an easy Inlet into *Tuscany*.

BUT the Duke of *Milan* was beforehand with them, and at the very Time he was amusing the *Florentines* with vain Hopes of his Concurrence into their Measures,

A. D. 1495. Measures, he ordered his General *Fracassa*, who had an Estate in the *Pisani*, to go thither under a Pretence of looking after his Affairs; and from *Genoa* he sent a fresh Supply of Troops.

THE *Pisani* were likewise fed with Hopes by the *Venetians*, who dispatched one of their Secretaries to *Genoa*, to intreat that Republic not to abandon the *Pisani*, and to levy Men: But they proceeded very slow in sending them, thinking, perhaps, that whilst the Citadel was in Possession of the *French*, who were still in *Piedmont*, there was no great Foundation to be laid on their Project.

As soon as the *Florentines* had heard of the Treaty being signed at *Turin*, they augmented their Forces, to be in a Condition of obliging the *Pisani* to comply immediately with the King's Orders when the Treaty should arrive; which being retarded by the Seizure of their Ambassador, they were determined to lose no Time, but took the Castle of *Palais*, and then encamped before *Vico Pisano*. But either through

THE WARS IN ITALY.

11

through Misconduct, or for want of a sufficient Force to act on the Side of *Pisa*, where the *Pisans* had erected a Fort, they miscarried in the Siege of this Place. They invested it from *Bientina*, from whence they could do little Damage, for the Town kept an open Communication with *Pisa* and *Cascina*. Another Cause of their ill Success was owing to *Pagolo Vitelli*, who, after receiving Three Thousand Ducats from the *Pisans*, entered *Vico* with his own and his Brother's Regiment, pretending to have received Letters from the King, and from the General of *Languedoc* (Brother to the Cardinal of *St. Malo*) who lay sick at *Pietra Santa*, to protect *Pisa* and its Territory till he received contrary Orders. It appeared very surprizing, that the *Pisans* should be protected by the *French* and *Milanese* Forces at the same Time, and be also encouraged by the *Venetians*, whilst that Senate and the Duke of *Milan* were in open War with the King of *France*. *Vitelli's* Reinforcement secured the Town, and the Artillery did such Execution amongst the *Florentines*, who lay

A. D.
1495.

A. D.
1495.

lay in the open Field without Entrenchments, that in a few Days they were obliged to raise the Siege with no small Loss of their Credit.

Livorno
restored to
the *Flo-*
rentines.

IN the mean time the Treaty of *Turin* arrived, Duplicates of which had been secretly sent by different Roads; in consequence thereof, *Saillant* the Lieutenant-Governor of *Livorno* under *Beaumont*, who had been placed there by the King, consigned that Port, Town, and Castle to the *Florentines*; and *Monf. De l'Isle*, the Commissary appointed to receive the Ratification of the *Turin* Treaty, began to consult with *Entragues* the Governor of the Citadel of *Pisa*, *Pietra Santa*, and *Murone* about the Manner and Time of their Delivery. But the Governor raised various Difficulties, either because the *Pisans* had gained his Affection, as they had in general that of all the *French*; or that he had received secret Orders from *Ligni*, whose Creature he was, and to whom he was indebted for the Post he held; or from an Affection he bore to the Daughter of *Luca di Lante*, a Citizen
of

of *Pisa*; for it was not likely that he should have been bribed by the *Pisans* at a Time they would have been out-bid by the *Florentines*. Sometimes he would give a strained Construction to the King's Letter; then pretended to have secret Orders not to make any Innovation until he received a private Token from *Ligni*. This Wrangling lasted several Days, until at last the *Florentines* were obliged to send to the King, who was still at *Vercelli*, to desire he would put an End to an Affair that was both injurious to them, and very much to his Majesty's Discredit.

A. D.

1495.

THE King was exceeding angry at *Entragues's* Disobedience, and, with no small Repentment, ordered *Ligni* to make his Intentions known to him, and see them carried into Execution. He intended to send a Person of Note with these fresh Orders, and a pressing Letter from the Duke of *Orleans*, who was *Entragues's* Liege-Lord. But *Ligni's* Authority and Obstinacy got the better of the King. His Dispatches were detained some Days, and then were not carried by a Person of Distinction,

A. D. 1495. Distinction, but by *Lancepugne*, a private Gentleman. *Camillo Vitelli* set out with him; who was commissioned to receive the Money stipulated by the *Florentines*, and proceed directly to *Naples* with his Regiment, which, on the first Notice of the Treaty of *Turin*, had quitted the *Pisans*, and joined the *Florentines*.

Entragues refuses to obey the King's Orders.

THESE Dispatches had no better Effect than the former, altho' the *Florentines* had given *Entragues* Two Thousand Ducats for the Subsistence of his Troops till the King's Answer arrived. *Camillo* got also a Present of Three Thousand Ducats; without which he would have prevented the Delivery of the King's Letters. *Entragues*, by his manner of acting, was supposed to have received, by some bye Way, contrary Directions from *Ligni*; for after several Days wrangling with the *Florentine* Commissaries, he thought of gaining his Point, without seeming to refuse obeying the King's Commands. The Suburb of *St. Marco* leads to the *Florentine* Gate, which is contiguous to the Citadel, and the *Pisans*, with the Governor's

Governor's Permission, had erected a Fort at the Entrance of this Suburb. They

A. D.
1495.

had, besides their Townsmen and a vast number of Peasants, a Thousand Foreign Troops in their Pay; which made *Entragues* imagine them strong enough to repel the *Florentines* from the Fort:

On this Supposition he sent to the *Flo-*

Invites
the *Flo-*
rentines to
attack
Pisa.

rentine Commissaries, to let them know they might come up to the *Florentine* Gate with their Army, and take Possession of *Pisa*; for if the *Pisans* offered to make any Resistance, he was determined to fire on them from the Citadel. The *Florentines* gladly embraced the Invitation, and advanced from their Camp at *San Remidio*, which was not far from the above-mentioned Fort; and being informed by *Pagolo Vitelli* of the Disposition of the Enemies Works, they assaulted the Fort in Three different Places with such Vigour, that they soon put the *Pisans* to Flight, pursued them, and entered pell-mell with them over the Draw-Bridge into the Suburb, killing and making Prisoners all they overtook; and they expected that

Instant to perfect the Conquest of *Pisa*,

several

A. D. 1495. several of their Men at Arms having got through the Gate into the Town without meeting with any Opposition. But *Entragues* finding Things go contrary to his Wishes and Intention, ordered the Cannon of the Citadel to fire on the *Florentines*. They, amazed at the Treachery, after many of their Men had been killed, and more wounded, (and amongst the last *Pagolo Vitelli* in his Leg) despairing to take the Town while the Citadel opposed them, beat a Retreat. For a few Days they kept Possession of the Suburb, but not being able to withstand the Force of the Artillery that continually played upon them, were obliged at last to abandon it, and retire to *Cascina*, intending to wait there till the King should be apprised of these extraordinary Proceedings.

Entragues
fires on
the *Flo-*
rentines.

THE *Florentines* in the mean time had many other Difficulties to struggle with: The Colleagues were jealous of their becoming again Masters of *Pisa*, and of their Alliance with *France*, and therefore encouraged *Piero de Medici* to get himself

self restored into *Florence*, with the Help of *Virginio Orsini*, who had escaped from the *French* the Day of the Battle of the *Taro*, and was retired to *Bracciano*. They were both easily persuaded, for *Virginio*, let the Event be what it would, had an Opportunity, at his Friends Expence, of getting together his Partisans and old Soldiers, which would make him considerable: And *Piero*, as it is customary for Fugitives to embrace all offers, imagined the Party attached to his Family, which for a great Number of Years had lived with so much Grandeur in the State of *Florence*, was numerous and strong, and the new popular Government so odious to many of the Nobility, that he could not fail of Success.

A. D.

1495.

Piero de Medici encouraged by the Allies to return to *Florence*.

IT was thought this Treaty had its Rise in *Milan*, for when *Virginio* made his Escape, he went directly to that Duke; but it was perfected in *Rome* by the Pope, the *Venetian* Ambassador, and Cardinal *Ascanio*, who acted by *Lodovico's* Direction. The Grounds *Piero* went upon were these; he had amassed together, what with his

A. D. 1495. own and Friends Money, Ten Thousand Ducats; and besides the Assistance of *Virginio, Giovanni Bentivoglio*, who received an annual Subsidy from the *Venetians* and the Duke, was to attack the *Florentines* on the Side of *Bologna*, whilst *Caterina Sforza*, whose Children were in *Lodovico's* Army, was to molest them from *Imola* and *Forli*, which borders on their Dominions. There was also good Reason to think that the *Senese* would join them from their inveterate Hatred to the *Florentines*, and also in Hopes of preserving *Montepulciano*, which they knew they could not do with their own Force; for they had lately experienced, that even with the Assistance of the Lord of *Piombino* and *Gio. Savelli*, they had not been able to get Possession of the Pass of the *Chiane*, which lies in the Marshes on the Borders of their Dominions. In order to obtain it, the *Senese*, a few Months before, were building a Fort near the Bridge of *Valiano*, which would have commanded another Fort of the Enemy that faced *Montipulciano*; but the *Florentines* being sensible, that whilst the *Senese* were in Possession

Possession of that Bridge, they should not only be deprived of the Means of molesting *Montepulciano*, but should also leave an Inlet into *Cortona*, *Arezzo*, and other Parts of their Dominions, they sent a Body of Troops and destroyed the Fort that was building, and erected another themselves, large enough to contain a sufficient Garrison, and from thence made Excursions all over that Neighbourhood, and near *Montepulciano* broke *Giovanni Savelli's* Regiment, and took him Prisoner.

A. D.

1495.

VIRGINIO and *Piero* expected also some Help from *Perugia*, not only because the *Bagliani*, who despotically governed that City, were related to *Virginio*; but as they were of the *Guelph* Party, they had ever been in Amity with the *Medici* Family: Besides, both *Lorenzo* and *Piero* in his Prosperity, had never neglected any Opportunity of assisting them against their Enemies. *Perugia* was subject to the Holy See, but rather so in Appearance than in Effect; yet as the assisting *Piero* seemed no ways to interfere with the Government of their City, it was thought

A. D. 1495. the *Perugians* could not well deny the Pope's Request in Favour of *Piero*, especially as it was backed by the *Venetians* and Duke of *Milan*.

ON these Grounds *Piero* and *Virginio* set out from the *Roman* Territory, in great hopes that the *Florentines*, divided amongst themselves, and alarmed at their being attacked by so many of their Neighbours, acting under the Authority of the Allies, would not be able to resist. After halting a few Days about *Terni* and *Todi*, where *Virginio* collected Money and Men from his Friends the *Guelfs*, and humbled, at the same Time, the *Ghibellines*, they lay siege to *Gualdo* to gratify the *Perugians*, who had lately bought it of the Pope for Six Thousand Ducats, but by the Community of *Foligno* were not permitted to take Possession of it*. This Affair put in Motion all the Inhabitants of that District; not so much for the Importance that *Gualdo* was to any Party, but because

* *Foligno* is a City at a small Distance from *Perugia*, where the Merchants deal more largely with *England* for Woollen Goods than those of any other Inland Town in *Italy*.

it administred an Occasion for Contention. A. D. 1495.
 The *Baglioni* in *Perugia* had got the better of, and expelled the *Oddi*, who were at the Head of the opposite Faction; these, accompanied by some Horse and Foot of the *Ghibellines* of *Foligno*, *Assisi*, and other Villages, had possessed themselves of *Corciano*, a strong Place within Five Miles of *Perugia*, and the *Guelfs* of *Spóletto* *Camerino*, and all the Neighbourhood rose in Favour of the *Baglioni*: But the *Oddi* found Means one Night of getting into *Perugia*, and so alarmed their Enemies, that they despaired of defending themselves, and began to retire: But, a sudden and trivial Accident deprived the *Oddi* of a Victory, which the Power of their Enemies could not have done; for after they had got to the Top of the Street that leads into the principal Square, one of their Party, not being able for the Crowd of his Companions about him, to cut the Chain that went across the Street, with an Axe he had brought with him for that Purpose, cried out aloud, *Keep back, keep back!* Those behind taking his Words for an Order, repeated them from

A. D. 1495. one to another, and in an Instant they all fled, without knowing wherefore. The *Guelfs* took the Advantage of this Confusion, followed them, killed several, and took Prisoner *Troilo Savelli*, a Nobleman sent thither by the Cardinal of that Name, who was a violent *Ghibelline*: They soon expelled the *Oddi* from *Corciano*, and not satiated with the Numbers they had killed, they brought several to *Perugia*, and hanged them with that Cruelty, so common amongst Factions when any one Side gets the better. This Affair occasioned several Massacres in other neighbouring Towns and Villages, that took up Arms, and the Party which proved the strongest, either out of a Spirit of Revenge, or Fear of being, at some other Time, surpris'd themselves, put great Numbers to Death. The *Perugians*, who had before besieged *Gualdo*, and been repulsed in an Assault they had given, now joined *Virginio*, who imagined the News of so many Forces united, would draw People together in hopes of Plunder; and, at the same Time, give him an Opportunity of augmenting his Army.

B U T

THE WARS IN ITALY.

23

A. D.

1495.

BUT the *Perugians*, notwithstanding their Obligations to *Piero* and *Virginio*, refused to declare in their Favour, or to lend them a few Pieces of Artillery; nor would they permit them to quarter their Men in *Castiglione del Lago*, that bordered on the *Cortonese*, nor even let them provide themselves with Provisions in their Territory, altho' Cardinal *Ascanio* pressed them to it in *Lodovico's* Name, and the Pope commanded it with threatenng Briefs. The Reason was, that after the *Perugians* had taken *Corciano*, the *Florentines* supplied them with some Money, assigned Pensions to *Guido* and *Ridolfo*, two of the chief Heads of the *Baglioni*, and had taken *Gianpagolo*, *Ridolfo's* Son, into their Pay. Besides, they knew the Pope protected their Adversaries, and had Reason to suspect he designed subjecting their City to the despotic Government of the Holy See.

IN the mean time *Pagolo Orsini*, who had been at *Montepulciano*, and was now at *Pieve* with *Virginio's* best Men at Arms,

A Plot
against
Cortona.

A. D.

1495.

was commissioned by *Piero* to treat with the City of *Cortona*, and to dispose the Citizens to surrender to him their Town when the Army approached, which neither in Number or Bravery was any way equal to what had been expected. This Treaty was discovered to the *Florentines* by a mean Fugitive, which both lessened *Piero's* Hopes, and put him under greater Difficulties; for the *Florentines* detached immediately Two Hundred Men at Arms and a Thousand Foot from their Camp at *Pisa*, (where there still remained Three Hundred Men at Arms, and Two Thousand Foot) and sent them to *Cortona*, under the Command of Count *Rinnuccio Marciano*. Next, to prevent the *Senese* from joining *Virginio*, as they were informed was their Design, they ordered Three Hundred Men at Arms and Fifteen Hundred Foot to advance to *Poggio Imperiale* under *Guido Ubaldo di Montefeltro*, Duke of *Urbino*, whom they had lately taken into their Pay; and to fill *Sienna* with greater Terror, they sent with him all the discontented and outlawed *Senese*, who were numerous.

VIRGINIO,

THE WARS IN ITALY.

25

VIRGINIO, after giving several Assaults to *Gualdo*, in one of which *Charles*, his natural Son, was wounded, bribed, as was thought, by those of *Foligno*, de-camped without making any Terms in Favour of the *Perugians*, and marched first to *Tavernelle* and then to *Panicale* in the Territory of *Perugia*, from whence he sent to the *Perugians*, insisting they should declare against the *Florentines*, which they not only refused, but, exasperated at his late Behaviour at *Gualdo*, with Threats; in a manner, obliged him to quit their Territory.

A. D.

1495.

Virginio
raises the
Siege of
Gualdo.

PIERO and *Virginio*, with Four Hundred Horse, advanced to *Orsaia* *, near *Cortona*, in hopes, that as that City (not willing to be burthened with Soldiers) had refused to admit the *Florentine* Men at Arms, it might declare in their Favour. But when they found themselves mistaken, they

* *Orsaia*, more properly *Offeia*, from the Quantity of Bones that are found there; it being the Place called *Trasimene*, now the Lake of *Perugia*, where *Hannibal* gained a signal Battle over the *Romans*. At a small Distance there is a River or Torrent, called *Sanguinetto*, from a Report of its having ran Blood the Day of the Battle.

A. D.

1495.

they passed the *Chiane* with Three Hundred Men at Arms and Three Thousand Foot, that were in a bad Condition, as having been inlisted in a Hurry, and with little Money. They posted themselves in the *Senese* near *Montepulciano*, between *Chianciano*, *Torrila*, and *Asina Lunga*, where, excepting a few Excursions to procure Provisions, they remained some Days inactive: For the *Florentines* had passed the *Chiane* at the Bridge of *Valiano*, and formed a Camp in their Front in the Neighbourhood of *San Sovino*.

Bentivoglio declines joining Piero.

IN *Bologna* no regard was paid to what had been promised; for *Bentivoglio* was determined not to undertake a dangerous War with a neighbouring and powerful Republic to serve other People's Purposes: Yet he received *Giuliano de Medici* with great Demonstrations of Civility, who was come thither to enlist Men: Nor did he prevent him from treating with his Mountaineers, who were used to serve under the Family of the *Medici*; but he alledged divers Excuses

cuses to the Confederates for his Delays in engaging openly himself.

A. D.
1495.

THE Allies, indeed, were not intirely of the same Mind; for the Duke of *Milan*, altho' pleased that the *Florentines* should be so employed, as not to have it in their Power to conquer *Pisa*, yet he no ways wished that *Piero de Medici*, whom he had so much injured, should return to *Florence*; notwithstanding that *Piero*, to convince him that he intended to be intirely directed by his Counsels, had sent his Brother the Cardinal to *Milan*. As for the *Venetians*, they did not chuse to enter into this War without the Duke; besides, the principal Care of both, at this Juncture, was in providing all Necessaries for expelling the Remainder of the *French* out of the Kingdom of *Naples*.

By these means *Piero* and *Virginio* frustrated of all their Hopes, in extreme want of Money, and finding their Forces daily diminish, were obliged to retire to *Rapolano* in the Territory of *Chinfi*, belonging

A. D. 1495. } longing to *Siena*. Here, as *Virginio's* Destiny would have it, came to him *Camillo Vitelli*, who was sent by the King of *France* to take him into the *French* Service, and conduct him into the Kingdom of *Naples*; where, after the Desertion of the *Colonnas*, his Majesty thought he would be of great Service to his Cause. *Virginio's* Friends did their utmost to dissuade him from accepting this Commission, and pressed him to join the Confederates, who made him great Offers; or that he would at least return into the Service of the *Arragonians*: But he was determined otherwise, either because he hoped, that thro' the *French* Interest *Albi* and *Tagliacozzo* would be restored him; or because he saw the *Colonnas* in so high Favour, that he despaired of making any Figure at *Ferdinando's* Court: Or, if we believe the Reason he gave himself, that he was very much dissatisfied with the Confederates for failing in their Engagements for the Restoration of *Piero de Medici*, he agreed then with the King, who assigned the *Orsini* Family Six Hundred Men at Arms; but

on

On Condition he sent his Son *Charles* as Hostage into *France*. Such Hardships may be reasonably expected by those who have rendered their Conduct suspicious, and once broke their Faith. He was supplied with Money, and then applied himself seriously to be ready to enter, in Conjunction with *Vitelli's* Troops, into the Kingdom of *Naples*; where, before and after the Loss of the Castles, there had been many Insurrections, attended with various Accidents.

A. D.

1495.

WE left *Ferdinando* fronting the Enemy in the Plains of *Sarni*; but the *French*, on his Arrival, retired to *Piedigrotta*, and stopped at *Nocera*, Four Miles from *Sarni*. Both Armies being pretty equal, the Time was spent in Skirmishes, without any thing of Moment happening, excepting that Seven Hundred of *Ferdinando's* Men, between Horse and Foot; were either killed or taken Prisoners at *Gifone*, a Castle near *San Severino*; to which Place they had been decoyed by repeated Assurances (as they imagined) from

Ferdinando loses
700 Men
at *Gifone*.

A. D. the Garrison, that on their Arrival it
 1495 should be delivered up to them.

Nocera
 taken by
 the *Arra-*
gonians.

AFTER this Action the Pope's Troops joined *Ferdinando*, which made him superior to the *French*, who thereupon quitted *Nocera*, which, with the Citadel, was soon taken by the *Arragonians*, and great Slaughter was made of those of the *French* Faction.

IN the mean time *Monpensier* had provided with Horses and all Accoutrements those Troops he had brought with him from *Castelnuovo*; and joining these to other Forces, he proceeded to *Ariano*, a Village well furnished with Provisions. *Ferdinando*, by this Junction, was become inferior to the Enemy, and therefore halted at *Montefuscoli*, with an Intent to be on the Defensive, and not tempt Fortune, until he was better supplied by his Allies. *Monpensier* made himself Master of the Town and Fortrefs of *San Severino*; and might with Ease have made greater Progress, if his Money had not failed him: For there was none sent from *France*, and he

San
Severino
 taken.

he had no Means of collecting any in the Country. This made his Soldiers uneasy, particularly the *Swiss*; and was the Occasion that he could not make a proper Use of his Forces.

A. D.

1495.

THREE Months passed in this Inactivity, whilst Don *Federigo*, with *Cæsar* of *Arragon*, made War in *Puglia* with the Help of the Country People; against them made Head the Barons, and those who were inclined to the *French*. In *Abruzzo* *Gratiano di Guerra* very gallantly defended himself against Count *Pepoli* and other Barons, Friends to *Ferdinando*: The Prefect of *Rome*, who had the Command of Two Hundred Men at Arms, made Excursions from his own Territories on *Montecasino* and its Neighbourhood, where the *French* Affairs began to decline on account of the long Sickness of *Aubigny*, which interrupted the Course of his Victories: But the best part of *Calabria* and of the *Principato* were in the *French* Interest. *Gonsalvo* got together the *Spaniards*, and the Friends of the *Arragonians*, who, after the Reduction of *Naples*, were become

A. D. 1495. become numerous, took several Villages, and kept alive in that Province *Ferdinando's* Name. Here, also, the *French* were put to Difficulties for want of Money; yet they recovered and pillaged the City of *Cosenza*, that had rebelled.

IN all this Distress and Danger, there appeared no likelihood of any Assistance from *France*: For the King stopped at *Lyons*, where he gave himself up to Tournaments, and all sorts of Diversions, without any Concern about the War. He constantly gave out, that he would provide for *Italy*; but, in Reality, made no sort of Preparation.

Argenton
returns
from his
Embassy.

ABOUT this Time *Argenton* returned from his Embassy at *Venice* with that Senate's Answer. They declared they had no sort of Quarrel with his Majesty; that they took up Arms, indeed, when he had got Possession of *Novara*, but that was purely in Defence of the Duke of *Milan*, their Ally; that therefore they thought it needless to confirm their antient Friendship with a new Peace; especially

as

THE WARS IN ITALY.

33

A. D.

1495.

as the King knew they had privately acquainted him how they were disposed to persuade *Ferdinando* to give him a large Sum of Money, to pay him a yearly Tribute of Fifty Thousand Ducats, and to leave *Taranto* in his Hands for a certain Time as a Pledge, if he would quit his Pretensions to the Kingdom of *Naples*: But *Charles*, as if he had been at the Head of a powerful Army, refused their Offers, altho', besides the Difficulties of *Italy*, he had great Reason to fear. he should be attacked on the Borders of his own Kingdom; for *Ferdinando* King of *Spain* was come in Person to *Perpignan*, from whence he ordered several Excursions to be made into *Languedoc*, where a great deal of Damage was done, and more was expected. At the same Time died the Dauphin, the King's only Son. Had *Charles* been capable of making a wise Election of War or Peace, all these Disasters might have inclined him to condescend to a reasonable Accommodation.

King of
Spain at
Perpignan

Death of
the Dau-
phin.

AT the latter End of this Year *Entragues* put an End to all farther Disputes
C with

A. D. 1495. with the *French* concerning the Citadel of *Pisa*; for the King being informed of the Commander's Obstinacy, sent *Monf. Gemel* with Threats and a positive Command, not only to him, but to the rest of his Governors, to comply with his former Orders. Soon after he dispatched *Monf. Bonne*, Brother-in-Law to *Entragues*, that he might have no farther Pretence to cavil about the King's Intentions: He was commissioned to tell him, that all his past Disobedience should be forgiven on his immediate Compliance; and to threaten him with the Effects of his Majesty's Anger if he refused. But nothing could remove *Entragues* from his first Resolution; he made slight of the Message brought him by *Gemel*; who, after waiting some Days, according to his Instructions, went on with *Camillo Vitelli* to *Virginio Orsini*. Neither had the Arrival of *Bonne*, who had been detained several Days, by *Lodovico's* Orders, at *Sarzana*, any better Effect: On the contrary, *Entragues* brought him over to his own Sentiments; and thro' the Means of *Lucio Malvezzi*, Agent to *Lodovico*,
 he

he made a Contract with the *Pisans*; by
 Virtue of which he delivered them up ^{A. D.}
 their Citadel the First Day of the Year ^{1496.}
 1496, for Twenty Thousand Ducats; ^{Entragues}
 Twelve Thousand he took to his own ^{delivers}
 Share, and the Remainder was divided ^{the Cita-}
 amongst the *French* Troops. The *Pisans* ^{del to the}
 were not in a Condition to lay down this ^{*Pisans*.}
 Money; on the contrary, they could not
 levy in their State a Sum sufficient for
 their own Occurrences: But, not to lose
 so fair an Opportunity, they found Means
 to get Four Thousand Ducats of the
Venetians, Four Thousand of the *Genoese*
 and *Luchese*, and Four Thousand of *Lodo-*
vico; who, at the same time, was acting
 a treacherous part with the *Florentines*;
 making them believe he was desirous of
 entering into a solid Peace and Unity
 with them; and had actually agreed with
 their Ambassador on the Terms.

IT was not thought likely that *Ligni*
 and *Entragues* could have acted in this
 manner without the King's private Order;
 especially as their Proceedings were palpa-
 bly against the *French* Interest: For altho'

A. D.
 1496. in the Capitulation it was stipulated, that *Pisa* should be subject to *France*, yet it was evident it remained now at the Devotion of the Confederates: Moreover, the Restitution of it to the *Florentines* taking Effect, the *French* in the Kingdom of *Naples* were deprived of that Succour, both of Men and Money, which had been agreed on at the Treaty of *Turin*. Yet the *Florentines*, who were very watchful and attentive to all that passed, tho' at first they suspected the King's Faith, were at last fully persuaded of the Sincerity of his Intentions; which, indeed, would seem incredible to any, who were not acquainted with his Temper and way of Life, the little Authority he had over his Courtiers, and how easily Men are emboldened against a Prince, who has made himself contemptible to his Subjects.

The Citadel of *Pisa* demolished.

As soon as the *Pisans* got Possession of the Citadel, they razed it to the Ground; and knowing their own Strength was not sufficient for their Defence, they at the same time sent Ambassadors to the Pope,

Pope, to the King of the *Romans*, to the *Venetians*, *Senese*, *Genoese*, *Luchese*, and Duke of *Milan*, imploring the Aid of every one; but more pressingly that of the *Venetians* and Duke of *Milan*; to whom they had been already inclined to transfer the Jurisdiction of their City; and now, indeed, their Situation was such, that they were no longer in a Condition to treat for their Liberty and Independency, but of the Means that might preserve them from falling under the *Florentine* Yoke. *Lodovico* seemed the properest for their Purpose, because he had excited them to revolt, and was the nearest to their Borders; and, in reality, the only one that had vigorously supplied them, whilst the other Confederates had only amused them with Promises.

A. D.
1496.

The *Pis-*
sans offer
their City
to *Lodo-*
vico.

BUT the Duke, altho' passionately desirous of the Sovereignty of *Pisa*, could not venture to accept of the Offers made him, for fear of giving too great Offence to the Allies, who treated the Affairs of that City as those of the Common Cause: He therefore intreated them to defer their

Who first
refuses.

A. D.
1496.

Sollicitations, or to surrender themselves to the *San Severini*, until a proper Opportunity offered to make it known, that the *San Severini* had received them only in Trust for himself. But afterwards, imagining he had little to fear from the Confederates, he determined to accept of their Offer.

But afterwards accepts of their Offer

The Potentates in general wish well to the *Pisans*.

BUT the *Pisans* began now to grow cool with regard to him, when they found the *Venetians* so ready to serve them: And they were made to believe, they should be safer under the Protection of many, than under a single Person; and also more likely to preserve their Liberties. The Restoration of the Citadel had greatly raised their Spirits, and they could not have applied at a properer Juncture to the Potentates of *Italy*; For the *Genoese*, *Senese*, and *Luchese*, out of Hatred and Fear of the *Florentines*, were ready to assist them; and, to do it effectually, entered into a Treaty with them, in order to settle what they were to contribute. The *Venetians* and the Duke of *Milan*, in hopes of annexing *Pisa* to their

their own Dominions, were sollicitous to prevent its returning under the *Florentines*: And the Pope and King of *Spain* were pleased to see the Republic of *Florence* mortified, on account of their Attachment to the *French* Interest. They received Encouragement from all Parts, for *Cæsar* confirmed their Liberties; the *Venetians* and Duke of *Milan* engaged to preserve their Liberty in the same manner they had done whilst they were in Subjection to the *French*; and the Pope, in the Name of all, as Head of the League, by a Brief declared they should be powerfully protected by all the Confederates. But the *Venetians* and *Lodovico* gave them effectual Assistance: The Duke augmented the Troops he had already there; and the Senate furnished a good Number of Men: And had they both steadily persevered in their Resolutions, and continued their Supplies, the *Pisans* would not have lain under the Necessity of adhering more to the one than to the other, to the Detriment of the Common Cause. The Duke, ever tenacious of his Money, and by Nature inclined to proceed with

A. D.
1496.

A. D.

1496

Diffimulation and Artifice, imagining he could not well, at this Juncture, make himself Master of *Pisa*, began to slacken in the Disbursements necessary for their Defence; which obliged them to apply more earnestly to the *Venetians*, who plentifully provided them with every thing. This had such an Effect on the *Pisans*, that not long after the *French* had delivered the Citadel, they sent to the *Venetians* to desire they would take them intirely under their sole Protection. *Lo-dovico* was privy to this Treaty, and, far from taking Offence, rather seemed to approve of it; But the rest of their Friends were greatly dissatisfied; for altho' they had before used all their Interest to induce the *Venetians* to declare in their Favour, yet they thought themselves ill-used, that the *Pisans* should surreptitiously, without their Advice or Knowledge, conclude a private Treaty with them.

The *Pisans* give them- selves up to the sole Protection of the *Venetians*.

BUT it is most certain, that the *Venetians*, neither out of a Desire of preserving other People's Liberty, a Thing which they value so much in their own Country;

THE WARS IN ITALY.

41

Country; nor out of any Regard to the common Safety, as with fine Speeches they then and afterwards gave out; but from the sole Desire of acquiring the Dominion of *Pisa*, were so eager to take the *Pisans* into their Protection: They thought they could not fail of getting an absolute Command over them, and even by their own Consent, when it should, as of necessity it would, come to this alternative, Whether they would be subject to the *Florentines*, or to themselves.

A. D.
1496.

YET when this Affair was laid before the Senate, a few of the old Senators, venerable for their Age and Authority, retarded for some time the Decree, against the almost general Inclination. They said, The making the Cause of *Pisa* their own, would be attended with many Difficulties; because that City was at a great Distance from their Borders by Land, but much farther by Sea; before they could get thither, they must pass by the Ports of other Potentates, and sail all round *Italy*, which would put them to an im-

Debates
in the
Venetian
Senate.

Reasons
against
taking the
Pisans
into their
Protection

mense

A. D.

1496.

menſe Charge in defending it againſt the continual Attacks of the *Florentines*. It was not to be denied, that this Acquiſition would be a great Addition to their Dominions, but the Difficulties in preſerving it ought firſt to be weighed; as alſo the Condition of the preſent Times, and what Effects ſuch a Reſolution would produce; For as *Italy* was naturally jealous of the *Venetian* Grandeur, ſuch an Increate of their Power muſt be very diſpleaſing to every one; and therefore in all Likelihood it would occaſion greater, and more dangerous Accidents, than many perhaps were aware of. They were greatly deceived, who thought that the other Powers would remain idle Spectators, and permit them, who were already formidable, to annex ſo important a State to their Dominions; and if, as in former Times, they were not able to hinder it themſelves, they knew where to apply, ſince the *French* had learned the way to paſs the *Alps*; and that there was not the leaſt Doubt but that they would, on ſuch an Account, be invited, both out of Spite and Fear;

It

THE WARS IN ITALY.

43

A. D.

1496.

It being the Nature of Mankind to chuse rather to subject themselves to Foreigners, than submit to the usurped Authority of a Sett of their own People. How could any one imagine that the Duke of *Milan*, actuated sometimes by Ambition and Hope, sometimes by Suspicion and Fear, should not be moved with Disdain, Anger, and Jealousy, to see transferred to us that Dominion, which, by so many Artifices, he has been trying to get for himself? He certainly, rather than see *Pisa* in our Hands, would put all *Italy* again in Combustion. And tho' he may now seem not dissatisfied, and even give his Consent, it may be very easily comprehended, that these are not his real Sentiments, but Traps and Snares to deceive us. It would, indeed, be commendable in us to join with *Lodovico* in the Defence of *Pisa*, if on no other account than to prevent the *Pisans* from giving themselves up to him: But it cannot be prudent to make their Cause our own, and draw on ourselves so much Jealousy and Trouble. They ought to consider, how contrary this would be to the End proposed in taking
up

A. D.

1496.

up Arms; which for many Months had been, and was still intended for the common Safety: No other Motive, than to free *Italy* from Barbarians, * could have induced the Senate to put themselves to so great an Expence and Hazard. That they had begun with great Success; yet as the King was but just repass'd the *Alps*, and had left a powerful Army in the Kingdom of *Naples*, a great part whereof he is still in Possession of; how imprudent, and how infamous would it be, if instead of bending our Thoughts to establish the Peace of *Italy*, we should sow new Seeds of Disturbances, that might forward the *French* King's Return, and induce the King of the *Romans*, who, as it was well known, has many Pretensions on our State, to come into *Italy*, which is the Height of his Desire. The Republic of *Venice* was not in so low a Condition, as to be under a Necessity of undertaking dangerous Exploits or unripened Schemes; on the contrary, no other State

* The *Italians*, even in *Guicciardini's* Time, continued, like the old *Romans*, to give the Name of *Barbarians* to all beyond the *Alps*.

State in *Italy* could better wait for Opportunities and well digested Counsels: Precipitate and hazardous Enterprizes suited only those that were in Despair; or, excited by Ambition, or love of Fame, were fearful they should never have another Opportunity offered them: But their Republic, surrounded with Power, Dignity, and Authority, was both envied and feared by all the *Italian* Powers; and, compared with a kingly or princely Government, was perpetual and immortal; no Death or Change ever altering its Name, *The Venetian Senate*: Therefore they ought never to hasten their Resolutions; it rather became their Wisdom and Gravity, first to weigh the Dangers that are latent under an Offer that gives so much Hope and Pleasure; to consider the End as well as the Beginning of Things, and then reject rash Counsels, and abstain, as well in this present Affair of *Pisa*, as on all other Occasions, from terrifying and irritating their Neighbours; at least till *Italy* is better insured from her Dangers and Jealousies of the Ultramontanes; and above all let us give no Cause for their
Return.

A. D.
1496.

A. D. 1496. } Return. A few Months Experience has evinced, that all *Italy*, when free from Foreigners, follows the Dictates of this Senate: But when invaded, instead of being dreaded, we join in our Fears with the other Potentates.

THESE, and many other substantial Reasons, had no sort of Effect on the Minds of an ambitious Majority; who tamely submitted to the Directions of their Doge *Agostino Barbarico*. His Authority exceeded that of any former Doge, and was carried to such a Height, as to deserve rather the Name of Power than Authority. For besides his having enjoyed, with uninterrupted Success, that Dignity for several Years, and his being endowed with excellent Parts, he had artfully gained a great Majority of the Senators; who constantly concurred with him in opposing those, who by their Prudence and long Experience had obtained the highest Posts in the Government, and were in the greatest Esteem with the People. His Followers looked upon him as the Head of their Faction; and without
any

any Regard to Integrity, or to the Gravity of the Senatorial Order, blindly came into every Thing he proposed. *Barbarico* was exceedingly fond of transmitting a glorious Name to Posterity, to which he thought nothing could better contribute than extending the Dominions of the Republick: Nor was he satisfied that since his Creation the Isle of *Cyprus*, by the Extinction of the Family of the *Lusignani*, had been annexed to the *Venetian* State, but was ever ambitious of making farther Additions when any Opportunity invited. Under these Sentiments he opposed those who were against taking *Pisa* under the Senate's Protection, and laboured with plausible Arguments to convince the Senators of the great Advantage that would result to the Republic from the Acquisition of that City; which, he said, would mortify the Arrogance of the *Florentines*; who, after the Death of *Filippo Maria Visconti*, had prevented them from seizing on the Duchy of *Milan*; and who, in the War against the Duke of *Ferrara*, and on other Occasions, by supplying their Enemies with Money, had

A. D.

1496.

A. D.

1496.

had contributed more than any other Potentate to render their Schemes abortive. He said, they would eternally repent the letting slip to fair an Opportunity. That the *Italian* Powers were, at that Juncture, in such a low Condition, that all united could not hurt their State; nor was it at all likely that, either out of Indignation or Fear, they would have recourse to *France*: For the Duke of *Milan*, who had so much injured the King, would not venture to trust him. It was plain the Pope had no such Thought: And as for the King of *Naples*, tho' he were in pacific Possession of his Kingdom, he would ever hear the Name of *France* with Abhorrence. Their sending Troops into *Pisa*, tho' not pleasing to the *Italians*, yet would not seem to them of such Consequence as to make them endanger *Italy*, by precipitately applying such Remedies as are used only in desperate Cases; for in slight Indispositions violent Medicines are never administered: Those are the last Resort. If, in the present weak and disunited State of the *Italians*, the Senate, out of Fear, should not make the most of this

by a good doctor

A. D.
1496.

this Opportunity, for obtaining what every one so eagerly aspires at, it will be in vain to attempt it when they shall have recovered their pristine Vigour, and are without Apprehensions of a foreign Invasion. The best Remedy for vain Fear is to consider, that all human Undertakings are subject to Dangers; but that very seldom all the apprehended Evils come to pass; many by Favour of Fortune or Chance never happen; and others are avoided by Prudence and Industry. Therefore we are not to confound, as is the Case of many who are ignorant of the true Signification of Words, and Substance of Things, Fear with Prudence: Nor pronounce those Politicians sage, who expecting all imaginary Evils to take Place, regulate their Proceedings accordingly. Such wary Statesmen are neither prudent nor wise; that Character belongs rather to the Brave, who weigh the Dangers; in which they also differ from the Rash, who neither know nor trouble themselves about them; and after maturely considering them, resolve on an Enterprize, reasonably expecting they shall escape, some

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by

A. D.

1496.

by good Fortune, and others by Steadiness: Let us, then, in our present Deliberation, consult Hope as well as Fear; and not like the Timorous, terrified with the Shadow of Perils, refuse so advantageous an Offer. Let us lay before our Eyes the Weakness and Disunion of the rest of the *Italians*, the Power and constant good Fortune of the Republic, the Magnanimity and glorious Examples of our Ancestors, and no longer hesitate to receive the *Pisans* into our Protection, which will soon be followed by the absolute Dominion of their City; and that obtained, will place us on the first Step of the *Italian Throne*."

The
Venetians
Decree in
Favour of
the *Pisans*.

THE Doge had no sooner finished this Speech, than the Senate, by a public Decree, received the *Pisans* into their Protection; expressly mentioning, That it was for the Defence of their Liberty. The Duke of *Milan* did not at first lay so much Stress on this Resolution as it deserved, because his Troops being excluded by this Treaty from the Defence of *Pisa*, he was pleased to find himself freed

freed from that Expence: Besides, he thought it his Interest to have the *Florentines* and *Venetians*, at the same time, put to so great a Charge for the Concerns of that City: He persuaded himself, that the *Pisans*, as well out of a Regard for his Power and Situation, as out of Gratitude for the many Services done them, would always incline more to him than to any other. He was become immoderately vain, and little considering the Inconstancy of Human Affairs, was wont to say, “ He was the Son of *Fortune*, and could manage his Mother as he pleased.” He was at first greatly elated at the prosperous Events of the *French*; and puffed up with the Thoughts, that he should have been able, with his Interest, to bring so great a King with his Army into *Italy*. He attributed the Removal of *Piero* from the Government of *Florence* to his Interest with that Republic, which he had employed to punish him for not complying with his Counsels. He thought himself the Cause of the Rebellion of the *Pisans*, and of the Flight of his Enemies the *Arragonians*; and gloried that, after

A. D.

1496.

A. D.
1496.

changing Sides, his Counfels and Authority had brought about the Alliance, that was entered into by fo many Potentates againſt *Charles*; as alſo of the Return of *Ferdinando* into *Naples*, and the Departure of the *French* King from *Italy* on ſuch ignoble Conditions; and that even with the Commander of the Citadel of *Piſa*, his Perſuaſion and Authority had more Sway than the Will and Orders of his Royal Maſter. With the ſame Rule he meaſured future Events; and imagining that in Prudence and Knowledge he was much ſuperior to all the other Powers, flattered himſelf he ſhould always direct the Affairs of *Italy*, and circumvent every one with his Artifices: Nor could he diſſemble this Vanity, either in his Words or Actions. As it was known how much he delighted in the Thoughts, that every one ſhould entertain the ſame Notions of his Abilities, all *Milan* reſounded Day and Night with vain Songs in his Praise in *Latin* and *Italian* Verſe. In the Academies his Virtues were celebrated; they flattered his Wiſdom, on which they made the Fate of
Italy

Italy depend; exalting to the Skies both his Name and his Nick-Name of *Moro*, which was given him in his Youth on account of his swarthy Complexion, and the Opinion then entertained of his Cunning, which Name he was pleased always to retain*. By his Dexterity and Management he obtained the same Influence and Authority in the other Castles of the *Florentines* that were in the Hands of the *French*; so that he seemed to be Arbiter on all Sides.

A. D.
1496.

THE King having heard the Complaints of the *Florentine* Ambassadors, concerning the Citadel of *Pisa*, to make them some Amends, sent *Robert de Veste*, a Gentleman of his Bed-chamber, with Letters from *Ligni* to all his other Governors, in hopes that at least the other Castles would be immediately restored them: But his Com-

King
Charles's
Orders
slighted
by his Go-
vernors.

D 3

mands

* *Moro* in *Italian* signifies a Black. *Giovio* says he took his Name, not from his Complexion, but from the Mulberry-Tree in his Arms; which in *Italian* is called *Moro*. A Mark of *Lodovico's* Vanity, was a Picture he hung up in the Castle, representing a Queen, on whose Robes were delineated all the *Italian* Cities, and himself in the Person of a Black with Brush, rubbing off the Dust.

A. D.
1496.

mands were as little regarded abroad as they were at home, through the ill Disposition of the Commanders, and the bad Example of *Ligni*, who had the Insolence to give out, that he acted in every thing by his Majesty's private Directions. The Bastard of *Bienne*, his Deputy-Governor of *Sarzana*, in the Presence of the *Florentine* Commissaries, who came thither by his Orders to receive the Castle, delivered it up to the *Genoese* for Twenty-five Thousand Ducats; and the *Castelan* of *Sarzanello* following his Steps, did the same for another Sum: *Moro* was the Contriver and Broker of both these Contracts, and sent *Fracassa* with a Hundred Horse and Four Hundred Foot into the *Lunigiana*, which prevented the *Florentines*, who had retaken some of their Towns, from recovering the Remainder in those Parts.

Not long after, *Entragues*, who had the Command of the Castles of *Pietra Santa*, *Mutrone*, and *Librafatta*, gave up the last to the *Pisans*, and sold the other
two

two to the *Luchese* for Twenty-six Thousand Ducats, by the Direction of the Duke of *Milan*; who first, indeed, intended to give them to the *Genoese*; but afterwards changing his Mind, chose rather to gratify the *Luchese*, to enable them, who were more at Hand, the better to assist the *Pisans*, and also to unite them more firmly to his Interest. When the News of these Proceedings reached the King, tho' he expostulated in great Warmth with *Ligni*, and forbid *Entragues* to return into *France*; yet when *Bonne* came back, who, besides sharing the Money paid by the *Pisans*, had treated in *Genoa* about the Sale of *Sarzana*, he made his Report in so plausible a manner, that his Conduct was approved; and the *Pisan* Ambassador, who accompanied him, was graciously received, on his pretending to have been sent by the *Pisans* to pay their Homage to his Majesty, whom they had chose for their Sovereign; and when afterwards his Commission appeared to be forged, he was only dismissed. *Ligni* received no other Punishment than that of being for-

A. D.
1496.

A. D.
1496.

bid to lie any longer in the King's Chamber, where he had a Bed; and to this Mark of Confidence he was soon restored. *Entragues* remained in Disgrace, but he, also, after a short time, was admitted into Favour thro' the Intreaties of his Friends, and the King's Good-nature; who was persuaded, as indeed was true, that the *Florentines*, notwithstanding such Usage, for their own Sakes would stand firm to him; and that whilst they were kept out of the Possession of *Pisa*, they would never join with the rest of the Confederates against him; which indeed proved true at this very Instant: For they pressed them with Threats to enter into their Alliance, but were constantly refused. The Confederates then being obliged to turn all their Thoughts to the Kingdom of *Naples*, contented themselves with leaving in *Pisa* a Number of Troops sufficient to keep up the Spirits of the *Pisans*, and protect their State from being intirely swallowed up by the *Florentines*.

Virginio
marches
into
Abruzzo.

THE Affairs of *Naples* seemed to be in a dangerous Situation; for *Virginio* had
inlisted

THE WARS IN ITALY.

57

inlisted a good Number of Men at *Bagno Rapolano*, and in the *Perugian*, and was marching with them into *Abruzzo*, accompanied by many of his Relations of the *Orfini* Family. He was soon after followed by *Camillo* and *Pagolo Vitelli*, with their Regiments, who being refused Refreshments at the Castle of *Montelione*, took and plundered it; which so terrified the other little Towns where they passed, that notwithstanding the Pope's threatening Orders, they were accommodated with Quarters and Provisions in all the Ecclesiastical State. There was besides a general Report, that the *French* were coming by Sea with powerful Succours; and as *Ferdinando* was in great Distress for want of Money, nor could, without much greater Assistance, defend himself, he was obliged to form new Schemes.

A. D.
1496.

THE Allies had not, at first, comprehended *Ferdinando* in their Confederacy; and tho' after his Recovery of the City of *Naples*, the Sovereigns of *Spain* had solicitously desired he might be admitted, the *Venetians* refused it; persuading themselves,

A. D.
1496.

elves, that *Ferdinando's* Misfortunes would be instrumental to their obtaining part of his Kingdom; a Project they had some time since entertained.

