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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*.



VOL. VI.

Containing the ELEVENTH and
TWELFTH Books of the History.

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LONDON:
Printed by JOHN TOWERS, in *Piccadilly*.
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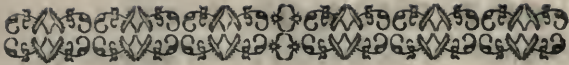
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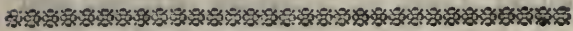
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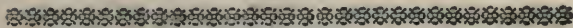
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Francesco Guicciardini's
 H I S T O R Y
 O F
 The WARS in ITALY.



B O O K XI.



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

Reconciliation attempted between the Pope and the Duke of Ferrara. French defeated at Paterna. League between the Pope, Cæsar, and the Venetians dissolved. Congress in Mantoua. Transactions of the Florentines and of the Medici. Pope confederates with Cæsar against the Venetians. Maximilian Sforza created Duke of Milan. Wars of the English, Spaniards and Swifs against the French, who are defeated at Novara. Pope Julius II. dies; and is succeeded by Leo X. League between the French and Venetians.

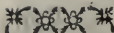
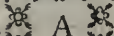
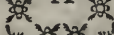
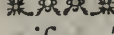
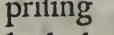
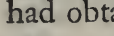
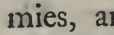
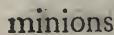
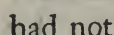
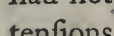
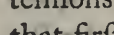
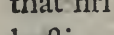
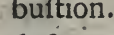
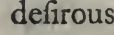
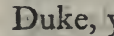
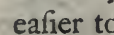
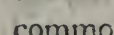
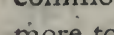
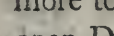
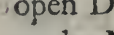
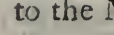
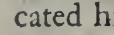
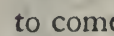
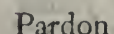
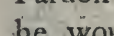


VOL. VI. A 2 tians.

THE HISTORY OF

tians. *Wars between Cæsar and the Venetians, who are defeated in the Vicentine.*

A. D.

1512.

AFTER the Pope was thus delivered out of a most calamitous and dangerous Situation by a surprising Train of successful Events, and had obtained the Victory over his Enemies, and recovered and enlarged the Dominions of the Church, it appeared that he had not relinquish'd his old covetous Pretensions to the City of *Ferrara*, the Sparks that first kindled so mischievous a Combustion. And though he was ardently desirous of turning his Arms against the Duke, yet, either because he thought it easier to obtain his Ends by way of Accommodation than by War, or trusted more to secret Artifices than to plain and open Dealings, he chose to hearken first to the Marquis of *Mantoua*, who supplicated him to grant Leave to *Alfonso d'Este* to come in Person to *Rome*, humbly to ask Pardon of his Holiness, and beg that he would receive him into Favour on
 any

any honourable Conditions. He was afterwards pleased to lend an Ear to the *Aragonian* Ambassador, who interceded for the Duke as a Relation by Consanguinity to his King, *Alfonso* being born of a Daughter of the old *Ferdinando* King of *Naples*, and because it was more for his Master's Interest to lay an Obligation on the Duke by so great a Favour, than to suffer the Church to increase its Grandeur by a further Addition of his State. The *Colonna's* also were unwearied in their Endeavours for the same Purpose, as they were become cordial Friends to *Alfonso*, because the King of *France*, after the Battle of *Ravenna*, having demanded of him *Fabritio Colonna* his Prisoner, the Duke, first by denying, and afterwards interposing various Excuses, so long delayed to grant the King's Request, till the succeeding Revolution of Affairs put it in his Power to give *Fabritio* his Liberty, in the most acceptable Manner, without any Compensation.