Ferdinando treats with the *Venetians* for Succours.

F E R D I N A N D O seemed to be in a destitute Condition; for the King of *Spain* was not disposed to send any more Supplies; and the rest of the Allies, grudging the Expence, did not sufficiently provide against his Danger. This induced him to sign a Treaty with the *Venetians*, under the Guaranty of the Pope and the King of *Spain*, by which they agreed to send into his Kingdom the Marquis of *Mantua*, their General, with Seven Hundred Men at Arms, Five Hundred Light Horse, and Three Thousand Foot, and continue to keep their Fleet on his Coasts: But they absolutely insisted on a Clause, that these Auxiliaries might be withdrawn, whenever their own Defence required it. That for his present Exigences, they should lend him Fifteen Thousand Ducats; and for a Security of being reimbursed all their Charges, *Ferdinando* should consign to them *Otranto*,
Brindisi,

THE WARS IN ITALY.

59

Brindisi, and *Trani*; and permit them to keep *Monopoli* and *Pugliano*, that were in their Hands; but they entered into an Obligation to restore all these Towns whenever the Money was repaid; which, by Agreement, was not to be reckoned at more than Two Hundred Thousand Ducats; tho' the Expences of Guards, Garrisons, and other Charges might never so much exceed that Sum. These Ports being in the *Adriatic*, lay very commodious, and contributed to the Grandeur of the *Venetians* *.

A. D.
1496.

THE Doge's Party acted now as they pleased, meeting with little Opposition in the Senate: For the Counsels of the old Senators were no longer heeded, since they had lost the Question in the Affair of *Pisa*. The same old Patriots were now of Opinion, that it was not safe to crowd all their Sail, and trust intirely to the Winds, tho' seemingly propitious; but nothing they said was regarded. The *Venetian* Power seemed now greatly to extend

* *Bembo* adds, that *Mount St. Angelo*, when taken from the *French*, should be consigned to the *Venetians*.

A. D.

1496.

extend itself; for not content with what they had done at *Pisa* and *Naples*, they took *Astorre* *, Lord of *Faenza*, into their Pay, and his Territory into their Protection; which lay very convenient to keep the *Florentines* and all the rest of *Romagna* in Awe.

F E R D I N A N D O, besides this Extraordinary Help, had some general Assistance from the Confederates; for the Pope, the Duke of *Milan*, and the *Venetians*, contributed to raise another Body of Troops. But the Duke, with his usual Artifice, that he might not seem to break through the Treaty of *Vercelli*, tho' he had the chief Hand in whatever Measures were taken, yet would not allow his Name to be mentioned; but, with the Consent of the Allies, engaged to pay secretly for his Share Ten Thousand Ducats a Month towards the Charges.

THE

* *Bembo* says, that the *Faentines* were fearful that some of their Fugitives, Friends to the *Florentines*, might destroy *Astorre*, and therefore begged the *Venetians* to take him under their Protection: They accordingly sent for him to *Venice*, and put a *Venetian* Governor into *Faenza*.

A. D.

1496.

THE Arrival of the *Orfini* and the *Vitelli* in *Abruzzo* revived the drooping Spirits of the *French*; *Teramo* and *Civita di Chieti* had revolted from them; and it was suspected that *Aquila*, the Capital of that Province, intended to follow their Example: but now it was confirmed in their Obedience, and *Teramo* was retaken, *Juliana* pillaged, and almost the whole Province of *Abruzzo* was in Possession of the *French*; whilst *Ferdinando's* Interest seemed again to decline throughout the whole Kingdom. The best part of *Calabria* was in the Power of *Aubigny*, altho' his long Sickness in *Terace* gave an Opportunity to *Gonfalvo* to maintain the War with his *Spaniards*, assisted by some of the Barons of that Province. *Gaeta*, with its Territories, was in the Hands of the *French*. The Prefect of *Rome*, with his Regiment, and with the Strength of his own State, recovered the Castle of *Montecasino*, and ravaged *Terra di Lavoro*. *Monpensier* could not put his Troops in Action for want of Money; yet he obliged *Ferdinando*, who laboured under the same

Diffi-

A. D.
1496.

Difficulty, to shut himself up in his strong Places, and kept him inactive and short of Provisions: But the King, who had now perfected the Convention with the *Venetians*, began to have better Spirits, and better Hopes; yet as the Treaty was newly made, it required Time before the Succours could arrive. *Monpensier* attempted to get *Benevento* by Treaty, but was prevented by *Ferdinando*; who having received private Information of what was transacting, suddenly threw himself into that City, and secured it. The *French* approached *Benevento*, encamped at the Bridge of *Finocchio*, and took Possession of *Fenezano*, *Apice*, and several Villages in the Neighbourhood; but for want of Provisions were obliged to decamp.

THE Time was near at Hand when the Duties on the Wool of the Sheep of *Puglia* were to be collected: These Duties are one of the best Revenues of the Kingdom of *Naples*; for they amount yearly to Eighty Thousand Ducats, and are

are collected in the Space of One Month *. A. D.

Monpensier marched towards *Puglia*, part of which was in his Possession, not only to deprive the Enemy of this Resource, but also to recruit his own empty Coffers. *Ferdinando* followed at a small Distance, with an Intent rather to observe his Motions, and prevent any Attempts, than to hazard a Battle before his Succours arrived.

1496.

IN the mean time the French Fleet from *Savona* arrived before *Gaeta*, consisting of Fifteen large, and Seven smaller Ships, having on Board Eight Hundred Men, that had been enlisted in the Territories of the Duke of *Guelderland*; as also those *Swiss* and *Gascons* that were to have sailed with the large Ships from *Genoa*. *Ferdinando's* Fleet, that wanted Neecessaries, kept at a Distance, and could not prevent their entering the Port; so they landed unmolested, and immediately took *Itry* and

French
Fleet at
Gaeta.

* *Bembo* writes One Hundred Thousand, and that *Monpensier* and *Perrino* acted imprudently in carrying the War into *Puglia* on this account, which was against the Sentiments of *Beaucaire*, who persuaded them to keep the Army near *Naples*.

A. D.
1496.

and other Places, pillaging the Country round about them : Hence they advanced towards the City of *Sezza*, which *Giovanni Baptista Carraccioli* had promised to put into their Hands ; but *Don Federigo*, who had marched from *Taranto*, with a Design to cover the Country about *Naples*, receiving Intelligence by the Way, made such Speed, that he prevented the *French*, and seized the Bishop and several Officers, his Accomplices in the Conspiracy. *

IN *Puglia*, where lay the Stress of the War, each Party getting the better by Turns, the Events proved various ; the Season was so severe, that both Armies were distributed in the neighbouring Towns, no single Place being large enough to quarter either Army : Their chief Employ was to make Excurfions, and to carry off Cattle ; in which they gave a greater Proof of their Dexterity, than of their Valoor.

F E R D I N A N D O was with part of his
Men

* *Ferdinando*, a little before his Death, ordered the Bishop to be beheaded. *Bembo*.

Men at *Foggia*, having quartered the rest at *Troja* and *Nocera*; where receiving Intelligence, that there was a prodigious Number of Cattle between the Towns of *San Severo* and *Porcino*, which were garrisoned by *Virginio* and *Mariano Savelli*, who had there One Hundred Men at Arms; he took with him Eight Hundred Light Horse * and Fifteen Hundred Foot, and arrived at *San Severo* by Break of Day. He posted the Foot to fall on *Virginio* if he stirred, and then sent the Light Horse † all over the Country, who carried off Sixty Thousand Head of Cattle, and obliged *Mariano Savelli*, who had sallied out of *Porcino* with One Hundred Soldiers, to retire, after the Loss of Thirty of his Men at Arms killed on the Spot.

A. D.
1496.

MONPENSIER, to recover his Honour and Loss, assembled his whole Force, and marched towards *Foggia*: On his way between *Nocera* and *Troja*,
E he

* *Giovio* says Seven Hundred, and attributes all the Glory to *Camillo Vitelli*, who here, for the first Time, made use of Men with Guns on Horseback.

† These were *Grecian* Horses, lately brought from *Macedon* by the *Venetians*.

A. D. 1496. he unexpectedly encountered Eight Hundred German Foot, in *Ferdinando's* Pay, who had been lately landed, and had rashly left their Quarters of *Troja*, rather by the King's Permission than Order, and against the Sentiments of *Fabritio Colonna*, with an Intent to join *Ferdinando* at *Foggia*: They were immediately surrounded by the *French* Army, and not being able to save themselves by Flight, and refusing to lay down their Arms, bravely fighting were all cut to Pieces, but made the Enemy pay dear for their Lives.

Eight
Hundred
Germans
cut to
Pieces at
Foggia.

MONPENSIER, after this, presented himself with his Army before *Foggia*, in order of Battle; but *Ferdinando*, not chusing yet to fight, kept within the Walls: The *French* then moved off to the Wood of the *Incoronata* *, where they remained Two Days, and recovered the best part of their Cattle; after which they returned to *Foggia*, and the next Day to *San Severo*; but in their March they lost many Horses, which were carried

* *Incoronata* is a Church in the Middle of a Wood.

ried off by *Ferdinando's* Cavalry. These Motions prevented both Parties from reaping the Benefit of the Duties on Wool. A. D.
1496.

A FEW Days after, Provisions growing scarce, the *French* went to *Campobasso*, which was in their Possession; from whence they sent some Troops to *Coglionessa*, a large Village, which they took Sword in Hand: The *Swiss* here, contrary to Orders, exercised great Cruelties upon the Inhabitants, which put the Country into the utmost Consternation, and more and more alienated the Minds of the People from a *French* Government*.

FERDINANDO resolved to act upon the Defensive till he was joined by the Troops of the Allies; in the mean time he put his Army in good Condition with the Help of Sixteen Thousand Ducats he had received from the Pope, and what Money he was able to collect from the People.

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ABOUT

* *Giovio* says the Town surrendered, and was afterwards demolished by the *French* and *Germans*, the Men killed, and the Women ravished.

A. D.

1496.

ABOUT the same Time some *Swiss* and other Forces landed at *Gaeta*, and reinforced *Monpensier's* Army. On the other Hand, the Marquis of *Mantua* entered the Kingdom, and came to *Capua* by the way of *San Germano*, taking Possession, either by Force or by Consent, of all the Towns in his March; but they were of no great Importance. At the beginning of *June* he joined the King at *Nocera*, whither *Don Cæsare* of *Arragon* conducted the Troops that had lain before *Taranto*. Now both *Ferdinando* and *Monpensier* had their Armies compleat: The *French* were superior in Foot, the *Italians* in Horse; so that in case of a Battle the Event seemed very doubtful, it being difficult to judge on which Side the Victory would incline.

THE King of *France* began now to turn his Thoughts in good Earnest to the Affairs of *Italy*, and awaked from that Lethargy which he seemed to have been seized with ever since his Return into *France*; was roused at the Loss of the
Castles,

Castles, and at the Disappointment of the *Florentine* Succours, and gave Orders that every thing should be got ready for his Expedition. He began by imploring the Divine Aid, and went post, first to *Tours*, and then to *Paris*, to fulfil the Vows he had made to *St. Martin* and *St. Denis* at the Battle of the *Taro*; then came back with the same haste to *Lions*, and every Day grew more desirous of returning into *Italy*: He gloried in his Acquisition of so fine a Kingdom, and boasted of his being the first *French* King, that, after many Ages, had in Person renewed the Memory of the *Gallic* Arms and Victories. He attributed the Misfortunes that had happened after his Return more to his own neglectful Conduct, than to the Courage of his Enemies, whose Name for military Affairs was in little Esteem amongst the *French*. His Ardour was heightened by the continual Sollicitations of the *Florentine* Ambassadors, of the Cardinal of *St. Piero in Vincola*, *Giovanni Jacomo Trivulzi*, *Vitellozzo*, *Carlo Orsini*, and afterwards of Count *Montorio*, who was sent on Purpose by the Barons of the *French* Party from

A. D.
1496.

A. D. *Naples*; and to enforce all, the Seneschal
 1496. of *Beaucaire* was come by Sea from *Gaeta*,
 and gave great Hopes of Victory, if an
 immediate Succour was sent; but at the
 same time assured his Majesty, that intire
 Destruction must ensue, if the Affairs of
 that Kingdom were any longer neglected.

AND now most of the great Men in
France, that had been formerly against
 the Expedition, thought it would be
 dishonourable to lose a conquered King-
 dom, and to sacrifice the Lives of so
 many of their Countrymen, that were
 left for its Defence. Nor were these
 Designs in the least restrained by the
 Motions of the *Spaniards* at *Perpignan*;
 it being well known their Preparations
 were not so considerable as they gave out;
 but it was thought proper, however, to
 send a Body of Archers, accompanied by
 some *Swiss*, to *Narbonne*, and other Places
 on the Borders, to keep every thing quiet
 in those Parts*.

A

* *Ferdinando* of *Spain* attempted to fright *Charles*
 from the *Italian* Expedition, by making a great shew of
 Troops at *Perpignan*; but he never intended to make
 War, because his Coffers were empty. *Giovio*.

A GRAND Council was held, at which assisted all the Men of Note: It was resolved, that *Trivulzi*, with the Title of *The King's Lieutenant*, should proceed with all Speed to *Asti*, and take with him Eight Hundred Lances, Two Thousand *Swiss*, and Two Thousand *Gascons*; that he should be followed by the Duke of *Orleans*; and then the King should pass the *Alps* with the Remainder of the Army. It was expected, that on his Majesty's Arrival, the Duke of *Savoy* and the Marquisses of *Montferrato* and *Saluzzo* would declare in his Favour; which might prove of great Service in commencing the War against the Duke of *Milan*. It was also taken for granted, that all the *Swiss* Cantons, except *Bern*, which had engaged not to molest *Lodovico*, would readily let their Men be enlisted into the *French* Service. The Eagerness the King had expressed for this new Expedition, before the convoking of the Council, had a great Sway with the Members, and was the Occasion of an almost general Approbation: *Charles* had

A. D. 1496. desired earnestly of the Duke of *Bourbon*, that he would strongly represent to the Council the Necessity of a speedy Reinforcement, and oppose those who should raise any Difficulties; which he did with great Warmth, whenever the Admiral, with a few of his Followers, not indeed contradicted, but only started some Objections, in order to cool the Resolution of the rest. The King himself openly declared, that it was not in his Power to act otherwise, being convinced, from an Impulse he felt within him, that it was the Will of God he should go in Person into *Italy*.

IN this Council it was determined, that Thirty Ships, amongst which the *Normanda* *, a Vessel of very large Bulk, and another of much the same Burthen, belonging to the Knights of *Rhodes*, should sail from the Ocean, where they were stationed, to the Ports of *Provence*, in which Thirty more Vessels, consisting of Galleys and Galleons, should be equipped; and

* The *Normanda*, according to *Bembo*, was of Twelve Hundred Tons.

THE WARS IN ITALY.

73

and thence proceed to the Kingdom of *Naples*, with a vast Supply of Men, Provisions, Ammunition, and Money: But as it would require some Time before this main Succour could be got in Readiness, that some light Vessels should be immediately dispatched with what Men and Provisions were at Hand.

A. D.
1496.

RIGAULT, the King's Major-domo, was sent to *Milan*: For the Duke, tho' he had not equipped the Two Ships that were stipulated, nor suffered the King to arm any Vessels in the Port of *Genoa*, and had restored only the Two taken at *Rapalle*, but not the Twelve Gallies that were stopped at *Genoa*, excusing himself by laying all the Blame on the Obstinacy of the *Genoese*, yet still kept a constant Correspondence with the King, to whom he had lately sent *Antonio Maria Pallavicino*, to assure him of his Resolution to observe all the Articles of the Treaty, and to desire some farther Time for the Payment of the Fifty Thousand Ducats to the Duke of *Orleans*. These Subterfuges would have availed him little

on

Lodovico's
Artifices.

A. D.

1496.

On another Occasion, as his Designs were seen thro', and his Sentiments well known at Court, not only from his Actions, but from some intercepted Letters; wherein he endeavoured to persuade the King of *Spain*, and the King of the *Romans*, to declare War against *France*. But in the present Exigence, as there were some Hopes that he might be induced by Fear to act otherwise than he would by Choice, *Rigault's* Instructions were to tell him, that it was in his Power to cancel the Remembrance of all past Offences, by restoring the Gallies, equipping the Two Ships, and permitting the King to arm his Vessels in the Port of *Genoa*. He was also to notify his Majesty's Resolution of passing the *Alps*; and let him know, that it would prove very much to his Disadvantage, if now, that it was in his Power, he did not renew that Friendship, which the King was satisfied he had neglected, more from ill-grounded Suspicions, than from any solid Reason.

THE Fame of these great Preparations having reached *Italy*, had greatly disturbed the

THE WARS IN ITALY.

75

A. D.

1496.

the Minds of the Allies: *Lodovico Sforza*, in particular, was very much affected, as his Territories were the first that must bear the Shock. He had heard how, after the Departure of *Rigault*, the King, with very angry Words, had dismissed all his Agents; and beginning to ruminate on the great Danger he was in, he would willingly have accommodated Matters with the King, but that he was conscious how much he had provoked him. This Consideration staggered him, and gave him such Diffidence, that he concluded it a harder Task to beget Confidence in one another, than to agree to Articles of Accommodation; for what was required for Safety of one Side, rendered precarious that of the other. He found himself, therefore, at last necessitated to make choice of what was then the most disagreeable to his Inclination. However, to keep off the Danger as long as possible, he amused *Rigault* with his usual Artifices; and, with an Air of Sincerity, told him, that he would oblige the *Genoese* to comply, provided the King would give creditable Sureties in *Avignon*, that the Ships should

A. D.

1496.

should be restored at the End of the War: Further, That each should reciprocally promise, that nothing new should be attempted against one another; and Hostages given for mutual Security. *Lodovico* found Means to spin out some Time with these Proposals, and when they were agreed to, raised some new Difficulty; till at last *Rigault*, finding he was deceived, gave over treating, and left *Milan*.

BUT *Lodovico* had lost no Time, for whilst the Treaty was depending, he dispatched Expresses to the King of the *Romans*, to invite him to come into *Italy*, where he would find the *Venetians* and himself ready to receive him. He sent Ambassadors to *Venice*, to solicit the Senate to unite in this Common Danger, and send instantly all the Forces and Money they could spare, towards *Alexandria*, that they might be in Readiness to oppose the *French*: The *Venetians* came into this Measure without much Difficulty; but were not so easily induced to admit the King of the *Romans*, of whom
they

they had Reason to be jealous; for he laid Claim to their *Terra-Firma*, pretending it belonged to the Empire and House of *Austria*. They also made some Objection against putting the whole Army under the Command of *Lodovico*; but as he continued his Sollicitations, and the Senate knew his timorous Temper, and that Despair might induce him to throw himself into the Arms of the *French*, they agreed to every thing he desired, and sent an Ambassador to *Cæsar*. *

A. D.

1496.

THE Duke and the *Venetians* were both apprehensive, that as soon as the King was arrived in *Italy*, the *Florentines* would attack the *Rivieras* of *Genoa*; for which Reason they ordered *Giovanni Bentivoglio*, who had lifted himself with Three Hundred Men at Arms in the Service of the Confederates, to invade the *Florentine* Borders on the Side of *Bologna*; assuring him, that at the same Time they should be attacked by the *Senese* and *Pisans*; and moreover engaged; that

* The *Italians* gave *Maximilian* and his Predecessors the Name of *Cæsar*; tho', as said before, not of Emperor, till they were crowned by the Pope.

A. D. 1496 that if he could take *Pistoia*, it should remain in his Possession under their Guaranty. *Bentivoglio* seemed to comply, tho' he intended nothing less: He was terrified at the Return of the *French*, and privately sent to the King, excusing his past Conduct, which he said had proceeded from the Situation of Affairs at *Bologna* at that Juncture; promising him for the future to depend on his Will, and on his Regard to give no Disturbance to the *Florentines*.

BUT the King's Desire, tho' never so ardent, was not sufficient to have all his Deliberations put in Execution, tho' his Reputation, and the Danger of *Naples* required Expedition: For the Cardinal of *St. Malo*, who was Treasurer, and had the Direction of every thing, tho' he did not openly disapprove of what was doing, yet he retarded the Payments in such a manner, that all the Preparations were delayed; either because he had a Mind to be thought saving of the Public Money; or, as most People believe, bribed with the Gifts and Promises of the 'Pope and *Lodovico*,

THE WARS IN ITALY.

79

Lodovico, with whom, as was said, he held a secret Correspondence. For no Orders the King gave could avail, tho' he sometimes begged and persuaded, at others commanded with Anger and reproachful Words: For the Cardinal well knowing his Temper, soothed him with a seeming Compliance to what he never intended to perform. Besides another sudden Accident had like to have quite overturned the whole Expedition.

A. D.

1496.

AT the latter End of *May*, when every one expected the King would begin his March for *Italy*, he declared his Resolution of going to *Paris*, to take a formal Leave of *St. Denis*, and also of *St. Martin*, in his way through *Tours*. He said his Journey to *Paris* was of the utmost Consequence; for being determined to carry with him into *Italy* great Sums of Money, lest he should be put to the Streights he had been at in the preceding Year, it was necessary for him, first to raise Money on the *Parisians*, because their Example would be followed by all the other Cities of his Kingdom; besides,

A. D.

1496.

befides, when he was in thofe Parts, he might follicit the speedy March of the Troops out of *Normandy* and *Picardy*. He promifed to return within a Month; and that the Duke of *Orleans* fhould, in the mean time, proceed to *Italy*. But the true Reason of this Journey was thought to have been an Affection he bore to a Lady of the Queen's Bed-chamber, her Majesty being juft gone to *Tours* with her Court.

CHARLES could not be perfuaded to fet afide this Journey, neither by the Intreaties of his Minifters, nor by the Prayers and Tears of the *Italians*, tho' they endeavoured to make him fenfible of the irreparable Damage a Delay would caufe to his Affairs in the Kingdom of *Naples*, where his Army muft be deftroyed for want of Succour. His Return to his Capital when all *Italy* was waiting his Arrival, would be very prejudicial to his Intereft in that Country; for the Credit of an Enterprize is leffened by very fmall Accidents, and when once funk, was not eafily retrieved, tho' greater Efforts were made

made than were at first intended. But the King, deaf to such reasonable Advice, loitered still a Month at *Lyons* before he began his Journey to *Paris*; and without dispatching the Duke of *Orleans*, as promised, he sent only *Trivulzio*, with a few Soldiers, to *Asti*; which he did not so much to make necessary Preparations, as to confirm in his Interest *Filippo* Duke of *Savoy*, who had just then succeeded his young Nephew. All the Care he took of the Kingdom of *Naples* before his Departure from *Lyons*, was to provide Six Ships loaded with Provisions, which he ordered to sail to *Gaeta*, giving Hopes they should be followed by a grand Fleet; and a Remittance of Forty Thousand Ducats to *Montpensier*, by means of the *Florentine* Bankers, to prevent the *Swiss* and *German*s from deserting to *Ferdinando*, as they had protested should be the Case, if they did not receive their Pay before the End of *June*.

A. D.
1496.

THE Duke of *Orleans*, the Cardinal of *St. Malo*, and the Council remained at *Lions*, with Orders to accelerate all

F Things

A. D.
1496.

Things necessary for the Expedition: But if the Cardinal was remiss when the King was present, it could not be expected he would be more sollicitous in his Absence; and the Affairs of the Kingdom of *Naples* would not admit of such Delays; for the Armies on both Sides having taken the Field with all their Strength, it was necessary, on several Accounts, to come to a Decision.

F E R D I N A N D O, after joining the *Venetians*, had taken *Castel Franco*, where he also received a Reinforcement of Two Hundred Men at Arms under *Giovanni Sforza* Lord of *Pesaro*, and *Giovanni Gonzaga*, Brother to the Marquis of *Mantua*, who were General Officers in the Confederate Army, which now consisted of Twelve Hundred Men at Arms, Fifteen Hundred Light Horse, and Nine Thousand Foot.

T H E *French* were encamped before *Circelle*, Ten Miles from *Benevento*; *Ferdinando* directed his March to *Frangete di Monteforte*, which was within Four Miles

THE WARS IN ITALY.

83

Miles of them : But that Place being well fortified, could not be taken at the first Assault, as was expected. The *French* moved from *Circelle*, in hopes of relieving it, but they arrived too late; for the Town dreading a second Attack, submitted, and was delivered up by the *German* Foot at Discretion.

A. D.
1496.

THE *French* had now a fair Opportunity of destroying the *Neapolitan* Army, had they known how to make a good Use of it: For every one allows, that whilst *Ferdinando's* Troops were pillaging the Town of *Frangete*, without any Order or Discipline, they might have been easily routed. *Ferdinando's* Commanders were apprised of the Danger, knowing the two Armies were parted only by a Valley, and therefore used all their Endeavours to call the Soldiers together, and range them in proper Order; but all to no Purpose.

MONPENSIER was sensible, and so was *Virginio Orsini*, of this Opportunity of getting a compleat Victory: The first gave Orders to march and attack; but not

A. D.
1496.

prevailing, the other, with Tears in his Eyes, begged they would move and pass the Valley, whilst the *Italians* were full of Disorder, and deaf to the Commands of their Officers. But *Persi*, the next in Authority to *Monpensier*, prompted by juvenile and inconsiderate Levity; or, as some thought, out of Jealousy of *Monpensier's* Glory, made the Attack appear very dangerous to the Army; he said, that to pass the Valley they must mount, in a manner, under the Enemy's Feet, who were strongly fortified; and, vehemently dissuading the Soldiers from fighting, was the sole Occasion of the Preservation of the *Italian* Army. It was thought that he also instigated the *Swiss* at this Juncture to demand their Pay, which not being possible to be complied with, it occasioned a Tumult: So *Monpensier* was obliged to return under *Circelle*, which Place he stormed the next Day: In the Assault *Camillo Vitelli*, acting the Part both of General and common Soldier, was killed by a Stone thrown from the Walls, which pitched on his Head. The *French* were so discouraged at this Accident,

*Camillo
Vitelli*
killed at
Circelle.

dent, that they immediately raised the Siege, and marched towards *Arriano*, with an Intent, however, to give Battle if a fair Opportunity offered. But the *Arragonians* had no Thoughts of running any Risk, and the *Venetian* Proveditors were positive in the same Resolution; for they knew the Enemy began to want Provisions and Money, and they had no great Opinion of the Preparations making in *France*: They had also Reason to expect Commotions in other Parts of the Kingdom; for in *Abruzzo*, *Annibale*, (a natural Son of the Lord of *Camerino*) who was a Voluntier in *Ferdinando's* Army, and had brought with him Four Hundred Horse at his own Expence, had routed the Marquis of *Bitonto*. The Duke of *Urbino* was also expected with Three Hundred Men at Arms: He was engaged for a Year yet to come in the Pay of the *Florentines*; but chose to quit them, and come into the Service of the Allies, from whom he expected greater Advantages: But to save his Reputation, he gave out that his Dominions were a Fief of the Church, which put him under an Obligation

A. D.
1496.

A. D.
1496.

gation of obeying the Pope's Orders.

Gratiano di Guerra was sent with a Party to prevent his joining the Enemy; but Count *Celano* and Count *Pepoli*, in the Plains of *Sermona*, attacked him with Three Hundred Horse and Three Thousand of the Militia, and put him to Flight.

THE good Fortune of the *French* had begun to decline ever since they lost the Opportunity of destroying the *Italian* Army at *Frangete*. Infinite Difficulties concurred at the same Time to distress them; an extreme Scarcity of Money, Want of Provisions, Hatred of the People, Disagreements amongst the Officers, Disobedience in the Soldiers, and the Desertion of Numbers from their Camp; some being drove away by Necessity, and others disgusted at the Service. They had not Power enough to gather any Quantity of Money, and they received none from *France*; and even the Forty Thousand Ducats remitted to *Florence* came too late. They had then no Money to buy Provisions, nor could they force much from the Inhabitants; for their Enemies were in Possession of most of the Towns around them.

them. The Army on this Account was full of Disorders, and the Courage of the Soldiery greatly damped. The *Swiss* and *Germans* perpetually grumbled, and in a tumultuous manner demanded their Pay; and the Disagreement between the two Generals increased the Discontent. The Prince of *Bisignano* went off with his Men, to protect his own Principality against *Gonsalvo*; and great Numbers of the *Neapolitan* common Soldiers left their Colours, not only because they received no Wages, but also on account of the ill Usage they received from the *French* and *Swiss* in the Distribution of the Prizes and Provisions. These Difficulties obliged the Army to retire every Day from one Place to another, with a Diminution of its Reputation in all Places. They were followed by *Ferdinando*, but the *French* could never get an Opportunity to engage, as *Monpensier* and *Virginio* earnestly desired: *Rosso* only, a *Venetian* Commander of One Hundred Men at Arms, not being able to join the Allies, was cut to Pieces with his Men by the Prefect of *Rome*. At last the *French* being encamped at

A. D.
1496.

A. D.

1496.

Montecalvoli and *Casalarbore* near *Arriano*, *Ferdinando* approached them within Bow-shot, and entrenched himself in such a manner as to fear no Danger. From this Post he reduced the Enemy to an intire Want of Provisions, and also deprived them of Water. This determined *Monpensier* to march into the plentiful Province of *Puglia*; and being aware of the Inconveniencies that attend an Army when closely pursued, he broke up silently in the Beginning of the Night, and marched without beat of Drum full Twenty-five Miles without halting. *Ferdinando* knew nothing of their Motions till the next Morning, and then set out after them; but they were so far advanced as not to be overtaken: So he sat down before *Giesualdo*, and took it the same Day, tho' it had formerly sustained a Siege of Fourteen Months. This proved a great Disappointment to the *French*, who intended to stop at *Venosa*, a Place of Strength, and well supplied with Provisions: For as they were persuaded that the Siege of *Giesualdo* would detain the Enemy several Days, they halted some time

Giesualdo
taken.

time at *Atella*, a Town they had taken; and whilst they were employed in plundering, *Ferdinando* overtook them: He was repulsed in an Attack, but found means at last to place his Camp in their Front, so as to prevent them from proceeding to *Venosa*, which was Eight Miles distant. The *French* were then obliged to remain at *Atella*, where they entertained Hopes of receiving Assistance and Provisions from the neighbouring Towns that were in their Possession. But *Ferdinando* disposed his Men in such a manner, as to frustrate the best part of these Expectations: He next cut down Timber, and dug several Trenches about *Atella*; took several of the adjoining Villages, and began to think he had it now in his Power to gain a compleat Victory, without Danger or Blood-shed.

A. D.

1496.

THE Distresses amongst the *French* increased daily; for the *German* Foot having received but Two Months Pay since they came out of their own Country, and the Time they had been promised their Money being elapsed, went over in

The Ger-

mans. go

over to

Ferdinan-

do.

A. D.
1496.

a Body to *Ferdinando*; which, besides strengthening his Army, gave him an Opportunity of placing more Troops in the Avenues of *Atella*; by which means the Enemy could receive but very little Provision from *Venosa*, and the Parts adjacent. This disheartened them extremely, as they knew they could not subsist many Days in *Atella*, where there was but very little Wheat; and a Water-Mill near the Walls of the Town had been destroyed. But what made their Case desperate was, that all Hopes of Relief were now extinguished: For what happened in *Calabria* gave the finishing Stroke, and ruined all their Affairs in that Kingdom. *Aubigni*, oppressed by a long and tedious Sickness, could not keep his Troops under due Discipline, and several on this Account quitted him, and went to serve under *Monpensier*. *Gonsalvo*, by this means, had an Opportunity of taking several Towns in that Province: He had lately encamped at *Castrovillare* with the *Spaniards*, and a Thousand Peasants, where he received Intelligence, that the Count of *Mileto*,
and

THE WARS IN ITALY.

91

and *Alberigo San Severino*, with several Barons, and an Army equal to his own, were encamped at *Laino*; that their Numbers increased every Day, and that as soon as they had a Superiority, they were determined to give him Battle. *Gonsalvo* resolved to be before-hand, in hopes of finding them unprepared; as was likely enough, since they had no Reason to expect that he would attack them in their strong Quarters at *Laino*. This Town lies on the River *Sapri*, which divides *Calabria* from the *Principato*, and joins to a Castle on the opposite Side by a Bridge. Here the *French* were lodged, and were defended by the Castle from any Attack that might be made from the High-Road; *Musano* and other Villages belonging to the Prince of *Bisignano*, their Friend, lay also between *Laino* and *Castrovillare*. But *Gonsalvo* took a Method unexpected to surprize them: He decamped from *Castrovillare* a little before Night, and leaving the Highway, fetched a Compass by a difficult Road; for he was obliged to pass over some Mountains, and in this manner got to the River un-

A. D.
1496.

French at
Laino.

Gonsalvo's politic March
to *Laino*.

observed.

A. D.

1496.

He takes
Laino by
Surprize.

observed. He ordered the Foot to take Possession of the Bridge that was between the Castle of *Laino* and the Town; which, as the Enemy was under no Apprehension from that Quarter, was very ill guarded. *Gonsalvo* himself, with the Horse, waded the River Two Miles higher, arrived at *Laino* Two Hours before Day; and meeting no Centinels or Guards, got into the Town, seized on Eleven Barons, and made most of the Soldiers Prisoners; for as they ran towards the Castle, they were intercepted by the Foot, who had made themselves Masters of the Bridge. This was the first Victory obtained by *Gonsalvo* in the Kingdom of *Naples*, after which he took several Towns in *Calabria* *; then augmenting his Army with Six Thousand Men, joined the Camp at *Atella*; where also the Duke of *Candia*, who was in the Pay of the Confederates, sent a Detachment of One Hundred Men at Arms from the *Roman* Territory.

THE

* *Squillace, Simari, Crotone, Seminara, Nizastro, Terra, Sluira, and Cisenza.*

THE Arrival of *Gonsalvo* gave *Ferdinando* an Opportunity of blocking up *Atella* more closely: Three Parts of the *Atella* Town were wholly shut up, on one Quarter by the *Arragonians*, on another by the *Venetians*, and on a Third by the *Spaniards*; so that all Provisions were in a manner stopt, especially as the *Venetian* *Stradiotti* scoured the Country, and took several Convoys coming from *Venosa*. Nor had the Besieged any Opportunity to go in Quest of Forage, except in the Night with large Escorts; and Means were found to prevent that also. *Pagolo Vitelli* ventured at Noon-day to go out with One Hundred Men at Arms, but several of them were cut off by an Ambush laid by the Marquis of *Mantua*.

THE *French* were now reduced to the last Extremity: For they had neither Water for themselves, nor could they any longer water their Horses in the River, as they had done with an Escort hitherto: So that overcome with Thirst and Hunger, and having no Hopes of Relief, after enduring

A. D. enduring a Siege of Twenty-two Days,
 1496. they were obliged to capitulate. When

Atella ca- they had obtained proper Passes, they sent
 pitulates. out *Persi*, *Bartolomeo D'Alviano*, and a
Swiss Officer to treat with *Ferdinando*,
 who agreed with them on the following
 Terms : That there should be a Truce for
 Thirty Days, during which Time none
 of the Besieged should go out of *Atella*,
 but be daily supplied by the *Arragonians*
 with Provisions. That *Monpensier* might
 give Notice to the King of *France* of the
 Situation he was in, and if no Succours
 arrived in Thirty Days, from the signing
 the Articles, then he should not only
 surrender *Atella*, but also give up all the
 Places that were possessed by the *French*,
 and under his Command in the Kingdom
 of *Naples*, with the Artillery. That his
 Men should be safe in their Persons and
 Effects, and the *French* be allowed to
 return into *France*, by Land or by Sea,
 as they liked ; and the *Orsini*, and other
Italians, might retire where they pleased
 out of the Kingdom. That all the
 Barons, and other Subjects of *Ferdinando*,
 that within a Fortnight laid down their
 Arms,

THE WARS IN ITALY.

95

Arms, should be pardoned, and all their Effects restored.

A. D.
1496.

THE Thirty Days being expired, the *French*, with many of the *Swiss*, and the *Orsini*, were conducted to the Castle of *Stabbia*, near the Sea. But *Monpensier* refused to give Orders for the Delivery of what remained still in Possession of the *French* in other Parts of the Kingdom; which *Ferdinando* insisted, that as Captain-General, he ought to perform according to the Articles: But he denied having such a Power, and said his Authority did not extend to the Officers and Governors in *Calabria*, *Abruzzo*, *Gaeta*, and in several other Castles and Forts; because they had received their Trust immediately from the King, and not from him. This Dispute lasted several Days; but at last *Ferdinando*, to be even with him for being thus cajoled, gave out, that the Vessels were not ready to receive the *French* on board; and whilst they were equipping, removed them to *Baja* and *Pozzuolo*; where, on account of the bad Air, and many other Hardships, most of them sickened

A. D. 1496. sickened and died: *Monpensier* perished amongst the rest; and of his Men, who exceeded Five Thousand, hardly Five Hundred got safe into *France* *. *Virginio* and *Pagolo Orsini* were sent Prisoners to *Castel dell' Uovo*, by the Pope's Desire, who was determined to confiscate their Estates. He sent the Duke of *Urbino* to plunder and strip their Men, who were in *Abruzzo* under the Command of *Giovanni Giordano*, *Virginio's* Son, and *Bartolomeo d' Alviano*; but these two Officers were not present, for *Ferdinando* had ordered them to be brought to *Naples*, and kept them in Prison; tho' *Alviano* found Means to escape, either by his own Management and Industry, or by the Connivance of *Ferdinando*, who had a particular Regard for him.

AFTER the Victory of *Atella*, *Ferdinando* divided his Army into several Bodies, that he might at once recover the Remainder

* *Giovio* writes, that *Monpensier* was invited by the Marquis of *Mantua* to leave that Air, and reside with him; but that he refused it, saying he would not abandon his Army. The same Writer says, that the bad Air carried off a great many *Arrogonians* as well as *French*.

mainder of his Kingdom. He ordered Don *Federigo* to march to *Gaeta*, and *Prospero Colonna* to *Abruzzo*, where the City of *Aquila* had, of its own accord, returned to his Obedience. *Fabritio Colonna* took the Castle of *San Severino* by Assault; and to strike a Terror into the rest, he ordered the Governor and his Son to be beheaded. He afterwards went to *Salerno*, where the Prince of *Bisignano* came to him to treat for himself, for the Prince of *Salerno*, Count *Capuccio*, and other Barons. It was proposed they should enjoy their Estates, provided they delivered their Castles to *Ferdinando*, who was to keep them a limited Time for his own Security: They all complied with the Conditions, and went to *Naples*.

A. D.
1496.

No greater Resistance was made in *Abruzzo*; for *Gratiano di Guerra*, who had a Body of Eight Hundred Men, not being in a Condition to support himself, retired to *Gaeta*. *Gonsalvo* returned into *Calabria*, where the *French* had the greatest Interest, and were in Possession of the best part of that Province. *Aubigni*

A. D. 1496. *Aubigni* gives up *Calabria*. resisted some Time; but when *Manfredonia* and *Cosenza*, which had been plundered by the *French*, were taken, despairing of holding out any longer, he agreed to relinquish *Calabria*, and was permitted to return into *France* by Land.

CERTAIN it is, that many of these Losses were occasioned by the Negligence and ill Conduct of the *French*. *Manfredonia* was well fortified, and situated in a plentiful Country; and might have been easily furnished with Provisions: The King had left *Gabriello di Montefalcone* for Governor, a Man reputed brave and resolute; yet he was obliged to deliver up this important City, after a few Days Siege, for want of Provisions. Other Places, that could have defended themselves, surrendered, either out of Cowardice, or private Interest of their Governors; or because they would not bear the Inconveniences of a Siege. Some of the Governors found their Castles very well victualled, but sold the Provisions; and therefore were forced to capitulate at the first Appearance of the Enemy. This

Beha-

THE WARS IN ITALY.

99

Behaviour rendered the *French* despicable, and made them intirely lose the Reputation they had formerly gained, when the Person who was left Governor of *Castel dell' Nuovo* by *Giovanni d' Anjou* held it for several Years against *Ferdinando*; nor did he surrendertill the Garrison was almost famished. *Taranto*, *Gaeta*, and some few Towns held by *Carlo del Sanguine*, and *Mont St. Angelo*, from whence *Giuliano Oreno* made several bold Excurfions, were the only Places that remained in the Hands of the *French* throughout the Kingdom.

A. D.
1496.

FERDINANDO was now in the Heighth of his Glory; and every one expected he would be equal to any of his brave Ancestors, when he was snatched away by an untimely Death. He made a Progress to *Somma*, a Village at the Foot of Mount *Vesuvius*, to meet his Queen; here, either sinking under his late Fatigues, or oppressed by some fresh Disorder, he fell dangerously ill, and was carried, with little Hopes of Recovery, to *Naples*, where he died in a few Days, and within a Year after the Decease of

Death of
*Ferdinan-
do.*

A. D. his Father *Alphonso* *. His Courage, Magnanimity, and other princely Accomplishments, as well as his Victories, which were ascribed to his Valour and Conduct, left a deep Impression, not only in the Hearts of his Subjects, but of all the *Italians*. Dying without Issue, he was succeeded by his Uncle Don *Federigo*. The Kingdom of *Naples* had now seen Five Kings in the Space of Three Years. †

Federigo's As soon as *Federigo* had Notice of his Nephew's Death, he left the Siege of *Gaeta* and went to *Naples*, where the old Queen, his Mother-in-Law, put him in Possession of *Castel Nuovo*, contrary to the Expectation of many, who thought she would keep it at the Disposition of her Brother *Ferdinando*, King of *Spain*.

FEDERIGO came to the Crown with the Acclamations of all Parties; for the Princes

* He was taken with a Flux, occasioned by the Embraces of his new Consort *Giovanna*, Daughter to his Grandfather, King *Ferdinando*. *Giovio*.

† The Five Kings were the Four *Arragonians*, and *Charles VIII*.

THE WARS IN ITALY.

101

Princes of *Salerno* * and *Bisignano*, and Count *Capuccio*, were the first that received him on his Arrival, and proclaimed him King. He was preferred to *Ferdinando* for the Mildness of his Temper: Besides there was a Rumour, that *Ferdinando* intended, as soon as he should find himself settled in the Government, to prosecute all those that had been attached to the *French*. But *Federigo*, to take off all such Suspicions, and the better to reconcile the adverse Party, with great Prudence restored the contumacious Barons to their Castles, for which he was very much commended.

A. D.

1496.

THIS ill Success, attended with so much Loss and Ignominy, did not awaken the *French* King; he was absent Four Months from his Court and Army, immersed in Pleasures, and deaf to the continual Sollicitations that came from *Lions*, to desire his Return. He ordered them, indeed, to continue the Preparations, both by Sea and Land, and the Duke

G 3

of

† *Giovio* says, that the Prince of *Salerna* never submitted to *Federigo*, and refused to assist at his Coronation.

A. D. of *Orleans* was in Readiness to set out;
 1496. but the Cardinal, with his usual Artifices, delayed the Payments, which retarded the March of the Troops. The Fleet that was to assemble at *Marseilles*, was, for the same Reason, kept back so long, that the Allies had Leisure to send first to *Nice*, and afterwards to the very Mouth of the Harbour of *Marseilles*, a large Fleet, equipped at their common Expence in the Port of *Genoa*, to prevent the *French* from putting out to Sea. Besides the Cardinal's Artifices, another Reason was whispered about, to be the Occasion of this Delay, which was industriously nourished in the King's Breast, by those who were averse to the *Italian* Expedition. They represented to his Majesty the ambitious and dangerous Designs of the Duke of *Orleans*, who, if victorious, would possess himself of the Dutchy of *Milan*. They also urged, that it was not expedient, nor for the King's Interest, that he should leave *France* before he had made some Agreement with the King of *Spain*, who, desirous of a Reconciliation, had sent Ambassadors to propose a Truce, which

which might be improved into a Peace. Many also counselled him to wait till the Queen was brought to Bed; 'It did not, said they, become his Prudence, and the Love he had for his Country, to expose himself to so many Dangers, before he had an Heir to so fine a Kingdom.' This Reason became stronger, as the Queen was soon after brought to Bed of a Son, who lived but a few Days. So that, partly thro' the Negligence and ill Conduct of the King, and partly by the Difficulties artfully interposed by the Courtiers, the Preparations were deferred; which occasioned the Destruction of his Army, and the total Loss of the Kingdom of *Naples*: And his Allies would have suffered in Proportion, had they not taken Care of themselves, without relying on his Promises.

A. D.
1496.

IT has been said, that rather to content *Lodovico*, who was frightened at the intended Expedition of the *French*, than out of any Desire of the *Venetians*, a Treaty was begun in order to bring *Maximilian* into *Italy*. And it had been stipu-

A. D.
1496.

lated that *Lodovico* and the *Venetians* should pay him a Subsidy of Twenty Thousand Ducats a Month for Three Months, to defray the Charges of the Horse and Foot that were to accompany him. As soon as the Articles had been settled, *Lodovico* took with him the Ambassadors of the Allies, and went to *Manzo*, a Place beyond the *Alps* on the Borders of *Germany*, where he was met by *Maximilian*. After a long Conference, *Lodovico* came back to *Bormi*, a Village in his own Dominions on this Side the *Alps*; and *Cæsar* the next Day, under Pretext of going a Hunting, came to the same Place, where, in two Days, the Time and Manner of his Passage into *Italy* were adjusted; and then *Maximilian* returned into *Germany*, to hasten the Execution of what had been projected.

NOT long after *Lodovico's* Fears were dissipated, there being no Appearance of a *French* Invasion, and consequently no Occasion for the King of the *Romans* to march into *Italy*; but *Lodovico* was still desirous, that what he had procured before
for

for his Safety, might now be effected to serve his Ambition: So he continued to apply to *Maximilian*. And because the *Venetians* refused to pay their Proportion of the Thirty Thousand Ducats that *Maximilian* demanded, over and above the Sixty Thousand already agreed for, he promised to be answerable for them himself; *Maximilian* then came into *Italy*. When he was near *Milan*, he heard the News of *Ferdinando's* Decease, and immediately entertained Thoughts of procuring the *Neapolitan* Crown to be placed on *Giovanni*, the King of *Spain's* only Child, and his Son-in-Law. But *Lodovico* having convinced him, that this would extremely dissatisfy the *Italians*, and disunite the Confederates, which of course would facilitate the Designs of the *French*, he not only gave up his Point, but writ Letters in Favour of *Federigo's* Succession.

A. D.
1496.

Maximilian comes into Italy.

MAXIMILIAN brought with him an inconsiderable * Force; but gave out, that

* His Attendance was so small, that he was ashamed of it; and to avoid the Crowds that flocked about him, he avoided going into *Como* and *Milan*.