A. D.
1512.
Reconciliation
mediated
between
the Pope
and the
Duke of
Ferrara.

The Duke then took his Journey to *Rome*, having obtained a Pass from the Pope,

A. D. 1512.
 and, for his greater Security, the King of *Aragon*, by his Minister, with the Pope's Consent, passed his royal Word for his safe Going and Return. After his Arrival the Pope, having suspended his Censures, admitted him into the Consistory, where he humbly asked Pardon, and supplicated, in the most submissive Manner, to be restored to the Favour of his Holiness and of the Apostolic See, promising for the future to perform all those Duties and Services that belonged to a most faithful Feodatory and Vassal of the Church. The Pope heard him favourably enough, and appointed six Cardinals to treat with him about Conditions of an Agreement, who, after several Days spent in Debates, intimated to him that his Holiness did not intend in any Manner to deprive the Church of the City of *Ferrara*, which belonged to it by lawful Reversion; but that he would give him in recompense the City of *Asti*, which, by the Departure of the *French*, being reduced under the Power of the League, the Pope, pretending that all on this Side of the *Po* appertained to the Church, had sent, though without Effect,

the

THE WARS IN ITALY. 7

the Bishop of *Agrigento* to take Possession of it, But *Alfonso* constantly rejected the Proposal, and from this Demand, so contrary to the Hopes that had been given him, and no less from what had lately happened at *Reggio*, began to be apprehensive that the Pontiff artfully amused him with Offers at *Rome*, that he might have an Opportunity at the the same time to execute some Design upon *Ferrara*.

A. D.

1512.

Duke re-
jects the
Pope's
Offer.

The Pope had invited the People of *Reggio*, who were under no small Apprehensions from the present turbulent Juncture, to follow the Example of *Parma* and *Piacenza*, by putting themselves into the Hands of the Church; and, that his Sollicitations might have the more Effect, had ordered the Duke of *Urbino*, with some Troops, into the *Modenese*. *Vitfrust* had made the same Attempt in behalf of *Cæsar*, for which End he went in Person to *Reggio*; and the Cardinal *d'Este*, who in the Absence of his Brother had the Management of his State, knowing that he could not preserve that City, and judging that it would be less pernicious to the

A. D. Interest of his Family that it should come under the Power of *Cæsar*, who had no Pretensions on *Ferrara*; and in whose Affairs a greater Variety might be expected*, advised the Inhabitants rather to acknowledge themselves under the Jurisdiction of the Empire. But they answered that they would follow the Example of their Duke, who was gone to wait upon the Pontiff, and not upon *Cæsar*, and introduced into the Town the Troops of the Church, who by their artful Management got Possession also of the Cittadel, though *Vitfrust* had put a Garrison into it. At last the *Carfagnana* also surrendered to the Duke of *Urbino*, who after that returned to *Bologna*, where he disbanded all his Troops. For the Confederates being highly dissatisfied with the Pope at his taking Possession of *Parma* and *Piacenza*, the Cardinal of *Sion* had caused it to be notified to the Duke that the common Enemies being vanquished and overthrown, it was not necessary to proceed any farther.

Pope gets Possession of Reggio.

BUT
* And consequently an Opportunity might offer from his Necessities, which often constrained him to Alienations, to redeem or purchase it out of his Hands; but the Property of the Church was not to be alienated or transferred.

BUT the Duke of *Ferrara*, being under no small Apprehensions from the Pope's Obduracy, and his possessing himself of *Reggio*, demanded, by means of the *Spanish* Ambassador and *Fabritio Colonna*, which Noblemen had never left him since he came to *Rome*, his Leave to return to *Ferrara*. The Pope shewed himself reluctant to this Demand, and declared that the Pass he had given the Duke on account of his Differences with the Church was no Protection against his private Creditors, many of whom had demanded Justice to be done them. The Ambassador and *Colonna* frankly answered, that he ought not to persuade himself that they would suffer him to break his Faith with the Duke and them. And the next Morning, to prevent any new Obstacles from the Pope, *Fabritio* mounted on Horseback, and rode towards the Gate of *San Giovanni in Laterano*, the Duke and *Marc' Antonio Colonna* following at a small Distance. At the Gate he found a much stronger Guard than usual, which forbid his Passage; but he being too strong overpowered them, and waited

Duke of
Ferrara
flies from
Rome.

A. D. waited for the Duke at the Gate, and conducted him safe to *Marino*; by which he fully recompensed him, as is commonly believed, for the Kindness he had received of him in granting him his Liberty, since none doubted but that the Pope, if he had not been prevented by the *Colonna's*, would have imprisoned him; but now his Passage being intercepted by Land, he returned not long after by Sea to *Ferrara**.