A. D.

1496.

that very soon he should be followed by a larger Body, which would complete the Number he had engaged to furnish. He stopped at *Vigevano*; where, in a Council held in his Presence, at which assisted *Lodovico*, the Cardinal *Santa Croce* the Pope's Legate, and the Ambassadors of the Allies, it was proposed to go into *Piedmont*, in order to take *Asti*, and detach from the *French* Interest the Duke of *Savoy* and the Marquis of *Monferrato*, who were Members of the Empire, and were summoned to meet and confer with his Majesty, in some Town in *Piedmont*: But his Forces were too small to give Authority to his Commands; neither of these Princes took any Notice of his Orders, nor was there any Likelihood of succeeding before *Asti*. He also cited the Duke of *Ferrara*, who was a Feudatory of the Empire, as being in Possession of *Modena* and *Reggio*, and for the Security of his Person he offered to pledge the Word and Faith of *Lodovico*: But the Duke refused to comply, saying, ' He could not in Honour take such a Step, whilst

THE WARS IN ITALY.

107

whilst he had in his Custody the *Castelletto* of *Genoa*.

A. D.
1496.

L O D O V I C O was very uneasy at the Thoughts of *Pisa*'s falling into the Hands of the *Venetians*; as it both checked his Ambition, and endangered the Liberties of all *Italy*: He therefore pressed *Maximilian* to go to *Pisa*, persuading himself with fallacious Reasonings, that the *Florentines*, not being able to resist their united Strength, would then be forced to quit their Alliance with *France*: He imagined they could not refuse to make *Maximilian* Umpire of their Disputes with the *Pisans*, who might put an End to all their Differences, either by bringing them into some Agreement, or by deciding according to Equity: And in the mean time *Lodovico* proposed, that *Pisa* and its Territory should be deposited in *Maximilian*'s Hands; not doubting but he had Authority enough with the *Pisans* to get their Consent. He flattered himself that the *Venetians* could not in Honour reject a Proposal so just in itself, and that seemed so well calculated for the common Good,

espe-

A. D.
1496.

especially if insisted on by the rest of the Allies. *Pisa* had formerly been an imperial Town; and therefore it seemed reasonable, when *Maximilian* was present, that his Majesty, preferable to any other, should decide any one's Pretensions to that City. And *Sforza* was persuaded that when *Pisa* was thus deposited, with his Money, and the Interest he had with *Maximilian*, it might be an easy Matter for him to compass his Ends. *Maximilian* did not dislike the Motion; for he was unwilling to have it thought that his March into *Italy* had been of no sort of Importance. Again, he had been so extravagant and prodigal, and spent so much Money in vain Projects, that he was in extreme Want; and he hoped that this Affair of *Pisa* would be very beneficial, and procure him large Sums from the *Florentines*, or from some of the Allies. The Proposition was approved by the Confederates, as greatly conducive to the Security of *Italy*: Nor was it contradicted by the *Venetian* Ambassador. The Senate was well apprised of *Lodovico's* Intentions, but made no doubt of thwarting his Designs,

signs, as also of getting, thro' *Maximilian's* Means, the Port of *Livorno* annexed to the *Pisan* Dominion; which would for ever deprive the *Florentines* of all Hopes of recovering the City of *Pisa*.

A. D.
1496.

THE Allies had often sollicitated the *Florentines* to act in concert with them; and when the ill Consequences of the Passage of the *French* were apprehended, they had obliged themselves to prevail with the *Pisans* to return under their Dominion. But the *Florentines* would not trust the *Venetians* nor *Lodovico*; and being no way disposed to depart from their Alliance with *France*, were always deaf to Sollicitations of that kind. Besides, they expected that on the Arrival of the *French* King, *Pietra Santa*, and *Sarzana* would be restored them; which they could never hope to obtain by means of the Confederates. They had, moreover, such Confidence in their own Merit, for the Services they had rendered the Crown of *France*, that without giving themselves the Leisure to think on the present King's Temper and Politics, they took for granted

he

A. D.

1496.

he would not only restore *Pisa*, but put them in Possession of all *Tuscany*. *Girolamo Savanorola* flattered them in these Hopes, and predicted in his Sermons, that the Calamities of the Republic would be turned into Prosperity, and Increase of Dominion: Denouncing, at the same Time, terrible Judgments to the Court of *Rome*, and to the rest of the *Italian Powers*. Many judicious Persons despised both the Preacher and his Predictions; yet the Bulk of the People generally paid a great Regard to all he said, and amongst them not a few of the most considerable Citizens; some out of Simplicity, some out of Ambition, and others out of Fear. It was therefore no Wonder that the Allies should be so desirous to compel the *Florentines* to break an Alliance that was so prejudicial to the common Cause; especially as it did not seem to be attended with many Difficulties. For the *Florentines* were obnoxious to their Neighbours, and could have no Hopes of any present Assistance from the King of *France*; who would hardly give himself any Concern for their Affairs, when,

when, with so much Indolence, he had abandoned his own natural Subjects at *Naples*; and they were so drained of Money by this War, which had now lasted Three Years, that they were in no Condition to carry it on much longer.

A. D.

1496

THE Operations of this Year's Campaign in the *Pisan* were remarkable only for the Regularity of the military Exploits, and Resolution on both Sides; for their Armies were not numerous, nor the Places they besieged of any Note; being only some Castles, hardly known to Foreigners by their Names, and of themselves of little Consequence. Shortly after the Citadel had been given up to the *Pisans*, and before the Arrival of the *Venetian* Succours, the *Florentines* took the Castle of *Buti*, and set down before *Calci*; where, to secure a Pass for Provisions, they erected a Fort on *Mont-Dolorosa*; but the Guard they had posted was surpris'd and cut to Pieces. Not long after the *Pisans* sallied out and surpris'd *Francesco Secco*, who, with a good Body of Horse, was posted in the
Suburbs

A. D.

1496.

Suburbs of *Buti*, to protect the Convoys of Provisions that were constantly going to *Ercole Bentivoglio*, who, with the *Florentine* Foot, was besieging a little Fort on the *Verrucola*. *Francesco*, pent up amongst the Houses, had no Room to extend his Horse, and therefore lost a good Number of them. These Advantages had raised the Spirits of the *Pisans*, which still increased on the Approach of the *Venetians*.

ERCOLE BENTIVOGLIO had his Head Quarters in the Castle of *Bientina*, when the first Column of the *Venetian* Forces, under *Gianpagolio Manfroni*, arrived at *Vico Pisano*, within Two Miles of that Place. *Ercole* drew out his Troops, but at the Approach of the *Venetians*, feigning Fear, retired again into *Bientina*. After he had several Days amused the Enemy in this Manner, when he found that by his Stratagem he had taught them to think themselves secure, he took an Opportunity of drawing them into an Ambush, where they were totally defeated, most of them killed on the Spot, and the rest pursued

as far as the Walls of *Vico Pisano*. But A. D. 1496. the Joy of this Victory was allayed by the Loss of *Francesco Secco*, who had joined *Ercole* that Morning, and was killed by a Musket Shot *. The Remainder of the *Venetians*, with Eight Hundred *Stradiotti*, soon arrived, under the Conduct of the *Proveditor Giustiniano Morefino*. *Bentivoglio* now finding himself inferior, but not willing to quit the Field, kept on the Defensive, and possessing himself of a very strong Post, between the Castle of *Pontadera* and the River *Era*, continually harrassed the Enemy, and prevented them, after they had taken *Castel Buti*, which surrendered at Discretion, from getting Possession of any other Place. He had also the good Fortune to defeat Three Hundred of their *Stradiotti*, who were ravaging the Country about *Valdera*.

THE *Florentines* were, at this Juncture, infested also by the *Senese*, who, encouraged

* Both *Giovio* and *Bembo* ascribe the Glory of this Action to *Francesco Secco*, without so much as mentioning *Bentivoglio*.

A. D.

1496.

raged by the Allies, took this Opportunity to send the Lord of *Piombono* and *Giovanni Savelli*, at the Head of some Troops, against them. They came as far as the Foot of *Valiano* Bridge; but on hearing that *Rinuccio da Moriano* was moving towards them, they retired in great Disorder, leaving behind part of their Artillery. The *Florentine* Army, being reinforced by the Troops under *Rinuccio*, was not inferior to the Enemy; and having now secured all about *Valiano*, the War was confined amongst the Forts on the Hills; where the Inhabitants, having an Affection for the *Pisans*, and always running in to their Assistance when any Skirmishes happened, the *Florentines* were commonly worsted. By the Favour of some of their People in *Ponte Sacco*, the *Pisans* were let into that Castle, where they stripped and plundered a Regiment of Men at Arms, and took *Lodovico da Marciano* Prisoner; after which they abandoned the Place, which would have been difficult to preserve, and posted themselves on the Hills; over which the Convoys of Provisions that supplied *Pisa* were obliged to pass. They also
fortified

fortified all the Castles in that District, in order to cut off the Communication between *Livorno* and the Enemies Camp. One of these little Forts became memorable by an unfortunate Accident. The *Florentines* having formed a Design to attack *Sojano*, had broke up all the Roads leading to it from the River *Curfino*, and had posted Men on the Banks to prevent all Succours. When every Thing was ready for opening the Siege, *Piero Capponi*, the *Florentine* Commissary, was shot through the Head by a Musket Ball from the Place, as he was giving Orders to play the Artillery: Too ignoble a Death for so brave a Commander; who, if destined to meet his Fate in the Field, deserved to fall in some more considerable Action, for the taking of this mean Place was of little Importance. On this melancholy Accident the Siege was raised. The *Florentines* were also obliged to send Forces into the *Lunegiana*, which came time enough to save the *Verrucola*, besieged by the *Genoese* and the Marquisses of *Malespina* *.

A. D.

1496.

Piero Capponi killed

THE

* The Marquisses of *Malespina* had of long time been
Sovereigns

A. D.

1496.

THE *Pisans*, for some Months past, had been able to cope with the *Florentines*; not only because they had been joined by great Numbers of Men, that came out of their own Villages, who were trained and mustered, and by doing constant Duty, were become good Soldiers, but had also received considerable Supplies both of Horse and Foot from *Lodovico*, and from the *Venetians*; the last, indeed, far exceeded the Number of the former, who daily diminished for Want of Pay; for which Reason the *Venetians* thought it necessary to send another Recruit of One Hundred Lances and Six light Gallies full of Provisions. That provident Senate spared no Expence that was required to protect *Pisa*, and to gain the Good-will of the Inhabitants; who daily grew cooler in their Affections for the Duke of *Milan*, for his neglecting the

Sovereigns of great part of the *Lunegiana*. *Mertio Jusone*, of a noble *Roman* Family, was the first that settled there; from *Martii* their Name was changed to *Malespina*, for Reasons given in the History of *Milan*, and more particularly by *Porcacchi*.

the Payment of his Forces, and for acting with so much Inconstancy. Sometimes, for Example, he would seem very solicitous for their Welfare, and at others so indifferent, that they began to suspect, that it was at his Instance *Giovanni Bentivoglio* had not attacked the *Florentines* according to the Orders sent him by the Allies. *Bentivoglio* alledged, that *Lodovico* had not provided him with Money according to Engagement; which the *Pisans* thought proceeded either out of Avarice, or rather, that he designed to chastise, but not totally depress the *Florentines*; which, indeed, plainly now appeared by proposing *Maximilian's* Journey to *Pisa*.

A. D.
1496.

MAXIMILIAN having fixed his Resolution to visit *Pisa*, sent two Ambassadors to *Florence*, to notify, that he had thought proper to pass into *Italy*, before he undertook a War against the Infidels; that he might first make and establish Peace amongst the *Italian* Potentates. He therefore required, that in concert with the rest of the Confederates,

A. D.

1496.

they would unite in the Defence of their Country; and if that was not their Intention, he insisted on their declaring themselves. That he was resolved to make Use of his Imperial Authority in regard to *Pisa*, and would be the sole Judge of their Differences with the *Pisans*. In the mean time he enjoined them to desist from all Hostilities till his Arrival, as he was sure would be done on the Part of the *Pisans*, to whom he had sent the same Orders; enforcing all with many smooth Protestations of his Honour, and of his Resolution to decide according to the strictest Rules of Justice. The Answer was, 'That they highly commended his Majesty's good Intentions; that they had a great Opinion of his Uprightness; and would soon signify to him their Resolutions.

IN the mean time the *Venetians*, to prevent either *Maximilian* or *Lodovico* from seizing on *Pisa*, with the Consent of the *Pisans*, immediately sent thither *Annibale Bentivoglio*, with One Hundred and Fifty Men at Arms, and soon after a Squadron of *Stradiotti*, and One Thousand.

land Foot; and they declared to *Lodovico*, A. D. 1496. that as their Republic ever protected free Cities, they had sent this Reinforcement to the *Pisans*, to enable them to recover the rest of their Forts on the Hills that were in the Possession of the *Florentines*. This Memorial had the desired Effect.

THIS Readiness of the *Venetians* endeared them to the *Pisans*, who were never refused any of their Demands; which, indeed, were many and frequent, for Provisions, Ammunition, Troops, and Money. They were so captivated with the Senate for so heartily espousing their Cause, that all the Confidence and Esteem they formerly had in the Duke of *Milan*, were now transferred to the *Venetians*; yet they solicited the Emperor to hasten his March, in hopes that their own Forces, united to his, might make them Masters of *Livorno*.

ON the other Hand the *Florentines* laboured under a Scarcity of all Necessaries, and were very apprehensive that they should not be able to resist so powerful

A. D.
1496.

an Alliance. They had not a single *Italian* Prince in their Interest; and they were informed by their Agents in *France*, that there was no Hopes of any Assistance from the King, whom they had earnestly pressed to help them, at least with a Sum of Money. All the Comfort they had in their Misfortunes was, that they were under no Apprehensions from *Piero de Medici*: For the Allies had agreed in Council not to mention his Name; having found by Experience, that the Fear of his Restoration had no other Effect than to unite them more firmly in the Preservation of their Liberties.

LODOVICO all this while, under Dread of the *Venetian* Power, was heartening the *Florentines*, and persuading them to leave all their Disputes to the Decision of the King of the *Romans*. He remonstrated the Danger they would be exposed to, if they refused this Expedient; which was the only one that could wrest *Pisa* from the *Venetians*, and reinstate them in that Dominion, which was necessary for the Safety of *Italy*, and was the Desire of the King

King of *Spain*, and agreeable to the Sentiments of the Confederates. But the *Florentines*, neither moved with these vain and insidious Counsels, nor in the least terrified with the impending Difficulties and Dangers, resolved to give no farther Answer to *Cæsar*, nor leave any thing to his Determination, unless they were first put in Possession of *Pisa*; for they put no Confidence in his Favour, nor stood in Fear of his Authority: It being well known, that having neither Forces nor Money, he acted as the Duke of *Milan* directed him; and as they saw no Disposition in the *Venetians* to quit *Pisa*, they ordered *Livorno* to be well fortified; and assembled all their Troops in the Neighbourhood of *Pisa*. That they might not, however, seem averse to Peace, and to endeavour to gain *Maximilian*, they sent Ambassadors to him at *Genoa*; whose Instructions were to let him know, that any sort of Declaration on their Part was needless; since the Reverence they had for his Name, was sufficient to make them comply with any thing he should desire of them; that to attain the laudable

Refo-

A. D.
1496.

The Flo-
rentines
send Am-
bassadors
to Maxi-
milian.

A. D.
1496.

Resolution he had taken of giving Peace to *Italy*, nothing could be more conducive than the immediate Restoration of *Pisa* to the *Florentines*: For from this Root sprung all the Measures that occasioned so much Uneasiness to himself, and to the Allies; that *Pisa* was the Motive that encouraged a certain Power, meaning the *Venetians*, to aspire to the Dominion of all *Italy*; that it would cast an Imputation on his Justice, and was besides contrary to the Imperial Laws, to expect a Treaty on any other Footing than an immediate Restoration of an unjust and violent Seizure: Concluding, that if by his Majesty's Influence and Authority they should be reinstated in the Dominion of *Pisa*, they were ready to make any Declaration conformable to his Desire; and, confiding in his Justice, were willing then to be determined by him in all their Rights.

CÆSAR was no ways pleased with this Ambassy: He expected that, on his promising to reinstate them after a limited Time in the Dominion of *Pisa*, they should

should have immediately acceded to the League; and therefore returned the Ambassadors no Answer till the Instant he was getting on board a Ship in the Mole of *Genoa*, when he turned to them, and said, They might know his Mind from the Pope's Legate in that City. The Legate referred them to *Lodovico*, who had attended the Emperor to *Tortona*, and was returned to *Milan*, whither the Ambassadors repaired. But whilst they were waiting for an Audience, they received an Express from *Florence*, where the Result of their Ambassy was already known, with Orders to return, without conferring with the Duke. So that when they were admitted to *Lodovico's* Presence, they only said, 'That on account of the Friendship that subsisted between his Highness and their Republic, they thought it their Duty not to pass through his Dominions without paying him their Respects in Person.'

A. D.

1496.

THE Duke, on a Supposition they were come to receive *Cæsar's* Answer, in order to make a Shew, as he did on all

Occa-

A. D.
1496.

Lodovico
baffled by
the Flo-
rentine
Ambassa-
dors.

Occasions, of his Eloquence and political Artifices, had summoned the Ambassadors of the Allies to be present at this Meeting; intending to make himself merry with his Neighbours Calamities. He could not dissemble his Surprize and Confusion at this Compliment of the Ambassadors; and therefore asked them, ‘What Answer they had received from *Cæsar*?’ They replied, ‘That according to the Laws of their Republic, they were not allowed to discourse on the Subject of their Ambassy to any other Prince, but to him to whom they were delegated.’ *Lodovico*, in great Agitation, said, ‘If I should give you his Answer, which you know he has intrusted me with, I suppose then you would not hear it?’ They replied, ‘That to hear was not prohibited, nor could they hinder any body from speaking.’ ‘Then, says the Duke, I am willing to tell it you; but I cannot, unless you let me know what you said to him.’ They answered, ‘That was not allowed them for the same Reasons they had before given; and besides, it would be superfluous, because *Cæsar* could not employ any

any one to give an Answer, without communicating to the same Person what had been demanded.' *Lodovico* was not able any longer to dissemble his Disappointment; he abruptly dismissed the Assembly, and became himself the Subject of those Sneers he intended to put on the *Florentine* Ministers.

A. D.

1496.

CÆSAR embarked on board the Gallies that the *Venetians* kept on the *Tuscan* Seas, and was attended by a good Fleet of *Genoese* Vessels, well equipped, but with few Troops; there being only One Thousand *German* Foot on board. He landed at *Porto Spezie*; from whence he proceeded to *Pisa* by Land, where he met Five Hundred Horse, and assembled another Thousand *German* Foot, that had marched thither by Land; with these he joined *Lodovico's* Forces and some *Venetian* Troops, with an Intent to besiege *Livorno* both by Land and Sea. He ordered a Detachment of *Venetians* to march to the Bridge of *Sacco*, to prevent the *Florentines*, who were not very numerous, from insulting *Pisa*, or relieving *Livorno*. For this

A. D. 1496. this last Place the Republic was in no sort of Concern, since it was extremely well provided with Men and Ammunition, and they daily expected a Reinforcement from *Provence* : For as the *French* Soldiery were in great Esteem, to give a greater Reputation to their Army, they had, with the King's Leave, enlisted *Monf. d' Albigeois*, one of his Officers, with One Hundred Lances, and One Thousand *Swiss* and *Gascon* Foot ; who were to be transported to *Livorno* on board a Fleet of Vessels they had hired, and loaded with Wheat, of which there was a great Scarcity in *Tuscany*. This Succour, when first sollicitated, was not intended against *Cæsar* ; and was with much Difficulty brought over : For *d' Albigeois* and his Men, when all was ready, refused to go on board ; and only Six Hundred embarked. This Fleet consisted of Five Ships and some Galleons, and a large Ship of *Normandy* *, that was bound for *Gaeta* with a Supply of Men and Provisions,

* *Vitellozio* and *Carlo Orfini* were sent with the *Normanda*, laden with *French* Money : This Ship was of Twelve Hundred Tons Burthen, and the others about Four Hundred. *Giovio* and *Bembo*.

Provisions. There never was a Relief more seasonable; for the very Day that *Cæsar* had sent a *Pisan* Commissary to *Livorno*, with a strong Party of Pioneers, to make Bridges and mend the Roads, for the easy Passage of the Army, this Fleet appeared under sail with a prosperous Wind, and in no Danger of being attacked by *Maximilian's* Ships, which were retired under the *Melora** (a Rock famous for the entire Overthrow and Destruction of the *Pisan* Fleet by the *Genoese*) and got safe into Port, without any other Damage than the Loss of one Galleon, laden with Corn, that separated from the rest, and was taken. This gave great Courage to the *Livornese*, and added Spirits to the *Florentines*; who now seemed to think themselves under the immediate Care of Heaven, as *Savonarola* had, for several Days before, been preaching to the terrified Populace.

A. D.
1496.

BUT

* This Defeat of the *Pisans* was that perhaps in 1284, at a Place called *Veronica*, Three Miles from the Port. *Morofini* the *Podesta* of *Pisa*, and such a Number of Noblemen were taken, that the *Tuscans* used to say, that if any one wanted to see *Pisa*, he must go to *Genoa*. *Giustiniani*, lib. 3.

A. D.

1496.

Siege of
Livorno.

BUT this did not prevent *Maximilian* from opening the Siege; he sent Five Hundred Men at Arms, One Thousand Horse, and Four Thousand Foot by Land; and went himself on board the Gallies to the Mouth of the Lake that lies between *Pisa* and *Livorno*. He gave Orders to Count *Gajazzo*, whom the Duke of *Milan* had sent to attend him, to make a Breach on one Side of the Town, and posted himself on the other with some Difficulty, on account of the Artillery that played very briskly upon him from the Town. His first Attempt was on the Port, to obtain which he drew his Men on the Side of the Fountain, and began to fire on *Magnano*, that was strongly fortified. The Besieged razed the *Palazzo*, and the little Tower near the Sea, as it could not be defended, and if taken might endanger the new Tower. *Maximilian* then ordered his Vessels to approach the Shore, which they did very safely: For no Intreaties could prevail with the Masters of the *French* Ships, after they had landed the Men and the Corn, to remain

remain with them some time; and the *Normanda* had already proceeded to *Gaeta*. A. D.
1496.

The Attack on *Magnano*, which was made with an Intent to facilitate the Siege on the Sea Side, proved ineffectual: The Cannon of the Besiegers did little Damage; and the frequent Sallies annoyed them. But Destiny had ordered, that the Hopes of the *Florentines*, which began with the Winds, should also with their Favour be compleated: For a sudden Storm arose, that shattered the Enemies Fleet, and drove to Sea the *Grimalda*, a Ship full of Artillery, that had brought *Cæsar* from *Genoa*; which, after tossing to and fro for several Hours, was at last overfet opposite to the new Rock, with the Loss of its Artillery, and all the Men; and the other Vessels were so damaged, and dispersed, that they were rendered useles for the Siege. The *Venetians* also lost Two Ships in this Storm; and in the Confusion the *Livornese* recovered the Galleon that had been taken in coming from *Provence*.

THIS Accident quite disheartened

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Maxi-

A. D.
1496.
The Siege
of Livor-
no raised.

Maximilian; who, after several Con-
sultations, determined to raise the Siege,
and undertake some other Exploit. He
drew off, therefore, to *Vico Pisano*, and
ordered a Bridge to be laid on the River
Arno, between *Cascina* and *Vico*, and
another on the *Cilecchio*: But when every
body expected he would pass these Bridges,
he suddenly directed his March towards
Milan; having done no other Feat in
Tuscany, than that of pillaging with Four
Hundred Horse the obscure Village of
Bolgheri, in the Marshes of *Pisa*. The
Excuse he made for this strange Retreat
was, that the *Venetians* mistrusting him,
had refused to withdraw their Forces from
Pisa, and had not paid him all their
Quota of the Seventy Thousand Ducats.
He complained every where of this bad
Usage; but at the same time extremely
commended the Conduct of *Lodovico*.
At *Pavia* he held a great Council, and
declared his Resolution of returning into
Germany; but proposed afterwards to
remain in *Italy* all the Winter, with One
Thousand Horse, and Two Thousand
Foot; provided he was allowed every
Month

Month Twenty-two Thousand Florins of the *Rhine*. He next proceeded to the *Lomellina*, to wait there for the Answer of the *Venetians*; from whence, whilst every one expected he would have gone to *Milan*, which had been a prudent Step, as it afterwards appeared, changing his Mind, he returned to *Cusago*, a Place within Six Miles of that Capital; then, without acquainting the Duke, or any one, he went suddenly to *Como*; where he was told that the Pope's Legate was arrived, tho' he had been ordered not to follow him; at which, rising from Dinner, he embarked in such Haste, that the Legate had hardly Time to speak a few Words to him at the Head of the Boat before he put off. *Maximilian* told him, that his Affairs called him into *Germany*, but that he should soon return. At *Bell' Agio* *, on the Lake of *Como*, he was informed, that the *Venetians* had agreed to

I 2

his

* *Bell' Agio* is a delicious Promontory in the Lake of *Como*; on the Top there was a famous Stone Castle, which in 1357 was demolished by *Gio. Galeazzo Visconti*, Duke of *Milan*, because it was a Receptacle for Thieves and Assassins. The Family of the *Sfondrati* have now a magnificent Palace on that Spot.

A. D.

1496.

his Proposal; on which he made them believe he would return to *Milan*. But a few Days after, with his usual Instability, leaving behind the most part of his Troops, he returned into *Germany*, after giving a mean Idea of his Power to the *Italians*, who for a long Time before had not seen an Emperor at the Head of an Army in their Country.

THE Departure of *Maximilian* made *Lodovico* despair of getting Possession of *Pisa*, or expelling from thence the *Venetians*; unless some unforeseen Accident should present itself. He therefore recalled his Troops, comforting himself in this Misfortune, that the *Venetians* would have the whole Weight of that War on their Hands: And he was not without Hopes, that this might be the Cause of something turning out to his Advantage.

THE Duke's Forces being withdrawn, the *Florentines*, by their Superiority, were enabled to act offensively, and immediately possessed themselves of all the
Castles

THE WARS IN ITALY.

133

Castles that were on the Hills; which obliged the *Venetians* to increase their Troops, so as to have in the whole Four Hundred Lances, Seven Hundred Light-Horse, and Two Thousand Foot.

A. D.
1496.

THE War in the Kingdom of *Naples* was all this while drawing to a Conclusion: for the City of *Taranto*, with the Castles, oppressed by Famine, surrendered to the *Venetians*, who had besieged it with their Fleet. The Senate did not care to part with this Acquisition; but to quell the Murmurs of the People, who suspected that they intended to annex it to their own Dominions, at the Instances of the Pope and the King of *Spain*, they at last delivered it up to *Federigo*.

Taranto
surrenders
to *Federigo*

THE *French* at *Gaeta* were informed how the Ship *Normanda*, that was coming to their Relief, after disengaging herself from some *Genoese* Ships that had attacked her near Port *Hercole*, was in a violent Storm unfortunately cast away. At this News they gave up all Hopes of keeping *Gaeta*, which was besieged by the young

The *Nor-*
mand cast
away.

134

THE HISTORY OF

A. D.

1496.

Gaeta sur-
renders.

King; for tho' they were supplied with a Sufficiency of Provisions for some Months, yet they had no Reason to think that their King would be more sollicitous in assisting them, than he had been in preserving so many other Towns, and so great a Number of his Nobility. On these Considerations they sent to *Aubigni*, who, on account of some Disputes concerning the Evacuation of the Towns in *Calabria*, was still in the Kingdom; and through his Means it was agreed, that they should give up the Town and Castle, and be permitted to transport themselves to *France*, with all their Effects.

King
Charles's
Design on
Genoa.

CHARLES was now freed from the Trouble of succouring the Kingdom of *Naples*; but vexed at his Loss and Mis-carriage, he believed that he might, in some Measure, retrieve his Honour, if he could possess himself of *Genoa*. He had a Dependance on his Friendship with *Battistino Fregoso* the former Doge, and with the Cardinal of *St. Piero in Vincola*, who was a Native of *Savona*; both Men of great Interest in their Country: The Dis-

THE WARS IN ITALY.

135

Discontent between *Gianluigi del Fiesco* and the Family of the *Adorni*, seemed to favour his Design. Moreover the *Genoese* were in general dissatisfied with the Duke of *Milan*, ever since he had been the Author of selling *Pietra Santa* to the *Lucchese*, preferably to themselves; and more so when they found out, that it was only to amuse them that he had given them Hopes the *Venetians* would prevail on the *Lucchese* to let them have it for a Sum of Money: A Thing he never intended.

A. D.
1496.

LODOVICO was so alarmed at this new Project, that, notwithstanding his Disgust with the *Venetians*, on account of their Conduct at *Pisa*, he resolved to make an Alliance with them; and to send to *Genoa* the Horse and Foot that *Maximilian* had left in *Italy*: Which proved fortunate for those Troops, who would have been destitute of any Provision if this Accident had not happened.

Lodovico
sends
Troops to
Genoa.

WHILST this was in Agitation, the Pope thought he had a fair Opportunity

A. D.

1497.

of seizing the Estates of the *Orsini*, whilst the Heads of that Family were detained Prisoners at *Naples*. With this View, in the Beginning of the Year 1497, in the Consistory, he pronounced them Rebels, and declared their Estates confiscated, for entering into the *French* Service without his Permission: After which he attacked some of their Towns, and ordered the *Colonnas* to seize on those that bordered on their Dominions *. Cardinal *Ascanio* gave great Encouragement to this Undertaking, both on account of his Friendship with the *Colonna* Family, and his Enmity to the *Orsini*. *Lodovico* also gave his Approbation; but the *Venetians* were dissatisfied, as being interested in the Welfare of the *Orsini*: Yet as they could not justify, with any colour of Reason, whatever Opposition they should make, and did not care, at this Juncture, to draw upon themselves the Pontiff's Anger, they seemed content; and permitted the Duke of *Urbino*, their Commander in Chief,

to

* *Alexander* used to call the *Roman* Barons the Pope's Fetters. He laid hold of this Opportunity to humble the *Orsini*, which at the same Time enabled him to enrich his Children. *Giovio*.

to join the Pope's Forces, that were under the Duke of *Candia*, and had amongst them as Legate Cardinal *da Luna* of *Pavia*, a Dependant of *Ascanio*: *Federigo* also sent *Fabritio Colonna* to *Alexander's* Assistance. This Army, after taking several Towns, with little Opposition, invested *Trivignano*, which, after a vigorous Defence, surrendered at Discretion. But, during the Siege, *Bartolomeo Alviano* sallied out of *Bracciano*, and within Eight Miles of *Rome*, cut to Pieces Four Hundred Horse, that were escorting the heavy Cannon to the Ecclesiastical Army: And another Day, near the Cross of *Montemari*, he had like to have surprized Cardinal *Valenza*, as he was Hunting without the Walls of *Rome*; but he saved himself by getting into *Trivignano*. The Papalins * afterwards took *Lisola*, which surrendered after the Fort had sustained a short Battery; and now they were to compleat the War with the Reduction of *Bracciano*, in which lay all the Hopes of the *Orsini*. This Town, which was
strong

A. D.
1497.

* The Pope's Army is called by the Historians the Ecclesiastic Army, the Papalins, and the Ecclesiastics.

A. D. strong before, had been lately repaired, and stored with Provisions; its Suburb was also fortified with a new raised Bastion in Front, and there was a numerous Garrison commanded by *Alviano*, who was young, brisk, and trained up in military Exercises; and by the small Specimens he had already given of his Conduct, no ways deceived those who prognosticated he would prove one of the best Captains of the Age. The Pope daily augmented his Army, and had lately enlisted Eight Hundred *German* Foot, of those that had served in the Kingdom of *Naples*.

Bracciano
besieged.

SEVERAL Batteries were erected against *Bracciano*, where the Besieged defended themselves very gallantly, and repaired, with great Diligence, the Breaches: Yet after some Days they were compelled to quit the Suburb, which the Ecclesiastic Forces took Possession of, and immediately made an Attack on the Town: But notwithstanding they had fixed their Standard on the Walls, they were beaten off with great Slaughter, and *Antonello Savello* was wounded in the Action. In another Attack

Attack the Besieged behaved with equal *A. D.*
 Bravery, and repulsed the Papalins, who *1497.*
 were obliged to retire after the Loss of
 above Two Hundred of their Men killed
 and disabled. The Honour of this Action
 was intirely attributed to *Alviano*; as also
 the Glory of so noble a Defence: He
 kept his own People in perfect Order and
 Discipline, harrassed the Enemy both
 Day and Night, without giving them any
 Rest, and gained also great Applause by
 the following Stratagem: From *Cervetri* *Alviano's*
 he ordered a Party of Horse to ride out, *Stratagem*
 as it were to reconnoitre the Enemy's
 Camp; and whilst they, taking the Bait,
 in a disorderly Manner went to repel them,
 he sallied out, put to flight the Foot that
 guarded the Artillery, and brought back
 some small Pieces with him into *Bracciano*.
 But notwithstanding these Advantages, it
 was impossible for that Town to hold out
 without a timely Succour; on which all
Alviano's Hopes depended.

CARLO ORSINI and *Vitellozzo* being
 both of the *Guelf* Party, were firmly
 by that Tye united. They first procured
 Money

A. D.

1497.

Money from the *French King*, to recruit and get together their broken Regiments, that had suffered, and been dispersed over the Kingdom of *Naples*; then took the Opportunity of some *Provence* Vessels bound for *Italy*, and were landed at *Leghorn*. *Carlo Orsini* went to *Soriano* to muster his old Soldiers, and the Friends and Partisans of his Family. *Vitellozzo* went on the same Errand to *Citta di Castello*, a Town under his Dominion, where he assembled his veteran Soldiers and Peasants, and joyned them with Two Hundred Men at Arms, and Eighteen Hundred Foot he had brought with him, and placing his Artillery on *French* Carriages, he joined *Carlo* at *Soriano*.

The Siege
of *Bracciano*
raised.

THE Ecclesiastic Troops apprehending they might be inclosed between this Army and *Bracciano*, raised the Siege; and sent the heavy Artillery into *Anguilara*. And lest the Enemy should ravage all the Country, as they had already done some Villages, they marched till they came up to them between *Soriano* and *Bassano*, where there happened a smart

En-

Engagement that lasted several Hours. *A. D.*
Francesco Orsini was at the Beginning of ^{1497.}
 the Action taken Prisoner; but at last the
 Pope's Troops were put to Flight, after ^{The Ec-}
 they had lost above Five Hundred Men, ^{clesiastics}
 with all their Artillery and Baggage. The ^{defeated.}
 Duke of *Urbino*, *Gian Piero di Gonzaga*,
 Count *Nugolara*, and several Persons of
 Distinction were taken Prisoners. The
 Duke of *Candia* was slightly wounded in
 the Face, and saved himself with the
 Legate, and *Fabritio Colonna* in *Ronciglione*.
Vitellozzo had the Glory of this Victory;
 his Foot had been disciplined under him
 and his Brothers according to the Foreign
 Manner; and he had provided Pikes two
 Foot longer than usual, which gave him
 a great Advantage over the Enemy; who,
 by this new Invention, received mortal
 Stabs without being able to reach their
 Adversaries. The gaining of this Battle
 was the more glorious for him, as there
 were in the Pope's Army Eight Hundred
 German Foot, who had created a Terror
 in the *Italians* ever since the Passage of
Charles VIII.

A. D.

1497.

AFTER this Victory, the Conquerors began to make Incurfions all over the Country on this Side the *Tyber*, without any Controll; and some paffed the River at *Monte Rotondo*, and fcoured the only Road wherein the Papalins thought themfelves fecure. The Pope loft no Time in recruiting his Forces; and fent to *Naples* for *Gonfalvo* and *Prospero Colonna* to come to his Affiftance. But not long after this Action, the *Venetians* and *Spaniards* interpoſed their good Offices; the firſt out of Love to the *Orſini*; and the laſt, for fear theſe Diſturbances might create others of greater Conſequence, and prove dangerous to the League. A Peace then was concluded, which was very agreeable to the Pope, who found himſelf immerged in a vaſt Expence, to which he was naturally averſe; and no leſs to the *Orſini*, who having neither Money, nor Allies of any great Importance, knew they muſt, ſooner or later, be over-powered.

Peace between the Pope and the *Orſini*.

The Articles.

THE Articles imported, That the *Orſini* ſhould be allowed to continue in the

the *French* Service, till the Time they had agreed was expired; but on Condition they should not take up Arms against the Holy See. That all the Places taken from them should be restored; for which they should pay Fifty Thousand Ducats to the Pope, Thirty Thousand down, and the Remainder in Eight Months. That *Federigo* should release *Gian Giordano*, and *Pagolo Orsini*: As for *Virginio*, he died in *Castel dell Uovo*, a few Days before, of a Fever; or, as some said, of Poison. That *San Severino*, *Anguillara*, and *Cervetri*, should be deposited in the Hands of *Ascanio*, till the Remainder of the Money was paid. All the Prisoners taken at the Battle of *Soriano* should be released, except the Duke of *Urbino*: This Condition was insisted on by the Pope, because he knew the *Orsini* had it not in their Power to pay him the Money stipulated any other Way than by this Duke's Ransom; which, as afterwards agreed, was to be Forty Thousand Ducats; on Condition also, that *Pagolo Vitelli*, who was taken Prisoner at *Atella* by the Marquis of *Mantua*, should be

A. D.

1497.

A. D. 1497. be releas'd without paying any thing for his Ranfom.

Gonsalvo
takes
Ostia.

As soon as the Pope had terminated this inglorious War, and had paid the Troops which had been conducted by *Gonsalvo*, he sent him with the same Forces to besiege *Ostia*, that held out for the Cardinal of *St. Piero in Vincola*. But as soon as the Artillery began to play, the Castle surrendered at Discretion. After which *Gonsalvo* entered *Rome* in a triumphant Manner, accompanied with One Hundred Men at Arms, Two Hundred Light-Horse, and Fifteen Hundred Foot, all *Spaniards*; with the Governor of the Castle, who went foremost in the Nature of a Prisoner, but was soon after set at Liberty. *Gonsalvo* was met by several Prelates, by the Pope's Household, and by all the Cardinals; every one crowding to see a General whose Name was rendered so famous. He was conducted to the Pope sitting in Consistory, who received him with great Joy, and presented him with the Rose, which is given yearly to some Person of Distinction, as a Token
of

Enters
Rome in
Triumph.

of great Esteem and Honour. *Gonsalvo* then returned to *Federigo*, who was employed in taking from the Prefect of *Rome* all the Towns that the King of *France* had given him, and which had belonged to the Marquis of *Pescara*. He took *Sora* and *Arci*, but not their Forts. He then laid Siege to *Gugliena*, for he already had got by Treaty the State of Count *Uliveto*, before he sold the Dutchy of *Sora* to the Prefect.

A. D.
1497.

IN the Midst of all this Prosperity, *Federigo* was not without Anxieties and Troubles, that were occasioned him as well by his Friends, (for *Gonsalvo* kept part of *Calabria* in the King of *Spain's* Name) as from his reconciled Enemies. The Prince of *Bisignano* one Night coming out of *Castel Nuovo*, was dangerously wounded by a certain *Greek*: The Prince of *Salerno* was fully persuaded that this was done by the King's Order, in Revenge of his former Actions; nor would he dissemble his Suspicion, but immediately quitted *Naples*, and went to *Salerno*. And tho' the King ordered the *Greek*, that

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was

A. D.

1497.

was in Prison, to be conveyed to him; with a Permission to chastise him in the severest Manner he thought proper; acquainting him at the same Time, that this Fact was perpetrated by the *Greek*, to revenge an Affront the Prince of *Bisignano* had some Years before given him in the Person of his Wife; yet, as it is not an easy Matter, after long and deep Enmities, to establish a solid Friendship, which is commonly prevented either by Suspicion, or Desire of Revenge; so the Prince could never bring himself, after this, to trust to *Federigo*. The *French*, who were still in Possession of *Mont St. Angelo*, and a few other strong Places, observing these Discontents, made greater Efforts to maintain themselves, not without Hopes, that some Accident might turn out in their Favour.

IN *Lombardy* there was Reason to apprehend great Calamities and Changes of Government, from the Motions of the *French*, who were now soon expected, as they had no Obstruction from *Spain*. The Skirmishes that happened of late on
those

those Frontiers, hardly deserved the Name of a War; and nothing considerable was transacted. After the *French* had taken and burnt the Village of *Sals*, a Treaty was proposed; and to facilitate the Conclusion of it, a Suspension of Arms was agreed on for Two Months, in Hopes of settling, in that Time, all Differences. This gave *Charles* an Opportunity of attending to the Affairs of *Genoa* and *Savona*. He had already sent to *Asti* One Thousand Lances, Three Thousand *Swiss*, and the same Number of *Gascons*, and given Orders to *Trivulzio*, his Lieutenant in *Italy*, to act in concert with *Battistino* and *Vincola*. The Duke of *Orleans* was to follow with a great Army, and was permitted to conquer the Dukedom of *Milan* for himself. To facilitate the Expedition against *Genoa*, the King sent *Ottaviano Fregoso* to *Florence*, requiring of that Republic, that they would attack the *Lunigiana* and the Eastern *Riviera*; whilst, at the same Time, *Pagolo Battista Fregoso*, with Six Gallies, annoyed the Western.

A. D.

1497.

Expedition
against
Genoa.

A. D.

1497.

THESE Designs, when known to the Duke of *Milan*, affected him with so great a Terror, (especially as he was not sufficiently prepared, nor had yet received the Succours from the *Venetians*) that if the Expedition had been properly conducted, it might have produced important Effects; and perhaps sooner in the *Milanese* than at *Genoa*: For through the Mediation of *Lodovico*, all Differences between *Gianluigi Fiesco* and the *Adorni* had been composed, and the State had provided a good Infantry, and put to Sea a large Fleet, at the Charge of the *Venetians* and *Lodovico*, which was reinforced with Six Gallies sent by *Federigo*. The Pope retained the Name of a Confederate, but was so more in Appearance than in Reality; for he would not contribute any thing towards the Expence, either for the Land or Sea-Service.

THE Result of this Expedition was, that *Battistino* and *Trivulzio* marched to *Novi*, a Town from whence *Battistino* had been expelled by *Lodovico*, but where he

he still kept Possession of the Castle. A. D. 1497.
 Count *Gajazzo* was Governor of *Novi*,
 and the Garrison consisted of Sixty Men
 at Arms, Two Hundred Light-Horse,
 and Five Hundred Foot; but at the Ap-
 proach of *Battistino*, they all retired to
Saravalle. The Acquisition of *Novi* gave Novi taken.
 great Repute to the Fugitives, not only
 for its being a large Place, and of Note,
 but also for its Situation, because it stopped
 the Passage from *Milan* to *Genoa*, and
 commanded the neighbouring Country.
Battistino soon after took several Places
 in that Neighbourhood, whilst the Car-
 dinal, with Two Hundred Lances and
 Three Thousand Foot, made himself
 Master of *Ventimiglia*, and approached
Savona; but finding no Cominations in
 that City, and being informed that *Gio-*
vanni Adorno was coming up with a strong
 Body, he retired to *Altare*, a Village be-
 longing to the Marquis of *Monferrato*,
 Eight Miles distant from *Savona*,

THERE was a greater Appearance of
 Success from the Expedition conducted
 by *Trivulzio*. That General was desirous

A. D. 1497.
}
 to give some Cause for commencing the War in the Dukedom of *Milan*; and therefore, tho' he had the King's positive Orders, not to commit any Hostility against that State, until the Affair of *Genoa* was determined; yet, without any Triulzio takes Bosco Regard to those Instructions, he surpris'd the important Castle of *Bosco* in the Territory of *Alexandria*. He alledged in his Justification, that it was necessary to have the Command of that Fort, to secure the *French*, who were posted in the *Riviera*, from being harrassed in their Quarters by Detachments from the *Milanesè*, which might otherwise make their Way through *Alexandria* into the Territories of *Genoa*. To pay, however, some Regard to his Majesty's Orders, he made no further Progress in the Dutchy, by which he lost very fine Opportunities: For all the Country round about was in a Ferment after the taking of *Bosco*; some out of Fear, and others from a Desire of Change; and *Lodovico* had but Five Hundred Men at Arms, and Six Thousand Foot in those Parts. *Galeazzo da San Severino* declared he could not pretend to preserve *Alexandria*

dria with his small Number of Forces; and *Lodovico*, no less fearful at this Juncture than he was by Nature in all apparent Dangers, was treating with the Duke of *Ferrara* to use his Interest with the King of *France*, to restore him to his Friendship.

A. D.

1497.

BUT the Inactivity of *Trivulzio* at *Bosco* and *Novi*, gave Time to *Lodovico* to provide for himself; and the *Venetians*, who thought it their Interest to assist the Duke on this Occasion, had already sent Fifteen Hundred Soldiers to *Genoa*, and now they ordered a new and large Supply of Light-Horse to march for *Alexandria*; they also commanded their General Count *Pitigliano*, (for the Marquis of *Mantua* had resigned) to advance with the best part of their Forces and protect the *Milanese*.

THE *French* Expedition against *Genoa*, undertaken with so much Warmth, came to nothing, *Battistino* had no Intelligence from his Partisans in that City, where the Number of Troops kept the People

A. D.

1497.

quiet, and prevented any Infurrection: So he marched towards *Novi*, and joined *Trivulzio*, laying the Blame of his Mis-carriage on the *Florentines*, who had not, as was expected, attacked the Eastern *Riviera*. They indeed judged it imprudent to intangle themselves in a War, before the *French* were on their March with a powerful Army, which might give them a surer Prospect of Success.

As for *Vincola*, he joined *Trivulzio* with his Troops, after plundering a few Villages belonging to the Marquis of *Finale*, because he had favoured the *Savonese*: And this was all he performed in these Quarters.

WHEN the *French* had got all their Forces united, they made some Excur-sions towards *Castellaccio*, a Place near *Bosco*, lately fortified by *Lodovico's* Order. The Army of the Allies increased daily about *Alexandria*, whilst the *French* began to find Money and Provisions very scarce; which, together with a Stubborn-ness *Trivulzio* found in his Officers, made
him

him resolve, after leaving Garrisons in *Novi* and *Bosco*, to retire with his Army towards *Asti*. A. D.
1497.

IT was thought that the Division of the *French* Army, into so many different Corps, was the Occasion of their bad Success; and that they might have done better, if at once they had invested *Genoa* with all their Strength: For the Dissensions of Parties ran there very high, and the Disaffection to the Duke, on account of the State of *Pietra Santa*, was very great; besides, part of the *German* Soldiers, both Horse and Foot, sent thither by *Lodovico*, after a short Stay, were returned into *Germany*. But as there were some of the great Men in *France* that disliked the *Italian* Expedition, it is not improbable, that those who the Year before obstructed the Provisions for *Naples*, did now act in the same Manner with Regard to *Genoa*. And indeed it was reported, that the Duke of *Bourbon*, and others, even the Cardinal of *St. Malo*, took large Bribes from *Lodovico*, who for this Purpose raised new and heavy Taxes

154

A. D.

1497.