DURING these Transactions the Pontiff, retaining the same Enmity that he had before to the Liberty of the *Florentines*, procured, by means of the Cardinal of *Sion*, that the auxiliary Soldiers which they had granted to the King of *France* should be disarmed and stripped. Of these Troops those which served in the Army under *Luca Savello*, to the Number of an Hundred

* *Giovio* says that he was conducted from Castle to Castle by means of *Prospero Colonia*, disguised sometimes in the Dress of a Carrier, sometimes of a Hunter, sometimes of a Friar, till he arrived at a Place of Security. *Bembo* tells us that, finding his Return by Land was unsafe, he got into *Puglia*, from whence he passed by Sea to *Sclavonia*, and thence to the Mouth of the *Po*, and so to his own Home.

THE WARS IN ITALY. II

Hundred and Twenty Men at Arms, and Sixty light Horse, the rest under *Fran-*
cesco Torello remaining in Garrison at *Brescia*, had, before the *French* passed the *Po*, obtained a Pass from *Sion*, and the Word of Honour of *Gian Pagolo Baglione*, and of almost all the other *Venetian* Commanders for their safe Return into *Tuscany*. But as they were in their Quarters near *Cremona*, the *Venetian* Soldiers, according to the Directions which they had received, fell upon them, and plundered them, with the Consent of *Sion*, who, as some affirm, that the Fact might be committed with the more Safety, had sent thither Two Thousand Foot, considering that they were quartered with the Regiments of *Trivulzio* and the Grand Shield-bearer of *France*, which, because they were almost wholly composed of *Italians*, had also obtained a Pass. As soon as the Plunder was committed, the Cardinal of *Sion* sent to *Christophoro Moro* and *Pagolo Capello*, the Proveditors of the Senate, to demand the Booty as belonging to the *Swiss*; but they refusing it, and going the next Day to the Camp of the *Swiss* to confer with *Sion*,

A. D. 1512.

Perfidious Dealings of the Cardinal of *Sion*.

were

A. D. were seized and carried as Prisoners before
 1512. *Jacopo Staffier* their General, and by him
 conducted to the Cardinal, where they
 were forced to enter into an Obligation to
 pay Six Thousand Ducats in Compensation
 for what they had seized, his Eminence
 not chusing that any others but the *Swiss*
 should reap the Fruits of his Perfidy; of
 which he gave another Specimen by insist-
 ing that *Nicolo Capponi*, the *Florentine* Am-
 bassador, who had retired to *Casal Cerva-*
gio, and had obtained a Pass from him,
 should be delivered up to him as a Prisoner
 by the Marquis of *Monferrato*.

IN the mean time the *Venetian* Senate,
 desirous to employ their Strength for the
 Recovery of *Brescia* and *Crema*, earnestly
 solicited the Return of their Forces,
 which the Cardinal, on Pretence of lead-
 ing them, in Conjunction with the *Swiss*,
 into *Piedmont* against the Duke of *Savoy*
 and the Marquis of *Saluzzo*, who had
 taken the Part of the King of *France*,
 would not permit. And that Reason after-
 wards ceasing by the great Increase of the
 Number of the *Swiss*, and the Assurance
 that

that the *French* Troops were passed beyond the Mountains, the Cardinal would neither give his Consent nor Refusal to the Departure of these Troops; which was supposed to proceed from the Instances of *Cæsar*, with a Design that the Senate should not recover those Towns. But while the *Swiss* were in *Alexandria*, the *Venetian* Troops on a sudden departed from *Bosco*, and passed the *Po* without any Hindrance to *Cava* in the *Cremonese*, the Cardinal, who doubtless might have prevented them, conniving at their Departure, as it was supposed, at the Request of the Pope. The *Venetians* having passed the *Po*, divided their Forces, Part of which marched against *Brescia*, and the rest against *Crema*, which Towns were garrisoned by the *French*. The Garrison of *Brescia* making a Sally, and attacking the *Venetians* at the Village of *Paterna*, were repulsed within their Walls with the Loss of above Three Hundred Men*.

A. D.
1512.

Venetians
separate
from the
Swiss.