THE HISTORY OF

on his Subjects. But be this as it will, it is certain that the Duke of *Orleans* was ordered and pressed by the King to go to *Asti*. And tho' he had put himself in Readiness, he did not proceed; either because he doubted of the Continuation of the Preparations that were making; or, as some said, from his Unwillingness to leave the Kingdom, on account of the King's frequent Indispositions, as he was the Heir-apparent to the Crown.

WHEN the King saw there was no farther Hopes of getting *Genoa* and *Savona*, he resumed his Negotiations with *Spain*. The only Obstacle that had retarded the Conclusion of a Truce was, that *Charles* would not consent, that the Affairs of *Italy* should be mentioned in the Articles; and the King of *Spain* thought his Honour was concerned in giving up that Point: But declared, at the same Time, that a general Truce was only made in order for a Peace; in the Conclusion of which, his Alliance with the *Italians* would of course be at an End. After several Expresses had been sent on both Sides, the *Spaniards* with

THE WARS IN ITALY.

155

with their Quirks, according to Custom, over-reached the *French*; a Truce was signed for themselves, their Subjects and Dependants; and for any others that the King of *Spain*, or the King of *France* should name. This Truce was to begin the 5th of *March* for themselves, but not till Fifty Days after for those that should be named; and should continue in Force for all the Month of *October* ensuing. Each gave in the Names of those *Italian* Potentates that were in Alliance with them; and the King of *Spain*, amongst the rest, named *Federigo* and the *Pisans*. It was also agreed, that a Congress should be held at *Montpelier*, where all the Allies might send their Ambassadors. The King of *Spain* gave Hopes, that in this Congress he would find out some Pretext that might give him a plausible Reason for uniting his Forces with those of *Charles* against the *Italians*, and also concerted how they might divide the Kingdom of *Naples* between themselves.

A. D.

1497.

A Truce
with *Spain*

THIS Truce was made between the two Kings without consulting the Allies

in

A. D. 1497. in *Italy*; it was, however, agreeable to the *Italians*, particularly to the Duke of *Milan*, who was overjoyed to have the War removed from his Dominions.

As the Cessation of Arms was not to take Place in *Italy* before the 25th of *April*, *Trivulzio* and *Battiflino*, in Conjunction with *Serenon*, returned into the *Western Riviera* with Five Thousand Men, and attacked *Albenga*, which they entered at the first Onset; but after the *French* had got into the Town, by breaking their Ranks, and roaming disorderly about the Streets, they were repulsed and beaten out by a lesser Number of their Enemies. Their next Enterprize was an Invasion of the Marquisate of *Finale*, in Hopes of coming to an Engagement with the *Italian* Army, which was expected to march for the Protection of that State: But they were disappointed, and nothing more of any Moment was undertaken; for the Officers disagreed more than ever amongst themselves, and as the Time of the Truce approached, no Care was taken to pay the Troops.

The

The Allies took the Advantage of these Disorders; Count *Gajazzo* returned to *Novi*, where he had been lately repulsed, took it, and recovered all the Towns that had been lost, except a few Villages in the Marquisate of *Finale*. During all these Disturbances, neither the Duke of *Savoy*, who was courted by all Parties, nor *Constantino di Macedonia*, Marquis of *Monferrato*, who had been confirmed in his Estates by the King of the *Romans*, would declare for either Side.

A. D.

1497.

NOTHING of Note had happened this Year between the *Florentines* and *Pisans*, tho' they continued at War, excepting that Four Hundred Light-Horse and Fifteen Hundred Foot of the *Pisans*, conducted by *Gianpagolo Manfredi*, attempted to re-take the Redoubt they had erected at the Bridge on the Lake, which had been taken from them when *Maximilian* was present. Count *Rinuccio* being informed of their Motions, came unexpectedly upon them with a Body of Horse by the Way of *Livorno*, when, as they imagined he had no other Way to come at them

A. D.

1497.

them by *Pontadera*, soon dispersed them; and took a great Number of Prisoners. The Truce was favourable to the *Pisans*, but of no Benefit to the *Florentines*, who came into it with Regret; because their Enemies had now Time to take Breath and recover themselves, whilst they were obliged to be at the same Charges, being under Apprehensions of *Piero de Medici*, who was continually plotting; and jealous also of the *Venetians*, who continued to keep their Troops in the *Pisan*.

ALL Parties had now laid, or were laying down their Arms. The Duke of *Milan*, tho' he had full Reason to be satisfied with the Conduct of the *Venetians* in his late dangerous Situation, and had, on all Occasions, been very lavish in his Commendations of their Power and Policy, while he stood in Need of their Assistance, and praised the Wisdom of *Giovanni Galeazzo* the first Duke, for making them Executors to his last Will and Testament*; yet now being under

no

* He was so well satisfied with their Behaviour, that when the *Venetian* Proveditors came to *Milan*, he ordered it

it

no Apprehensions, he could not bear the Thoughts that *Pisa*, which, with unwearied Industry and subtle Artifice, he had attempted to secure to himself, should fall under the *Venetian* Power and Government, as was very likely now to be the Case. Under this Anxiety he studied to bring about by Policy, what he had not been able to accomplish by Force of Arms. For this Purpose he applied himself to the Pope, and the *Spanish* Ministers, whom he knew to be jealous of the *Venetian* Power, and represented to them how necessary it was, for the Peace of *Italy*, to extinguish all the Hopes the *French* might entertain of the Assistance of the *Florentines*, which was no other Way to be compassed, than by restoring to them *Pisa*: Till that was done they would never cease solliciting the King of *France* to come into *Italy*; and whenever he arrived, his Union with that Republic could never fail of producing important Effects, as their rich and populous State lay in the very Heart of *Italy*.

A. D.

1497.

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it to be proclaimed, that, under great Penalties, the same Respect should be paid them, as was to his own Person.
Bembo.

A. D.

1497.

As soon as the *Venetians* were apprised of these Negotiations, they vehemently opposed them, as pernicious to the common Cause. They represented by their Ambassador the natural Propensity of the *Florentines* to the *French*, and that they were not to be trusted, tho' obliged in so ample a Manner, unless they would put *Livorno* into the Hands of the Allies, for a Security of what was required of them. This he artfully mentioned, being well satisfied they would never part with a Place of such Importance. It fell out as had been foreseen, for the Proposition was no sooner made than rejected. Which gave Occasion to the Ambassador to oppose the Point in Agitation with so much Warmth, that both the Pope and *Lodovico* thought fit to drop it, not thinking it safe to disoblige the *Venetians* at that Juncture. They then took into Consideration another Method to induce the *Florentines* to quit the *French* Interest, which was by aiding and assisting the Family of the *Medici*. This was likely to be attended with Success, on account
of

of the several Factions that reigned in
Florence. A. D.
1497.

WHEN the popular Authority was at first instituted, proper Care had not been taken to prevent the common People from breeding Disturbances. The Citizens of the first Rank, by this Regulation, were not sufficiently distinguished from the Plebeians; and these again were ever jealous of the Growth of Power in the former. It often happened, that some of the most ignorant of the People assisted at Consultations of Importance; and the supreme Magistracy, that determined Matters of the last Moment, was changed every Month, which could not fail of breeding Confusion in the Government of the Republic *. To this must be added the great Authority of *Savonarola*, whose Auditors were all linked together in a

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* We read in some *Greek Commentaries*, that two powerful Ladies were perpetually disturbing the public Tranquility with their Contentions for Superiority; that their Names were *Democratia* and *Aristocratia*; for the first was meant a Popular, by the second a Government of Optimates, or Nobles; no Wonder then that the *Florentines* should be ever at Variance, as they had introduced both these Forms into their Republic.

A. D.

1497.

Party, and amongst them were several eminent Citizens. As his Followers were more numerous than his Opposers, a great Number of them were chosen for Magistrates, and put in Places of the greatest Trust. This Division occasioned many Resolutions that were prejudicial to the State: For, as it commonly happens in Governments where Parties run high, the public Good was not so much regarded, as the Depression of the adverse Party. These Disorders were the more dangerous at this Juncture on account of the great Scarcity of Corn; which, with the Agitations of Mind produced by War, and the great Expences that attended it, contributed to render the half-starved Populace desirous of a Change. *Piero de Medici*, animated by these Opportunities, and encouraged by his Party, thought it a very hopeful Prospect of his Restoration; he was besides instigated privately by the *Venetians*, who had Reason to think these Commotions favourable to their Design of keeping *Pisa*. With these Hopes he held a Consultation with his old Friend Cardinal *San Severino*,

Severino, and *Alviano*, in which it was resolved, that *Piero* should make an Attempt to get secretly into *Florence*, where for his Encouragement, it was known that *Bernardo del Nero*, a Man of solid Parts, great Authority, and a Friend to his Family, had been created *Gonfaloniere*, and that there were several also in the highest Posts, who, he had Reason to think, were in the Interest of his Family.

A. D.
1497.

THE Pope readily came into the Scheme, and pleased himself with the View of forcing the *Florentines* from the *French* Alliance by rough Treatment, since he had not been able to prevail on them by Acts of Beneficence. *Lodovico* seemed indifferent, as he could have no Reliance on a Republic so divided; tho' he did not well relish *Piero's* Return, for fear he would remember the Affronts he had given him, and be directed by the *Venetians*.

PIERO, with what Money he had of his own, or could borrow of his Friends, and assisted also, as was reported, with a

A. D. ^{1497.} good Sum by the *Venetians*, set out towards *Siena*, and was soon followed by *Alviano*, with some Horse and Foot, who moved only by Night, and through bye Roads, that his March might be a Secret to the *Florentines*. At *Siena*, by Means of *Gian Giacomo* and *Pandolfo Petrucci*, Men of Interest, and Friends of the *Medici*, *Piero* was privately supplied with some Men; and two Days after the Truce had taken Place, in which the *Senese* were not named, he marched out of *Siena* with Six Hundred Horse and Four Hundred Foot, in Hopes of reaching *Florence* by Day-break undiscovered; where he expected to find all Things in a Hurry and Confusion on this Occasion. His Expectations were, perhaps, not ill-founded, had not Fortune supplied the Negligence of his Adversaries: For being come in the Dusk of the Evening to *Tavernelle*, a little Village on the High-Road, with an Intent to march the best part of the Night, a sudden Storm arose, which came with such Violence, that he was not able to reach *Florence* till late in the Morning; this gave his
 Enemies

Enemies Time to take up Arms, whilst ^{A. D.} the greatest part of the Citizens, and those ^{1497.} of the Populace who wished him well, remained unactive, waiting the Event. An Order was immediately issued out, that the most powerful of the suspected Friends of *Piero* should be secured in the Town-House; and that the Troops should be got together, and sent to the Gate that leads to *Siena*; and *Pagolo Vitelli*, who was casually come the Night before from *Mantua*, was desired to command them. *Piero* finding there was no Revolt, or Tumult in his Favour, and fearing that the Army would be ordered thither from *Pisa*, as indeed it was, after waiting Four Hours within Bow-shot of the Town, and not being able to force the Gate, he returned to *Siena*; where *Abviano* left *Piero*, and in his Return being let into the City of *Todi* by the *Guelf* Party, he plundered all the Houses of the *Gibellins*, and put to the Sword Fifty-three of the Heads of that Faction. On the other Hand, his Example was followed by *Antonello Savello* in *Terni*, and by *Gateschi* in *Viterbo*, with the Assistance of the

A. D.

1497.

Colonnas, who there, and in the Neighbourhood, in Revenge massacred the *Guelfs*. The Pope took no Notice of these Barbarities, committed in his Dominions; abhorring to meddle in any thing that created him an Expence; besides, he was void of all Feeling for other People's Calamities; nor was he ever concerned at what might reflect on his Honour, if it did not interfere with his Interest or Pleasures. But he was severely punished with domestic Misfortunes, and beheld in his Family such tragical Examples of Lust and Cruelty, as are not to be paralleled in the most savage Regions.

FROM the very Beginning of his Pontificate, all his Thoughts were bent on aggrandizing the Duke of *Candia*, his eldest Son. The Cardinal of *Valenza*, whose Inclinations no way tended to the Church, was desirous of making a Figure in the military Way; and could not brook that the great Preferments in the Army should be given to his Brother. He was, besides, extremely jealous to find the
Duke

THE WARS IN ITALY.

167

Duke should be better received by a young Lady they were both in Love with. Incited the by Lust and Ambition, the most proper Instruments when employed in the Execution of any horrid Action, he ordered him to be assassinated one Evening as he was riding alone about *Rome*, and then to be thrown secretly into the *Tiber* *). The Pope was over-whelmed with Grief at the News; for he was passionately fond of his Children, and not accustomed to feel the Strokes of adverse Fortune, it being well known, that from his Cradle to this Time, he had been prosperous in all his Undertakings. In a Consistory held for this Purpose, with great Show of Compunction, and with Tears, he lamentably deplored his Misery, and openly condemned his own Actions and manner of Life to that Time; protesting for the future he would take another Course, and appointed some Cardinals to assist him

A. D.

1497.

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* *Giovio* in the Life of *Gonsulvo Ferrando* writes, that *Cæsar Borgia*, after he had supped one Night with his Brother, procured an Assassin to cut his Throat, and then had him thrown into the *Tiber* at the Pillar by *Campo Martio*, from whence he was taken out two Days after by some Fishermen.

A. D. 1497. in the Reformation of his Court. After he had applied himself for some Days to the Execution of this laudable Purpose, the Author of the horrid Murder came to Light; which cleared Cardinal *Ascanio* and the *Orsini*, who had been suspected. *Alexander* being freed from these Suspicions and Fears, immediately wiped off his Tears, quitted his good Resolutions, and returned to the licentious Life to which he had been so long accustomed.

Piero's
Plot discovered.

AFTER *Piero de Medici's* Departure from *Florence* there arose new Troubles; for his Correspondence was discovered, and many noble Citizens were taken up and sent to Prison, whilst others got out of the Way. The whole Plot was laid open, and the Guilty were tried; *Nicoló Ridolfi*, *Gianozzo Pucci*, and *Giovanni Cambi* were condemned to die, for inviting *Piero* to come to *Florence*, and *Lorenzo Tornabuoni* for furnishing him with Money. *Bernardo del Nero* was thought to have the hardest Measure, who received Sentence of Death, only for being acquainted with the Plot, and not giving a proper Information.

Information. But this Crime, according to the *Florentine* Statutes, is capital; and by the best Interpreters is judged to be so by the common Law. Besides, it was unpardonable in *Bernardo*; for as he was *Gonfaloniere*, he ought to have sacrificed his private Friendship to the public Good. *Nero's* Relations appealed from this Sentence to the Grand Council of the People, in Virtue of a Law made for that Purpose, when the popular Government was new modelled; but the Promoters of his Condemnation assembled together, and, lest the tender-hearted Multitude, out of Regard to his Age, Nobility, and Number of Relations, should be prevailed on to mitigate the Rigor of his Sentence, they obtained, that the Cause of this Appeal should be delegated to a small Number, who should determine whether *Nero's* Case came within the Act of Appeals. The Majority of this Committee were of Opinion, that the allowing of an Appeal would be making a Precedent by Authority for the Encouragement of Tumults; that they were authorised by the Statutes themselves, to dispense with Laws

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A. D.

1497.

A. D. 1497. when they might create Seditions ; several Members of the supreme Magistracy being threatened, were almost forced to set aside the Appeal, and, with the rest, sign a Warrant for his Execution that very Night. *Savonarola* was greatly censured at this Juncture, for not dissuading his Partisans from the Violation of a Law, that he himself with so much Warmth had espoused not long since, when he asserted it to be a salutary one, and almost necessary for the Preservation of Liberty.

— ABOUT this Time *Federigo* King of *Naples* received the Investiture from the Pope, and was crowned with great Solemnity. He afterwards took *Mont St. Angelo* by Composition ; which had been bravely defended by *Don Giuliano dell' Oreno*. He also took *Civita* and other Towns from *Carlo di Sanguine* ; and as soon as the Truce was expired, he expelled the Prefect of *Rome* out of the Kingdom ; and then marched after the Prince of *Salerno*, who being besieged in the Castle of *Diano*, and having no Hopes of Assistance, submitted, and was per-

permitted to retire safe with his Effects; but he put into the Hands of the Prince of *Bisignano* all the Territories which remained in his Possession, on Condition that he should not deliver them up to *Federigo*, till he was informed of his safe Arrival at *Senigaglia*.

A. D.

1497.

ABOUT the End of this Year, the Congress of *Montpelier*, which, on account of the immoderate Demands of the King of *Spain*, had been interrupted, was transferred to *Narbonne*, where it was opened again; but the same Difficulties were started anew. For the King of *France* was determined not to agree to any Treaty in which *Italy* should be comprehended, and the King of *Spain* could not yield to give him free Leisure and Opportunity to subdue that Country. He was, however, unwilling to enter into a War with *France*, on the other Side of the *Alps*, as it would cause him a great deal of Trouble without any Advantage. At last a Truce was agreed on, which was to continue in Force for Two Months after either of the Parties should give the other

A. D. other Warning. None of the *Italian*

1497.

Powers were comprehended in this Truce; and when the Sovereigns of *Spain* notified it to the Allies, they pretended to have followed the Example of *Lodovico*, who had made the Peace of *Vercelli* without consulting them. They complained, that after they had declared War against *France* at the Sollicitations of the Allies, and carried it on for Six Months, the stipulated Subsidies were never paid. That tho' the said Allies deserved on that account to have been abandoned, without any formal Ceremony, yet it had been notified to them, that if they would lay down the Hundred and Fifty Thousand Ducats that were then due, the old Debt should be remitted, and this Money put to the Account of future Subsidies: On this Condition their Majesties promised to enter *France* with a powerful Army; but the Confederates, without any Regard to their Honour, or to the Advantage of the common Cause, had refused to comply with so just a Demand. Besides, their Majesties were convinced, that this League did not answer the Ends proposed: For
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instead of preserving the Liberties of the *Italians*, it tended to their Destruction: For the *Venetians*, not content with the Possession of several Ports in the Kingdom of *Naples*, had, without any Provocation, made themselves Masters of *Pisa*; and therefore, since every thing was in Confusion by their own Conduct, their Majesties thought it was high Time to provide for themselves by this Truce, whereby they were rather admonished than deserted: For the Example set by their Majesties might be followed by any of the Allies, who might depart from the Confederacy whenever they found that the general Good was not intended.

A. D.

1497.

THE *Spanish* Monarchs did not long enjoy those Sweets of Tranquillity which they might have proposed to themselves by the Truce: Prince *Giovanni*, their only Son, died at this Juncture *; as did *Filippo* Duke of *Savoy*, leaving an only Son, a young Child. *Filippo* had been a long Time in Suspense as to what Part he

* The Prince of *Spain* was married to *Margarita*, *Maximilian Cæsar's* Daughter.

A. D. 1497. he should take in these Troubles, but seemed of late to incline to the Allies, who had promised to allow him a yearly Subsidy of Twenty Thousand Ducats; notwithstanding which they doubted of his Fidelity, and feared he would join the *French* whenever they passed the *Alps*.

TOWARDS the End of this Year the Duke of *Ferrara* restored the Castelletto of *Genoa*, which had been deposited in his Hands, to *Lodovico* his Son-in-Law. He first applied to the King of *France*, to demand, that according to the Articles of *Vercelli*, he might be reimbursed of one Half of the Charges he had been at in keeping the Garrison. *Charles* did not refuse Payment, provided the Duke would deposit the Castelletto in his Hands; which, he said, he ought to do, because *Lodovico* had violated the Treaty. The Duke replying, that this did not appear, the King offered to deposit the Money till it was proved, and determined, who had a Right to it. But *Ercole* was more influenced by the *Venetians*,

tians, and attached to his Son-in-Law, who to gain him, besides employing all other Arts of Policy, had nominated Cardinal *Ippolito*, the Duke of *Ferrara's* Son, Archbishop of *Milan* *. Moreover, he did not care to incur the Anger of his powerful Neighbours, at a Time when the Dread of a *French* Invasion lessened every Day. He therefore recalled his Son *Don Ferrando* from the *French* Court, and then restored the *Castelletto* to *Lodovico*, who, at the same time, paid him all his Disbursements, including that Share which was to have been paid by the King. The *Venetians*, willing to make the Duke a Return for so signal a Service, took *Ferrando* into their Pay, and gave him the Command of One Hundred Men at Arms. Altho' the giving up of the *Castelletto* in this Manner, was a Dishonour to *Charles*, and prejudicial to his Interest in *Italy*, yet he shewed no proper Resentment: On the contrary, when *Ercole* sent an Ambassador to make Excuses, alledging that his Dominions

A. D.

1497.

* *Ercole* the second Duke of *Ferrara* had Four Sons, *Alfonso* his Successor, *Ferrando* who went into the *Venetian* Service, *Ippolito* the Cardinal, and *Girmondo* a *Ballard*.

A. D.

1497.

minions lay so contiguous to the *Venetians* and to the Duke of *Milan*, that he could not refuse their Demand, which had been accompanied with Threats resembling a Declaration of War, the King received and heard him as coolly as if he had been talking of some indifferent Affair. *Charles*, indeed, in every Action of his Life, seemed as if he acted by Chance, which was the Cause of his meeting continually with Anxieties and Difficulties. His Desire of returning into *Italy* was as ardent as ever; and he never had a finer Opportunity. He had no War with *Spain*, the *Swiss* had lately confirmed their Alliance with *France*, and there were many Causes for Misunderstandings amongst the Allies in *Italy*: But the Artifices of the Courtiers rendered useles all these Advantages. Some amused the King with Pleasures, others encouraged him indeed to this Undertaking; but required such powerful Preparations by Sea and Land, and such Sums of Money, as made it impracticable for the present; others, particularly the Cardinal of *St. Malo*, laid hold on every

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Difficulty to dissuade him from it, and postponed the Preparations. Under such Management the *Italian Expedition* not only became more doubtful as to the Time it should be undertaken, but many Parts of the Scheme that was laid for conducting it with Success, some perfected and ripe for Execution, others in great Forwardness, were either deferred or totally laid aside. The *Florentines*, for Instance, who earnestly solicited his Majesty's Return, were ready to put their Troops in Motion, as soon as he should be in a Condition to protect them; and for that End had agreed with *Aubigni*, that he should come by Sea into *Tuscany* with One Hundred and Fifty Lances, Fifty of which were to be maintained at the Expence of the Republic; and that *Aubigni* should be General of their Army. The Marquis of *Mantua*, who had been dishonourably * discharged from his Com-

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* *Francesco* Marquis of *Mantua* was suspected to be treating with the King; the *Venicians* ordered him to come to *Venice*, but he excused himself, pretending to be indisposed; for which he was dismissed their Service. *Francesco* went then to *Venice*, to clear himself; saying, that the Accusation was false, and that it was a Calomny of *Lodovico*: But his Plea was not admitted; and he was ordered to quit *Venice*.

A. D.

1497.

mand in the *Venetian* Troops, after his glorious Campaign of *Naples*, on a groundless Suspicion of his Design of entering into the *French* Service, was now treating in Earnest to enter into that of *Florence*. As for the Duke of *Savoy*, he was naturally inclined to the *French*. At *Bologna*, *Bentivoglio* promised on their Arrival to be at the King's Devotion; and the Pope himself, after much Hesitation and Demurring, had determined not to oppose him. But this unseasonable Delay put a Damp on the Spirits of all who intended to serve him: No News was heard of any Troops coming to *Asti*, as had been promised; *Aubigni* could not receive his Dispatches; nor did he send Money to pay the *Vitelli* and the *Orsini*, who were his own Officers, and very useful in an *Italian* War; for which Reason the *Vitelli* were on the Point of enlisting themselves in the Service of the *Venetians*, but were in Time prevented by the *Florentines*, who engaged them for a Year, obliging themselves to pay one Half of their Salary, and that *France* should pay the other. This was very pleasing to the King;

King ; but he neither ratified the Agreement, nor made any Provision for his Share of the Payments : On the contrary, he sent *Gemel* to borrow of the Republic One Hundred and Fifty Thousand Ducats. At last he departed suddenly from *Lions*, and went to *Tours* and *Ambois*, with his usual Promise of a speedy Return ; the News of which so disheartened his Friends in *Italy*, that *Battistino Fregoso* finding he could have no Dependance on *Charles*, reconciled himself with the Duke of *Milan*, who now more than ever urged the Pope and King of *Spain* to oblige the *Venetians* to quit *Pisa*, and restore it to the *Florentines*.

IN the Beginning of the Year 1498, 1498. the *Florentines* sent an Ambassador to *Rome*, to acquaint the Pope, but with great Secrefy, that they were willing to join in the League against *France*, provided *Pisa* was restored to them. The Ambassador was instructed to take great Care, that, if his Negotiation did not succeed, it might not be known that this Proposition came from them, which would give so great

A. D.
1498.

Offence to the King of *France*. For several Days this Affair was agitated in *Rome*: The Pope openly pressed the Ambassadors of *Spain*, *Milan*, and *Naples*, to insist with the *Venetian* Ambassador, that as it was necessary for the common Safety, by this Means to induce the *Florentines* to unite in the common Cause against *France*, his Senate should agree to the Proposal with the rest of the Allies; that this would eradicate the most essential Cause of Dissention amongst the *Italians*, and prevent any one Power from calling in the *Ultramontanes*; and if this Union was not complied with, many sad Events might happen, which would endanger the whole Nation.

BUT the *Venetian* Senate absolutely refused to give Ear to such a Proposition; and covering their Ambition under other Reasons, answered by the Mouth of their Ambassador, That this Motion was not made for the public Good, but proceeded from the malignant Disposition of one of the Allies towards their Republic. For the *Florentines* were ever attached to
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the *French*, and hoped by their Return to get Possession of all *Tuscany*; that therefore the reinstating them in *Pisa* would be a very dangerous Step: For the more potent they became, so much the more they would have it in their Power to disturb the Peace of *Italy*. That the Honour of all the Allies was concerned in this Affair, but especially that of their Republic: For all the Confederates had engaged at first to protect the *Pisans* in their Liberty; but, in the Sequel, to save Expences, had left the whole Burthen on them; who had never grudged either Money or Trouble, but honourably stood to their Word; and that if others had no Regard to theirs, that would be no Inducement to the Republic to follow such Examples. That it seemed very strange to the Senate, that they should be censured for acting according to a Plan formed by the Allies themselves, and prosecuted for the universal Good; and that with so much Ingratitude they should now be distrusted, after rendering such signal Services. That the immense Charges they had been at in this and other Undertakings, their Anxiety,

A. D.
1498.

A. D.

1498.

and the Perils they had undergone for the common Safety, did not deserve such Returns; that without Exaggeration they might assert, that *Italy* had been by them alone preserved: For at the *Taro* it was their Arms that won the Battle, and theirs that recovered the Kingdom of *Naples*. What Army had obliged *Novara* to surrender? Who constrained the *French* to repass the *Alps*? Whose Forces had opposed them in *Piedmont*, when they attempted to return? Nor can any one assert, that in all these Performances they have had any other View, than the Safety of *Italy*: For the *Venetians*, by their Situation, were not exposed to Danger; nor could it be expected that they should expose themselves to rectify the ill Conduct of others. They did not invite the King of *France* into *Italy*, nor accompany him with their Forces after he was arrived; nor had they, for want of furnishing their Proportion of Supplies, endangered the Whole: But, on the contrary, the *Venetian* Senate interposed, when, thro' the bad Conduct of others, the Liberties of *Italy* were on the Brink of

THE WARS IN ITALY.

183

of Destruction. If such great Exploits were not acknowledged, or were so soon forgot, yet they would not, out of Resentment, following the bad Example of others, forfeit their Faith, or act below the Dignity of their Republic, which was concerned in the Preservation of *Pisa*; with which also was connected the Security of all *Italy*.

A. D.

1498.

WHILST this Affair was debating at *Rome*, a new Accident happened, that produced unforeseen Effects. King *Charles* died at *Ambois* of an Apoplexy on the 7th of *April*, whilst he was at the Tennis-Court: The Fit was so violent, that after a few Hours, without being removed, he expired. Thus ended, abruptly, a Life, whose Motions rather springing from some rash and sudden Impulse, than directed by the Rules of true Policy, occasioned so many Revolutions, and gave such Disturbance to the publick Repose; and would, in all Probability, had it lasted longer, have been the Cause of many more Calamities in *Europe*. For this Prince seemed to have set his Heart so

Death of
the King
of France.

A. D.

1498.

much on his darling Scheme of subjecting *Italy*, that it was expected he would at length have surmounted all Difficulties, by his own Reflections and steady Application, assisted by the Enemies of the Cardinal, the grand Opposer of this Project. At the Time of his Death, the *Italians* were in a State of Uncertainty; for as his Motions varied, so their Fears increased and decreased in Proportion. It was well known that the Pope, from a fond Desire of exalting his Children, held private Negotiations with *Charles*; and it was reported, that the Duke of *Milan*, for his own Security, was acting in the same Manner*.

C H A R L E S died without Male Issue, whence the Crown reverted to the Duke of *Orleans*, who was the next in Blood: That Prince was at *Blois*, to which Place the Royal Guards and the Courtiers immediately resorted; and he was acknowledged

* The Conditions on which *Lodowico* would have been reconciled to *Charles*, were the Banishment of the Duke of *Orleans* into *Normandy*, and the Delivery of *Don Triulzio* to him; which would have been effected, if the King had not died. *Corio*.

THE WARS IN ITALY.

185

ledged by the whole Nation, tho' it had been suggested, that he had forfeited his Right, by taking up Arms in *Britany* against the Kingdom.

A. D.
1498.

PALM-SUNDAY was the Period of *Savonarola's* Authority in *Florence*. Multitudes of Complaints against him had been carried to *Rome*, where he was accused of preaching, in a scandalous Manner, against the bad Discipline and Vices of the Clergy, and Court of *Rome*. He was further charged with unsound Doctrine, and with fomenting Divisions. For these Misdemeanours he had been several times summoned to *Rome* by the Pope, but had continued refractory to his Orders, alledging divers Excuses for his Disobedience; for which he was publicly excommunicated. Under so severe a Censure, he refrained for some Months from preaching; and probably would have been absolved, had he continued in the same Submission: For the Pope himself despised him, and exercised his spiritual Arms more at the Sollicitations of some Friars, who hated *Savonarola*, than from his own

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A. D.

1498.

Inclination. But *Savonarola* finding that by his Silence his Interest declined, * and the Ends for which he had preached could not be answered; despising the pontifical Orders, returned again to his Office; asserting that the Censures pronounced against him were null, as contrary to the Divine Will and public Welfare; and at the same time inveighed bitterly against the Pope, and the Court of *Rome*. This occasioned frequent Tumults: For his Enemies, who got Ground every Day, stirred up the Populace, who, above all Things, abhorred Disobedience to the Pope; and had him reprimanded by some in the Government for his Audaciousness, which tended to alienate the Pope's Affections from the *Florentines*, at a Juncture when he was treating with the Allies for the Restitution of *Pisa*. On the other Hand, his Followers alledged in his Defence, that Divine Service was privileged from Disturbances; that it was dangerous to admit of an Example, which would be a Precedent for Popes to intrude in

* *Giovio* says, that *Savonarola* preached that the Pope's Excommunications were not to be regarded.

THE WARS IN ITALY.

187

in the Affairs of their Government. These Contentions lasted several Days, till *Alexander* in great Wrath thundering out new Briefs, and threatning to interdict the City, the Magistrates ordered him to desist from preaching. *Savonarola* obeyed; but the *Dominican* Friars of his Convent went from Church to Church, preaching the same Doctrines; which were refuted by the Religious of other Orders. These Disputes were carried on with great Heat, and excited such Animofities both in Church and State, that at last a *Dominican* and a *Franciscan* agreed to try by Fire the Merits of their Cause, in the Presence of the whole City; which would convince the World, whether *Savonarola* was a true Prophet or an Impostor. For he had several times advanced that, if it were necessary, God would work a Miracle to prove the Truth of his Predictions, and conduct him safe through the Flames of a burning Pile. But the Affair was now become too serious, and he grew very uneasy that his Friar should have gone so far without consulting him; and whilst he was meditating on Expedients to put
off

A. D.

1498.

A. D.

1498.

off the Challenge, those among the Citizens who were his Enemies, pushed it on vehemently, and thought this a good Opportunity of getting rid of so malignant an Incendiary. On the Day appointed, the Two Friars, accompanied by all those of their Convents, appeared in the great Square before the Palace; where were assembled not only the Inhabitants of *Florence*, but also Multitudes that came out of the Country. Every thing was ready, when the *Franciscans* were informed, that *Savonarola* had ordered his Friar to enter the Fire with the Sacrament in his Hand; at which they took Exception; Alledging, that if the Host was burnt, it would endanger the Authority of the Christian Faith, by affecting the Minds of the weak and ignorant People. But *Savonarola*, who was present, insisting that the Experiment should be performed in that Manner, the Trial was set aside. *Savonarola's* Credit suffered greatly, on this Occasion; so much, that the next Day, on a casual Tumult, the People took up Arms; and being countenanced by the supreme Magistracy,

stracy, they forced themselves into the Monastery of *St. Marco*, seized on *Savonarola*, and two other Friars, and carried them to the public Prison *. During this Confusion, the Relations of those Citizens; who the Year before had been beheaded, assassinated *Francesco Valori*, a Nobleman of great Authority, for being chief Patron of *Savonarola*, and the principal Cause that the Appeal of their Relations to the People on that Occasion; had not been admitted.

A. D.
1498.

SAVONAROLA was afterwards put to the Question, but in a gentle Manner; and his Examination and Confession were by the Magistracy formed into a Process, and ordered to be published. In this Paper he was cleared of several Calumnies that had been laid to his Charge; such as leading a dissolute Life, being avaricious, and having kept secret Correspondence with foreign Princes. He confessed that those Events he had foretold were not
by

* The Name of one of these Friars was *Fra Dominico of Pescia*, the other *Fra Sitro of Florence*. *Pietro Delphino*.

THE HISTORY OF

by Divine Revelation, but founded on the Doctrine of the Holy Scripture, which he had profoundly studied: That, what he had preached, had not proceeded from any Malignity, nor from any ambitious Views of ecclesiastical Preferments, but from Zeal, and in Hopes, that through his Means, a general Council might be assembled, in which the corrupt Manners of the Clergy might be reformed, and the Doctrine of the Church restored, so as to resemble, as near as possible, the primitive Times; in which laudable Attempt, if it had pleased God to help his Labours, he should have thought himself more happy and glorious, than if he had acquired the Popedom: For the first could not have been procured but by good sound Doctrine and Virtue; such as would have gained him the Reverence and Esteem of all the World; whereas the other might be obtained, as it often was, by wicked Means, or good Fortune. He confirmed the Contents of this Process in the Presence of many Regulars, some of whom were of his own Order; but in such concise Terms, as, if we may believe his Friends,

Friends, might bear a different Interpretation. After this the General of the *Dominicans*, and Bishop *Romolino*, afterwards Cardinal *Surrente*, who had been sent from *Rome*, on purpose to assist at this Trial, degraded * *Savonarola*, and the two Friars of his Order, with the Ceremonies used by the *Roman Church* on such Occasions, and delivered them over to the secular Power. They were first hanged, and then their Bodies were burnt, in the Presence of as great a Multitude, as had assembled before in the same Place, in Expectation of assisting at the miraculous Experiment of Fire. *Savonarola* died with great Intrepidity, without uttering a Word concerning his Guilt, or his Innocence; which left the Minds of the People in the same Uncertainty as to his Sanctity. Some called him an Impostor, whilst others affirmed, that the Confession published in his Name, was either false, or what he had said had been extorted by the Question; a Frailty which they said

was

A. D.
1498.

Savonarola hanged and burnt.

Delfino writes, that when the Bishop, in degrading him, said he separated him from the Church, *Savonarola* replied, You mean from the Church militant.

A. D.
1498.

was excusable: Since the Prince of the Apostles, who was neither imprisoned, nor forced by Torments, at the Interrogation of a Servant-Maid, had denied being a Disciple of that Master, whose holy Doctrine he had imbibed, and to whose Miracles he had been an Eye-Witness.

The End of the Third Book.



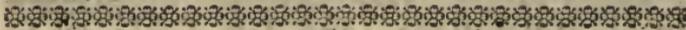


Francesco Guicciardini's

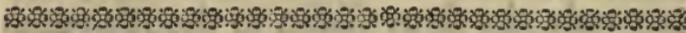
H I S T O R Y

O F

The WARS in ITALY.



B O O K IV.

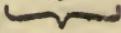


T H E C O N T E N T S.

Lewis XII. King of France, asserts his Right to the Dutchy of Milan, and with a numerous Army gets Possession. It is regained by Lodovico; and lost again. The Affairs of Pisa are left to the Arbitration of the Duke of Ferrara. Cæsar Borgia gives up the Cardinal's Hat, and takes the Title of Duke Valentino.

THE Death of Charles King of France delivered Italy from the Fear of a present Invasion: For it was not supposed that the new King, Lewis

A. D. 1498.



A. D.

1498.

Qualifica-
tions of
Lewis XII

Lewis XII. would, at the Commencement of his Reign, intangle himself in a War on this Side the Mountains. But the reflecting Part of Mankind was apprehensive, that the Evil was only ripening, and would in Time break out with greater Violence. They considered, that the new Monarch was of mature Years, experienced in military Affairs, frugal in his Expences, and without comparison steadier in his Resolutions, and less liable to be imposed on than his Predecessor. He had not only the same Claim to the Kingdom of *Naples*, but pretended also to the Dutchy of *Milan* in his own Right, which he derived from *Madama Valentina* his Grandmother, who was given in Marriage to *Lewis* Duke of *Orleans*, Brother to *Charles* VI. by her Father *Giovanni Galeazzo Visconti*, when he was only Imperial Vicar, and had not yet obtained the Title of Duke of *Milan*. Her Dowry was the City and Territory of *Asti*, besides a vast Sum of Money; and in the Marriage Articles it was expressly stipulated, that in Case of Failure of Issue Male of *Galeazzo's* Body, *Valentina* and her Issue should

should succeed to the Dutchy of *Milan*. This Convention, which was null of itself, and of no great Force, was at that Time confirmed, as the *French* write, by the pontifical Authority; the Imperial Throne being vacant, and the Popes claiming it as their Prerogative to administer, whilst the Empire is without a Head. In *Filippo Maria Visconti* ended the Male-Line of *Giovanni Galeazzo*, and *Charles* Duke of *Orleans*; Son of *Valentina*, laid Claim to the Dutchy of *Milan*; but as the Ambition of Princes makes them ever ready to embrace all Pretences to Empire, tho' never so frivolous, so the Emperor *Frederick* alledged, that as the Male-Line of *Giovanni Galeazzo*, who received the Investiture from *Vincelaus* King of the *Romans*, was extinct, that State reverted of course to the Empire. *Alfonso* King of *Arragon* and *Naples* put in his Claim also by Virtue of the Will of *Giovanni Galeazzo* in his Favour; but the Power, Artifices, and good Fortune of *Francesco Sforza* got the better of all his Competitors; and to accompany his Arms with some Colour of Reason, he asserted, that the Right of Suc-

A. D.

1498.

A. D. 1498. } cession was invested in his Wife *Bianca*,
 who, tho' a natural Daughter, was still
 the only Child of *Filippo*.

THE above-mentioned *Charles* of
Orleans was taken captive at the Battle
 of *Agencourt*, and carried into *England*,
 where he remained Twenty-five Years a
 Prisoner, without being able, thro' his
 Poverty and ill Fortune, to make good
 his Right, nor could he obtain any Aid
 from his near Relation *Lewis XI*. For
 that Prince, at the Beginning of his Reign,
 received a great deal of Trouble from his
 Grandees, who under a Pretence of public
 Good, but, in Reality, to gratify their
 own private Revenge and Ambition, had
 taken up Arms against him; which
 effectually convinced him, that his Secu-
 rity and Grandeur depended on lowering
 the Pride and Ambition of the great Men
 of his Kingdom. And, upon this Ac-
 count, *Lewis* of *Orleans*, the Prisoner's
 Son, could never obtain any Assistance
 from him, tho' he was his Son-in-Law.
 After the Death of *Lewis XI*. the Duke
 of *Orleans*, not brooking that *Anne* of
Bourbon,

THE WARS IN ITALY.

197

A. D.

1498.

Bourbon, the King's Sister, should be preferred to him in the Regency during the Minority of *Charles VIII.* first stirred up Commotions in *France*, tho' with bad Success, and afterwards retiring into *Britany*, met with still greater Misfortunes. There he joined that Party which declared against the Marriage of *Anne* the Heirefs of *Britany* with *Charles*, lest that Dutchy, after the Death of *Francis* her Father, should be annexed to *France*. But whilst he was treating to get her for himself, he was taken at the Battle of *St. Aubin*, fought between the *French* and *Britons*, and cast into Prison, where he continued Two Years, without being able to make good his Pretensions to the Dutchy of *Milan*; and tho' afterwards released by the King's Clemency, he could procure no Assistance from him, and never made any other Attempt but that of *Novara*, which proved of no Consequence. But now that he was in Possession of the Crown, he had nothing so much at Heart as the Conquest of the *Milanese*, which he regarded as his own Patrimony. From his Infancy he had nourished this Desire,

A. D.

1498.

which was augmented by the Thoughts of his Sufferings in *Novàra*, and by the ill Treatment he had received at *Asti* from *Lodovico*, against whom he meditated Revenge. Pursuant to this Resolution, a few Days after the Death of *Charles*, by the Advice of his Council, he took upon him the Titles, not only of King of *France*, of *Jerusalem*, and the *Two Sicilies* in regard to *Naples*, but stiled himself also Duke of *Milan*. As he had then determined to make no Secret of his real Sentiments in regard to the Affairs of *Italy*, he immediately notified in Form to the Pope, *Venetians*, and *Florentines* his Accession to the Crown; acquainting them at the same Time with his Design of coming into *Italy*, and more particularly of his Resolution of making himself Master of the Dutchy of *Milan*.

THIS Undertaking seemed to be attended with many Advantages: The Death of *Charles* had altered the Sentiments of several of the *Italian* Princes. The Pope, incited by an immoderate Thirst of Dominion, thought he could

not

not compass his Ends, whilst *Italy* was in Peace. The *Venetians* imagined that *Charles* could never forget the Injuries they had done him; but now that Fear ceasing, they were for entering into Terms of Friendship with the new King; and this Disposition would, in all Probability, daily increase; for they expected that *Lodovico*, swayed more by present Revenge, than apprehensive of Dangers, would continually thwart them in the Affair of *Pisa*. Both he and King *Federigo* knew that *Lewis* would prove a more powerful and more implacable Enemy than *Charles*, yet they were satisfied that it was impracticable for him, for some Time, to march an Army into *Italy*.

A. D.

1498.

THE *Florentines* were the only State that seemed inclinable to withdraw their Friendship from *France*: For they considered, that tho' *Lewis* had been in their Interest, yet now he was come to the Crown he was under no sort of Ties to their Republic, either by virtue of any Promises made them, or for any Obligations laid on his Predecessor, on account

A. D. of the Capitulations of *Florence* and *Asti*.
 1498. Nor did they imagine that *Lewis* would think much of the many Dangers and Expences they had chose to go through, rather than abandon their Alliance with *France*. Besides, the Discord, that daily increased between the *Venetians* and *Lodovico*, freed them from any Apprehensions they formerly had of the Allies, and made them think it an easier Matter to receive the Succours that were at Hand from *Lodovico* in *Lombardy*, than depend on the uncertain Motions of the *French* who were at such a Distance. These and the like Reflections made them less desirous of entering into an Alliance with *Lewis*.

Venetians
 send Am-
 bassadors
 to *Lewis*.

IN these different Dispositions of Mind among the *Italian* Potentates, their Proceedings were no less different. The *Venetians* sent immediate Orders to their Secretary at *Turin* to repair to the *French* Court, and soon after, in order to lay a Foundation for a firm Friendship, which they expected would be conducive to the Interest of their Republic, they sent Three Ambassadors to congratulate the new King

on

on his Accession, and to assure him that their Conduct in regard to *Charles* had proceeded from well-grounded Reasons they had to think, that he not only meditated the Conquest of the Kingdom of *Naples*, but also that of all *Italy*.

A. D.

1498.

THE Pope, who was determined that his Son should abdicate the Cardinalship, and get himself invested with some secular Dignity, full of high Expectations, sent Ambassadors to *Lewis* to negotiate a Traffic of heavenly Treasures for temporal Dominion. He well knew that the King was solicitous to be divorced from his barren and deformed Wife, who had almost been forced upon him by *Lewis XI*. He was also apprised of his Desire to marry *Anne* the late King's Widow, not so much out of Fondness with respect to their former Love before the Battle of *St. Aubin*, but because by this Marriage he would secure to himself the Possession of the Dutchy of *Britany*, which lay so convenient, and was so great an Addition to his Dominions; an Affair of Importance, and not

Pope sends
Ambassadors.

to

A. D.
1498.

to be compassed without the Intervention
of the Pontifical Authority.

*Floren-
tines* send
Ambassa-
dors.

As for the *Florentines*, their Ambassadors were in Readiness, as is usual on such Occasions; and were instructed to expatiate on the Merits of the Republic with regard to *France*, and the Services they had done the late King. To this Freedom they were encouraged by *Lodovico*, who imagined that their Credit with the King might dispose him the less to favour the *Venetians* when the Affair of *Pisa* came before him. He was not without Hopes also that they would employ their Interest at the *French* Court in bringing about, what he heartily wished, a Reconciliation between his Majesty and himself.

THE Ambassadors of all these Powers were very courteously received by the King, who treated with them separately, but was determined to undertake no *Italian* Expedition, before he was well assured that his Kingdom should not be molested in his Absence by the neighbouring Princes,
with

with whom he intended to make new Alliances. A. D.
1498.

HEAVEN had decreed, that the Flame which *Lodovico* had kindled up in *Pisa*, and was continually feeding, should at last seize and destroy its Author. That Prince, either out of Envy, or fear of impending Danger to himself and the other Potentates of *Italy* from the exorbitant Power of the *Venetians*, could not bear to see the Fruits of all his laboured Schemes and Arts of Policy become a Prey to ambitious Intruders. In this Disposition, after he had maturely considered the Resolution of the *Florentines*, and their Steadiness in the Affair of *Pisa*, imagining that by the Death of *Savonarola* and *Valori*, who constantly opposed his Measures, he might now treat with them on more firm and confident Hopes of Success, he took a Resolution to assist them with all his Power in the Recovery of *Pisa*, which neither his Negotiations nor Authority, nor the Persuasions of others had been able to effect. He vainly imagined that before the *French* could be ready

Lodovico
resolves to
assist the
Florentines.

A. D. 1498. ready with an Army, *Pisa*, either by Force or Treaty, would be reduced to the Obedience of their old Masters; and he took for granted, that the *Venetian* Senate, acted by that Prudence, which had not operated on himself, would not think *Pisa* of such Consequence, as; merely out of Revenge, to suffer the Liberties of all *Italy* to be endangered by the Return of the *French*, whom, at the Expence of so much Blood and Treasure, they had so lately expelled.

THIS imprudent Resolution was hastened by an Action that happened in the Territory of *Pisa*, to the Disadvantage of the *Florentines*. They had posted a good Body of Troops at *Pontadera*, where they received Intelligence that a Party of Seven Hundred Horse and One Thousand Foot, that had marched out of *Pisa*, were returning from the Marshes of *Volterra* with a great Booty. Count *Rimuccio*, and *Gulielmo de Pazzi*, the *Florentine* Commissary, drew out all their Force in order to intercept their Return, and charging them in the Vale of *St. Regolo* put them

Florentines
worsted at
St. Regolo.

them to flight, and recovered the best part of the Effects. As soon as the *Pisans* had Advice of the Commissary's Motions, they sent out One Hundred and Fifty Men at Arms, who attacked their Enemies while they were in Disorder, and intent on Plunder, with so much Vigour, that, tho' the Count did all that was possible to rally his Men at Arms, the *Florentines*, after a faint Resistance made by some of their Foot, were entirely defeated, a great Number of the Infantry killed, many taken Prisoners, among them several Officers, and the best part of the Horses also fell into the Enemy's Hands *. The Count and Commissary with no little Hazard saved themselves in *St. Regolo*, laying the Blame on each other, as it commonly happens after a Miscarriage of this Nature.

A. D.
1498.

THE *Florentines* were greatly alarmed at the Disaster, as they could not soon recruit, their General in Chief *Rinuccio* had entirely lost his Reputation, and his

Florentines apply to France for Assistance.

* *Bembo* says there were Two Hundred killed, One Hundred and Thirty taken, with Seven Standards.

A. D.

1498.

his own Regiment had been stripped.

In the present Exigence they sent Orders to their Troops at *Arezzo* to march for *Pisa*, and put all their Forces under the Command of *Pagolo Vitelli*, who refused that Charge till they gave him the Title of Captain-General. They next made their Addresses to the King of *France*, humbly beseeching him to send Three Hundred Lances into *Tuscany*, in Hopes that such a Force, joined to the Authority of the royal Protection, would remove their imminent Danger; requesting also that he would fulfil the Agreement made with the late King for keeping the *Vitelli* in their common Service, by contributing his Proportion of their Pay; and would moreover use his Interest with the *Venetians* to desist from Hostilities. But *Lewis*, who was unwilling to disoblige or give any Cause of Distrust to the *Venetians*, and was resolved not to meddle in the Affairs of *Italy* till he was in Readiness to invade the *Milanese*, put them off with fair Words, which produced no manner of Effect.

A. D.

1498.

IN this Extremity, as their last Resort, they had Recourse to the Duke of *Milan*. But the Duke wanted no Intreaties, on the contrary he was apprehensive lest the *Venetians* should improve this Advantage in such a manner as to render his Aid ineffectual. He thought fit therefore, without Loss of Time, to send a trusty Agent to *Florence*, to inform himself not only of what was necessary for their Defence, but for the entire Reduction of *Pisa*.

And to the
Duke of
Milan.

As there were no Apprehensions from *France* this Year, the whole Attention of the *Italians* was employed on the *Pisan* War, all other Parts of *Italy* enjoying Peace. There had, indeed, been some Quarrels between the two Houses of the *Orsini* and *Colonna*, but the Parties concerned, by their own Prudence and Conduct, got the better of their Enmity and Passions. The Matter of Fact in short was this: The *Colonnas* and the *Savelli*, to revenge themselves on *Jacopo Conti*, who had possessed himself of *Torre Mattia*, attacked the Castles belonging to the Family

A. D. 1498. mily of *Conti*, who were then joined by the *Orsini*, as being of the same Party.

Cause of a War between the Families of *Orsini* and *Colonna*.

Orsini routed at *Monticelli*

After several Castles taken on both Sides, they came at last to a pitched Battle at the Foot of *Monticelli* in the Neighbourhood of *Tivoli*, where, after fighting with great Obstinacy and Party Rage for Honour, Interest, and Revenge, the *Orsini*, who had Two Thousand Foot and Eight Hundred Horse, were beaten out of the Field, and lost all their Colours, and *Carlo Orsino* was taken Prisoner. On the Side of the *Colonnas*, *Antonello Savello*, an Officer of Reputation, was wounded, and died in a few Days. When the Battle was over, the Pope pretending not to like such Disturbances in the Neighbourhood of *Rome*, offered his Mediation, which was accepted by both Parties. But while his Holiness, in his usual Manner, was amusing them, the *Orsini* assembled another Army, and besieged *Palombara*, the capital Town belonging to the *Savelli*, which the *Colonnas*, who had taken several Forts after the Battle, were preparing to relieve. At last both Parties being convinced that the Pope widened the Breaches, and

and inflamed their Animofities, with an Intent, after they had weakened one another, to make them both his Prey, came to a Parley, and agreed to have a Meeting at *Tivoli*, where in a few Hours they became Friends, on Condition, that *Carlo Orfino* should be fet at Liberty, the Places taken on both Sides restored, and the Dispute about the Territory of *Tagliacozzo* and *Albi* referred to King *Federigo*, who had many Persons of the Family of *Colonna* in his Service.

A. D.
1498.

Peace between the two Families.

WHAT now remained of the War in *Italy* was confined to the City and Territory of *Pisa*. The Duke of *Milan* at first intended only to give the *Florentines* a powerful Succour in Money, and that underhand. But his Resentment against the *Venetians* increasing to such a Height, as to vent itself in haughty Language, and threatening Expressions, he resolved to throw off the Mask at once, and began with denying their Troops a Passage thro' the *Parmesan* and *Pontremoli* in their March to *Pisa*, which obliged them to fetch a Compass by a difficult Way thro'

Lodovico quarrels with the *Venetians*.

A. D.

1498.

the Duke of *Ferrara's* Country. He had Interest enough with *Cæsar*, who had dismissed all the Ambassadors of the League but those of the King of *Spain*, on his recalling them, to except those of the *Venetians*. He sent Three Hundred Archers to the *Florentines*, and engaged to pay his Share towards a new Levy of Three Hundred Men at Arms, part of them to be commanded by the Lord of *Piombino*, and the rest under *Pagol Baglione*. He lent them above Three Hundred Thousand Ducats, and made a sincere Offer of all his Power to serve them. He interceded also with the Pope in their Behalf, intreating his Holiness to lend a favourable Ear to the humble Applications of the *Florentines*. The Pope was convinced that it could not be for the Papal Interest that the *Venetians* should become Masters of *Pisa*, and therefore promised an Assistance of One Hundred Men at Arms, besides Three light Gallies under Captain *Villamarina*, which were to cruize before *Pisa*, and intercept all Provisions or Stores carrying thither by Sea. But he found Reason to alter his Measures,

and,

and, after many Excuses for his Delay, *A. D.*
 openly refused to send this Succour, having *1498.*
 greater Things and more interesting to
 himself in Prospect, for he was now more
 than ever intent on entering into a strict
 Alliance with the King of *France*, from
 whom he had the Vanity to expect nothing
 less than the Kingdom of *Naples* for his
 Son.

IT is the common Frailty of Man-
 kind, when bent on any Project, to amuse
 themselves with flattering Hopes, and to
 represent as easy what to a calm and un-
 prejudiced Understanding will appear diffi-
 cult. It was really Matter of Astonish-
 ment that *Alexander* after a Repulse, which
 ought in Reason to have knocked all his
 Schemes on the Head, should be so little
 disconcerted, as to find Occasion from
 that very Repulse to enlarge his Views,
 and form still greater Projects. Before he
 took this Resolution of entering into a
 League with *France*, he had proposed to
 King *Federigo* a Match between his Son,
 who was disposed to part with his Cardi-
 nal's Hat, and the King's Daughter, with
 O 2 the

A. D.

1498.

the Principality of *Taranto* for her Dowry. He imagined that if his Son, who was endowed with great natural Parts, should once get Possession of so considerable a Member of the Kingdom, being married to a Royal Daughter, he might, with the Arms and the Pretensions of the Church to that Country, easily dispossess his Father-in-Law, who was unprovided of Men and Money, and had neither the Love nor Esteem of many of his Barons. *Eodovico* favoured the Pope's Suit, and sent *Marchese* *Stampa* to *Rome*, and thence to *Naples*, to sollicit *Federigo*, first with Reasons, and then, if necessary, with Threats, to come into the Motion. That Minister was charged to remonstrate to the King the dangerous Consequence of his Refusal, which would be throwing his Holiness into the Arms of *France*; and endeavour to convince him how weak and imprudent it would appear, when the common Safety lay at Stake, to suffer himself to be biassed by *Valentino's* Birth, and, rather than put some Violence on his own Inclinations, to risque the Preservation of his Kingdom. *Federigo* knew how

how to resist all these Sollicitations: He knew that a Denial might endanger his Throne, but he was also sensible that to give his Daughter in Marriage to the Cardinal of *Valenza*, with the Principality of *Taranto*, was no less hazardous. Therefore of two Dangers he would chuse to encounter that which appeared to him the most honourable, and which would not proceed from any Act of his own. This mortifying Denial quite determined the Pope to enter into *French* Measures, and his Fear of offending the *Venetians*, whom he would willingly induce to make the same Step, restrained him from giving any Assistance to the *Florentines*.

A. D.

1498.

BUT the *Florentines* now thought themselves strong enough in the Field, and their Affairs in a promising Way, by the Accession of so good an Ally as the Duke of *Milan*, and under the Conduct of a General of such military Reputation as *Pagolo Vitelli*. They were grown to such a Height of Resolution, and Confidence in their Commander, that no Danger appeared formidable, no Enterprize too

A. D.

1498.

difficult. The *Pisans*, besides the numerous Body of their Citizens and Peasants, who were experienced and resolute, had Four Hundred Men at Arms, Eight Hundred Stradiotti, and above Two Thousand Foot Auxiliaries from the *Venetians*, who were unanimously disposed to send them still more Forces if required; for those very Senators who had before so warmly opposed taking the *Pisans* under the Protection of the Republic, since they found themselves embarked in the Cause, now thought it necessary, for the Honour of the Senate, to defend them.

L O D O V I C O and his new Allies the *Florentines* resolved to augment their Army with such a Number of Troops, as should be sufficient not only to dispossess the *Pisans* of all the fortified Places in the Neighbourhood of *Pisa*, but to frustrate any Attempts from the neighbouring States, at the Sollicitations of the *Venetians*, to assist the *Pisans*, or attack any Part of the Dominions of *Florence*. With this Intent *Lodovico* induced *Bentivoglio*, who was in Alliance with him and the *Vene-*
tians,

tians, to acknowledge him his sole Ally; and to lay this new Friend under stronger Obligations, the *Florentines* took his Son *Alessandro* into their Pay. This was an important Step, for *Alessandro* was at the Head of Two Hundred Men at Arms raised by *Lodovico* in concert with the *Venetians*, before he had resolved to declare himself. And because the Lord of *Faenza* was under the Protection of the *Venetians*, the *Florentines* hired *Ottaviano Riario*, Lord of *Imola* and *Furli*, with One Hundred and Fifty Men at Arms, to cover their Territory from any Attack on the Side of *Romagna*. *Ottaviano* followed in every thing the Dictates of his Mother *Caterina Sforza*, who was entirely at *Lodovico's* Devotion for several Reasons, but particularly because she was privately married to *Giovanni de' Medici*, and she was confident that the Duke of *Milan*, disliking the popular Government in *Florence*, intended to reinstate *Giovanni* and his Brother in that City. *Lodovico* also obtained a Promise from the *Lucchese*, with whom he had great Authority, that they would desist from supplying the

A. D.
 1498.

Bentivoglio
declares for
Lodovico.

A. D. *Pisans*, whom they had always favoured ;
 1498. and tho' they did not entirely comply with
 their Engagement, yet they observed it
 in a great measure out of Respect to
 him.

THERE remained still to manage the
Sænese and the *Genoese*, both inveterate
 Enemies of the *Florentines*, who were
 then actually at Variance with these two
 States ; with one of them on account of
Monte Pulciano, and with the other on the
 Affair of the *Lunegiana*. It was feared
 that the *Sænese*, from an old Grudge, would,
 as usual, tho' to their own Detriment,
 supply the Enemies of the *Florentines*
 with all the Conveniences their Country
 would afford : And tho' the *Genoese*, out
 of antient Emulation, must be conceived
 averse to the Settlement of the *Venetians*
 at *Pisa*, yet as there was little Regard ever
 shewn in *Genoa* to the public Welfare,
 both *Venetian* and *Pisan* Vessels continued
 to traffic in their Port for the Benefit that
 accrued to Particulars, and to the great
 Advantage of the *Pisans*. By *Lodovico's*
 Advice the *Florentines* sent Ambassadors
 to

to both these States; but the Treaty with the *Genoese* came to nothing, for that People peremptorily insisted on the Delivery of *Sarzana*, on the sole Consideration of a Promise that the *Pisans* should receive no sort of Supplies from the Dominions of *Genoa*; which Condition the *Florentines* regarding as attended with a certain Loss for a small and even doubtful Gain, refused to buy their Friendship at so dear a Rate.

A. D.
1498.

WHILE these Things were in Agitation, the *Florentines*, under their new Captain-General, took the Field, with an Army stronger in Horse than Foot; which obliged the *Pisans*, who, since the Fight at *St. Regolo*, had scowered the Country with their *Stradiotti* without controul, to break up their Camp at *Ponte di Sacco*. *Vitelli* first took *Calcinaia*, and while he was expecting some Recruits of Infantry, receiving Intelligence that the *Venetians* posted at *Cascina*, under *Marco Martinengo* kept no Guard nor Discipline, he suddenly fell upon them, killed many of the *Stradiotti*, with *Giovanni Gradinico*, Captain of Men at Arms, and took *Franco* Chief

Florentines take the Field.

Surprises the *Venetians*.

A. D.
1498.

Chief of the Stradiotti, with One Hundred Horse Prisoners. On this the *Venetians* abandoned *Cascina*, and retired to *Borgo di St. Marco*, where they waited for Reinforcements from *Venice*. *Pagolo Vitelli*, being now joined by his Foot, made a Feint of attacking *Cascina*; but while the *Pisans* were preparing for its Defence, he detached Three Thousand Men with Orders to post themselves on the upper Grounds, and then, with great Labour and Difficulty passing his heavy Cannon over the Mountains, crossed the *Arno*, and invested *Buti*, which was taken by Storm the next Day after it began to be battered. The General chose rathertoattack *Buti* than *Pisa*; for considering with himself the desperate Obstinacy of the *Pisans*, their Numbers, the Multitude of Peasants in the Town, who by long Exercise were become expert Soldiers, together with the *Venetian* Garrison, and the Strength of the Walls and Fortifications, he laid aside all Thoughts of reducing *Pisa* by Force. He judged it therefore more expedient to streighten the Place, by taking in those Forts that lie on the
Right

Right of the *Arno*, and to intercept all Communication with the neighbouring States. For this End, after taking *Buti*, he erected a Fort on the Hill of *San Giovanni della Vena*, and with the same Labour as before brought his Cannon before a Fort which the *Pisans* had erected near *Vico*, possessed himself of all the Territory of *Valdecaldi*, raised another Fortification at *Pietra Dolorosa* above *Vico Pisano*, to prevent all Passage of Provisions by that Road, and invested the Fortress of the *Verrucola*. Count *Rinuccio* had posted himself in *Valdinievole*, to be a Check upon the *Pisans*, and frustrate all Sallies which it was expected they would hazard for preventing the Sieges of *Libra-fatta* and *Valdiserchio*; yet this did not prevent a Sally of Four Hundred Men, who surpris'd and cut to Pieces some *Florentine* Foot in the Church of *St. Michele*, designed to assist at the Siege of *Verrucola*. *Pagolo* in the mean time made himself Master of the Fort near *Vico*, allowing the Garrison to march out with their Cannon for *Vico Pisano*, and then encamped before *Vico*, where he opened the

A. D.

1498.

A. D.

1498.

the Trenches, not on the same Side it had been besieged by the *Florentines*, when himself defended it, but that towards *San Giovanni della Vena*, by which Means he prevented all Succours from *Pisa*. A large Breach being made, the Governor surrendered on Condition that the Garrison should march away, and the Inhabitants should be safe in their Persons and Effects. They did not care to hold out to Extremity, because *Vitelli*, when he took *Buti*, ordered Three *German* Gunners to have their Hands chopped off, besides other Cruelties, to strike a Terror. *Vico* being taken by *Pagolo*, his good Fortune favoured him on another Occasion : For the *Pisans* imagining it would be easy to surprize the Fort of *Pietra Dolorosa*, made a furious Attack upon the Place before Break of Day, with Two Hundred Light Horse, and some chosen Infantry ; but meeting with longer Resistance than was expected, it happened that in the Heat of Action *Pagolo* was perceived hastening over the Hills to the Relief of the Place. The Assailants then had nothing to do but to make the best of their Way to *Pisa*, in which

which near *Calci* they fell in with *Vitel-*
lozzo who waited to intercept them, and *Pagolo*
 coming up, they were totally routed, and many of the Horse, and most part of the Foot killed.

A. D.
 1498.

IN the mean time the *Florentines* received Information from the Duke and others, that the *Venetians* were inclined to make Peace, and that all Differences might be easily accommodated, provided the Republic of *Florence* would consent, as was decent and proper, to treat with the *Venetians* as with a superior Republic, and not as with their Equals. On this Advice *Guido Antonio Vespucci* and *Bernardo Rucellai*, Two Citizens of great Authority, were sent to *Venice* to inform themselves of the Senate's real Intentions. This Application would have been made much sooner, had not the *Florentines* stood in fear of disobliging King *Charles*, and were also conscious to themselves that while they were visibly too weak to subdue *Pisa*, all Intreaties not enforced by the Authority of some signal Action are vain and fruitless. But now having a

Agreement proposed between the *Venetians* and *Florentines*.

Florentines send Ambassadors to *Venice*.

power-

A. D.
1498.

powerful Force in the Field, and the Duke of *Milan* having openly declared against the *Venetians*, they began to entertain Hopes of finding out some Expedient for an honourable Agreement.

Their Reception
and
Treaty.

THE Ambassadors were received very honourably, and introduced to the Doge and College; where, after making Excuses in the Name of their Republic for sending no sooner, “ which, they said, was owing to the Iniquity of the Times, and the Circumstances of their City, they, in plain Terms, desired them to desist from the Defence of *Pisa*, which they had Reason to expect, since the *Florentine* Republic had given no just Cause of Offence, and the *Venetian* Senate was famous for doing Justice, which was the Basis of all Virtues, and ought to be preferred to any other Consideration in Government.” The Doge answered, “ that it was true the *Florentines* had not injured them, and that the *Venetians* had not undertaken the Defence of *Pisa*, with an Intent to offend the *Florentines*, but merely because they had joined with the
French,

French, and differed in their Politics from all the rest of the *Italian* Potentates. The common Safety, therefore, had engaged the Allies to promise the *Pisans* their Assistance. That if others were regardless of their Word, they would not, against the known Rule of their Republic, follow so vile an Example. But if they had any thing to offer by which the Freedom of the *Pisans* might be preserved, they were ready to convince the World, that no private Interest or Ambition could induce them to persevere in their Hostilities against the *Florentines*." After this it was for several Days debated, in what Manner both Parties might be satisfied; but neither the Ambassadors nor the Senate were willing to make their Proposals. It was agreed that the *Spanish* Ambassador, who wished well to both, should be admitted into their Councils. He was of Opinion that the *Pisans* might return under the *Florentine* Dominion, not as Subjects, but as Confederates, or rather under their Protection, and enjoy the same Charter and Privileges as had been allowed to the City of *Pistoia*; which would be a sort of Medium

A. D.

1498.

A. D. Medium between Slavery and Liberty.

1498.

Ambassy
unsuccess-
ful.

The *Venetians* objected that no Traces of Liberty could remain in a City, where the Fortifications and Administration of Justice were in the Hands of another Power. Thus the Ambassadors finding no Hopes of succeeding quitted *Venice*, fully persuaded that the *Venetians* would never abandon *Pisa*, whither they were continually sending Recruits, without being constrained to it.

THE Senate had not much to fear this Year from the *Florentines*, who had not taken the Field early in the Spring, and the Season being far advanced, could not keep the Field much longer on account of the Floods, to which the Country about *Pisa* is, by its low Situation, very subject. They ordered a new Levy of Five Hundred Men at Arms, to be commanded by the Duke of *Urbino*, to whom they gave the Title of Governor, and who, pursuant to some Intelligence, was to make a Diversion by attacking the *Florentines* on a different Quarter. They purposed also to serve themselves of *Piero de'*

de' Medici, on whose account they levied Two Hundred Men at Arms under *Carlo Orfino* and *Bartolomeo Alviano*. Nor were they without Hopes of inducing *Bentivoglio* to invade the Country on the Side of the *Bolognese*. For the Duke of *Milan*, it seems, was dissatisfied with him because his Son *Annibale Bentivoglio* had preferred the *Venetian* Service before the Duke's. And this new Offence revived the Memory of former Injuries, which he pretended he had received from him. For when *Ferdinando* Duke of *Calabria* marched into *Romagna*, *Bentivoglio* took that Opportunity to seize on some Castles of the *Milanese*, which, he said, belonged to his Son *Alessandro* by Right of Dowry. But by the Mediation of the *Florentines*, the Castles were restored to *Lodovico*, which frustrated the *Venetians* in their Hopes of Assistance from *Bentivoglio*. They applied next to the *Sanese*, whom they had Reason to think not averse to their Measures; for besides the natural Disposition of that People to take up Arms against the *Florentines*, they happened to be in a great Ferment at that Time on the

A. D.

1498.

A. D.
1498.

following Occasion. The Duke of *Urbino*, and the *Orsini* with Two Thousand Foot and Four Hundred Stradiotti, had halted at *La Fratta* in the Territory of *Perugia*, from whence they sent a Message to the Government of *Siena* to desire a Passage through their Territory. *Pandolfo Petrucci*, who by his superior Posts and Management had raised himself to the supreme Dignity in that Republic, was for granting a Passage; but *Nicolo Borgese*, his Father-in-Law, with the Family of the *Belanti* opposed it, merely in Contradiction to *Pandolfo*, of whose Power they were jealous. They pleaded that to grant a Truce to the *Florentines*, as *Pandolfo* and the Duke of *Milan* would persuade them, was only giving them an Opportunity of first subjecting *Pisa*, and then turning with their whole Force against *Siena*. On the contrary, the Republic, like a wise State, ought to improve the present Juncture, and not enter into any Treaty that was not like to produce a solid Peace, in which *Monte Pulciano* should be yielded to the *Senese*. They were conscious, that the Government of
Florence

Florence would never make this Concession, and expected that the *Venetians*, for so signal a Service, would assist them in diminishing *Pandolfo's* Authority. As for *Pandolfo*, he found great Difficulty in gaining his Point, for the Populace had a natural Antipathy to the *Florentines*, and it was urged, with a plausible Air, that they had a fair Opportunity now given them of obliging the *Florentines* under their present Distress to give up *Monte Pulciano*. These Reasons seemed to outweigh those of *Pandolfo*, who, on his Side, represented, besides the common Calamities of War, the Danger of permitting the *Venetians* to have a Footing in *Tuscany*. He insisted on this Point with much Warmth, and told the People that they had no Occasion to look out for foreign Examples, it being fresh in the Memory of many then present, that in the Year 1478, when they joined *Ferdinando* King of *Naples* against the *Florentines* they were on the Point of being enslaved by that Prince, which nothing could have prevented, had not the *Ottoman* Emperor, by taking *Otranto*, obliged

A. D.

1498.

A. D.

1498.

the King to recall his Son *Alfonso* with his Forces from *Siena*. In their own History they might also find the Time when, out of Resentment to the *Florentines* on account of this very *Monte Pulciano*, they put the State under the Subjection of Count *Virtu*, to induce him to take up Arms against that Republic. These Arguments, how just soever, were not powerful enough to bring the People into *Pandolfo's* Sentiments. He found himself therefore under a Necessity to call to his Assistance many of his Friends out of the Country, by whose Concurrence having secured the public Peace and himself from Tumults, he made a Five Year's Truce with the *Florentines*, who, in return, paying a greater Regard to their Fear of the present Danger than to the Dignity of the State, obliged themselves to destroy part of the Bridge of *Valiano*, together with the Redoubt, which had given so much Umbrage to the *Sanese*, who were permitted to erect what Forts they pleased between *Chiane* and *Monte Pulciano*. This Treaty raised *Pandolfo's* Power and Authority to such a Height, as enabled him not

not long after to get his Father-in-Law condemned to die for ardently opposing his Measures; which struck such a Terror into the Party, that they quietly suffered him to rule the State in as absolute a Manner as he pleased.

A. D.

1498.

THE *Venetians* being thus disappointed at *Siena*, and not able to obtain a Passage for their Troops through the Territory of *Perugia*, resolved to attack the *Florentines* by the Way of *Romagna*, where they expected, that, by Means of *Piero de' Medici's* Interest, it would be easy to reduce the Towns in the *Apennines*. For this Purpose they obtained Leave of the petty Lord of *Faenza* to march a Body of Troops through the Valley of *Lanione*, accompanied by *Piero* and *Giuliano de' Medici*, who took Possession of *Marradi*, a Town on the *Appennines* facing *Romagna*, without Opposition, for *Dionigi di Naldo*, a Gentleman whose Estate lay in the Valleys

Cam-
paign in
Romagna.

between those Hills, who had Orders to assemble the Peasants, and to raise Three Hundred Soldiers, had so few Troops with him, that he thought fit to quit the

A. D.

1498.

Place and retire. The *Venetians* then laid siege to *Castiglione*, a Fort seated on an Eminence above *Marradi*, and were in Hopes of taking it, for there was a Scarcity of Provisions and Water in the Place, and the Conquest of it would have opened them a Passage into *Mugello*, a Territory contiguous to *Florence*. But the Dearness of Provisions was happily compensated by the Resolution of the Governor, and the Want of Water by Providence ; for there fell such a Quantity of Rain, that in one Night all the Cisterns and Vessels were filled.

IN the mean time Count *Rinuccio*, and the Lord of *Piombino*, with other Generals, marched through *Mugello* to the Relief of the Fort, and obliged the *Venetians* to retire with Precipitation ; for as they had expected but little Resistance in those Parts, they were but ill provided to look the Enemy in the Face. As soon as the Duke of *Milan* received Intelligence of this Irruption, he ordered Count *Gajazzo*, who was at *Cotignuola* with Three Hundred Men at Arms, and One Thousand

Thousand Foot, and *Fracassa*, who was arrived from *Furli* with One Hundred Men at Arms, to follow the Invaders. But these, to avoid the Danger of being hemmed in between two Armies, turned off and joined the Duke of *Urbino*, who had marched from *Perugia*, and was encamped with the rest of the *Venetian* Forces between *Ravenna* and *Furli*, with little Hopes of undertaking any thing of Consequence. For besides the *Florentine* Troops in *Romagna*, the Duke of *Milan* had Five Hundred Men at Arms, and Five Hundred Archers in that Territory, exclusive of One Thousand Foot appointed to guard the important Passes of *Furli* and *Imola*.

A. D.

1498.

DURING these Transactions *Pagolo Vitelli's* *Vitelli*, having made himself Master of ^{Exploits} _{in the} *Vico Pisano*, rested there some Days; but *Pisan*. finding Provisions grow short, and being desirous of straitening more and more the *Pisans*, he resolved on the Siege of *Librafatto*. And in order to attack the Place on the weakest Side, and to avoid the Inconveniences attending the March of

A. D.

1498.

an Army incumbered with Artillery and heavy Baggage, he chose to avoid the beaten Road that leads over the Hills to the Plains of *Pisa*, as also another Road, that goes round the Hills from the Plains of *Lucca* to *Librafatta*; and, with the Help of a vast Number of Pioneers, made a new Way over the Mountains, by which he marched, taking in by the Way a Redoubt the *Pisans* had erected on *Monte Maggiore*, and descended into the Plain of *Librafatta* unmolested. The next Day without much Difficulty he possessed himself of *Potito* and *Castel Vecchio*, two Forts near one another, and at a small Distance from the Town; on this last Fort, and some other Places of Advantage, he planted his Artillery, in Hopes that the Walls being by this Means battered above and below, the Breaches might be mounted, and the Place taken the next Day. But in the Night an Arch of the Wall fell down, and filled up the Breach to the Height of Four Braces*; so that *Vitelli* having in vain attempted to scale the Walls for Three Days successively, began to doubt

* A *Tuscan* Brace is 23 Inches.

THE WARS IN ITALY.

233

doubt of Success, and the more because the Besiegers were greatly annoyed by a large Piece of Cannon that scoured their Trenches. But *Pagolo's* Courage and Industry on this Occasion were highly indebted to Fortune, without whose Favour good Generals often find their most promising Hopes frustrated; for a lucky Shot from the Camp dismounted the Enemy's murdering Piece of Cannon, killed one of their best Gunners, and made its Way through the Rampart. This Accident so terrified the Besieged, who besides could not mount the Wall without great Danger from the Cannon on *Castel Vecchio*, that they capitulated the Fourth Day, and surrendered the Town, and soon after the Castle when the Cannon began to play.

A. D.

1498.

Librafatta
taken.

LIBRAFATTA being taken, *Pagolo* set his Men at Work in erecting Forts on the neighbouring Hills, particularly a large and strong Fort at *Santa Maria in Castello*, which from the Mount on which it was seated was called *Ventura*; from this Fort he made Excursions all over the Country.

A. D.

1498.

Country. It is reported that on this very Spot of Ground, *Castruccio* of *Lucca*, a famous Commander, formerly built a Castle, by means of which, and of *Librafatta*, he intercepted all Convoys of Provisions coming to *Pisa* from *Lucca* and *Pietra Santa*.

THE *Venetians*, always attentive on every thing that might conduce to the Preservation of *Pisa*, thought of making an Advantage of some Discontent and Uneasiness of the Marquis of *Mantua*, who was in the Duke of *Milan's* Service, and was dissatisfied at his being refused the Title of Captain-General, which *Lodovico* did not think fit to grant, lest it should offend *Giovanni Galeazzo da Sanseverino*, on whom he had conferred that Honour, more out of personal Regard, than for true Merit. But he made the Marquis a Promise that in Three Months Time he would procure him the Title of Captain-General, either from the King of the *Romans*, or from the Pope, or from the King of *Naples*, or at least from the *Florentines*. The Three Months being elapsed,

elapsed, and nothing done in his Favour, and his Pay being also in Arrear, the Marquis applied himself to the *Venetians*, offering to enter again into their Service. They accepted this Offer of the Marquis, and agreed to send him to *Pisa* at the Head of Three Hundred Men at Arms. *Lodovico* being apprised of this Negotiation, with *Galeazzo's* Consent, declared him Captain-General both of his own and *Cæsar's* Forces. But the Marquis had already been at *Venice*, and, notwithstanding the Opposition made by the *Florentines*, had accepted of their Commission, had received a Sum of Money to enable him to march to the Assistance of the *Pisans*, and was returned to *Mantua* to put himself in Readiness. And had the *Venetians* been as expeditious in dispatching as they were in enlisting him, they might have retained him, and secured him in their Service: But they proceeded slowly, on account of an Offer that was made them by some old Friends of the *Medici*, who engaged to deliver the Castle of *Bibienna* in the *Casentino* into their Hands, and representing the Difficulties of sending

Re-

A. D.

1498.

Reinforcements to *Pisa*, inclined the Senate to conclude it more expedient to set their Thoughts on making Diversions than on sending Succours. The Marquis provoked at this Delay, returned into *Lodovico's* Service with Three Hundred Men at Arms and One Hundred light Horse, and was complimented with the Title of Captain-General of the Imperial and *Milanesè* Forces. As for the Money he had received of the *Venetians*, he pretended it was his Due upon old Arrears.

THE Plot concerning *Bibiena* was not carried on so secretly but that the *Florentines* got notice of it, and having been informed of all the Particulars from *Bologna*, immediately deputed a Commissary to *Bibiena* to prevent the Danger. But the most careful and prudent Designs are rendered vain and useles, when negligently or imprudently conducted. The Commissary indeed immediately secured the most suspected, but was afterwards weak enough to release them on the bare Credit of their own Affeверations; and took so little Precaution in other Respects, that he facilitated

tated the Measures of the Disaffected. A. D.

Alviano, who was intrusted with the Execution of the Plot, dispatched some of his Horsemen, accoutred like Travelers, who riding all Night arrived by Break of Day at *Bibiena*, and seized on a Gate of the Town without Opposition, for the Commissary had placed no Guard, nor so much as given Orders, as in suspicious Times he ought, not to open the Gates so early as usual. This first Party was soon followed by successive Detachments of Horse, who gave out on the Road, that they belonged to *Vitelli*. Their Friends in the Town had now no more to do but to declare themselves openly with all Security, and thus was the Place taken without a Blow *. *Alviano* arrived the same Day, and tho' his Force was but small,

1498.

Bibiena
taken by
Strata-
gem.

* *Bembo* writes that the *Venetians* passed for *Florentines* come to reinforce the Garrison, by which Stratagem they had before got Possession of the famous Monastery of *Camaldoli*. *Buonocorsi* says that *Piero de' Medici* and *Alviano* sent a Gentleman with a Letter signed with Ten counterfeit Names of Magistrates of *Florence*, ordering Quarters to be provided for Eighty Horse on their March thither commanded by *Giulio Vitelli*, by which Means *Alviano* with One Hundred Horse was admitted into the Town instead of *Vitelli*.

A. D.
1498.

Small, yet as he was never wanting to push his good Fortune with all possible Celerity, he immediately invested *Poppi*, the strongest Fortrefs in the Vale of *Bibiena*; but finding it well provided, he thought fit to draw off, and take Possession of all the little Places in the Neighbourhood of *Bibiena*, tho' of no great Importance. The River *Arno* runs through the *Casentino*, which is a narrow, rocky, and barren Country, at the Foot of the *Appennines*, at that Time covered with Snow, as it was the beginning of Winter; but it was a Pass that, if *Poppi* had been taken, would have commanded the Road to *Florence*, and lay no less convenient for a Passage into the rich and fertile Territories of *Arezzo* and *Valdarno*, which are full of Towns and Villages, and of great Importance to the *Florentines*, who were by no means wanting to themselves in so dangerous a Juncture, but made Provision of all Things necessary for Defence in every Place that required. And by keeping good Intelligence, they had the good Fortune to discover and suppress a Conspiracy forming against them at *Arezzo*, and

imme-

immediately sent Orders to Count *Rinuccio*, who was in the *Pisan*, to march and possess himself of the Passes between *Valdibagno* and *La Pieva San Stefano*, in order to prevent the *Venetians* from pouring more Troops into the *Casentino*. But all their Precaution could not hinder the Duke of *Urbino*, *Carlo Orsino*, and other Generals, with Seven Hundred Men at Arms, Six Thousand Foot, and some *German* Mercenaries, from penetrating into that Country, and intirely subjecting the same, except the Fortrefs of *Poppi*, which was a second time attempted in vain.

A. D.
1498.

Duke of
Urbino in-
vades the
Casentino.

THIS unexpected Irruption put the *Florentines* under a Necessity of recalling *Pagolo Vitelli* with his Forces from the *Pisan*, which was what the *Venetians* chiefly had in View by making this Diversion. That General leaving sufficient Garrisons in Fort *Ventura* and other important Places *, marched into the *Casentino*, and obliged the Enemy to quit the Neigh-

Florentine
Forces
march a-
gainst the
Duke.

* *Bembo* tells us that *Vitelli* gave a general Assault to *Pisa* before he went off.

A. D.

1498.

Neighbourhood of *Prato Vecchio*, where they had begun to entrench themselves, and being afterwards joined by *Fracassa* with Five Hundred Men at Arms, and Five Hundred Foot from the Duke of *Milan*, reduced them to great Straits. The *Venetians* were dispersed in small Bodies, for Conveniency of Quarters, and were besides obliged to post several Corps in the Passes of *Verni*, *Cbiusi*, and *Montalone*, situate on the Tops of the *Apennines*, to secure themselves a Retreat. They had now little Hopes left of making any Progress here or elsewhere, for *Rinuccio* with Two Hundred Lances had thrown himself into *Arezzo*, and the Peasants were by no Means their Friends, being disaffected to the Family of the *Medici*, and besides their Horses wanted Forage in that hilly Country. For these Reasons it was thought fit to send back the Artillery with part of the heavy Baggage, and to draw their Quarters as close as the Situation of the Country would permit.

VITELLI had determined to proceed with Caution, and to attempt nothing with

with Precipitation; as he was naturally wary and patient. To obtain a considerable Advantage, he never regarded Length of Time, or Hardship of Fatigue. He would not, to save Expences, venture on an Undertaking without an abundant Supply of all Necessaries; neither would he, for the Glory of obtaining an easy and speedy Victory; rashly endanger his Army; and the Success of his Enterprize. With this Disposition he deferred the Attack of the strong Places in the *Casentino* till he had made himself Master of the weakest; and secured the Passes of the *Apennines*; with Guards, Forts; and other Incumbrances, by spoiling the Roads, and felling Trees across them, by which means the Enemy would not only be prevented from receiving fresh Supplies, but be disabled from giving Assistance to each other from their different Quarters: In this manner he hoped to distress them, not doubting but their chief Strength, which lay in and about *Bibiena*, would soon be put to Hardships for want of Provisions and Forage. With this View he took Possession of several small Places, insignificant in them-

A. D.

1498.

selfes, but serviceable to his Purposes, and afterwards surpris'd several Men at Arms in their Quarters about *Bibienna*. As soon as he received Intelligence that the *Venetians* were assembling a Body of Men on the other Side of the Mountains, he possess'd himself of the Places about Mount *Verna*, and blocked up all the Passes, and spoiled the Roads, to prevent their marching to the Succour of their Troops on this Side the Hills in the *Casentino*, by which Means the Enemy's Forces in that Country were greatly distressed, Numbers deserted, and many others fell into the Hands of the Peasants in that rough and difficult Country, and were stripp'd and plundered.

Venetians
sick of
the War.

THO' the *Florentine* Ambassadors had left *Venice* without Success, another Negotiation was set on Foot in *Ferrara*, at the Sollicitations of the *Venetians*. For many of the graver Senators began to be tired of a War that was maintained at so vast an Expence, and attended with such Difficulties; and as they had now no Prospect of making any farther Progress
in

THE WARS IN ITALY. 243

in the *Casentino*, they grew more and more desirous of relinquishing their vexatious Engagements with *Pisa*, provided they could extricate themselves with Honour.

A. D.
1498.

ALL this while the King of *France* was making Preparations to invade the *Milanese* the following Year, and expected to be joined by the *Venetians*, the mortal Enemies of *Lodovico*. For this End he entered into a Treaty of strict Alliance with the Republic. But he treated with more Freedom and Confidence of a firm Union with the Pope; who, tho' disappointed of an Alliance with *Federigo* by his rejecting the Match proposed by his Holiness, still retained his ambitious Views towards the Kingdom of *Naples*, and put all his Trust in the King for obtaining, through his Means, *Federigo's* Daughter *Charlotta*, who was brought up at the *French* Court, for his Son Cardinal *Valenza*. *Lewis*, at whose Disposal the Princess seemed to be, had given the Pope Encouragement to hope that his Desire would be gratified. On this Prospect the

King of
France
treats with
the *Vene-*
tians,

and with
the Pope.

A. D.

1498.

Cardinal came one Morning into the Consistory, and humbly intreated his Holiness and their Eminences the Cardinals for Leave to divest himself of his Ecclesiastic Habit and Dignity, and to follow that Profession to which he seemed ordained by Fate. On giving their Consent, he clothed himself in secular Apparel, and prepared for his Journey to *France*. The Pope had already promised to send the King a Bull for his Divorce, and *Lewis* in return had obliged himself, as soon as he should have conquered the Dutchy of *Milan*, to assist him in reducing to the Obedience of the Apostolic See the Cities possessed by the Vicars in *Romagna*, and to pay him immediately Thirty Thousand Ducats, which his present Exigences required. This Sum, he pretended, was no more than what was necessary for the King's Interest, since he was obliged to keep an extraordinary Guard to defend himself from Conspiracies, which he expected would be formed against him on account of his Union with *France*. In the Execution of this Treaty the King began with paying the

Money,

Articles
of the
Treaty.

THE WARS IN ITALY.

245

Money, and the Pope committed the Affair of the Divorce to his Nuncio the Bishop of *Ceuta*, and to the Archbishops of *Paris* and *Rouen*. The Queen at first pleaded in Court by her Counsel, but finding she could not confide in her Judges, and that she must at last be obliged to submit to the King's Power, she withdrew her Plea, and gave up the Cause, agreeing to accept of the Revenues of the Dutchy of *Berry* for her Maintenance, with an Addition of Thirty Thousand Livres Yearly. The Sentence of Divorce was pronounced by the Judges, and nothing now remained for the Solemnization of the new Marriage, but the Dispensation to be brought by *Cæsar Borgia*, who from Cardinal and Archbishop of *Valenza*, now became a Soldier and Duke *Valentino*, for the King had made him a Captain of One Hundred Lances, with a Salary of Twenty Thousand Livres, and gave him the City of *Valence* in *Dauphiné*, with the Title of Duke, and a Revenue of Twenty Thousand Livres more *. The Duke embarked at *Ostia*

A. D.

1498.

Lewis divorced.

Q 3

on

* *Valence*, a City in *Dauphiny*, is the Capital of the *Valentinois*, and was erected into a Dutchy for *Cæsar Borgia*.

A. D.
1498.

Archbp.
of Rouen
made a
Cardinal.

on board a Squadron the King had sent thither for that Purpose, and arrived at Court the latter End of the Year with great Pomp and Magnificence, where he was received by the King with wonderful Marks of Esteem. He brought with him a Cardinal's Hat for *George D'Amboise*, who had constantly attended the King both in his good and bad Fortune, and had a great Share in his Confidence. But *Valentino's* first Step at Court was by no means satisfactory. He pretended that he had not brought with him the Bull of Dispensation, being thus instructed by his Father, who imagined that the King's Eagerness would forward his Designs, and that he would be sooner induced to gratify him with the Expectation than with the Remembrance of a Benefit. But the Bishop of *Ceuta*, under a Promise of Secrecy, revealed the whole Mystery. Wherefore the King being well satisfied in his Conscience of the Expedition of the Bull, made no farther Scruple, but went to Bed to his new Bride*.

Duke

* The Wife from whom *Lewis* was divorced was

Duke then thought fit to produce the Bull, but being informed how he had been betrayed by the Bishop, he took care afterwards to have him dispatched by Poison.

A. D.
1498.

THE King was now very sollicitous to prevent Disturbances from the neighbouring Princes. He concluded a Peace with the King of *Spain*, and that Monarch resolving to interfere no more in the Affairs of *Italy*, recalled all his Ambassadors from that Country, excepting one at *Rome*, and ordered *Gonsalvo* and his Forces to return into *Spain*, yielding to *Federigo* those Places in the Province of *Calabria* which he had hitherto detained.

Lewis
concludes
a Peace
with *Spain*

BUT *Lewis* found it more difficult to accommodate Matters with the King of the *Romans*, who took Occasion from some Tumults arising in *Burgundy*, to enter that Country; for which Purpose he was furnished by *Lodovico* with a considerable

Q 4

Giovanna, Sister to *Charles VIII.* a crooked Lady. His new Wife was *Anne* Dutchess of *Bretany*, Widow of *Charles VIII.*

A. D.
1498.

siderable Sum of Money, on a Presump-
tion that a War with *Cæsar* would prevent
the *Italian Expedition*, or if a Peace was
concluded that he should be comprehend-
ed in the Treaty, as *Maximilian* had pro-
mised him. But after some Time spent
in negotiating the King signed a Treaty
with the Archduke, by which he restored
to him the Towns he possessed in the
Province of *Artois*. The King of the
Romans was so well satisfied with this
Peace, so advantageous to his Son, that
he agreed to a Truce for several Months,
without any Mention of *Lodovico*, with
whom he pretended to be dissatisfied, for
not continuing to comply with his exorbi-
tant Demands of Money.

Lewis
confirms
the Peace
with Eng-
land.

THE King of *France* also confirmed
the Peace his Predecessor had made with
England, and having thus taken all Pre-
cautions for the Security of his Dominions,
he rejected all the Overtures made him by
the Duke of *Milan*, who had corrupted
several of the Courtiers, and tried all
Methods to get both *Venetians* and *Flo-
rentines* into his Interest. And that *Pisa*
might

might be no Bar to his Designs, he pressed the *Venetians* to deposite the same in his Hands; and to induce the *Florentines* not to raise Objections, he underhand promised to restore it to them after a short Time *. This Treaty, which was full of Difficulties, and entered into with different Views and Interests, was for several Months variously conducted. For the *Florentines* in the Case under Consideration must have entered into an Alliance with *France*, and as it was doubted whether *Lewis* was a more religious Observer of his Treaties than his Predecessor had been, the Government could not agree amongst themselves. Thus the City, agitated between the Ambition of the chief Citizens and the Licentiousness of the popular Government, and at the same Time engaged with the Duke of *Milan* on account of *Pisa*, was so divided, that it was with great Difficulty that any thing of Moment could

A. D.
1498.

* The *Florentines* agreed to have *Pisa* deposited in the King's Hands, but used their Endeavours to have it deposited in the Hands of *Pagolo Vitelli*, the King's Friend, or with the College of Cardinals, who should be empowered to deliver it without the Pope's Consent. *Buonacorsis*.

A. D.
1498.

could be settled, while some of the great Men wished the Downfal of the Duke of *Milan* by the Hands of the *French*, and others were as much in his Interest.

Venetians
against the
Deposite.

THE *Venetians*, how much soever inclined to enter into an Alliance with *France*, were determined not to yield to the Deposite, for they expected better Terms, both as to the Reimbursement of their Expences, and with respect to their Honour, from the Treaty at *Ferrara*. *Lodovico* chose also to have this Matter rather settled by the Duke of *Ferrara*, lest the depositing of *Pisa* might be a Means of uniting the *Venetians* and *Florentines* with *France*. He was not without Hopes also that if Affairs were once determined by the *Italians* themselves, the *Venetians* might be induced to give over all Thoughts of attempting any thing to his Prejudice. But these were the very Reasons why *Lewis* did not approve the Treaty of *Ferrara*; and the Pope, always on the Watch to take Advantage of the Misfortunes of others, did his Endeavours to weaken and disturb it.

it. For as his Authority was very great with the King in all Matters relating to *Italy*, he imagined that if the Treaty concerning the Deposite made any Progress, his Holiness might have a Share in the Management.

A. D.
1498.

IT was now under Deliberation at *Venice*, whether, in case the *French* should give up the Point of the Deposite, which they were resolved never to comply with, they should join the *French* against the Duke of *Milan*, as they were earnestly sollicitated, and moreover tempted with an Offer of *Cremona*, and the whole *Ghiradadda*. This Acquisition and Enlargement of Dominion was universally liked, and eligible in itself, but the Conditions on which it was to be obtained deserved the most serious Consideration, as it appeared too dangerous to the Republic, to suffer the *French* Power to grow to an extravagant Height in *Italy*. A Council of the *Pregati*, which supplies the Place of the Senate, was summoned, where after long Debates from time to time, on the Day appointed for coming to a final Reso-

A. D.

1498.