THE

* The *French* had Two Hundred killed, and an Hundred and Fifty taken Prisoners, who were all knocked on the Head by the Peasants in Revenge for the Injuries they had suffered. *Mocenigo*.

A. D.

1512.

THE *Swiss*, now left alone in the Dutchy of *Milan* and in *Piedmont*, employed themselves in taxing all the Country, being entirely secure of the *French*: For the King of *France*, though, out of his intense Affection to the Dutchy of *Milan*, he could not dispose himself, without much Regret, to leave the Affairs of *Italy* wholly abandoned, was yet constrained by Necessity to hearken to the Counsels of those who advised him to defer his Thoughts on that Head to another Time, and to attend, for that Summer, to the Defence of the Kingdom of *France*, considering that the King of *England*, by Agreement with the Catholic King, had sent by Sea Six Thousand *English* Foot to *Fontarabia*, a Town of the Kingdom of *Spain*, seated on the Ocean, with a Design, in Conjunction with the Forces of that King, to invade the Dutchy of *Guyenne*. Besides this, he had begun to infest the Coasts of *Normandy* and *Bretany* with a Fleet, to the great Terror of the Inhabitants of the Maritime Parts. And there was no Hopes of regaining the
Friendship

THE WARS IN ITALY. 15.

Friendship of *Cæsar*; for by the Report made by the Bishop of *Marseilles*, his Ambassador to that Prince, he understood that he was utterly averse to a Reconciliation, and wheedled him with Abundance of Hopes, and treated with him about a Multitude of Affairs, with the deepest Diffimulation, for no other End but to gain an Opportunity to oppress him before he was aware, or, at least, to give him as it were a mortal Blow, as he boasted he had done in recalling the *German* Troops from his Service.

A. D. 1512.
King of France the Dupe of *Cæsar*.

ITALY then being secured, for this Year, from the Arms of the *French*, tho' they were still in Possession of *Brescia*, *Crema*, *Lignago*, the *Castelletto* and *Lantern* of *Genoa*, the Castles of *Milan* and *Cremona*, with some other Fortresses in the Dutchy of *Milan*, there appeared some Signs of a Difference and Disunion between the Confederates, whose Views and Interests were very different. The *Venetians* were desirous to recover *Brescia* and *Crema*, which were their Due by the Articles of their Alliance, and because they had so great

Differences between the Allies.
First Cause.

A. D.

1512.

great a Share in the Dangers and Troubles of the War; the Pope also was willing to gratify their Desires. On the other hand *Cæsar*, by whose Will the King of *Aragon* must at last be directed, designed to appropriate these Towns to himself, and besides to deprive the *Venetians* of all that was adjudged to him by the Treaty of *Cambrai*. *Cæsar* and the Catholic King privately treated between themselves about causing the Dutchy of *Milan* to devolve on one of their common Nephews. On the contrary the Pope and the *Swiss* openly used all their Endeavours for the Restoration of *Massimiliano*, the Son of *Lodovico Sforza*, who after the Ruin of his Father had constantly resided in *Germany*, to his paternal Dignity, according to the first Agreement. What induced the Pope was his Desire that *Italy* might not fall entirely under Slavery to the *Germans* and *Spaniards*; and the *Swiss* were moved, by the Consideration of their own Advantage, to wish that the State of *Milan* might not be governed by too potent a Prince, but by one who could not support himself without their Assistance. But this

Affair

Affair depending almost entirely upon them, in whose Power that State was, and the Terror of their Arms being in high Reputation, the Pope, to confirm them in their Resolution, and that he might use them on all Occasions as a Bridle ready at Hand, for restraining the Ambition of *Cæsar* and the Catholic King, employed all his Art and Industry to gain their Friendship. For this End, besides publicly extolling to the Skies the Valour of the *Helvetian* Nation, and magnifying the Exploits which they had performed for the Welfare of the Apostolic See, to do them Honour he presented them with the Banners of the Church, and bestowed upon them the very glorious Title of Aiders and Defenders of the Ecclesiastic Liberty.