Resolution, *Antonio Grimano*, a Senator of great Authority, spoke as follows.

Grimano's
Speech.

“ WHEN I consider, illustrious Senators, the immense Favours *Lodovico* has received from our Republic, which in these latter Years hath often preserved his Dominions, and on the other Hand his vile Ingratitude, and the Injuries he has done us in order to oblige us to abandon the Defence of *Pisa*, to which he himself had encouraged and incited us, I don't in the least doubt but that it is the general Sentiment of this illustrious Body, that we ought to take a signal Revenge. For what Infamy can be greater than to be passive under Affronts, which would render us contemptible in the Eyes of all the World. We should be thought degenerated from our glorious Ancestors, who when provoked but by slight Injuries, never refused to undergo any Danger to preserve the Dignity of the *Venetian* Name. For the Deliberations of Republics require no mean and private Considerations, or which tend only to Profit, but it is necessary that they should aspire to

THE WARS IN ITALY.

253

A. D.

1498.

to more noble Ends, by which they may increase their Glory and Reputation, which are easily lost when they give Occasion to think that we want Spirit to resent Affronts, or Courage to revenge them. But these are both necessary at present, not only for the Pleasure and Sweetness attending a just Vengeance, but that the Punishment of the Offender may serve as an Example to deter others from giving the like Provocation. In such a Conduct we shall consult both our Honour and Utility, for generous Resolutions produce Glory and Profit. By suffering one Inconveniency many greater are often prevented, and one short Trouble may free us from a Train of others. But if we consider the Situation of Affairs in *Italy*, the Disposition of several Powers to molest us, and the Snares and mischievous Devices of *Lodovico Sforza*, we must be constrained to own that Necessity more than any other Consideration ought to influence us in our present Debate. For the Duke of *Milan*, incited by his natural Ambition, and his Hatred to this most excellent Senate, not only makes it his perpetual

Study

THE HISTORY OF

Study to set all *Italy*, with the King of the *Romans*, and the whole *Germanic* Body, against us, but has even commenced a Treaty with the *Turk* for the same vile Purpose of annoying us. You are all sensible that it is through his Means that we meet with such Difficulties, as almost render us incapable of supporting the *Pisans*, or prosecuting the War in the *Casentino*, which if continued becomes dangerous, and if abandoned shameful, unless we can find some other Way to retrieve our sinking Reputation, the Decay of which would elate the Spirits, and gratify the Malice of those who seek our Ruin. All the World knows how much easier it is to depress such as appear to be on the Decline, than those who, by their exalted Station, seem placed above the Reach of Envy. You would soon be convinced of this Truth, illustrious Senators, by seeing the Peace of this flourishing State destroyed, and the Noise of War and Tumults would at this Instant alarm our Fears, were not *Lodovico* kept in suspense by his Apprehensions of our joining with the *French*.

But

THE WARS IN ITALY.

255

But should we refuse their Offers, these Apprehensions would soon be at an End : For without our Assistance the King would not undertake this Expedition, and then possibly by the Artifices of *Lodovico*, or the Corruption of the *French* Ministry, he might be drawn into a Composition with the Duke of *Milan* to our Cost and Damage. In this Case therefore if we have the Good of the Republic at Heart, and are zealous to maintain its antient Dignity and Glory, we must resolve with one Consent to join with *France*, and the more heartily as it appears to be the best Expedient for avoiding the Danger that threatens us. And I think we ought to congratulate ourselves on the good Fortune of this State, which has inclined a mighty King voluntarily to intreat from us what our Interest and Safety should move us to implore from him ; and all this on such honourable Conditions, and enforced with such advantageous Offers, as may render this illustrious Body capable of forming hereafter some greater and nobler Designs. Nor have we any Reason to doubt of Success, for where can *Lodovico* seek an Asylum,

A. D.
1498.

A. D.

1498.

Asylum, whither can he fly for Refuge, when hunted and surrounded by two such mighty Powers? The only Objection of which I am aware is, the Danger that may be imagined to threaten our Republic from the Possession of *Milan* by the *French*. But even this Objection will lose much of its Force, if it be considered that in such a Posture of Affairs, many Circumstances would appear in our Favour, which are now visibly against us. For it is not to be doubted but such an Increase of Power in the *French* would alarm all *Italy*, and provoke the Resentments of the King of the *Romans* and the *Germanic* Body, who will by no means suffer so noble a Member of the Empire to become a Province to *France*. The Consequence of this must be, that those very States which now fill us with Apprehensions of their confederating with the Duke of *Milan* against us, would then, for their own Interest, appear in our Defence. And such is the universal Reputation of our Power, so current the Fame of our Riches, and, what is still more respectable, such is the confirmed Opinion of our Union and

Con-

THE WARS IN ITALY.

257

A. D.

1498.

Constancy in the Preservation of our Dominions, illustrated by so many Examples, that the King of *France* will not venture to attack us, but in Conjunction with other Powers, and especially the King of the *Romans*; a Confederacy so ill suited, and attended with so many Difficulties, that it would be vain for him to expect it, or for us to fear it. Nor is it to be thought that the Peace which he is now endeavouring to settle with his Neighbours, will be permanent; for, alas! Envy, Umbrage, and Fears of his Increase of Power, will awaken and reanimate all those who had before found Matter for Dispute or Emulation. It is a general Observation that the *French* are more resolute in acquiring than prudent in preserving, and how soon they become hateful to their new Subjects by their insolent Behaviour. For which Reason, should they conquer *Milan*, they will be rather under a Necessity of attending to its Preservation, than find Leisure to enter on other Projects. For a new Conquest, not well settled, or imprudently governed, rather diminishes than increases the Power

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of

A. D.

1498.

of the Conqueror. And have we not a recent and convincing Proof of this Truth in the Management of the late King? How did he see all the Love and Fondness of the *Neapolitans*, who had invited his Presence, and received him with open Arms, all of a sudden converted into Extremity of Hatred and Aversion! The Danger therefore to be apprehended from a *French* Victory in Time to come, is not of such a Nature, that to avoid it we should chuse to remain in present and certain Danger. To refuse, for the sake of future and uncertain Losses, so rich and commodious a Part of the *Milanese*, could be imputed only to a Want of Resolution, or a kind of Pusillanimity, despicable in private Life, but much more in a Republic, which, excepting the *Roman*, is the most glorious and powerful that ever existed on Earth. Opportunities like this are rare and transient, and it is the Part of Prudence and a generous Resolution to lay hold of them, as on the contrary it would be Folly and Meanness of Spirit to reject them. Wisdom that is over curious, and too nicely ponders Events,

Events, is often blameable ; for human Affairs are so subject to Vicissitudes, that the Success of an Enterprize rarely answers the End of the wisest Projectors ; and that Person who dares not embrace a present Good for fear of a dubious and distant Evil, will in vain repent his lost Opportunity of acquiring Wealth and Glory, out of Fear of an approaching Danger, which he found afterwards vanished. These are the Reasons which induce me to give my Opinion for entering into an Alliance against the Duke of *Milan*. It is, in my Judgment, highly conducive to our present Safety and Dignity, and is attended with such an Acquisition as at any other Time we should spare neither Trouble nor Expence to obtain ; not only for the Importance of the Thing itself, but as it opens a Door for extending our Views, and making further Acquisitions, to the wonderful Augmentation of the Glory and Empire of this most powerful Republic."

A. D.
1498.

THIS Speech was heard with great Attention, and seemed in general to be

A. D. 1498. favourably received. There were many among the Senators that applauded the Speaker's Greatness of Mind, and his zealous Concern for the Honour and Interest of his Country. But *Marchione Trevisano* thus replied:

Trevisano's
Speech.

“ IT is not denied, most prudent Senators, but that the Provocations given to our Republic by *Lodovico* are exceeding great, and very offensive to our Dignity; yet the greater they are, and the more they excite our Indignation, so much the more it becomes our Prudence to moderate our just Resentment with Maturity of Judgment, and with Considerations adapted to the present Welfare of the Republic. The more our Anger or any other Passion is kindled, the more commendable is it to know how to overcome ourselves, and the greater and juster the Provocation that excites our Resentment, the greater ought to be the Praise. It is therefore the Business of this Senate, so renowned for its Wisdom, and which glories in the Name it has lately acquired of *Deliverer of Italy from the French Bondage,*

Bondage, maturely to consider with what *A. D.*
 Reproaches she might justly be charged, *1498.*
 if the *French* by her Means should be
 tempted to return. We should do well
 to reflect on the Danger to which we
 should lie constantly exposed, whenever
 that Nation becomes Masters of the
 Dutchy of *Milan*. Recall to Memory
 the Consternation we were in when *Charles*
 made the Conquest of *Naples*. We never
 thought ourselves secure till we had
 formed a Confederacy of almost all the
 Christian Powers against him. But what
 a Disparity between one Danger and the
 other! That King, in a manner destitute
 of every Royal Virtue, was but a weak
 Prince, and almost ridiculous; and the
 Kingdom of *Naples* so far distant from
France, that the Supplies which he was
 continually obliged to send thither divided
 his Forces, and by that means his Con-
 quest rather weakened than increased his
 Power; and that Acquisition being so
 near the Dominions of the Pope and
Spain, made them both his Enemies.
 But now we must be sensible that the first
 proceeds on other Views, and the other,

A. D.

1498.

tired with the Affairs of *Italy*, is determined to stand neuter in the present Juncture. On the other Side, the King now reigning is endowed with such natural Parts, that he is rather to be dreaded than despised, and the State of *Milan* is so nigh the Kingdom of *France*, that it is capable of receiving continual Supplies, so as to leave us no Probability of expelling him without putting all *Europe* in Motion. Hence it appears that as we are nearest to so formidable a Power, we must be obliged to be at a vast Expence in time of Peace, and if a War should happen, be greatly distressed. I must own my Astonishment at what was advanced by the venerable Person who spoke last. He seems to be under no Apprehensions from a King of *France* Duke of *Milan*, and, on the other hand, alarms us with the Name of *Lodovico Sforza*, a petty Prince in Comparison, and much inferior to us in Strength, and who thro' his natural Timidity and Avarice has always rendered his Undertakings abortive. He seemed uneasy and jealous of the Assistance of his own Confederates if they did not
 come

come into all his Measures, or disagreed amongst themselves; as if it were possible that Governments of different Constitutions and Interests should unite exactly in the same Sentiments; or that one great Power, collected within itself, and exerting its whole Force, had not much the Advantage of a Confederacy made up of lesser Potentates, who having different Views, and acting from different Motives, must of Consequence disagree in their Operations. It would be in vain to expect that those who had ever wished our Destruction should now lie still and forget all our former Provocations and Encroachments, since our own Ambition will not suffer us to take so prudent a Step ourselves at this Juncture. I now not what Grounds we have to expect that the King of the *Romans* and the *Germanic* Body will awake out of their Lethargy, and resume their antient Hatred and Jealousy of *France*, on account of the Dutchy of *Milan*; but rather wish they may not take their Revenge upon us, who have so much increased our Dominions with the Territories wrested from the House of *Austria*, and

A. D.

1498.

A. D.
1498.

from the Empire. Nor can I conceive why the King of the *Romans* should sooner join with our Republic against *France*, than with *France* against us. On the contrary it is more likely that those *Barbarians*, eternal Enemies to the *Italians*, should enter into closer Bands of Union, with a View to make us fall an easy Prey to their unbounded Ambition. And they may reasonably expect an easier Victory when thus united with one another against us, than one of them can hope in conjunction with us against the other. But I see no Reason why we should at all covet an Alliance with the King of the *Romans*, when we consider his Conduct in our late Confederacy with him, and his Operations in *Italy*. *Lodovico* has injured us grievously, I own it; but it can never be Prudence to expose our own State to a dangerous War merely out of Revenge; nor will it be shameful to wait for proper Opportunities, which cannot fail of offering themselves sooner or later; on the contrary it would be highly blameable to shew our Resentment before we can safely strike the Blow. A Government
must

must expect to be treated with Scorn, when public Losses are known to be the Consequence of rash and indiscreet Resolutions. But this will be the Case if we follow the Advice given, for it will not be thought that we have entered into the Alliance recommended for the Sake of the common Safety, but every one will judge that we have been influenced by the Desire of acquiring *Cremona*; and then it will be a common Question, What is become of the antient Prudence, Gravity and Wisdom of the *Venetian* Senate? And indeed all the World may justly cry out against us for being ourselves guilty of that Rashness and Imprudence we have so much condemned in *Lodovico*; I mean inviting the *French* King into *Italy*. The Advantage of our being Masters of *Cremona* would, I admit, be very considerable on account of its Situation and Strength, which render it in many Respects very commodious to our State. But then we ought to consider whether putting the King of *France* in Possession of the Dutchy of *Milan* does not vastly overballance this Conveniency.

A. D.

1498.

A. D.

1498.

I doubt not but upon mature Reflexion we shall be ready to conclude that it is more for our Interest, as well as our Grandeur and Reputation, to be, as we now are, the chief and most absolute Power in *Italy*, than to have, in the Heart of this Country, and on our Borders, a Prince infinitely superior to our Republic. We have been in times past sometimes in Amity, at other times at Enmity with *Lodovico*; and this is no more than what may happen continually. The Difficulties concerning *Pisa* are not so perplexing but that some Way of Accommodation may be found; nor are they of that Consequence as to make us endanger the State by precipitate Measures. But we shall never want Occasions to quarrel with the *French* when they become our Neighbours, from the natural Antipathy of the *Italians* to all *Barbarians*, from the Pride of the *French*, from that Hatred which Monarchs always bear to Republics, and from the Ambition that is constantly moving the more powerful to oppress the weaker. For these Reasons I am not at all allured with the King's Offer
of

of *Cremona*. On the contrary I rather dread the Issue, as it will give him a Pretence to attack us; for which Purpose he will be constantly sollicitated by the *Milanese*, who can never be easy at the Alienation of *Cremona* from their Dutchy; not to mention that the *Germans*, and King of the *Romans* will be highly offend- ed, for both *Cremona* and the *Gbiradadda* are Members of the Empire. It is not therefore our Interest with new Conquests to create every Day new Enemies, and to raise Jealousies in our Neighbours, the Consequence of which will be, that we must either reduce them all under our Dominion, or expect to be beaten by them all in their Turn; and which of the two is most likely to happen let any one judge who is not resolved to deceive himself. The Wisdom and Caution of this Senate have ever been admired and talked of in every Corner of *Italy*, and all the World over. I trust it will suffer no Disgrace or Diminution at this time from any rash and dangerous Resolution. To give way to Revenge against one's own Interest is Weakness, to be under a greater Concern

A. D.
1498.

A. D.
1498.

Concern for small than for great Dangers is Imprudence ; both which being directly opposite to the Wisdom and Gravity of this illustrious Body, I persuade myself that your Resolution on this Head will be calm and circumspect, as it usually is on the like Occasions."

The first
Opinion
prevails.

THIS Opinion, tho' supported with so many cogent Reasons, and seconded by the gravest and most prudent Senators, could not prevail. The contrary Party carried the Question, in Gratification both to their Revenge and Ambition, two Passions that often lead us astray. The Hatred that most of the Senate had conceived against *Lodovico* was excessive, and knew no Bounds*, any more than the longing Desire of annexing *Cremona*, with the Country about it, and all the *Ghiaradadda* to the *Venetian* Dominion ; an
Ac-

* In order to exasperate the People against *Lodovico*, the common Talk at *Venice* was, that it was better to make an Alliance with *France* than with a Traitor, who underhand was trying to make a private Treaty with the King against them ; and in order to distress them was united with *Florence*, and kept Correspondence with the *French*.

Acquisition indeed of no small Value, for A. D. it yielded a yearly Revenue of One Hundred Thousand Ducats, but of still greater 1498. Importance, as it took in almost the whole Course of the River *Oglio*, and extended their Dominions to the Bank of the *Po*, and along the River *Adda* within Fifteen Miles of the City of *Milan*, and brought them nearer to the Cities of *Parma* and *Piacenza*; an Increase of Territory, that gave Reason for Hopes that, whenever the King of *France* should be obliged to employ his main Strength on the other Side of the *Alps* against *Spain* or the Empire, they might have a fair Opportunity of seizing on the Dutchy of *Milan*; an Event they imagined at no great Distance, both from the natural Levity of the *French*, who knew better how to conquer than to keep, and from the Constitution of a Republic, which is perpetually the same, whereas in Kingdoms, by the Death of Sovereigns, Counsels and Measures of Government often suffer Alterations. They also considered the Difficulties the *French* would find to live in Friendship and good Harmony with

A. D. 1498. with their new Subjects, on account of the Difference of their Customs and Manners from those of the *Italians*.

Venetians
sign a
Treaty
with
France.

THE Question then was carried by a great Majority for entering into a Confederacy with *France*, and Orders were sent to the Ambassadors of the Republic at the *French* Court to conclude a Treaty on the Terms proposed, provided no Mention was made of the Affair of *Pisa*.

THIS Exception gave the King a great deal of Uneasiness, as he expected by the Deposit to unite both *Florentines* and *Venetians* in his Interest ; and he was also displeas'd to hear that the *Venetians* were negotiating at *Ferrara* on Means for withdrawing their Troops from *Pisa*, for he expected to have been consult'd on that Occasion, and took it ill that, in order to get the better Terms for themselves, they should leave the *Florentines* in perfect Amity with *Lodovico*, which could not fail of rendering his Enterprize on *Milan* more difficult ; and as the Conquest
of

of that Dutchy was to be beneficial to the *Venetians*, he began to suspect they were not in earnest, and to fear that he should receive no Assistance either from them, or from the *Florentines*. As he was not willing therefore to continue in a State of Suspense, and resented the Mistrust of his Honour in the Deposit of *Pisa*, he applied himself seriously to put a finishing Hand to the Peace he was negotiating with the King of the *Romans*, by which, whilst one of them attacked *Lodovico Sforza*, the other might, if he pleased, fall upon the *Venetians*.

A. D.

1498.

PURSUANT to this Agreement the King ordered his Ministers to acquaint the *Venetian* Ambassadors, that he was determined to come into no Treaty with their Masters before the Deposit of *Pisa* was made; and sending for the *Florentine* Ministers was pleased to declare, that they might rest secure on his royal Word that he would never sign a Treaty with the *Venetians* on any other Terms than those which he had proposed. But, in Opposition to these Assurances, Duke
Valen-

A. D. *Valentino*, and the other Agents of the

1498.

Pope, with the Cardinal of *St. Piero in Vincola*, and *Trivulzio*, together with all the rest of the *Italians* who were interested in the War, offered to his Consideration so many solid and cogent Reasons, that he thought fit, to alter his Resolution. They represented to his Majesty how impolitic it must be to prefer the Friendship of the *Florentines* before that of the *Venetians*, who were by much the more powerful State, and by their Situation lay more convenient for distressing the Dutchy of *Milan*. That no Advice could be more pernicious than such as would induce him to deprive himself of their Assistance for fear of disobliging the *Florentines*, who had Work enough upon their Hands, and lay too remote for the Scene of Action, to be of any considerable Service. That such a Step would probably afford an Opportunity to *Lodovico* of effecting a Reconciliation with the *Venetians* at the Price of his relinquishing the *Florentines*, who were the Occasion of all the Difference between them, and, what is more, of entering into a close Alliance

Alliance with them; and what Obstacles and Difficulties might arise from such a Conjunction has been demonstrated by late Experience. In the League that was formed against *Charles* the Names indeed of mighty Kings were inserted, but no other Forces than those of *Lodovico* and the *Venetians* were employed in retaking *Novara*, and preserving the Dutchy of *Milan* against the Power of *France*. They did not forget to remind him how dangerous and fallacious it might prove to rely on the Faith and Friendship of *Maximilian*, who was forever entering upon great Projects, without Prudence to conceal, or Power to execute them. But should it happen that Fortune proved favourable to his Designs, the King would do well to consider the Consequence of increasing the Power of an inveterate and eternal Enemy to the Crown of *France*. These Reasons were of such Weight with the King, that, without mentioning a Word more of *Pisa*, he entered into a Confederacy with the *Venetians*.

BY this Treaty it was agreed that
 VOL. II. S while

A. D. while the King with a powerful Army entered the *Milanese*, the *Venetians* should do the same from their Frontiers: That as soon as the whole Dutchy should fall a Conquest to their united Arms, *Cremona* with all the *Ghiaradadda*, excepting a Space of about Eighty Feet along the River *Adda*, should be put into the Possession of the *Venetians*, the rest of the Dutchy remaining to the King: That for Security of this Acquisition to *France*, the *Venetians* should stand obliged to maintain and keep in Readiness a certain Number of Horse and Foot, during a limited Time; the King on his Part engaging to act in the same manner with respect to *Cremona*, and all the Places belonging to the *Venetians* in *Lombardy*, as far as the Marshes of *Venice*.

Articles of
the Con-
federacy.

Treaty
kept se-
cret.

THESE Articles were kept so very secret, that *Lodovico* did not come to the Knowledge of them for several Months; all which Time he was doubtful whether they contained any more than a defensive Alliance, as the Parties gave out, or offensive with Regard to him. The whole

whole Affair indeed was so dexterously managed, that even the Pope, who was in such Confidence with the King, could not for a long time inform himself of the Particulars. As soon as the Treaty was concluded, the King, avoiding any Mention of *Pisa*, proposed to the *Florentines* Terms quite different from the former; and this mortifying Treatment, added to the Vexations they received from the *Venetians*, put them under the Necessity of espousing the Party of the Duke of *Milan*, whose Forces had done them signal Service in the *Casentino*.

A. D.
1498.

THE *Venetian* Troops in the *Casentino* were continually harassed by the Peasants as well as by the Soldiers; and after struggling under the Want of Provisions, and especially of Forage, in that hilly Country, were at length obliged to contract their Quarters to *Bibiena* and the adjacent Villages, yet still kept Possession of the Passes through which they might receive Succours, or retire in Safety when too much pressed. *Carlo Orsino*, with his Men at Arms and a Hundred Foot, was

A. D.

1498.

posted at the Pass of *Montalone*, and lower down *Alviano* guarded *Verria*. On the other Hand *Pagolo Vitelli* proceeding with his usual Caution, after he had reduced the Enemy to so narrow a Compass, attempted to dispossess them of these Passes, that their whole Strength being confined within *Bibiena*, and surrounded by Enemies and Mountains, they might with Ease be subdued, or dwindle away, being already very much diminished *. For besides small Parties that had been taken marauding about the Mountains, Multitudes of their Foot had deserted, and for Want of Provisions and Forage above Fifteen Hundred of their Horse had gone off at different Times, and been severely handled and harassed by the Mountaineers in their Retreat. *Carlo Orsino* was at last obliged to abandon the Pass of *Montalone*, and not without some Danger; for a Party of *Florentines*, with a Number of Peasants,

* The Want of Provisions had obliged them to send off Five Hundred Horse, which were intercepted by the Enemy; as were also Four Hundred Foot, and Two Hundred Stradiotti, with the *Venetian* Proveditor's Secretary, on a Convoy of Money and Provisions to *Bibiena*.
Bembo.

THE WARS IN ITALY.

277

Peasants, who knew his Necessity, and expected such an Event, attacked him on the Road. But as he had the Precaution to secure some Defiles towards *Bibienna*, he cut his Way through with the Loss only of his heavy Baggage, and did considerable Execution upon the Enemy, who pursued him in Disorder. This Example of *Orfini* was followed by the Commanders of the Garrisons of *Vernia* and *Cbiusi*.

A. D.
1498.

THE Duke of *Urbino*, *Alviano*, *Astorre Baglione*, *Piero Marcello* the Venetian Proveditor, and *Giuliano de' Medici*, with Sixty Horse and Seven Hundred Foot, now found themselves all cooped up in *Bibienna*, that being the only Town remaining in their Possession, which they were resolved to defend in hopes of receiving Relief from *Venice*. The Senate indeed was not wanting to make Preparations for that Purpose, for they thought it dishonourable to the *Venetian* Arms to be forced out of the *Casentino*, and by maintaining a War in the Enemy's Country expected better Terms of Peace. To this End they sent pressing Orders to Count

A. D.
1498.

Pitigliano, who was assembling some Troops at *Ravenna*, to be expeditious, since they had received repeated Advices from the Duke of *Urbino* and other Hands at *Bibiena*, that they began to want Provisions, and, unless speedily relieved, should be obliged to capitulate. The Duke of *Milan* and his Commanders would have these Succours rendered useless by the Conquest of *Bibiena*, and for that End desired a Reinforcement of Four Thousand Infantry. But for many Reasons such an Enterprize was judged impracticable; such as the Bitterness of the Season in that wild and rugged Country, which obstructed the Operations of War, and created other Inconveniencies. Besides, the *Florentines* were in no Condition to make such an Augmentation, being quite disheartened at the vast and growing Expence of this vexatious War, and moreover weakened by the Divisions which begun to take Head in their turbulent City.

Divisions
in *Florence*.

THE Partisans of *Pagolo Vitelli* in *Florence* had formed themselves into a Body,

Body, in opposition to those Citizens who had espoused the Party of Count *Rinuccio*, an old and trusty General of the Republic, and allied to several Persons of the first Rank. The Defeat of *St. Regolo*, where he had the Misfortune to command, was the Cause of *Vitelli's* Promotion above him. The Count, who could not well brook Subordination, being sent with his Regiment into the *Casentino*, was not very readily disposed to execute what he knew would only add to his Adversary's Reputation. This Misunderstanding between the two Generals was exasperated by *Pagolo's* Temper and Conduct, for he was profuse of the public Money among his Troops, forever dissatisfied with the *Florentine* Commissaries, and often, both in Council and in the Field, seemed to arrogate to himself more Authority than became his Station. He had very lately, without acquainting the Government, granted a Pass to the Duke of *Urbino*, who was sick, for retiring out of the *Casentino* *; and under Protection of the

A. D.

1498.

S 4

same

* *Bembo* says the Duke had been denied a Physician before he solicited a Pass.

A. D. same Pass, *Giuliano de' Medici* accom-

1498.

panied him; to the great Mortification of the *Florentines*, who imagined that if the Duke had been drove to Straits, and refused a Pass, he would willingly have given up *Bibienna* for the Benefit of returning into his own Dominions for the Recovery of his Health. The Adversaries of *Pagolo* highly exclaimed at the Indulgence shown to *Giuliano de' Medici*, their fellow Citizen, who after being declared a Rebel, had marched in open Arms against his Country. This Conduct of the General had greatly lessened him in the Esteem of the Government, and his Demands were not so readily granted. He had also lost his Popularity by his Proceedings in the *Casentino*, where what Advantages had been gotten were more owing to the Peasants than to the Soldiery; and also because depending on his Valour they had long since expected he would have put an End to the War in those Parts, attributing, as is usual with the Populace, to his Want of good Will, what was in reality owing to the Place of Action, the Season, and Want of

Florentines dissatisfied with *Vizzelli*.

Pro-

Provisions. As the Reinforcement of Four Thousand Men which had been demanded did not arrive, Count *Pitigliano* had Time to advance as far as *Elci*, a Castle belonging to the Duke of *Urbino* on the Borders of the *Florentines*, where he took a Review of all the Forces there assembled, with an Intent to pass the *Apennines*, for which they were properly chosen and qualified with respect to that difficult Country, being mostly Foot, and Men at Arms lightly armed; and this was the last Effort made by the *Venetians* in the *Casentino*.

A. D.
1498.

PAGOLO VITELLI leaving a sufficient Number of Troops to block up *Bibiena*, and to secure some important Passes, marched with the rest to the *Pieve* of *St. Stefano*, a Village belonging to the *Florentines* at the Foot of a high Mountain, in order to oppose the Enemy, whose Way lay down the Hill. But Count *Pitigliano*, who saw before him Mountains of Snow, and at the Foot of them expected a powerful Opposition, in narrow Defiles, which would have rendered his

Vitelli
marches
against the
Venetians.

ad-

A. D.

1498.

advancing dangerous even in a Summer's Day, would not attempt the Passage, tho' pressed by the *Venetians*, as he used to say, with provoking rather than encouraging Orders. He had several Plans laid before him for making Diversions, and was advised to march into the *Valdibagno*, where the *Florentines* had lost some Towns; but he would not alter his Resolution.

Steps towards a Peace.

BUT the more coolly the War was prosecuted, the more ardent was the Desire of Peace on both Sides. As for *Lodovico*, he sincerely wished a Reconciliation of the Parties, in hopes that an Accommodation would render the *Venetians* less fond of seeing the *French* in *Italy*; and he also flattered himself that they would abate of their Indignation, when they were convinced of his Sincerity by his taking so much Pains to bring about a Peace. With this View he applied himself in earnest to *Ercole d'Este*, his Father-in-Law, intreating him that in a gentle, but by no means threatening Manner, he would address himself to the
Florentines,

Florentines (who knew of his Application, and begun to suspect him) and dispose them to comply in some measure with the Desire of the *Venetians* in relation to a Peace; because if, an Agreement could not be concluded, he should be constrained to withdraw all, or the greatest part of his Forces from *Tuscany*. This Affair was in Agitation several Months at *Ferrara*, where new Difficulties still arising, at last *Ercole* was desired to come to *Venice* to facilitate the Matter. The Duke objected to this, but much greater Opposition was made at *Florence*, where it was known that the *Venetians* chose to have *Ercole* the sole Umpire of their Disputes. But *Lodovico* was so pressing in his Sollicitations that at last the Duke consented to go, and the *Florentines* sent to *Venice* *Giovanni Battista Ridolfo*, and *Pagolo Antonio Soderini*, two Persons of the first Rank and Character in their Republic.

A. D.

1498.

THE first Point that came under Debate was, Whether *Ercole* was to arbitrate and put an End to all Disputes, or was only to act as Mediator between the Parties

Treaty of
Peace in
Agitation.

A. D.

1498.

Parties by endeavouring to compose their Differences, and for that End reducing the principal Articles in Dispute into a narrow Compass, as he had done some Time before at *Ferrara* *. The *Florentines* were for having him act in this last Capacity, as Mediator only; being sensible that *Ercole* was more disposed to favour the *Venetians*, than their Republic; and that if he was to pass his Judgment in *Venice*, he would in a manner be under a Necessity of gratifying that Senate; and that tho' he should be otherwise inclined, yet he would be biassed by the Duke of *Milan*, who at that time was seeking Occasion to lay the *Venetians* under some Obligation to himself. And tho' many Difficulties had been removed at *Ferrara*, there still remained some delicate Points to be adjusted; and even what was settled might perhaps be altered if left to his sole

* The Duke three Days after his Arrival at *Venice* acquainted the Senate that he had his Sentence in Writing, which he would deliver them; and that if they did not like it, they might alter it to their Mind. *Giorgio Cornaro* approved of this Offer, but the rest rejected it as injurious to their Honour. The *Florentines* had some Intimation of this, and grew jealous of the Duke. *Bembo*.

sole Arbitration. On the other Hand the *Venetians* were determined, if the Duke was not Umpire, to come into no Terms whatever; not so much because they reposed a Confidence in the Duke, as for other special Reasons. The People in general were heartily tired of a War, which was vastly expensive, without Hopes of Recompence; but the young and high-spirited among the Senators were resolved to hearken to no Peace, but on Condition that the Liberties of the *Pisans* should be preserved, and that they should be put in Possession of those Places in their Territory which they held when the Republic received them under her Protection. They used many Arguments in support of this Resolution, especially their own Decree for maintaining the Liberty of the *Pisans*, which obliged them in Honour and Conscience not to let them fall a Sacrifice. Others, tho' less scrupulous on that Head, were yet immoderate in their Demands for the Reimbursement of the Expences which the Republic had incurred in the Defence of *Pisa*. But the Senators of the soundest

Judg-

A. D.

1498.

Debates
at Venice.

A. D.

1498.

Judgment, and greatest Authority, were of a different Sentiment. They were grown weary of a tedious and expensive War, despaired of preserving *Bibiena*, and found it very difficult to send Succours to *Pisa*, or make any Diversions to the Purpose, and the *Florentines* much stronger than they had imagined. They considered further that tho' a War against the Duke of *Milan* was reckoned an easy Task, yet the King of *France* had not as yet come to an Agreement with the King of the *Romans*; and many other Accidents might happen to retard his Motions. That tho' he should surmount all his present Difficulties, and declare War, yet War is still subject to Casualties, and many great and unforeseen Dangers might arise in the Prosecution. But what gave them most Concern, and mightily alarmed their Fears, was the Report of the vast Preparations making by *Bajazet*, both by Sea and Land, for invading their Dominions in *Greece*. On this Consideration they thought it of the last Importance to make an End of this War, and not for the Sake of adhering too pertinaciously to

to

to the Faith of a political Promise continue to labour under a Load of Calamities.

A. D.

1498.

Since the resuming of the Treaty of *Ferrara* these last mentioned prudent Senators, foreseeing it would be necessary to give up some Points, which might be strongly controverted, had very wisely prevailed with the Council of the *Pregadi* to intrust the Council of *Ten* with full Power and ample Authority to remove all Difficulties on this Head. This Council of *Ten* consisted of chosen Senators of singular Gravity and Prudence, and mostly of the pacific Strain, who were for an Accommodation with the *Florentines*. But now since the Matter was to receive its full Determination at *Venice*, they despaired of bringing the Council of the *Pregadi* to agree to the Articles that had been drawn up at *Ferrara*; and on the other hand they were willing to avoid the Censure of the Public, which they were sure to incur by determining the Affair themselves. They resolved therefore that the whole should be left to the Arbitration of the Duke of *Ferrara*, with an Intent that all the Blame of the Decision might be thrown

A. D.

1498.

thrown on the Umpire, promising themselves that a Judgment pronounced by a Person to whom both Parties had referred the Controversy, would be sooner ratified than what might be concluded in a Treaty between the contending Powers. The Result was, that after some Days spent in Disputes, the Duke of *Milan* threatening the *Florentines* immediately to recall his Troops from *Tuscany*, they thought it best to hesitate no longer, but submitted to an Arbitration, and both Parties invested the Duke with an absolute Authority, for the Space of Eight Days, to decide and put an End to all their Differences. *Ercole*, after much Discussion, and mature Deliberation, on the 6th of *April* gave his Sentence and Determination, by which it was decreed that in Eight Days next ensuing all Hostilities should cease between the *Florentines* and the *Venetians*: That on *St. Mark's Day* next at farthest, the Allies of both the *Pisans* and the *Florentines* should withdraw their Troops out of *Tuscany* into their own Territories; and particularly that the *Venetians* should recall all their

Forces

Duke of
Ferrara
made
Umpire.

His Deter-
mination.

Forces from *Pisa* and its Territory, and evacuate *Bibiena*, with all other Places taken from the *Florentines*; who on their part were to grant a full Amnesty to the Inhabitants of *Bibiena* for all Offences: That in Consideration of the Charges incurred by the *Venetians*, which they estimated at no less than Eight Hundred Thousand Ducats, the *Florentines* should pay them Fifteen Thousand Ducats yearly for the Term of Twelve Years: That the *Pisans* should have full Power and free Liberty to exercise any Trade or Calling both by Land and Sea: That they should continue in Possession of the Castles of *Pisa* and other Places which they held at the Time of passing this Decision, and might garrison them with *Pisans*, or Foreigners, provided they were not of any State suspected by the *Florentines*: That these Garrisons should be paid out of the Taxes raised by the *Florentines* on the *Pisans*; but that no larger Sums should be levied, nor more standing Troops maintained, than was practised before the Rebellion: That the *Pisans* should be permitted to demolish all the

A. D.
1498.

Articles
concern-
ing the
Pisans.

A. D.

1498.

Castles and fortified Places in their Territory, which they had taken from the *Florentines* while they were under the Protection of the *Venetians*: That in *Pisa* the Chief Justice in Civil Cases should be a Foreigner, elected by the *Pisans* themselves out of a Country not obnoxious to the *Florentines*; and that a Justice commissioned by the *Florentines* might have Power to receive Appeals, but not in criminal Cases where Death, Banishment or Confiscation were concerned, without the Presence of an Assistant Justice or Assessor, commissioned by *Ercole* or his Successors, to be elected by him or them out of Five Civilians of the Dutchy of *Ferrara* nominated by the *Pisans*: That all Goods moveable and immoveable should be restored on both Sides, but without any Allowance for Interest. In all other Cases the *Florentines* might assert their Rights in the *Pisan*, and the *Pisans* were to engage for the future not to take up Arms against the *Florentines* on any Account whatsoever.

As soon as this Decree or Sentence
of

of the Duke was published in *Venice* the whole Town was in an Uproar, and both the Nobleſſe and the Plebeians were full of nothing but Invectives againſt *Ercole*, and the chief Managers of the Treaty *. They exclaimed at the Indignity and Re-
 proach caſt upon the Republic, for abandoning the *Pifans* after ſo ſolemn an Engagement to defend them. They complained alſo that the Sums ſettled for the Reimburſement of their Expences bore no Proportion to their juſt Demand.

A. D.

1499.

Venetians
 diſcon-
 tented at
 the Decree

BUT the Diſappointment and Diſtreſs of the *Piſan* Ambaſſadors, and the Reſentment of that People were inexpressible. They had been all this Time artfully made to expect that the Liberty of their Country ſhould be preſerved, and that not only their whole Territory reſtored, but that the important Port of *Livorno* would probably be aſſigned them; whereas this inauspicious Decree not only extin-

T 2

guished

* The *Venetians* were ſo exaſperated by this Determination, that they hooted the Duke whenever he appeared, and upbraided him with a Breach of Truſt. So hard was it to ſatisfy all Parties, that not one of the three concerned in this Deciſion was pleaſed. *Bembo.*

A. D.

1498.

guished all future Expectations, but deprived them of what little they had left valuable. They filled *Venice* with loud Complaints of the Injustice done them, and recounted to every one they met the advantageous Offers they had refused from Princes and States, relying on the Faith of the *Venetians*: That they had often rejected better Terms offered them by the *Florentines* themselves; and that they were betrayed and made a Sacrifice by those in whom they had reposed an entire Confidence; that they were left destitute, without any Provision made for their Safety, except in outward Shew, and vain Pretence. For what Security could they expect for their Liberties when the *Florentines* shall have constituted Magistrates, modelled the Government after their own Mind, and engrossed all the Commerce into the Hands of their own Merchants? Or what should hinder that, when the Peasantry, which had been the Sinews of their Defence, should be returned to their Labour, they might not make themselves absolute Masters of the Lives and Fortunes of the Citizens, especially

cially as the Guard of the City Gates is to be in their Hands? And of what Use is it with regard to their Safety, to have the Forts in their Possession, where the Garrisons are to be paid by the *Florentines*, especially as it was not permitted them to keep larger Garrisons in so critical a Juncture than were kept in Times of profound Peace? The Article of Indemnity was a meer Formality; for of what Use would it be to them not to pay the Interest when the Merchandise and Moveables they had seized at the Time of the Revolution amounted to more than the Value of all their present Effects, which on Examination would be declared forfeited, and then seized, and not being found sufficient to answer the Demand, the Owner becomes liable to be arrested and hurried to a Goal.

SOME eminent Persons of the *Vene-* Explanatory Addition thought necessary.
tian Senate, of a pacific Temper, who were willing to see an End of all Discontents and Murmurings, tho' the Eight Days of the Compromise were elapsed, induced *Ercole*, who thought himself in

A. D.

1499.

Its Con-
tents.

Danger from the incensed Populace, to add an explanatory Supplement to his Decree, which he did without the Knowledge of the *Florentine* Plenipotentiaries. By this he declared that under the Name of Forts were comprehended the Gates of the City of *Pisa*, and of all those Towns that had Citadels; and that a certain Sum of Money should be allowed the *Pisans* out of the Revenues of their State for the Payment of the Garrisons, Governors, and Assessors: That the Ecclesiastical State, with those of *Mantoua*, *Ferrara*, and *Bologna* should be deemed not obnoxious: As to the Restitution of Moveables, what had passed on that Account should be buried in Oblivion: That the *Pisans* should themselves nominate a Judge Assessor from the Places not obnoxious; and that the *Florentine* Chief Justice should not pronounce Sentence on any criminal Case, tho' never so trivial, without the Assessor: That the *Pisans* were to be well used by the *Florentines*, and treated with that Distinction which is usually paid to Citizens of the other noble Towns in *Italy*; and that they should

should not be burthened with new Taxes.

A. D.
1499.

THOSE that procured this Explanation did not care whether it took Effect or not; it was purely intended to allay the Heats occasioned by the Clamours of the *Pisan* Ambassadors; and was drawn in such Terms, and consisted of such Limitations and Restrictions as the Authors thought most proper to justify themselves in the Council of the Pregadi, by making it appear, that if they had not obtained an entire Liberty for the *Pisans*, they had at least provided for their Safety and Wellbeing. When therefore the Decree with the Explanation came to be laid before the Pregadi, after several Debates, it was resolved that in consideration of the Condition of the present Times, the Difficulties that would attend a Continuation of the Defence of *Pisa*, and above all the formidable Power of the *Turk*, the abovesaid Decree and Explanation should stand unratified by any public Sanction; but, what is more to the Purpose in all Affairs, they took care to have

A. D.

1498.

it executed. For they ordered that all Hostilities should cease after Eight Days, and recalled all their Forces from *Tuscany* at the Time mentioned in the Decree, many among the Senators wishing *Pisa* in the Possession of the *Florentines*, rather than to see it fall into the Hands of *Lodovico*.

WHEN the Decree was brought to *Florence*, there appeared no less Agitation in the Minds of that People than had been at *Venice*: It was thought a mighty Grievance that the *Florentines* should be bound to make good any part of the Charges their Enemies had incurred for the Defence of Rebels, especially as all that was procured for them was no more than to be Sovereigns in Name, since the Citadels and Fortifications were to be left in the Hands of the *Pisans*. The Administration of Justice in criminal Cases, which was a great Part of the Prerogative, and most necessary for the Preservation of a State, was decreed to be out of their Power, and intrusted in the Hands of Strangers. But after all their Murmurings
and

and Complaints of those and other Grievances, they were at last obliged, by the same Threats which *Lodovico* had before used to compel them to agree to an Arbitration, to submit, in hopes that in process of Time, by good Policy, and treating the *Pisans* with more Humanity, they might restore their Authority and re-establish their Affairs, and so ratified the Decree, but not the Explanation, which had not yet reached them.

A. D.

1499.

Yet ratify it.

BUT the Fears, Frights, Perplexity, Indignation and Jealousy of the *Pisans* at this Decree were inexpressible. Enraged at the *Venetians*, and suspecting farther Treachery from them, they immediately turned their Forces out of their Forts and Gates, nor would they permit them to remain in their City. For many Days it was debated whether the Decree should be accepted or rejected. They were terrified at the Thoughts of their being abandoned, and left destitute, without any friendly Power to support them; but on the other hand their Hatred to the *Florentines* was invincible, and they despaired

Pisans exasperated at the Decree.

A. D.
1498.

despaired of being forgiven the Injuries, Trouble and Expence they had occasioned them, and the Hazard to which they had exposed them of losing their own Liberty. In this Perplexity the Duke of *Milan* pressed them to submit, offering himself to become a Mediator for their obtaining more advantageous Terms. But the *Pisans* being willing to try whether that Duke retained the same Ambition he formerly had of becoming Master of *Pisa*; and being disposed in that Case freely to come under his Dominion, sent Ambassadors to him to tender their Obedience; but it was to no Purpose. After great Perplexity they came at last to a Resolution to suffer the last Extremity rather than return under the *Florentine* Yoke, to which they were secretly encouraged by the *Genoese*, *Lucchese*, and *Pandolfo Petrucci*. *Lodovico* was so noted for his double Dealing; that the *Florentines* suspected him, tho' he had now in reality relinquished all Designs upon *Pisa*; and indeed Sincerity is never expected from a Person who bears the Character of a Dissembler, and has been once known to

circum-

circumvent those he had to deal with. A. D.
1499.
 The *Florentines* then being deprived of all Hopes of recovering *Pisa* by Treaty, imagined that they had now a very fair Opportunity of reducing it to their Obedience by Force of Arms. For this End they sent Orders to *Vitelli* to return into the *Pisan*, and applied themselves to get in readiness all the Provisions that General required for that Enterprize.

As to the Duke of *Milan*, the Situation of his Affairs seemed to decline every Day. All the Propensity he had shewn to please the *Venetians* in the late Treaty did not in the least remove their Resentment; for they had resolved on his Ruin, as much out of a Spirit of Revenge as from a Prospect of Profit. *Maximilian* did not appear so ready to enter into a War with *France*, as he was in demanding Money of the Duke; and, contrary to his Engagements, prolonged the Truce for the whole ensuing Month of *August*, leaving him to expect no more Advantage from his Succour than he had reaped from his late Diversion. For he entered

A. D. entered into the League of *Suabia* *
 1499. against the *Swiss*, who for several Reasons
 had been declared Enemies of the Em-
Maximilian enters into the Swabian League. pire. This War was prosecuted with
 great Animosity and Bloodshed on both
 Sides; so that *Lodovico* lost all Hopes of
 Assistance from that Quarter, at least till
Maximilian should put an End to that
 War either by Treaty or Conquest. But
 as that Prince had given him Assurance
 that he would never make Peace with
France or *Switzerland* without a Regard
 to his Security, he found himself under
 a Necessity of sending him Supplies of
 Money.

King of
France
 prepares
 for his
Italian
 Expedi-
 tion.

THE King of *France* was wise enough
 to take his Measures from the present
 Juncture of Affairs, and relying on the
 Assistance of the Pope and *Venetians*,
 he rejected the Advice of those of his
 Council, who on account of his late
 Inauguration, and the Scarcity of Money,
 would have persuaded him to defer his

EX-

* This War of *Maximilian* with the *Swiss* is de-
 scribed by *Arrigo Mutio* and *Naucleto*, and is called
The Grand War, which cost the Lives of Thirty Thou-
 sand Men; but the *Swiss* suffered most.

THE WARS IN ITALY.

301

Expedition against *Milan* to the next Year. *Lewis* flattered himself that the War could not last many Months, and consequently did not require vast Sums. The Preparations therefore were carried on with all Diligence, and Methods were found out to furnish the *Swiss* underhand with a Supply of Money, to enable them to keep *Maximilian* employed.

A. D.

1499.

LODOVICO by this Time being convinced that this dreadful War was approaching, used all his Endeavours to procure the Assistance of some potent State in so imminent a Danger. He found it impossible to pacify the *Venetians*, and the King of *Spain*, tho' often sollicited, unconcerned for his Preservation: In order therefore to lose no Time while he waited the Success of a Negotiation with other Powers, he deputed *Galeazzo Visconti* to *Maximilian* and the *Swiss*, to offer his Mediation for a Peace between them. He had received Information that the Pope had not succeeded in procuring *Charlotta* for his Son: For that Princess, either influenced by paternal Love or

Lodovico's
Con-
sternation;

Au-

A. D. Authority, or privately admonished by
 1499. the King of *France*, who affected to ap-
 appear zealous for the Match, obstinately
 refused to marry *Valentino*, but on con-
 dition that *Federigo* should at the same
 Time be established in his lawful Rights
 of Inheritance, for which that Prince
 offered to pay an annual Tribute, besides
 other Advantages to the Crown of *France*.
Lodovico was not without Hopes that this
 mortifying Repulse might operate on
Alexander, and detach him from the
French Interest. He therefore thought
 fit to propose an Alliance with the Pope,
 in conjunction with *Federigo* and the *Flo-*
rentines, engaging that all the confederated
 Powers should assist his Holiness in re-
 ducing the Vicars in *Romagna*, and fur-
 nish him with a sufficient Sum of Money
 to purchase a Sovereignty for his Son.
Alexander at first seemed to listen to these
 Proposals; but finding they were ground-
 less, and that he had Reason to expect
 greater Advantages from the *French* King,
 during the turbulent and calamitous Sea-
 son, which now seemed approaching, when
Italy was to be overspread with foreign
 Armies,

THE WARS IN ITALY.

303

Armies, renounced all Thoughts of *Char-*
lotta, and gave his Consent for the Nup-
 tials of his Son with the Daughter of
 M. *D' Albret*, a Person of the Blood
 Royal, in Possession of a large Estate,
 and not inferior to any Nobleman in the
 Kingdom of *France*.

A. D.

1499.

L O D O V I C O, after trying all manner
 of Ways to reconcile the *Venetians*, finding
 them implacable, thought it necessary,
 by means of proper Persons, and in con-
 cert with *Federigo*, to make Application
 privately to the *Turk*. *Sforza* was well
 satisfied that if *Bajazet*, who was already
 making such vast Preparations, should
 turn his Arms against the *Venetians*, he
 could not have much to fear from their
 Alliance with *France*. He also offered
 the *Florentines* what Assistance they might
 think necessary for reducing *Pisa*, on
 condition they would engage to assist him
 with Three Hundred Men at Arms and
 Two Thousand Foot for the Preservation
 of his Dominions. On the other hand
 the *French King* demanded of the *Floren-*
tines a Regiment of Five Hundred Men

Lodovico
 craves Aid
 of the
Turks

and of the
Floren-
tines.

at

A. D. 1499. *Proposals of Lewis to the Florentines.* at Arms, for a Year's Service, on which Consideration he passed his royal Word that, after the Reduction of *Milan*, he would assist them with One Thousand Lances for a Year, and that he would conclude no Treaty with *Lodovico* till they were put in full Possession of *Pisa* and its Territory. He would moreover engage that the Pope and *Venetians* should both move to their Assistance, if they should happen to be invaded before the Dutchy of *Milan* was subdued.

Florentines in Suspense.

THESE different Proposals kept the *Florentines* in great Suspense; not only on account of the Difficulties that would attend a Resolution on either Side, but with regard to the different Parties in the Republic. As *Lodovico* demanded no Assistance till the War of *Pisa* was brought to a Period, his Succour was much surer, and more ready at hand, than what was offered by *France*, which indeed might be reckoned of no Consequence; for as the *Pisans* were unsupported, they expected to reduce them before the End of the Summer; and besides it seemed ungrateful

grateful to abandon *Lodovico*, whose present Danger was owing to his confederating with them against the *Venetians*, which provoked that Republic to enter into an Alliance with *France*. Not a few also were cautious of irritating the Duke of *Milan*, being sensible that he had it in his Power to lay several stumbling Blocks that might obstruct or retard their Enterprize upon *Pisa*.

A. D.

1499.

On the other hand it came to be considered, that *Lodovico* was utterly incapable of resisting the Power of *France* supported by the *Venetians*; for which Reason it might be dangerous to make an Enemy of a Prince, who very probably would, in a few Months, traverse all *Italy* with an irresistible Army. Then as to the Assistance they had received from *Lodovico*, allowing it to have been the Cause of his present perilous Situation, yet the Memory of his Benefits was easily effaced by calling to Mind the many Injuries he had done them. For the very Rebellion of the *Pisans* was owing to his ambitious Desire of making himself Master of that

A. D.

1499.

State; and during the Revolt he had not only himself protected, but also excited other Powers to assist the Rebels. Upon the whole it was manifest that his Injuries much outweighed his Favours, and that those very Favours were bestowed not out of any good Will to them, but from a Spirit of Revenge on those Interlopers the *Venetians*, who had reaped the Fruits of his Labours, and snatched the Prey out of his Mouth. After much Deliberation, and duly weighing the Reasons that offered on both Sides, the *Florentines* at length concluded on a Neutrality, and in the mean time to pursue their Scheme against *Pisa*, for which they imagined their own Force was sufficient. But as they were not without some Apprehensions from *Lodovico*, who might possibly give them some Trouble in their Undertaking, they thought best to play his own Tricks upon himself, and amuse him with fair Words. After they had thus held him some time in suspense, without returning a direct Answer, at last they ordered one of their Secretaries to acquaint him, that they found indeed that the Sentiments

Florentines resolve to stand neutral.

Politic Answer of the *Florentines* to *Lodovico*.

of

of the Republic and of his Highness were the same with regard to the End, and that they only differed as to the Means: That it was resolved, after the Reduction of *Pisa*, to send him the Succours he had demanded; but that it was not safe to enter into a Treaty, which was impracticable in a republican Government without entrusting the Affair in many Hands, and therefore could not be conducted with due Secrefy; and if it should take Air, the King of *France* might take Offence, and perhaps induce the Pope and *Venetians* to lend Assistance to the *Pisans*, which would render a Treaty prejudicial to themselves, and of no Service to him; for if they failed in their Enterprize against *Pisa*, they were not obliged, according to his own Proposals, nor indeed in a Condition, to lend him any Succours. But they assured him that he might depend on their Assistance whenever it lay in their Power to afford it, and rest satisfied with this Promise, which was given him with the Approbation of their leading Men, on whose Authority depended all the Deliberations of the Republic,

A. D.

1499.

A. D. and was therefore equivalent to signed
 1499. Articles. They offered at the same time
 to come into his own Terms, if he could
 find any other Method that would secure
 them from those Inconveniencies which
 they had laid before him. This artful
 and evasive Answer, tho' coloured over
 with such specious Reasons, as might
 perhaps be satisfactory to a Person of or-
 dinary Penetration, was yet too loose and
 indefinite to pass itself upon *Lodovico*, who
 easily saw through it, and concluded, from
 their Refusal to accept of his Assistance;
 that no Stress was to be laid on the *Flo-*
rentines.

Lodovico
 in Distress.

THE Duke was now in the utmost
 Perplexity, finding himself disappointed
 in all his Expectations. He could have
 no firm Reliance on *Maximilian*, who
 was of an inconstant Temper, and be-
 sides at War with the *Swiss*; and he had
 but little Dependance on *Federigo*, who
 had promised him Four Hundred Lances
 and One Thousand Foot under *Prospero*
Colonna; and it was indeed his Interest to
 assist him; but he knew that Prince was
 but

but slow in his Motions, and there was besides Reason to think that he had no Troops to spare. As for the Duke of *Ferrara*, his Father-in-law, to whom he did not forget to make his Applications, after being first reproached with his Treachery, by which the Duke was forced to give up the Polesine of *Rovigo*, he was told that it was by no means advisable, but very dangerous for the Duke to act against the *Venetians*, because his Dominions bordered on theirs, and they might at any time be at the Gates of *Ferrara*; it was his Interest therefore to maintain Peace with his Neighbours, and attend his domestic Affairs.

A. D.

1499.

LODOVICO now saw himself necessitated to stand entirely upon his own Bottom, and therefore applied himself with the utmost Diligence to fortify *Anon*, *Novara*, and *Alessandria della Paglia*, which were the first Towns the *French* would meet with in their March to *Italy*. He resolved to send *Galeazzo Sanseverino* with the greatest Part of his Forces that Way to oppose the *French*, and to employ

Lodovico
fortifies
his front-
ier Towns.

A. D.

1499.

the Remainder under the Marquis of *Mantoua* against the *Venetians*. But soon after, whether out of wrong Judgment or Avarice, or because the Decrees of Heaven are unalterable, he changed this wise Disposition. He had the Weakness to persuade himself, that the *Venetians* would find their whole Strength insufficient to defend themselves against the mighty Power of the *Turk*, who had declared War against them both by Sea and Land, and would be in no Condition to give him any Disturbance. In Complaisance therefore to *Galeazzo*, who was disgusted at the superior Title of the Marquis of *Mantoua*, he was so impolitic as to disoblige that General, by refusing to pay him some old Arrears, and requiring such Oaths and Securities as a Man of Honour knew not how to dispense with. But he was soon made sensible of his Mistake, when he observed the *Venetian* Troops daily increasing in the *Brescian*, in order to be in Readiness to commence the War in Concert with the *French* on their Arrival. He then thought himself obliged to make Application once
more

more to the Duke of *Ferrara*, who was Father-in-Law to the Marquis of *Mantoua* as well as himself, for his Interest, in order to accommodate Matters with the Marquis. But the Danger increased faster than those Differences could be adjusted; for the Duke of *Savoy* had signed a Treaty with *France*, and French Troops passed every Day through *Piedmont*, hastening to their Rendevous in the Neighbourhood of *Asti*. *Lodovico's* Hopes in the mean time were daily diminishing; *Federigo*, either out of Indolence or Inability, had as yet sent him no Reinforcement; and *Lewis*, by his Vigilance and Resolution, had at once deprived him of all Expectations from the *Florentines*, who had promised the Duke to send him, after the Reduction of *Pisa*, *Pagolo Vitelli*, an Officer of high Reputation all over *Italy*. For as soon as the King was informed that the *Florentines* had sent a Secretary to *Milan*, he upbraided their Ambassadors in such high and threatening Terms, that the Republic thought it most advisable to sign a Treaty, by which they were engaged not

A. D.

1499.

A. D. 1499. to assist the Duke of *Milan*, without demanding any conditional Obligation on the King's Side.

Lodovico's
Force.

LODOVICO, leaving a small Number of Troops under Count *Gajazzo* on the *Venetian* Confines, ordered *Galeazzo*, with Sixteen Hundred Lances, Fifteen Hundred Horse, and Ten Thousand *Italian* and Five Hundred *German* Foot, to pass the *Po*, with an Intent to keep himself on the Defensive, and avoid coming to Action. All he regarded was to gain Time, especially on account of the Peace that was mediating by his Agent *Visconti* between *Maximilian* and the *Swiss*, which he expected every Day to hear concluded, and in consequence, according to Promise, the March of a powerful Army to his Assistance. And indeed this Peace was necessary for him, if for no other Reason than that it was impossible for him to raise more Soldiers nearer home, for so great were the Preparations and Motions on all Sides, as to drain the Country of all the Men fit for Service.

No remarkable Accident happened before the Arrival of *Lewis de Ligni*, *Edward d'Aubigni*, and *Gianjacopo Trivulzio* with the Forces designed for the Expedition. The King was on the Road to *Lions*, and gave out that he should pass the *Alps* if it were necessary; yet he did not intend it, imagining his Generals sufficiently qualified and provided to perform the Work without requiring his Presence. When the whole *French* Army passed under Review, it was found to consist of Two Thousand Six Hundred Lances, Five Thousand *Swiss*, Four Thousand *Gascons*, and Four Thousand other *French*. On the 13th of *August* the Army arrived before *Arazzo*, a Castle situated on the Banks of the *Tanaro*, and took it in a very short Time, tho' there were Five Hundred Men in Garrison, which was owing to the brisk Fire of the Cannon, and no less to the Cowardice of the Defendants. From *Arazzo* they continued their March to *Anon*, situated on the high Road between *Asti* and *Alessandria*, on the Banks also of the *Tanaro*. The Place was

Number
of the
French
Army.

Arazzo
taken.

was

A. D. 1499. was strong by Nature, and had been newly fortified. *Sanseverino*, who was encamped near *Alessandria*, on Advice of the Loss of *Arazzo*, had designed to reinforce the Garrison of *Anon*, which consisted of Seven Hundred newly raised Men, with some Companies of Veterans; but found it impracticable, because the *French*, to prevent all Succour, had obtained Leave from the Marquis of *Monferrato* to place Troops in *Filizzano*, a Town between *Anon* and *Alessandria*. The raw Garrison of *Anon* made but a poor Defence, the *French* having taken Possession of the Suburbs. attacked the Town at Four Places, and carried it in Two Days, and afterwards the Castle, putting to the Sword all who had retired thither when the Town was taken.

Anon
taken.

SANSEVERINO, in great Consternation at the Rapidity of these Conquests, drew his Army within the Walls of *Alessandria*, alledging in Excuse of his Conduct, that he had no Dependence on his Foot, and that the Country was disaffected to the Duke of *Milan*. The
French

French emboldened by this Timidity, approached within Four Miles of *Alessandria*, and at the same Time made themselves Masters of *Valenza*, which was well provided with Men and Artillery, by the Treachery of the Governor *Donato Raffagnino*, a *Milanese* Gentleman, who was bribed by *Trivulzio*, and introduced the *French* through the Castle into the Town, where they killed and took the whole Garrison; among the Prisoners was *Ottaviano*, a bastard Brother of *Sanseverino*. It is remarkable that this same Governor, Twenty Years before, had in the same Manner betrayed *Bona*, and her Son *Giovanni Galeazzo*, by giving up to *Lodovico* a Gate of *Tortona*, on the same Day in the Year that he admitted the *French* into *Valenza*. The *French* now carried all before them like a Torrent, and took *Basignano*, *Voghiera*, *Castelnuovo*, and *Ponte Coronò* without Resistance; and a few Days after the important Town and Citadel of *Tortona*, the Governor *Antonmaria Pallavicino*, with his Garrison, retiring over the *Po* without standing an Assault.

A. D.

1499.

A. D.

1499.

THIS rapid Progress of the Enemy terribly alarmed *Lodovico Sforza*, who seeing his Sovereignty, like a weather-beaten Edifice, sinking into Ruins, and, as it often happens in great and sudden Calamities, deprived at once of Prudence and Resolution, had recourse to those Expedients which are the common Refuge of Despair, but which serve only to discover the Greatness of the Danger, without administering any Comfort or Relief. He ordered a List to be taken of all the Men in the City of *Milan*, who were capable of bearing Arms, then summoned a general Assembly of the Inhabitants, to whom he was become odious on account of the heavy Taxes, and in their Presence abolished several of those Duties that were most oppressive; after which, with a Countenance that betrayed much Anxiety, he thus addressed the People.

Lodovico's
Speech to
the People
of *Milan*,

“ If the good People of *Milan*, he said, found themselves overcharged with Taxes, he trusted that they would not ascribe it to his natural Disposition, or to

a covetous Desire of accumulating Riches, but to the Condition of the Times, and the Dangers that surrounded *Italy*, first from the Ambition of the *Venetians*, and afterwards from the Passage of King *Charles*: That he was forced to levy Money, to preserve the Peace and Tranquillity of the Dutchy, and be prepared against those who would otherwise have invaded him. He therefore thought he could no way better merit of his People, than by averting a War, which is always attended by a Train of Calamities. That this Conduct had its desired Effect, as the Event plainly proved, since, for so long a Term of Years under his Government, they had enjoyed Peace and Quietness, which had enabled them to grow rich, and augment the Splendor and Magnificence of their City beyond all others; witness the stately Structures, the public Spectacles, the great Increase of Artificers and other Inhabitants, not only in *Milan*, but over the whole Dutchy, to the no small Envy and Amazement of all the other States of *Italy*. He desired them to reflect how he had not governed

them

A. D.

1499.

A. D.

1499.

them with Cruelty and Rigor, but with Humanity and Mildness: That he alone, among all the Princes of that Age, sparing no Pains to make his Subjects easy, had, on certain appointed Days, admitted promiscuously to his Presence all who desired it, and administered summary and impartial Justice. He put them in Mind of his Father's Merits, of his Beneficence and good Nature; how he had governed them more like Children than Subjects. He then laid before them the Haughtiness and Insolence of the *French*, who, were they once in Possession of the Dutchy, would doubtless behave, as they did in former times, when they were settled in *Lombardy*, drive out the old Inhabitants, and replace them with People of their own Country. He therefore thought it his Duty to forewarn them, that out of Dread and Abhorrence of such barbarous and arbitrary Proceedings, they might all as one Man unite in the Defence of their Lives and Fortunes: That there could be no Doubt but that if they made a resolute Stand against the first Shock, which however sharp would be but short, their Defence

fence afterwards would become easier every Day : For it was the Nature of the *French* to attack with Fury, and spend their Spirits at the first Charge, but to remit of their Ardor, and be dismayed at a vigorous Repulse. That he expected vast Succours from *Germany* that were ready to march under the King of the *Romans*, who had composed his Differences with the *Swiss* ; and that he had received Advice that *Prospero Colonna* was already on his March from *Naples* with a Body of Auxiliaries, and had Reason to believe that the Marquis of *Mantoua*, with whom he was reconciled, had by this time entered the *Cremonese* with Three Hundred Men at Arms. That if with all these Hopes and Encouragements the Resolution and Fidelity of his People would but heartily concur, he should be under no Apprehensions of his Enemies, not even tho' he were to encounter the whole Power of *France*." This Speech drew Attention, but had no other Effect on the Assembly.

A. D.

1499.

LODOVICO was resolved to make his
greatest

A. D.

1499.

Lodovico
bends his
main
Strength
against the
French.

Gajazzo's
Treachery.

greatest Efforts against the *French*; without giving himself much Concern about the *Venetians*, who had already entered the *Ghiaradadda*; and taken *Caravaggio* and other Towns near the *Adda*. Pursuant to this Resolution he remanded Count *Gajazzo* with the best Part of his Troops from the Frontiers on that Side to *Pavia*, with Orders to join *Galeazzo* for the Defence of *Alexandria*. But all Precaution was now useless, and his Ruin was visibly approaching from all Quarters: For *Gajazzo* ungratefully forgetting the innumerable Favours bestowed on himself and his Family by *Lodovico*, had already treated and come to an Agreement with the *French*, being piqued, it seems, at the Preference of *Galeazzo*, his younger Brother; and a younger Soldier, in the Command of the Army, and at his being distinguished the first in the Distribution of Favours and Honours. It was reported that the Duke had some time before been apprised of the intended Treachery; and that, after a small Pause, he answered the Informer, with a Sigh, that he could not believe so much Ingratitude; but, if
it

it were true, he did not see how it could be prevented, nor knew in whom he could confide for the future, if his most intimate Friends, whom he had loaded with Benefits, could betray him; adding, that he could not but think it a greater Misfortune, and besides more dangerous, to deprive himself, on a vain Suspicion, of the Services of a faithful Servant, than, by an uncautious Credulity, to trust his Affairs in the Hands of such as were of dubious Fidelity.

A. D.

1499.

COUNT GAJAZZO had ordered a Bridge to be laid over the *Po*, over which he was to pass and join his Brother. But as he never intended this Conjunction, he artfully retarded the finishing of this Bridge, and when it was finished still found some Pretence for delaying his Passage. It was now Two Days since the *French* had opened the Trenches before *Alessandria*, and their Batteries had fired very briskly. *Galeazzo*, who had Twelve Hundred Men at Arms, the same Number of light Horse, and Three Thousand Foot in Garrison, on the Third

A. D. 1499. Day of the Siege in the Evening, without communicating his Resolution to any Officer except *Lucio Malvezzo*, accompanied by a Party of Horse, deserted his Charge at *Alexandria*, and went off loaded with the Infamy due to so base a Treachery; and leaving to the World just Reason to reflect on the Weakness of *Lodovico's* Judgment in putting such a Man at the Head of his Forces. This infamous Example of *Galeazzo* is a clear Proof that there is a very great Difference between managing a fine Courser, and running at Tilts and Tournaments with heavy Lances (Exercises in which *Galeazzo* had no superior) and discharging the Office of a General. The same ought to be a Warning to all Sovereigns not to deceive themselves in their Choice of Ministers to be employed in Places of Trust, by preferring them on account of private Love and Affection, rather than of known Virtue and Merit.

As soon as it was divulged that *Galeazzo* had taken his Flight, the whole City of *Alessandria* was in an Uproar, some fled,

THE WARS IN ITALY.

323

fled, some hid themselves, and others wandered about in Confusion. The *French* took Advantage of this Disorder, and entered the Town by break of Day, stripping the Soldiers that came in their Way, and then plundered the Houses.

A. D.

1499.

Alessandria taken and plundered.

SOME said that *Galeazzo* had received Letters under the Hand and Seal of *Lodovico*, with Orders to abandon *Alessandria*, and march with all his Troops directly to *Milan*, where the People began to be tumultous: Others affirmed that whatever was the Contents, they were forged by Count *Gajazzo*, to give the *French* an Opportunity of getting Possession of *Alessandria*. *Galeazzo* used afterwards to shew these Letters in his own Vindication, by which it appeared, that he was commissioned to come away directly, and leave the Army to all Hazards, tho' he might think it practicable to conduct it into a Place of Safety. Their Authenticity however is not so unquestionable, as it is that if *Galeazzo* had acted the Part of an able and resolute General, he might, with the Forces he commanded, have easily defended *Alessandria*, as well as most of

A. D. 1499. the Places on that Side of the *Po*, and might even have reaped some Advantage. For it happened that, one Day after Part of the *French* Army had passed the *Bornia*, there fell so heavy a Rain, that they were for a long time confined between the *Bornia* and the *Tanaro* without a Possibility of returning to their Camp. Yet, when so fair an Opportunity offered, and tho' the General had Advice that a Party of his light Horse had sallied by the Bridge over the *Tanaro*, that joins the City to the Suburbs, and put to flight the first Squadron * of the Enemy, yet he wanted Courage to engage them.

Pavia
surrenders.

THE Loss of *Alessandria* put the whole Dutchy in a Consternation, which was every Day increased by some new Misfortune. For as soon as the *French* had passed the *Po*, and encamped at *Mortara*, *Pavia* declared for them. On the other Side, the *Venetians*, after taking *Caravaggio*, passed the *Adda* on a Bridge of Boats, and made Excursions as far as *Lodi*.

* The *Italians* use the Word *Squadron* to signify a Body of Foot as well as of Horse.

THE WARS IN ITALY.

325

Lodi. The whole *Milaneſe* was now in a Ferment, and the People every where tumultous; nor was the Confuſion leſs in the Capital than in other Places. The whole City took up Arms, and very little Reſpect was ſhewn to the Sovereign. For his firſt Treafurer, *Antonio Landriano*, who had attended him to the Caſtle, was, on his Return, aſſaffinated, in the open Streets, at Noonday; either out of ſome private Revenge, or by Orders of thoſe who wanted a Revolution *. This audacious Fact made *Lodovico* very apprehenſive for his own Safety; wherefore miſtruſting any other Means to ſecure himſelf, he reſolved to leave the Caſtle well provided, and retire with his Family into *Germany*, both to avoid the preſent Danger, and to ſolicit *Maximilian*, who had made Peace with the *Swiſs*, or was on the Point of doing it, for his Protection and Aſſiſtance.

A. D.
1499.

Landriano
murdered

X 3

IN

* *Landriano* was aſſaffinated by *Simone Rigone* at the Head of Twelve Horſemen, who gave him Three Wounds, of which he died Two Days after. During his Illneſs *Lodovico* ſent Cardinal *Sanſeverino* and his own Brother to viſit him. The Death of this great Man was the principal Cauſe of the Ruin of the Dutchy. *Corio*,

A. D.

1499.

Lodovico
sends
away his
Children.

IN pursuance of this Resolution he immediately sent away his Children, * accompanied by the Cardinals *Sanseverino* and *Ascanio Sforza*, which last had a few Days before arrived from *Rome* to assist his Brother with his Counsel. With the same Company he also entrusted his Treasure, which was very much diminished of its usual Bulk; it being well known that Eight Years before, when the Duke, out of Ostentation, made a Show of it to the foreign Ministers, it was estimated, in Money, Gold and Silver Plate, not reckoning the costly Jewels, at a Million and Half of Ducats; whereas now it was thought not to exceed Two Hundred Thousand.

AFTER the Departure of his Children he constituted *Bernardino da Corte* of *Pavia* Governor of the Castle of *Milan*, contrary to the Advice of his Friends, and of his Brother *Ascanio*, who offered himself to undertake that Charge. But he thought

* He made the People believe that he sent his Children to meet *Maximilian. Giovia.*

THE WARS IN ITALY.

327

A. D.

1499.

thought none more faithful, or so proper for that important Trust, as a Person who had been his Pupil, and educated under his Tuition. He left in Garrison Three Thousand Foot under Officers of approved Fidelity, with Provisions of Victuals, Money, and military Stores, sufficient for several Months. For the Management of Affairs in *Genoa* the Duke depended on *Agostino Adorno* the Governor, and on *Giovanni* his Brother, who had espoused a *Sanseverino*, to whom he entrusted the Guard of the *Castelletto*. He made Restitution to the *Boromei*, a Family of Quality of *Milan*, of *Anghiera* and *Arona*, with other Lands on the *Lago Maggiore*, which he had formerly seized into his Possession; and, on Payment of Thirty Thousand Ducats, he made a Surrender of the Dutchy of *Bari*, and the Principality of *Rossano*, to his Nephew's Widow, *Isabella* of *Arragon*, as a Settlement for her Dowry; tho' that Lady had refused to entrust him with her little Son, whom he would have sent with his own Children into *Germany*. These Affairs being settled, and his Reign at an End in the

A. D.

1499.

Lodovico
flies into
Germany.

Gajazzo
deserts to
the *French*

City, he continued in the Castle as long as he could with Safety, and on the 2d of *September* set out with weeping Eyes for *Germany*, in Company of Cardinal *d'Este* and *Galeazzo Sanseverino*, escorted by *Lucio Malvezzo*, with a strong Party of Infantry and Men at Arms *. He had no sooner set Foot out of the Castle, than Count *Gajazzo*, to give some Colour to his infamous Desertion, presented himself before him, and freely told him that since he abandoned his Dominions, he thought himself released from his Service, and at Liberty to chuse his Master; and immediately after he displayed the King's Commission, and went over to the *French* with his Troops, which he had raised and subsisted with *Lodovico's* Money.

Lodovico passed through *Como*, and left the Castle to the Guard of the Townsmen, from thence was rowed down to

* *Corio* says, *Lodovico* was escorted by a Body of Four Thousand Men. *Bembo* writes that the *Milanese* gave him plain Notice that they intended to surrender themselves to the *French* if he abandoned them; and that, at his Departure, he heard the People cry aloud 'a *Lewis*, a *Lewis*.'

to *Bellagio*, and landed near *Bornio*, his Way lying through all those Places, where not long before, in the Midst of his Glory, and at the Height of his Prosperity, he had made so magnificent an Appearance, when he entertained *Maximilian*, who at that Time had more the Appearance of an Officer in his own or the *Venetian* Service, than of a King of the *Romans*. He was pursued between *Como* and *Bornio* by the *French*, and by Count *Gajazzo's* Troops, but got safe to *Tiranno*, where he left a Garrison, and from thence to *Inspruck*, where he expected to meet *Maximilian*.

A. D.

1499.

Lodovico
arrives at
Inspruck.

As soon as *Lodovico* was retired * the *Milanese* sent Deputies to the *French* Army, which was advanced within Six Miles of their City, and agreed to receive them within their Walls without any Capitulation, which they chose to have settled on the King's Arrival, from whom, consulting merely their own Interest, they expected to receive great Privileges and

Ex-

* Four Days after *Lodovico's* Departure the People of *Milan* cried out for the *French*, as we are told by *Bembo*.

A. D. Exemptions. The Example of *Milan*
1499. was followed by the whole Dutchy. The

Cremona
submits to
the *Vene-*
tians.

Genoa
submits to
the *French*

Castle of
Milan be-
tray'd into
their
Hands.

City of *Cremona*, surrounded by the *Vene-*
tians, whose Government the People ab-
horred, would have surrendered also to
the King; but *Lewis* being determined
not to infringe the Articles of the Con-
vention, that Place was obliged to submit
to the *Venetians*. *Genoa* shewed the same
Propensity to the *French*, the People, the
Adorni, and *Giovanni Luigi del Fiesco*,
striving who should have the principal
Hand in delivering up their City to the
King. And, to compleat *Lodovico's*
Misfortunes, who in the Space of Twenty
Days had lost so noble and powerful a
State, the ungrateful and perfidious Go-
vernor of the Castle of *Milan*, whom his
Master had selected as the most trusty
Officer in his whole Army, on the 12th
Day after the Duke's Departure gave up
a Castle deemed impregnable, without
firing a Gun. As a Reward of so meri-
torious an Act of Treachery, he was grati-
fied with the Command of One Hundred
Lances, and a Pension for Life, besides a
very

very large Sum of Money, * with many other Privileges and Immunities. But so perfidious a Breach of Trust was quite odious in the Eye of the World, and his Company was avoided even by the *French* Officers, as they would that of a wild Beast; so that meeting with nothing but Contempt and Reproaches, wherever he went, he was at length overcome with Shame and Remorse, the powerful and neverfailing Scourges of Villainy, and died in great Horror and Anguish of Spirit. Several other Officers in the Castle had a Share in the Guilt of this unworthy Governor, and amongst the rest *Filippo del Fresco*, another great Favourite of the Duke, who had bred him from a Child, and had left him in the Castle, as one in whom he could confide. But he, on the contrary, was so base-minded, and forgetful of his Duty and Obligations, that, instead of dissuading the Governor from his traitorous Intentions, he suffered himself to be corrupted by fine Promises, had a chief Hand in
the

* The Sum was Two Hundred and Fifty Pound of Gold. *Bembo.*

A. D.
1499.

A. D.

1499.

the Plot, assisted at the Conferences, and was one of those that treated with *Antonio Maria Pallavicini*, the *French* Commissary, about the Surrendry of the Castle.

King of
France
arrives at
Milan.

LEWIS was at *Lions* when he received the News of this rapid Conquest, which in point of Time had exceeded his Expectation. He had no more to do but to set out with all Speed for *Milan*, where he was received with loud Acclamations, and immediately, to ingratiate himself, abolished several Duties. But as the common People are ever exorbitant in their Expectations, they were not contented; having persuaded themselves that they were not to have a single Tax left. The King bestowed Lands on several noble Families of the Dutchy, and particularly on *Gianjacopo Trivulzi*, who, in reward of his good Services, had *Vigevano* assigned him, with many other Emoluments:

Proceed-
ings of
Pagolo
Vitelli.

WHILE the *French* were thus successful in *Lombardy*, *Pagolo Vitelli* assembled his whole Force in order to reduce *Pisa*. He begun with the Siege of *Cascina*, which

which surrendered in Twenty-six Hours, tho' it was well provided with Soldiers and all things necessary, and had a good Ditch and other Fortifications: But the foreign Troops observing that the *Pisan* Soldiers were disheartened at the Weakness of the Walls, and inclined to surrender, capitulated for themselves, leaving the others, with the *Pisan* Commissary, to the Mercy of the Enemy. The Tower erected for the Defence of the Mouth of the *Arno* was delivered up at the first Summons of a Trumpet, and the Fort on the Lake was abandoned; so that the *Pisans* had now no other fortified Places, beside their City, left in their Territory except the *Verrucola*, and the Tower of *Ascanio*; and these it was not advisable to attack, because as they were contiguous to *Pisa*, they might be easily succoured; and also on account of their Situation on the other Side of the *Arno*, and not of Consequence enough to induce the Army to pass the River.

Thus the *Pisans* had now nothing left to defend but their City, which was generally

A. D.

1499.

Siege of
Pisa.

A. D.

1499.

generally thought incapable of making any long Resistance. But Men of Penetration, who considered the Strength of the Town, and the Number, Courage, and Desperation of the Defenders, were of a different Opinion. For tho' the Number of foreign Troops was inconsiderable, being only those who, with *Gurlino* of *Ravenna*, had remained after the *Venetians* had recalled their Forces, yet there was a vast Number of Inhabitants and Peasants, that with Five Year's Experience were become brave Soldiers, and were determined to suffer the last Extremities rather than submit to the *Florentines*. The Town had no Ditch, but the Walls were very thick, built after the antient Manner, with Stone, and so well cemented by the Goodness of the Mortar peculiar to that Country, as to resist the Artillery much better than ordinary Walls, and give Time for repairing the Breaches. However, by the Advice of *Pagolo Vitelli* and *Rinuccio da Marciano*, who gave Hopes and expected that the Town would be taken in a Fortnight, the Siege was undertaken.

PAGOLO having got together Ten Thousand Foot with a great Number of Horse, and being supplied with all the Necessaries he required, on the last Day of *July* opened the Trenches, but not on that Side of the *Arno* which would have prevented any Succours coming from *Lucca*, as several Officers advised, but on the other Side of the River against the Fort of *Stampace*, the taking of which, he thought, would much facilitate his Enterprize, both on account of Conveniency of Situation for the more easy and safe Reception of Convoys of Provisions from the Hills, and also because he knew that the *Pisans*, not expecting an Attack on that Side, had neglected to make any new Fortifications, as they had done on the other. Having therefore erected a Battery of Twenty Cannon, he began to play on *Stampace*, and on a large Space of the Wall on each Side, reaching from *St. Antonino* in *Stampace* as far as the Sea Gate on the Bank of the *Arno*. On the other hand the *Pisans* worked Day and Night on the Breach, the Women assist-

ing

A. D.

1499.

ing and shewing no less Resolution than the Men, till they had raised a high and thick Rampart, with a wide Ditch before it, without being dismayed at the Sight of those who were wounded, many of them mortally, by the Enemy's Artillery, either by their own Carelessness, or the Rebounding of the Balls while they were at Work. The Besiegers too suffered no less in their Camp by the Fire from the Place, for the Shot from *Stampace* came so thick, that together with the Fire of the Cannon from the Walls, and especially from a Platform on the Tower of *St. Mark*, they were galled to such a Degree that they were obliged to throw up high Banks before them, or lodge in Ditches.

THE Siege went on in this Manner for several Days, and tho' a large Breach had been made in the Wall of *St. Antonio a Stampace*, and that Fort was so shattered that the General imagined it might be carried without much Difficulty, yet the more to facilitate an Attack, and assure himself of the Success, he continued widening

widening the Breaches from *Stampace* to the Sea-gate, till at last all Communication with that Fort was cut off, and it stood quite without the Rampart, which had been erected by the *Pisans* at a good Distance from the Walls, which gave Room for frequent Skirmishes between the broken Wall and the Rampart, in one of which Count *Rinuccio* received a Musket Shot. What the General had in View was, after the Taking of *Stampace*, to plant a Battery there, and on the Ruins of the Wall, which taking in flank all that Part of it which was defended by the Besieged, he doubted not to be Master of the Place, especially since at the same Time he laboured at undermining a Part of the Wall between *Stampace* and the Rampart, which was already weakened with Pickaxes, and supported with wooden Props, in order to make it fall towards the Rampart, and by its Ruins to fill up the Ditch, which, when they gave the Assault, would much facilitate it, the Town Wall being very high in that Part.

ON the other hand the *Pisans*, who
VOL. II. Y were

A. D.
1499.

were under the Direction of *Gurlino*, had made some Casemates in the Ditch towards *St. Antonio*, to prevent the Enemy from filling it up, planted a good Number of Cannon towards that Place, and posted their Infantry before the Rampart, being resolved in case of Extremity to fight Hand to Hand, and dispute every Inch of Ground with the Enemy.

Stampace
taken
by Storm.

ON the 10th Day of the Siege, *Vitelli*, by Break of Day, gave the Assault to *Stampace*, and tho' the Troops suffered greatly from the Artillery of the Old Citadel, he carried the Place much sooner and easier than he expected, to the great Amazement of the *Pisans*, who were so terrified that they abandoned their Ramparts in a Panic, and ran about the Town, and many of the Citizens, among whom was *Piero Gambacorta*, with his Troop of Forty Archers on Horseback, fled out of the Gates, and many more would have fled had not the Magistrates placed a Guard at the Gates. In short, the Consternation was so great, that if *Pagolo* had pushed on his good Fortune he might un-

undoubtedly have put an End to the War that very Morning, and made that the most glorious Day of his Life, which by his own fatal Remissness and Neglect proved the Beginning and Source of all his Calamities. He said, indeed, in his Excuse, that he knew nothing of the Consternation of the Town, and that if he had known it he had formed no other Design than that of taking *Stampace* that Day, and had made no Preparations for a general Assault. This seems to be the Reason why the Rampart was not attacked, where he would have met with no Resistance, and why he remanded back to the Camp the greater Part of his Army; which on the Taking of *Stampace* had hurried thither in a tumultuous Manner; in hopes of entering the Town, and plundering it. The *Pisans*, on the News being spread that the Enemy stopt short; and did not prosecute their Advantage; took heart afresh, and being further animated by the Cries and Lamentations of their Women, conjuring them to chuse Death rather than Slavery under the *Florentines*, returned to their Posts on the

A. D.
1499.

A. D. Ramparts. *Gurlino*, who had undertaken
 1499. the Defence of *Pisa*, observing that the
 Enemy had raised a Terras of Earth and
 Planks along the Way that leads from the
 Ravelin before *Stampace* to the Sea-gate,
 and fortified it towards the Field, but had
 neglected another Way to *Stampace*, he
 gave Orders for terrasing the same with
 all Speed in the same Manner, and for
 erecting a Platform, on which he planted
 a Battery, that took the Fort in Flank,
 and hindered all Access on that Side.

PAGOLO being in Possession of *Stampace*, raised a high Battery of Falconets and other small Pieces, that commanded the whole Town, but did no Damage to the Ramparts, which were however pretty much shattered by a Battery of large Cannon planted lower; but the *Pisans* would not abandon them, but continued resolute in their Defence; at the same time the Besiegers continued to batter the Casemate towards *St. Antonio*, and the Sea-gate, and to ruin their Outworks. The General laboured hard to fill up the Ditch with Fascines, in order to facilitate the Attack of the Ram-
 part.

part. On the other hand the *Pisans*, receiving a Supply of Three Hundred Foot from *Lucca* on the Night following, resumed fresh Courage, redoubled their Efforts, and threw Pots of Wildfire on the Enemy's Workmen. Having frustrated this Attempt, the main Point they now had in View was to force the Besiegers to abandon the Fort of *Stampace*. For this Purpose they mounted a very large Piece of Cannon called the *Bufalo*, and pointing it against the Fort, after a few Shot it dismounted the high Battery; and tho' *Pagolo* had directed some Pieces of Cannon to play upon it, which did some Damage to its Mouth, but it continued to fire, till in a few Days it had shattered the Fort to such a Degree, that *Pagolo* thought fit at last to remove his Cannon and abandon the Place. Nor had he better Success at the Wall he had weakened with Pickaxes, for the *Pisans* having countermined it on the Inside, in order to make it fall off from the Ditch, when, after removing the Props, he expected it to tumble down, it stood immovable.

A. D.

1499.

THE HISTORY OF

IN spite of these Disadvantages *Vitelli* did not despair of carrying his Point at last, and making himself Master of the Place; for which End, indulging his natural Temper, he resolved to proceed slowly, tho' the more securely, in order to save the Lives of his Men as much as possible. And therefore, tho' there were in many Places Breaches of above One Hundred Foot, he continued to enlarge his Batteries, to fill up the Ditches with Earth, and to repair the Fort of *Stampace*, in order to plant on it a new Battery, which might take in Flank the great Rampart which the *Pisans* had erected. In short he tried the utmost of his Skill and Art for obtaining a fair Opportunity of giving a general and regular Assault, with the surest Prospect of Success, and at the least Expence of Blood. But these dilatory Proceedings were no way satisfactory to the *Florentines*, who were very uneasy at the least Delay, and continually teased him with Letters and Messages, urging him to be expeditious and hasten the Attack, lest some Impediment, which might

THE WARS IN ITALY.

343

might arise every Hour, should be thrown in his Way.

A. D.

1499.

THIS Conduct of the General, tho' perhaps prudent, and agreeable to the Rules of military Discipline, proved thro' his ill Fortune to be the Cause of his Destruction. The Territory of *Pisa* being full of standing Pools and Marshes between the City and the Sea, is subject at this Season of the Year to pestilential Winds, and especially in that Part where the *Florentines* were encamped, and in the Space of Forty-eight Hours a violent Fever was propagated through the Army, so that when *Pagolo* came to give the Assault on the 23d of *August*, he found so great a Number of sick and enfeebled Persons, that he had not Men enough left to go upon it. The *Florentines*, and the General, who himself laboured under the common Disorder, endeavoured to remedy this Inconvenience by lifting new Men; but the Distemper raged so violent that the Diminution every Day much exceeded the Supplement. At last *Pagolo* giving over all Hopes of Success, and

Sickness
in *Pagolo's*
Camp.

A. D.
1499.

Siege of
Piza
raised.

apprehensive of being attacked himself, thought it necessary to raise the Siege; which was contrary to the Opinion of many of the *Florentines*, who were for placing a good Garrison in *Stampace*, and continuing in their fortified Camp near *Pisa*. But *Vitelli* would by no Means hearken to their Advice, for *Stampace* had been so shattered and damaged by his own Cannon and that of the Besieged, that it was not tenable. He therefore on the 4th of *September* broke up his Camp, and abandoned the Place, directing his March along the Road that goes to the Sea; and as it was thought impracticable to convey the Artillery by Land to *Cascina*, because the Waters had spoiled the Roads, it was embarked at the Mouth of the *Arno*, in order to be transported to *Livorno*. But here the same ill Fortune attended this as did all his other Undertakings, for Part of the Cannon was sunk, and a short time after recovered by the *Pisans*, who at the same time retook the Tower that guarded the Mouth of the *Arno*.

THESE repeated Misfortunes augmented the ill Opinion which the *Florentines* had before conceived of *Vitelli* to such a Height, that a few Days after being summoned by the Commissaries to *Cascina*, on Pretence of consulting about the Distribution of the Troops into their several Quarters, he was there arrested by Order of the superior Magistracy, and sent to *Florence*, where he was the same Night severely put to the Question, and the next Day beheaded. *Vitellozzo* his Brother narrowly escaped the same Fate; for the Commissaries had the same Instant sent to apprehend him; but he, infirm as he was, of the Sickness contracted before *Pisa*, feigning Obedience to their Orders, got out of Bed, and while he was dressing himself, some of his Domestics who got about him provided a Horse, which he mounted with their Assistance, and got safe to *Pisa*, where he was received with open Arms. *

Pagolo arrested, tortured, and beheaded.

Vitellozzo escapes to *Pisa*.

THE

* *Vitellozzo*, while he was delaying to dress himself, that he might give Time for his Friends to come about him, saw some of his Lances among the Spectators, by whose Assistance he forced his Way, and got safe to *Pisa*. *Buonacorsi*.

A. D.

1499.

Articles
against
Vitelli.

THE principal Articles laid to *Vitelli's* Charge were, That it was owing to his Want of Will that *Pisa* was not taken, which might have been done the same Day that the Fort of *Stampace* was taken; That for the same Reason he so long delayed to give the Assault: That he had received frequent Messages from *Pisa* without communicating the Subject to the Commissaries: That he had raised the Siege of *Pisa*, and abandoned *Stampace*, contrary to express Orders: That in order to have the Disposal of the public Money, he had put the Republic to unnecessary Charges, by employing several other Commanders in taking of *Cascina*, *Vico Pisano*, and the Artillery, which he might have done by himself without their Assistance: That whilst he was in the *Casentino* he held private Correspondence with the *Medici*, and at the same time negotiated and as good as concluded a Treaty with the *Venetians*, by which he was to enter into their Service at the Expiration of his Term of Agreement with the *Florentines*, which was near at hand; that did not
take

take effect because the *Venetians*, having concluded a Peace with the *Florentines*, had no occasion for his Service ; but that, in consideration of this Agreement, he had granted a Pass to the Duke of *Urbino* and *Giuliano de' Medici*. These were the Crimes laid to his Charge, but he confessed nothing in particular, while he was under the Torture, that could affect his Life ; his Execution was hastened for fear that the King of *France*, who was arrived at *Milan*, should demand him to be set at Liberty. After his Death some of his Intimates, who had passed under a longer Examination, confessed no more than that *Pagolo* thought he had many Reasons to be dissatisfied with the *Florentines*, as particularly their Partiality in favour of Count *Rinuccio*, the Difficulties they made in sending him the Supplies which he from time to time demanded, and the scandalous Reports spread in *Florence* of his Conduct, to the great Injury of his Reputation. Upon the whole, tho' some may continue to think that he had not discharged his Office with just Fidelity, and that he aspired to the Sovereignty

A. D.

1499.

of

A. D.

1499.

of *Pisa*, or to make himself Master of some Part of the *Florentine* Dominions, where he had great Friends and Interest, yet the major Part were of the more charitable Side, and of Opinion that he used his best Endeavours to take *Pisa*, which he was sensible would have procured him immense Glory, it being the chief Concern of great Captains to embrace all Opportunities of acquiring Honour and Fame.

King of
France
addressed
by the rest
of the Ita-
lian Po-
tentates.

THE King of *France* being arrived at *Milan*, received the Addresses and Congratulations of all the Potentates of *Italy*, except King *Federigo*, either in proper Person, or by their Ambassadors; some congratulating him on his Conquest, some vindicating themselves from the Charge of having favoured *Lodovico*, and others to settle with his Majesty their future Operations. They were all graciously received, and the King entered into Engagements with each of them, but of a different kind according to the Diversity of their Circumstances, by which he might promise himself more or less Advantage from
their

their Friendship. Among the rest the Marquis of *Mantua* was received into his Protection, had the Command of One Hundred Lances given him, with a handsome Salary, and was honoured with the Order of St. *Michael*. * The Duke of *Ferrara* was also received under the royal Protection. Both these Princes waited on his Majesty in Person, but it was not without some Difficulty and Expence that the Duke got himself intitled to the royal Favour; for ever since he had consigned the Castelletto of *Genoa* into the Hands of *Lodovico*, he was regarded as a Person disaffected to the *French* Interest. *Giovanni Bentivoglio* deputed his Son *Annibale* to pay his Respects and crave the royal Protection, which was not granted without a Sum of Money. But the *Florentines* found it more difficult and expensive to compound Matters; all their past Services were forgot, and no regard paid to all they had suffered for the *French* Cause in the Times of the late King. The whole Court seemed to be set against them,

and

* The Marquis only accepted of the Order of St. *Michael*, refusing the military Place, and a yearly Pension of Twelve Thousand Livres. *Mario Equicola*.

A. D.

1499.

A. D.

1499.

and turned the deaf Ear to all they had to plead in justification of their Neutrality, to which, they said, they had been necessitated, that they might not make an Adversary of *Lodovico* in the Affair of *Pisa*. What passed in the memorable Transaction, when King *Charles* set the *Pisans* at Liberty, had made a deep Impression on the Minds of the *French*, and the Fame of their glorious Resistance begot an Esteem and Affection, and prepossessed the military Men in their Favour. The Authority also of *Gianjacopo Trivulzio* was of no small Prejudice to the *Florentines* at this Juncture, for that old Captain, aspiring to the Sovereignty of *Pisa*, favoured the Cause of the *Pisans*, who were disposed to accept of him or any one else that could defend them against the *Florentines*. The Ambassadors also met with bitter Reflections from the whole Court on account of the Death of *Pagolo Vitelli*, and were told that their Masters had, without any just Reason, cut off the Head of that valiant Captain, to whom the Crown of *France* lay under Obligations, for his Brother had been killed, and him-
self

self taken Prisoner, while they were in the Service of King *Charles* in the Kingdom of *Naples*. But *Lewis* did not so far indulge his Resentments, as not to let Reasons of State prevail over vain and popular Prejudices, and therefore Matters were compounded, and the *Florentines* also received under the royal Protection, * the King obliging himself to assist them with Six Hundred Lances and Four Thousand Foot, against all Invaders, and the *Florentines* reciprocally engaging to supply his Majesty with Four Hundred Men at Arms and Three Thousand Foot for the Defence of his Dominions in *Italy*. Further, it was agreed that on the first Demand of the *Florentines* the King should furnish them with the aforesaid Number of Lances and a sufficient Quantity of Artillery for the Recovery of *Pisa*, and of those Lands and Territories taken from

A. D.

1499.