A. D.
1512.

ANOTHER Cause of Dissension among the Allies was occasioned as follows: The Viceroy having recruited the *Spanish* Troops which after the Defeat at *Ravenna* had all retired together with him into the Kingdom of *Naples*, and put himself in Motion to pass with them into *Lombardy*,

A. D. *bardy*, the Pope and the *Venetians* refused to renew the Payment of the Forty Thousand Ducats a Month, which had been intermitted after the Defeat, alledging that, since the *French* were passed beyond the Mountains, they were not subject to that Obligation, which, according to the Articles of the Confederacy, ceased whenever the *French* should be driven out of *Italy*. To this it was answered, in behalf of the King of *Aragon*, that the King of *France* could not be said to be driven out of *Italy* while *Brescia*, *Crema*, and so many Fortresses besides were in his Power.

Third
Cause.

BESIDES this, the Catholic King complained together with *Cæsar* that the Pontiff appropriating to himself the Rewards of the common Victory, and usurping what manifestly belonged to others, had, on Pretences either counterfeit, or grown obsolete by Length of Time, taken Possession of *Parma* and *Piacenza*, Cities that for a long Succession of Years had been held by those who were Lords of *Milan* as Fiefs of the Empire.

THERE

THERE appeared also among the Al-
 lies a Diversity of Sentiments with respect Fourth
 to the Affairs of the Duke of *Ferrara*, the Cause.
 Pontiff being inflamed with the same co-
 vetous Desire of acquiring his State, and
 the King of *Aragon* equally desirous to
 preserve him, and besides provoked against
 the Pope, as it was supposed, for attempt-
 ing to detain the Duke at *Rome*, contrary
 to his Word given to him. For these
 Reasons the Pope abstained for the present
 from molesting *Ferrara*, waiting perhaps
 till Affairs of greater Importance were first
 settled; in the Determination of which
Cæsar being willing to intervene, sent into
Italy the Bishop of *Goritz*, who had been
 appointed for that Expedition so long ago
 as when, after the Battle of *Ravenna*, a
 Peace was treated of between the Pontiff
 and the King of *France*, because he was ap-
 prehensive that an Agreement might be
 concluded between them without any
 Regard had to his Interest; and, though a
 Revolution succeeded in the public Affairs,
 he continued in his Resolution to send the
 Bishop.

A. D.

1512.

Neutra-
lity of
the *Flo-*
rentines
censured.

THERE came also under Consideration the Affairs of the *Florentines*, who labouring under Doubts and Suspicions began to feel the bad Effects of that Neutrality which they had imprudently chosen, and to be convinced that it was no sufficient Security to rely on the Justice of the Cause where Prudence was wanting. For in the present War they had not offended the Confederates, nor lent the King of *France* any Succours but what they were obliged to furnish for the Defence of the State of *Milan*, by the Confederacy they had made with him in Conjunction with the Catholic King. They had not suffered the *Spanish* Soldiers, in their Flight from the Battle of *Ravenna*, to be molested in their Dominions, for which the King of *Aragon*, with his own Mouth, had returned Thanks to the *Florentine* Ambassador. And, what is more, they had entirely gratified his Demands by correspondent Facts; for after the Departure of the Council from *Pisa*, both his Ministers in *Italy*, and the King himself had offered to their Ambassador to be obliged to defend their Republic against

against all Assaults, provided they promised not to defend *Bologna*, nor bear Arms against the Church nor favour the *Pisan* Conventicle; which was observ'd. But they, being prevented by their civil Broils from chusing the better Part, neither joined with the King of *France* nor with the Allies; and observing Day after Day a Kind of dubious Neutrality, the Result of unsteady and broken Counsels, but never coming to an unanimous Resolution, nor making a public Declaration that they would observe it, they highly offended the King of *France*, who had at first promised himself great Assistance from them, not in the least mitigated the Hatred of the Pope, and suffered the King of *Aragon* to enjoy, without any Recompense, the Fruits of their Neutrality, which he would gladly have purchased by an Agreement.

A. D.

1512.