Articles of
the League
between
the King
and the
Florentines.

* *Buonacorsi*; in his Account of this Treaty or League, condemns the Dilatoriness of the *Florentines*, who might have obtained what Conditions they pleased of the King while he was in *France*; but after he came to *Milan* and saw himself a Conqueror, he naturally rose in his Demands, and they were forced to purchase this League with a round Sum of Money, and with little Benefit to the Commonwealth.

A. D.

1499.

from them by the *Senefe* and *Lucchefe*, but not of those held by the *Genoefe*: That if they did not demand of the King the Auxiliaries stipulated, before his Enterprize against *Naples*, he should be obliged when he undertook that Expedition to send all or part of them against the *Pisans*; and they engaged, if *Pisa* at that Time should be recovered, and not otherwise, to join the Royal Army with Five Hundred Men at Arms, and advance Fifty Thousand Ducats towards the Maintenance of Five Thousand *Swiss* for Three Months, besides Repayment of Thirty-six Thousand Ducats lent them by *Lodovico*, deducting from the said Sum what *Trivulxi* shall declare to have been paid or expended on his account. Lastly, that they should elect for their Captain-General the Prefect of *Rome*, who was Brother to the Cardinal of *St. Piero in Vincola*, at whose Instance this Demand was made.

THE Pope, whose Ambition would not suffer him to lie dormant at so fair an Opportunity, now thought it a fit Time to insist on the performance of the Promises by

by which the King was engaged to assist Duke *Valentino* against the Vicars of *Romagna*. The Duke, who had accompanied his Majesty out of *France*, in consequence of this Request, was put at the Head of Three Hundred Lances under *Ivo d'Allegri* paid by the King, and Four Thousand *Swiss* commanded by the Bailiff of *Dijon*, who were in the Pay of the Pope his Father.

A. D.

1499.

King
assists the
Pope.

THE Cities of *Romagna*, as well as other Territories of the Ecclesiastic State, had undergone variety of Revolutions, and been for many Years under Governors, who were in a manner independent of the *Roman* Pontiff; some of these Governors, or Vicars as they were called, paid them no Tribute in acknowledgment of their Superiority, others with Difficulty, and when they pleased. But all in general thought themselves at liberty to enter into the Service of other Princes, without asking leave of the Pope, or so much as excepting themselves from bearing Arms against the holy See; but on the contrary were obliged to defend those Princes

A. D. against the pontifical Arms and Authority.

1499.

The Service of these Vicars was very much coveted, for, besides their Power and Strength, which was considerable, their Country lay very convenient for distressing the Pope, and checking the Growth of the ecclesiastical Power and Influence. At this time the Cities of *Ravenna* and *Cervia* were in the Hands of the *Venetians*, who had many Years before wrested them from the *Polenta* Family, who from private Citizens had made themselves Tyrants * of their Country, and were afterwards acknowledged as Vicars of the holy See. *Faenza*, *Furli*, *Imola*, and *Rimini*, had each their particular Vicars; *Cesena*, which had long been in Subjection to the Family of the *Malatesti*, had lately, since the Death of *Domenico Malatesta*, returned under the Obedience of the Church. But the Pope pretending that these Cities were, for many Reasons, devolved to the holy See, was resolved to reduce them to their antient Subjection, tho' in reality he designed them for his Son *Cæsar*, and had

with

* The *Italians* gave the Name of *Tyrants* to them and their Descendants who obtained the Sovereignty of a City by Force.

with this View stipulated with the *French* A. D.
 King that, after the Conquest of *Milan* 1499.
 he should lend him his Assistance for re-
 covering those Cities which were in the
 Hands of the Vicars, amongst which was
Pesaro then in possession of *Giovanni Sforza*,
 formerly Son-in-law to his Holiness. But
 the present Grandeur of the *Venetians* de-
 terred him from entertaining any thoughts
 of asserting his Claims to the Cities in
 their Possession, nor did he think it con-
 venient at that time to mention his Title
 to some little Places on the *Po*, that were
 in the Possession of the Duke of *Ferrara*.
 But *Valentino*, at the Head of the aforesaid
French Troops, and those of the ecclesi-
 astical State, marched into *Romagna*, and
 immediately made himself Master of *Imola*,
 which City surrendered to him the latter
 End of *December*, 1499 †.

THIS Year, so fruitful of Events, and Turkish
 remarkable Revolutions in *Italy*, will be Incurfioni
 also memorable for an Irruption of the
Turks into the *Venetian* Borders. For *Ba-*
jazet, the *Ottoman* Emperor, having with
 Z 2 a pow-

† On the 29th of *December*. *Buonacorfi*.

A. D.
1499.

a powerful Fleet, laid Siege by Sea to the *Venetian* maritime Towns in *Greece*, detached Six Thousand Horse to ravage the Province of *Friuli*. The *Turks* finding the Country unguarded, as expecting no such Visit, plundered and burnt all that came in their Way as far as *Liquentia*, and returning with an infinite number of Prisoners as far as the Banks of the River *Tigliavento*; for the better Speed selecting as many as they could conveniently carry with them, most cruelly massacred all the rest. Nor were the *Venetian* Affairs well managed in *Greece*, for *Antonio Grimano*, the Captain General of the *Venetian* Fleet in those Parts, was accused of neglecting an Opportunity of destroying the *Turkish* Fleet when it came out of Port *Sapientia*, and again at the Mouth of the Gulph of *Lepanto*. The Senate after appointing him a Successor, sent him a Summons to appear at *Venice*, and committed his Cause to the Cognizance of the Council of the *Pregadi*, who had it under Examination many Months, his Authority and Greatness bearing him up, and pleading strongly for him against a Multitude of Arguments and

Venetian
Admiral
faulty,

Tried,

and Witnesses produced by his Accusers. A. D.

At last it appearing that the Authority of the Accused, and the Multitude of his Relations pleaded hard for his Acquittal, or because the Council of *Pregadi*, in which were many Persons of great Prudence, had no Regard to common Report or ill grounded Calumnies, but apply'd themselves seriously to find out the Truth, the Cause was by the Magistracy of Advocates of the Community referred to the Cognizance of the Grand Council, where, either his Friends having no Sway, or that greater Deference was paid to the Prejudices of the clamorous Multitude, than to the Dictates of senatorial Gravity, his Fate was at length determined, tho' not till the End of the ensuing Year, when he was condemned to perpetual Banishment in the Isle of *Ossaro*.

And sentenced.

WE are now entering on the Year 1500 1500 as fruitful of Events as the former, and also memorable for the plenary Remission of the Jubilee, first instituted by the Popes to be celebrated, according to the Example of the Old Testament, every hun-

A. D.
1500.

dredth Year, not with Pomp and Paf-
times, as was the Manner of the old *Ro-*
mans in their fecular Games, but for the
Salvation of Souls. For at this Time, ac-
cording to the pious Belief of the christian
People, there is granted a full Remiffion
of all Sins, to fuch as confefs them with
fincere Repentance, and vifit the Churches
dedicated to the Princes of the Apoftles at
Rome. This Jubilee has fince been or-
dered to be celebrated every fiftieth Year,
and at laft reduced to the Twenty Fifth,
tho' out of Refpect to the Memory of its
firft Inftitution, the hundredth Year is
celebrated by a much greater Concourse
of People.

IN the beginning of this Year *Valentino*
took poffeffion of the City of *Furli* with-
out Oppofition. The Lady Governefs of
the Place fending away her Children and
her richeft Effects to *Florence*, and aban-
doning the reft which fhe was not able to
preferve, was reduced to make the beft of
her Defence in the Cittadel and Castle,
which were well provided with Men and
Artillery. She betook herfelf to the Citta-
del,

del, and being a Woman * of a brave and manly Spirit, she made a Resistance which redounded very much to her Honour. *Valentino* having tried in vain to induce her to surrender, raised a great Battery against the Cittadel, which beat down a good Part of the Wall, that drew after it much of the Rampart, and filled up the Ditch so far as to make the Breach easy to be mounted. But the Besieged were so much terrified, that they abandoned the Defence, and endeavoured to retire into the Castle. The Lady used her utmost Effort to stop the Retreat, and animate her Men, but was born down by the Crowd, and the Enemy breaking in upon them, under the present Hurry and Confusion, cut most of them to pieces before the Gate, and entering pell mell among the rest into the Castle put all to the Sword, except a few of the Chief, who with the Lady retired into a Tower, and were

Z 4 made

* This Heroine was Madam *Caterina Sforza Riaria*, Wife of *Girolamo Riario*, and afterwards of *Giovanni de' Medici*. Some write that when *Valentino* threatened, if she did not surrender the Cittadel, to kill her Children, she took up her Coats, and shewing her Nakedness, said, "Here, Duke, see the same Mould for casting more!"

A. D.

1500.

Manly
Behaviour
of a Lady.

A. D.

1500.

made Prisoners. *Valentino* considering her Valour more than her Sex, sent her Prisoner to *Rome*, where she was kept in the Castle of *St. Angelo*, till at the Intercession of *Ivo d' Allegri*, she was set at Liberty.

VALENTINO, having made himself Master of *Imola* and *Furli*, proceeded with an Intent to make further Conquests, but was stopt in his Career by new and unforeseen Accidents. For the King of *France*, after giving what Orders he thought proper for the Administration of his new Acquisition, leaving sufficient Garrisons in the *Milanese*, and prolonging the Truce with the King of the *Romans* till the *May* ensuing; including in it the Dutchy of *Milan*, and all that the *French* possessed in *Italy*, returned into *France*. He took with him the little Son of *Giovan Galeazzo*, whom his Mother imprudently committed to his Care, and whom he afterwards placed in a Monastery, and left the Government of *Milan* to *Gianjacopo Trivulzi*, in whom he reposed an entire Confidence, both on account of his Valour, and other Merits, as well as for his Enmity to *Lodovico Sforza*.

BUT

A. D.

1500.

BUT the King could not leave behind him a faithful Disposition in the Minds of his new Subjects, many of whom were disgusted at the Manners and Customs of the *French*, others found themselves disappointed in their Expectations of the royal Bounty, and of an Exemption from all Taxes whatever, as the unthinking Populace had fondly persuaded themselves. Multitudes were highly dissatisfied at the Promotion of *Trivulzi*, the Head of the Faction of the *Guelfs*, to the Government of *Milan*, where the *Ghibeline* Faction was very powerful both in the Capital and all over the Dutchy. And this ill Disposition was exasperated by the bad Management of the Governor, who was of a factious, proud and restless Temper, and favoured and countenanced with the Authority of the chief Magistrate, much more than was convenient, those of his own Party. Besides he was abhorred by the Populace for killing with his own Hand in the public Shambles some Butchers, who had the Impudence, in common with other sorts of Vulgar, to refuse Payment

Milanesse
uneasy
under the
French
Government.

A. D.

1500.

Payment of the Duties from which they were not exempted, and were so rash as to oppose with Force of Arms the Entrance of the Officers appointed to collect them. On account of these Grievances the major Part of the Nobility, and the whole Body of the common People, who are by Nature greedy of Novelties, longed after *Lodovico's* Return, talked of the same in public, and sounded his Name aloud in the open Streets.

IN the mean time the Duke of *Milan*, and his Brother the Cardinal had waited on *Cæsar*, and met with a gracious and honourable Reception. That Prince shewed much Concern for their Misfortunes, commiserated their afflicted Condition, and made them repeated Promises of his marching in Person at the Head of a powerful Army for the Recovery of their Estate, since he had now put an effectual End to his War with the *Swiss*. But such was his known Fickleness of Temper, and his Manner of confounding his ill concerted Projects one with another, that their Hopes diminished daily; and as he was labouring
under

THE WARS IN ITALY.

363

under his usual Necessities, without any
 Regard to their present Distress, he was
 continually borrowing Money of them. A. D.
1500.
 The Duke then and the Cardinal, being
 weary of flattering themselves with vain
 Hopes, and being encouraged by the con-
 tinual Sollicitations of Numbers of People
 of Quality in *Milan*, resolved to undertake Lodovico
recalled.
 the Work by themselves, with the Help of
 Eight Hundred *Swiss*, and Five Hundred
 Men at Arms of *Burgundy* which they had
 enlisted. *Trivulzi*, well informed of their
 Motions, was alarmed, and immediately
 dispatched an Express to *Venice* to solicit
 the speedy March of the *Venetian* Troops
 to the River *Adda*, and another to *Ivo*
d'Allegri, with Letters, importing that it
 was necessary for him to withdraw from
Valentino with the *French* Men at Arms
 and *Swiss* under his Command, and march
 with all Speed for *Milan*; and that the
 Enemy might meet with Resistance at
 their first Attempt, he ordered part of the
 Army to *Como*, his Jealousy of the Inha-
 bitants of *Milan* not suffering him to send
 his whole Force.

BUT

A. D.

1500.

Ludovico
recovers
Como.

Milan
quitted by
the *French.*

BUT the Diligence of the two Brothers defeated all his Measures; for without waiting till all their Troops were assembled, they set out with such as were ready, leaving Orders for the rest to follow Party after Party, and after passing the Mountains with incredible Speed they embarked on the Lake of *Como*, and appearing off that City, the *French*, who knew the Disposition of the *Comese*, forsook the Place, and the *Sforzas* were immediately received. The News of the Loss of *Como* raised such Commotions in the People of *Milan*, and in almost all the Heads of the *Ghibelline* Faction, that Tumults soon followed, which *Trivulzi* finding himself too weak to suppress, had no Way left but to retire with all Speed into the Castle, and the Night following, together with some Men at Arms, who had retired into the *Barco*, adjoining to the Castle, he took his Way towards *Novara*, persecuted by a tumultuous Mob with Insults and Execrations as far as the River *Tesino*. He left Four Hundred Lances at *Novara*, and threw himself with the rest into *Mortara*,
where

where he and the rest of the Officers employed their Thoughts more on the Manner of recovering the Dutchy of *Milan*, when Succours should arrive from *France*, than on preserving it with their present Force.

A. D.
1500.

THE *French* having thus quitted *Milan*, first the Cardinal, and afterwards *Lodovico* himself made their Entrance into that Capital, and took full Possession of all, except the Castle, with as much Ease as it had been lost, the People expressing more Joy and Pleasure at his Return than they had done at his Departure. *Pavia* and *Parma* declared for him without Delay, and *Lodi* and *Piacenza* would have followed their Example, had not the *Venetians*, who were advanced to the *Adda*, hastily entered those Places. *Alessandria*, and almost all the Towns beyond the *Po*, as they were farther distant from *Milan*, and nearer *Asti*, a City which belonged to the King, remained in Peace, and attentive to the further Progress of Affairs, by which they might take their Measures with more Safety and Advantage.

Lodovico
recovers
the City
of *Milan*.

Pavia
and *Par-*
ma pro-
claims
Lodovico.

A. D.

1500.

LODOVICO having recovered *Milan*, applied himself with all Speed to the Levying of a good Body of *Italian* Foot, and as many Men at Arms as he could procure; and ceased not solliciting by Intreaties, Offers, and all manner of Hopes, every one whom he thought of Ability, or inclined to assist him in his pressing Necessity. He deputed Cardinal *Sanseverino* to *Cæsar*, to notify his prosperous Beginning, and intreat a Supply of Men and Artillery. And as he would by no Means have the *Venetian* Senate his Enemies, he gave Orders for Cardinal *Ascanio* to dispatch without Delay the Bishop of *Cremona* to *Venice*, to make an Offer of Reconciliation, which he was heartily willing to procure upon whatever Terms they should please to prescribe. But the Bishop found the Senate inflexible, for they were determined not to depart from their Confederacy with *France*. The *Genoese*, tho' earnestly sollicitated, refused to return under his Dominion; nor would the *Florentines* comply with his Demand of repaying him what they had borrowed.

Lodovico
unsuccessful
with
the *Vene-
tians*, *Flo-
rentines*,
and
Genoese.

Only

Only the Marquis of *Mantua* sent his Brother with some Men at Arms to his Assistance; and these were accompanied by the Lords of *Mirandola*, *Carpi*, and *Correggio*. The *Senese* remitted him a small Sum of Money; but these were but scanty Supplies to a Man in his Condition; as were also those of *Filippo Rosso*, and the *Vermineschi*. The Fathers of these Noblemen had been deprived of their Dominion by *Lodovico*, the *Rossi* in particular of *San Secondo*, *Torchiara*, and many other Seats in the *Parmesan*; and the *Vermineschi* of the City of *Bobbio*, and other circumjacent Places in the Mountains of *Piacenza*. But now *Filippo* left the *Venetian* Service without Leave, in order to recover his Patrimony, which he effected, and then joined *Lodovico* with his Troops; the same Means were used by the *Vermineschi* to regain what belonged to them, both Parties laying hold of this Occasion to work themselves into the Duke's Favour.

A. D.

1500.

LODOVICO having assembled Fifteen Hundred Men at Arms besides the *Burgundian*

A. D. *gundian* Horse, his Infantry consisting of the *Swiss*, and a numerous Body of *Italian* Foot, left his Brother *Ascanio* at the Siege of the Castle of *Milan*, and passing the *Tesino*, took Possession of the Town and Fortrefs of *Vigevano* by Composition, and sat down before *Novara*. He chose to besiege this Place rather than *Mortara*, either because the *French* had strongly fortified themselves in *Mortara*, or because he imagined that the Conquest of that famous and plentiful City would greatly increase his Reputation, and shorten the War; and by taking *Novara* the *French* in *Mortara* might probably be so distressed for want of Victuals, as to be forced to abandon the Place; or perhaps his Design was also to intercept the Passage of *Ivo d' Allegri*, who was returning from *Romagna* to *Novara*. That General was on his March with Duke *Valentino*, in order to besiege *Pesaro*, but on receiving Orders from *Trivulzio*, he suddenly departed with all the Horse and the *Swiss*, and in his March near *Parma* hearing of the Rebellion of *Milan*, he redoubled his Speed, and making an Agreement with the *Parmesans*

Novara
besieged
by *Lodovico*.

Parmesans and the *Piacentines* that he would do them no Damage, provided they would grant him free Passage, he made the best of his Way to *Tortona*. Arriving near that City he was addressed by the *Guelfs*, who thirsting after Revenge against the *Ghibellins*, represented to him how after that Party had returned under the Obedience of *Lodovico*, they were insulted and turned out of their Houses by them; but the *French* entering the Town plundered all whether Friend or Foe without Distinction, the *Guelfs* in vain lamenting and exclaiming that the King's most faithful Servants were treated no better than perfidious Enemies. From *Tortona Ivo* continued his March to *Alessandria*, where he was obliged to stay, because the *Swiss*, either for want of Pay, or out of Treachery, deserted to the Duke of *Milan*. The Duke now finding himself stronger than his Enemies pushed on the Siege of *Novara*, in hopes of taking the Place before the *French*, who expected Succours from their King, could be in a Condition to relieve it. His Endeavours took Effect, for the *French* Garrison,

A. D.
1500.

A. D.
1500.

Novara
surrendered to
Lodovico.

despairing of Relief, surrendered the Town upon Articles, by which they were allowed to march out of the Place with all their Effects, and be safely conducted to *Vercelli*. The Capitulation was punctually observed by *Lodovico*, tho' some would have persuaded him to break it, and put the Garrison to the Sword, as the surest Means to disable his Enemy, and not unwarranted by the Example of great Men, who have violated their Faith, for the Sake of acquiring a State; how much more lawful then must it be to break ones Faith for preserving it. The City of *Novara* being reduced, *Lodovico* laid Siege to the Citadel; but it was thought that if he had marched towards *Mortara*, where was a Misunderstanding between *Ligni* and *Trivulzio*, the *French* would have retired on the other Side of the *Po*.

The
French
King
makes
Prepara-
tions to
recover
Milan.

BUT while *Lodovico* was thus active and diligent in improving his good Fortune, the King was no less eager and solicitous to repair his Losses. As soon as he had received Advice of the Rebellion of *Milan*, burning with Shame and Indignation,

tion, he immediately dispatched *Tremouille* with Six Hundred Lances for *Italy*, gave Orders for raising a great Body of *Swiss*, and for the greater Expedition in providing all things necessary, he appointed the Cardinal of *Rouen* his Intendant-General on this Side the Mountains, and ordered him to set out immediately for *Asti*. The Preparations were so hastened, that by the Beginning of *April* the King had in *Italy* an Army of Fifteen Hundred Lances, Ten Thousand *Swiss*, and Six Thousand *French* under the Command of *La Tremouille*, *Trivulzi*, and *Ligni*. All these Troops assembled together at *Mortara*, and thence marched towards *Novara*, depending as much on Treachery as open Force; for the chief Officers of the *Swiss* that were in *Lodovico's* Army, tho' they had behaved both bravely and faithfully in the Siege of *Novara*, entered now into a private Combination with the chief Officers of their Countrymen that were in the *French* Army, which *Lodovico* beginning to suspect, gave Orders for the March of Four Hundred Horse and Eight Thousand Foot from *Milan* to reinforce his Army. The

A. D.
1500.

Swiss that were in *Novara* now began to be tumultuous at the Instigation of their Officers, and took Occasion to murmur because they were disappointed of their Pay on the Day it was promised. But the Duke immediately flying to the Place where the Tumult was, used such kind and fair Speeches, intermixed with Prayers and Intreaties, as really moved Compassion; and by making them a Present of all his Plate, prevailed on them to wait till the Money arrived from *Milan*. But the *Swiss* Officers being apprehensive that if the Duke's Army should be reinforced by the Troops from *Milan*, the Execution of their treacherous Designs might be prevented, took care that the *French* Army should present itself in order of Battle before the Walls of *Novara*, surrounding a great Part of it, while they posted a Body of Horse between that City and the River *Tesino*, to prevent the Duke or any other from escaping to *Milan*. The Duke finding every Hour more and more Reason to think himself betrayed, resolved to march with his Army out of *Novara*, and give the Enemy Battle, having

having already ordered out his light Horse, and the *Burgundians* to begin the Fight. But his Measures were flatly contradicted and opposed by the *Swiss* Commanders, who protested that it was not lawful for them to fight against their own Brothers, near Relations, and Countrymen, without Leave first obtained from their Superiors. * *Lodovico* betrayed by his *Swiss*.
 And soon after intermixing with the other *Swiss*, as if they made but one Army, they declared their Resolution to set out immediately for their own Country. Nor could *Lodovico*, with all his Prayers, Tears, and infinite fair Promises, divert them from this barbarous Treachery, tho' he besought them, in the most supplicant Manner, that they would, at least, conduct him into a Place of Safety. But these obdurate Wretches having before agreed with the *French* Generals to march

A a 3

off

* Some would excuse the *Swiss* in this Affair, alledging that they are prohibited by their Law, under the severest Penalties, to appear in Arms against the public Standard of the League; and because the *Swiss* in *Lodovico's* Army had been privately listed, but those in the *French* Service under the public Banner of the League, consequently the former were not at Liberty to act against their Countrymen on the other Side without rebelling against their Laws.

A. D.

1500.

off, and leave him behind, his Request was not granted. All he could obtain was, to dress himself like a *Swiss* private Centinel, and to take his Chance, if he was not known, to escape. This Proposal he accepted as his only Refuge in this utmost Distress; but, alas! it proved insufficient for his Security. For as the *Swiss* were marching in military Order through the *French* Army, he was, by the Vigilance of those who were appointed to watch, or by the Indication of the *Swiss* themselves, discovered as he was marching a-foot in the midst of a Battalion, clothed and armed like a *Swiss*, and immediately made a Prisoner; a miserable Spectacle! which drew Tears even from the Eyes of many that were his Enemies. With him were taken *Galeazzo da San Severino*, *Fracassa*, and *Antonmaria*, his Brothers, disguised in the same Manner among the *Swiss*. The *Italian* Soldiers were all seized and stript, either in *Novara*, or in their Flight towards the *Tesino*. But the *Burgundian* Horse, and the *German* Foot were civilly dismissed, the *French* not thinking fit to affront those Nations.

THE Duke being taken, his Army dispersed, all Obstacles removed, and every Place full of Flight and Terror, Cardinal *Ascanio*, who had already forwarded the March of the Troops that were assembled at *Milan*, being terrified at so sad a Catastrophe, suddenly departed from *Milan*, in order to retire to some Place of Safety, accompanied by many of the *Ghibelline* Nobles, who having shewn an immoderate Zeal for *Lodovico*, despaired of obtaining Pardon from the *French*. But it was ordained that Treachery and ill Fortune should both equally conspire against the two Brothers. The Cardinal fatigued with a hasty and troublesome Day's Journey, rested the next Night at *Rivolta* in the *Piacentine*, a Castle that belongs to *Currado Lando*, a Gentleman of *Piacenza*, his Relation and intimate Friend. But *Currado*, changing his Mind with the change of Fortune, sent immediate Notice of his Guest to *Carlo Orsino* and *Sonzino Benzzone*, two *Venetian* Officers at *Piacenza*, and upon their Arrival with a Guard delivered him into their Hands. But *Hermes Sforza*, Brother to the late Duke

A. D.
1500.

Cardinal
Ascanio
betrayed.

D. A. Giovan Galeazzo, and some other *Ghibeline* Gentlemen that accompanied the Cardinal, who had more wisely consulted their Safety than to take up their Lodging with him in the Castle, were passed forwards. *Ascanio* was immediately conducted a Prisoner to *Venice*; but the King considering how much it would conduce to the Security of the Dutchy of *Milan* to have him in his own Custody, peremptorily demanded him of the Senate, and upon their Demurring, proceeded to Protests and Menaces, claiming him as his Prisoner because he was taken in a Country subject to his Dominion. This Demand, tho' very harsh and grating, and highly injurious to the Honour of the *Venetian* Name, yet to avoid the Fury of the *French* Army, the Senate thought best to comply with, and delivered him up together with all the rest of the *Milaneſe* that had been taken with him, And as a greater Instance of their Obsequiousness, *Battista Visconte* and some others of the Nobles, who had fled from *Milan* on the same Account, and taken Refuge in the *Ghiaradadda*, and had obtained a Protection for

Delivered
to the
French.

THE WARS IN ITALY.

377

for their Security, in which it was expressly mentioned that they should not be delivered up to the *French*, were notwithstanding from, the same Motives of servile Awe and Dread, delivered into the King's Power. Of so much Influence was the Terror of the *French* Arms at that Time on the *Venetian* Senate, as to set aside all Regard to the Dignity of the Republic.

A. D. 1500.

THE City of *Milan*, destitute of all Hopes, immediately sent Ambassadors to the Cardinal of *Rouen* humbly to implore Pardon. The Cardinal received them very graciously, and granted them a Pardon for their Rebellion in the King's Name, but on Condition of paying Three Hundred Thousand Ducats, the greatest Part of which the King afterwards was pleased to remit. Ater the same Manner did the Cardinal pass an Indemnity for the other Cities that had rebelled, fining every one of them according to their respective Rank and Abilities*.

THE

* *Pavia* was fined One Hundred Thousand Ducats, *Parma* Sixty Thousand. *Buonacorfi*.

A. D.

1500.

Bellinzona
Surprised.

THE War being thus happily ended, the Troops were disbanded; but the *Swiss* of the four Cantons nearest to the Town of *Bellinzona*, situated among the Mountains, in their Return home, unexpectedly took Possession of that Place. The King at first might have had it restored for a moderate Sum, but indulging his penurious Temper, to save a little Money, he lost Opportunities that were of great Moment to his Affairs. For such Times and Accidents happened afterwards, as made him oftentimes desirous to purchase that Town at any Rate, it being a Pass of the greatest Importance for preventing the Descent of the *Swiss* into the *Milanese*.

LODOVICO SFORZA was conducted to *Lions*, where the King was at that Time, and made his Entry into that City at Noonday amidst an infinite Number of Spectators, who flocked from all Parts to behold a Prince so lately at the Height of Grandeur and Majesty, and the Envy of the World for Happiness, now fallen into the most abject State of Misery, and not
able

THE WARS IN ITALY.

349

able to obtain the Favour, tho' he earnestly desired it, of being admitted into the King's Presence. After two Days he was committed to the Tower of *Lockes*, where he spent the Remainder of his Life, which was about ten Years, in a narrow Prison, which afforded Room enough to hold the Man whose Thoughts and Ambition all *Italy* was scarce sufficient to circumscribe.

A. D.

1500.

Lodovico
spends the
Remainder
of his
Life in a
Prison.

L O D O V I C O S F O R Z A was, without Question, a Prince of extraordinary Wit and Eloquence, and of many other natural Endowments, and might well deserve the Appellation of gentle and merciful; had not the Infamy of his Nephew's Death sullied that Part of his Character. But on the other Hand it must be confessed that he was naturally vain, restless, ever full of ambitious Projects, made light of his Promises, or a Breach of Faith, and was so conceited of his Wisdom, that he could by no means endure to hear another commended for extraordinary Prudence and Sagacity, persuading himself that by his own Art and Industry he could dive into the Thoughts, and penetrate

His Character.

A. D. 1500. *trate* the Designs of the most able Politicians, and bend them to his own Purposes.

Cardinal
Ascanio
confined.

HIS Confinement was followed not long after by that of Cardinal *Ascanio*, his Brother, who was received with greater Civility and Respect, and had the Favour to be visited by the Cardinal of *Rouen*. He had also a more honourable Prison, for he was committed to the Tower of *Bourges*, where the King who now imprisoned him had formerly lain himself two Years confined. So mutable and wretched is the Condition of Mortals, and so blind are we to future Events, and the Approaches of Fate!

The End of the Fourth BOOK,
and Second VOLUME.

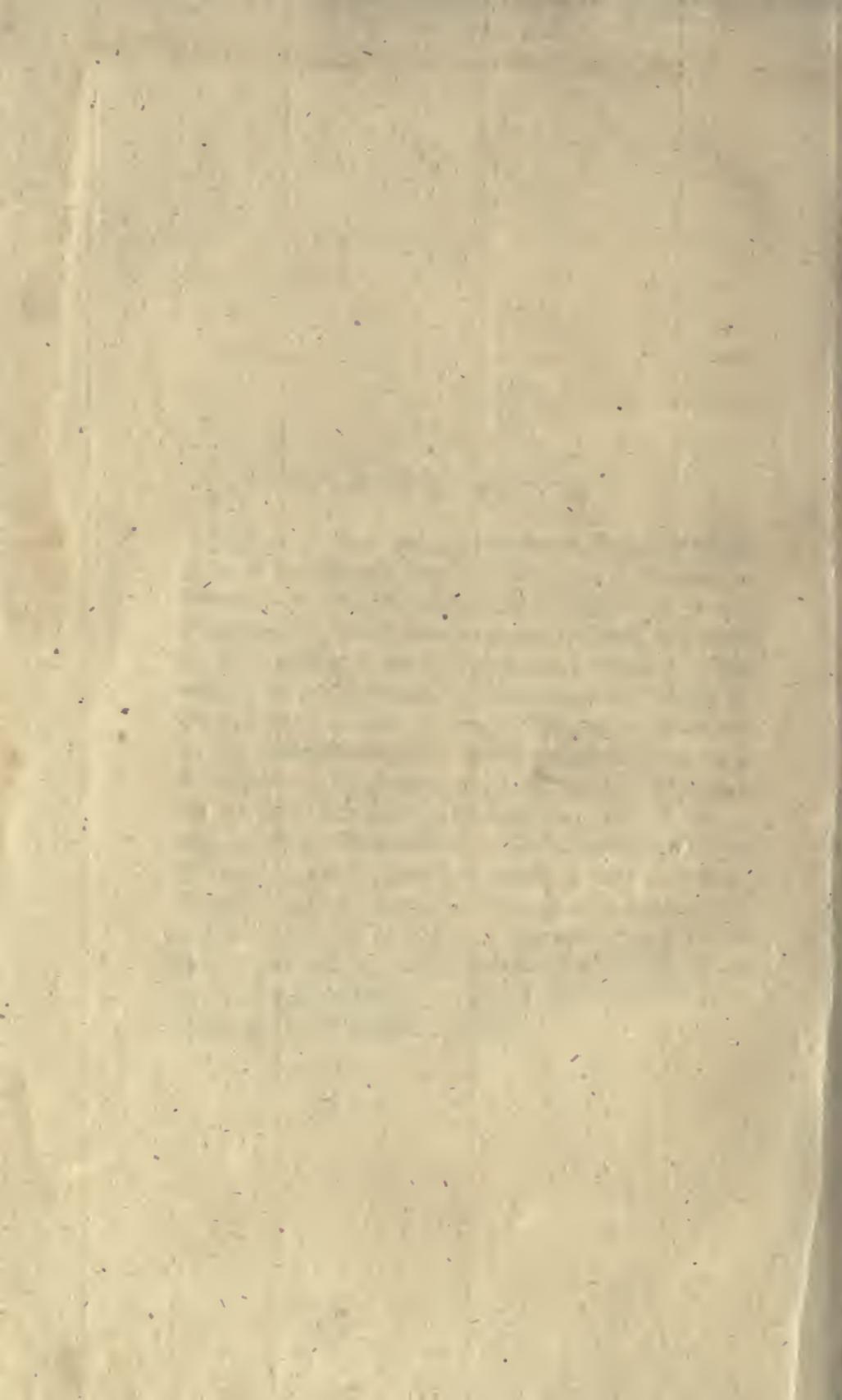
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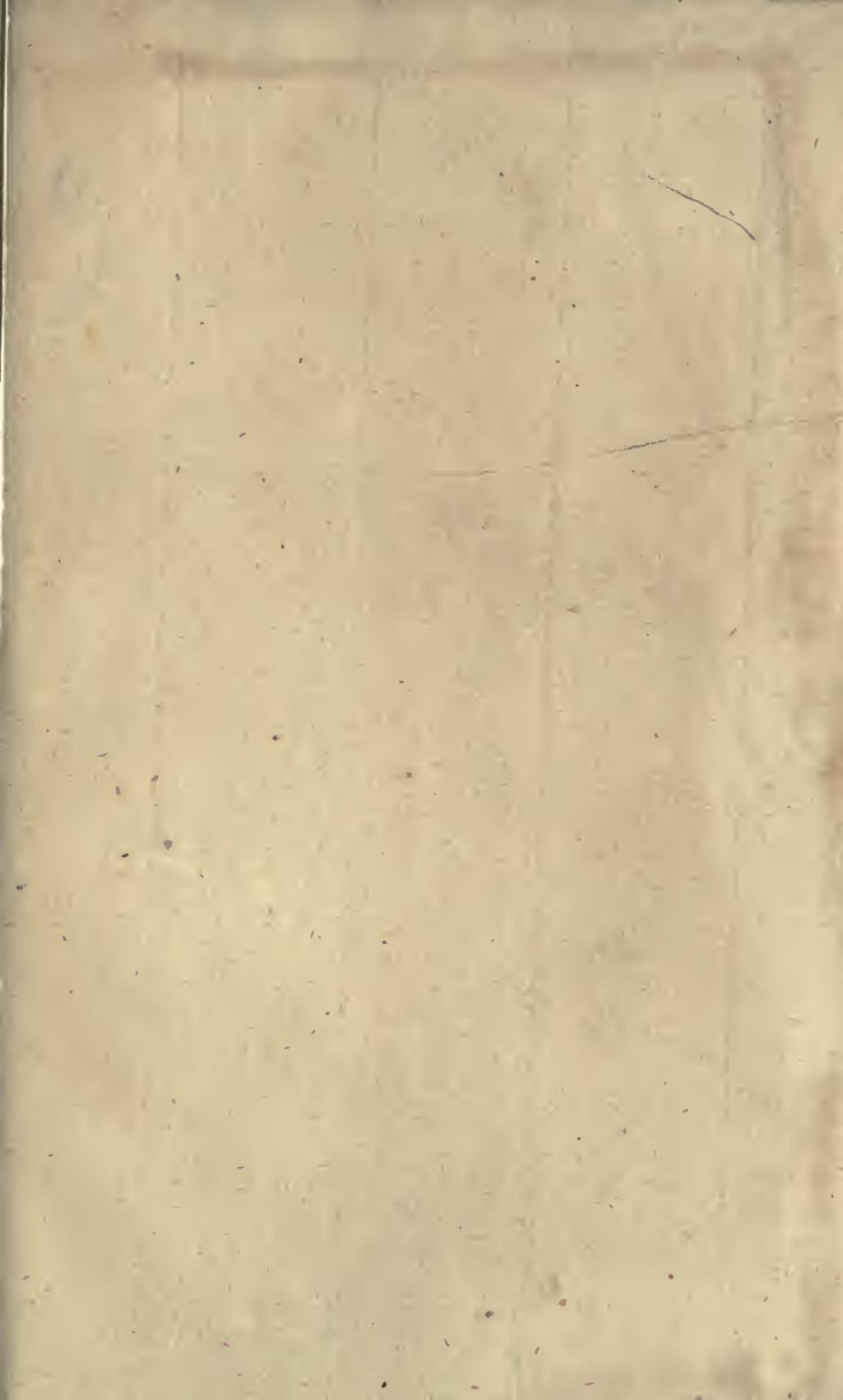
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<i>Ridolfo</i>	<i>Rodulphus</i>
<i>Cesare</i>	<i>Cæsar</i>
<i>Antonio</i>	<i>Anthony</i>
<i>Alexsandria</i> }	<i>The same</i>
<i>Alessandria</i> }	
<i>Gian</i>	<i>John</i>
<i>Nicolò</i>	<i>Nicholas</i>
<i>Michele</i>	<i>Michael</i>
<i>Bartolomeo</i>	<i>Bartholomew</i>
<i>Anton Maria</i>	<i>Anthony Mary</i>
<i>Gianjacopo</i>	<i>John James</i>

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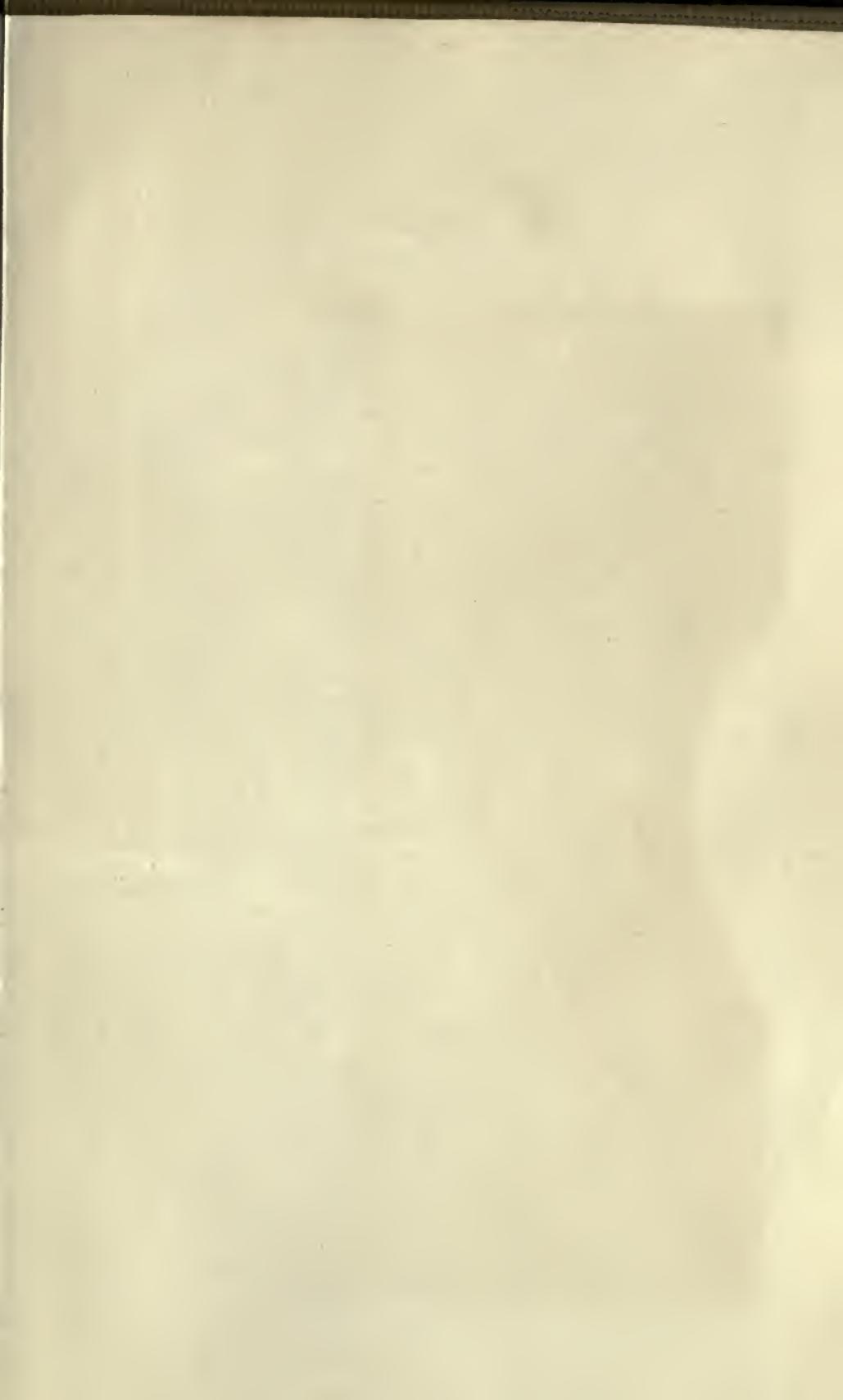
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 Mutrone. p. 16. f. Colleagues, r. Confederates, p. 19.
 f. dispotically, r. despotically. p. 27. f. Chinfi, r. Chiuffi.
 p. 36. f. taking, r. not taking. p. 92. f. Rizaftro, r. Ri-
 castro. f. Sluira & lifenza, r. Terra nuova & Cofenza. p.
 99. f. nuovo, r. uovo. p. 114. f. Meliano, r. Marciano.
 p. 119. f. this Memorial, r. this Reinforcement. p. 145.
 f. Gugliena, r. Guglielma. p. 158. f. them, r. them than
 by. p. 161. f. the first, r. by the first. p. 167. f. the, r.
 then. p. 189. f. these Events, r. the Knowledge of these,
 &c. was. p. 216. f. Sænefe, r. Senefe. p. 286. f. Posts, r.
 Parts. p. 239. f. Pieva, r. Pieve. p. 263. f. I now, r.
 I know. p. 276. f. Verra, r. Vernia. p. 291. f. and
 that, r. and not. p. 300. f. Naucleto, r. Naclero. p.
 331. f. Fresco, r. Fiefco. p. 341. f. is, r. its. f. but it, r.
 yet it. p. 353. f. Pontiff, r. Pontiffs.

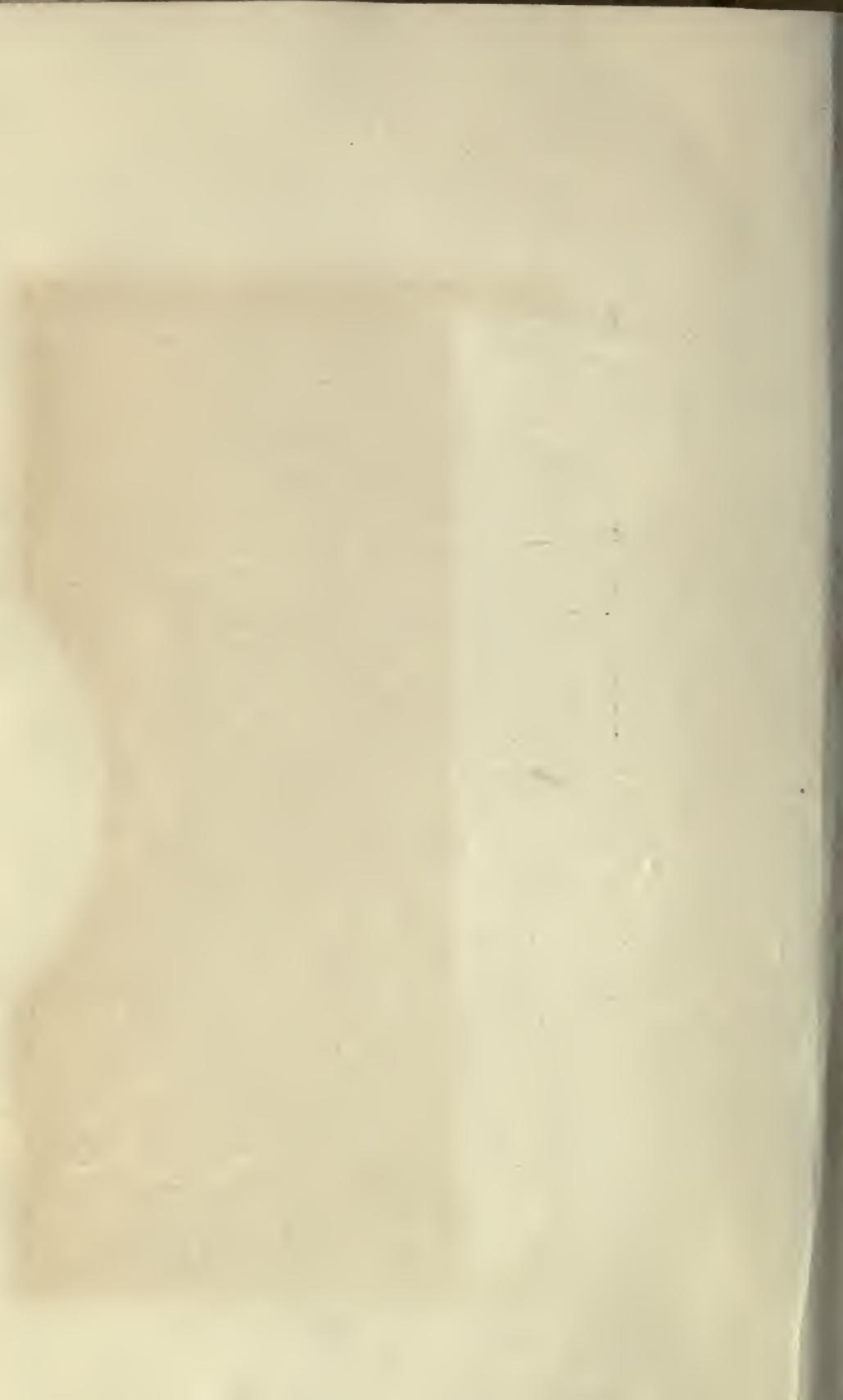
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