THE Pontiff then, stimulated by his Hatred of the *Gonfaloniere*, and by the antient Desire, inherent in the Popes, of having Authority in that Republic, earnestly sollicitated the Restoration of the Family of the *Medici* to its pristine Grandeur, the
King

A. D. King of *Aragon* also, though his Words
 1512. to the *Florentine* Ambassador did not agree
 with his Actions, concurring, but not
 with so much Ardor, in the same Project,
 from an Apprehension that in case of any
 Movement the Republic would be biaſſed,
 by the Authority of the *Gonfaloniere*, in
 favour of the King of *France*; nay it was
 ſuſpected that even if the *Gonfaloniere* were
 removed, and a free Government inſtituted,
 the new-created and antient Dependencies
 on the Crown of *France* would ſway the
 Commonwealth to the ſame Side. But
 the Reſolutions to be taken on this Head
 were reſerved, together with other Points,
 for the Coming of *Goritz*, with whom the
 Viceroy and the Miniſters of the other
 Confederates had appointed a Congreſs at
Mantoua.

Congreſs
 at *Man-
 toua*.

Pope's
 Demands
 of the
*Floren-
 tines*.

WHILE *Goritz* was on his Journey
 the Pope ſent to *Florence* *Lorenzo Pucci*,
 a *Florentine*, his Datary, and afterwards a
 Cardinal by the Title of *Santi Quattro*,
 who, in Concert with the Agent of the
 Viceroy, ſollicited the *Florentines* to join in
 the League, and to contribute towards the
 Expences

THE WARS IN ITALY.

23

Expences of the War against the *French*.

A. D.

1512.

This was the Pretext alledged for his Coming, but his real Business was to explore the Minds of the Citizens. Many Days were spent in debating on his Demands, without coming to a Conclusion; the *Florentines* offering to pay a certain Sum of Money to the Confederates, but to the Demand of entering into the League, and declaring against the King of *France*, they returned a dubious Answer. The Reason why they answered in general and evasive Terms was partly an Opinion (which was true) that these Proposals were made with an artful Design to ensnare them; in which they were confirmed by the Answer made at *Trent* by the Bishop of *Goritz* to their Ambassador whom they had sent to meet him. For that Prelate, when he was put in mind of the Agreement made with *Cæsar* at *Vicenza*, and signed with his own Hand, by which he was bound to defend the *Florentines*, seemed to make no Account of it, but assured him that the Pontiff had a Design to molest them, and that *Cæsar*, on their paying him Forty Thousand Du-

A. D. 1512. cats, would deliver them from that Danger. He added that the Confederacy between *Cæsar* and the King of *France* still subsisted, and therefore he advised them not to enter into the League till *Cæsar* had acceded to it. The *Florentines* would not have been averse from purchasing their Tranquillity with a Sum of Money, had they not doubted that the Authority of *Cæsar* alone, tho' *Goritz* affirmed that the *Spaniards* would conform themselves to his Will, was not sufficient to secure them from the ill Designs of the others; they stood therefore in Suspense, that they might with the more mature Advice dispose of their Balm to him who had it in his Power to apply it to their Infirmity. This was perhaps wisely considered; but then it happened that, either through Imprudence, or their usual Contentions, or too much Confidence in the Militia of their own Dominions, they neglected to provide themselves with a Body of well-disciplined Troops, which would have been always in readiness to defend them against a sudden Attack, or at least have served to facilitate an Agreement with the

Con-

Confederates, who would be the more easily disposed to it when they knew it would be difficult to force them into their Terms.

A. D.

1512.

DURING these Transactions the Viceroy ^{Spaniards} at the Head of the *Spanish* Foot ar- mutiny. rived in the *Bolognese*, but being in Want of Money, his Troops, disappointed of their promised Pay, ran in so tumultuous a Manner to his Tent, threatening to murder him, that he had hardly Time to save himself by flying privately towards *Modena*. Part of these Forces moved towards the Country of the *Florentines*; the rest continued in their Quarters, but lived in a lawless Manner, without Order or Command, till after three or four Days their Spirits were composed by receiving Part of their Arrears, and the Viceroy and all the Troops returned to the Army, which engaged to remain in the same Situation till the Viceroy should have finished his Negotiations at *Mantoua*, where *Goritz* was already arrived. When that Prelate passed through the *Veronese*, the *French* who lay in Garrison at *Lignago*, having

A. D. 1512. having refused many Offers from the *Venetians* surrendered that Town to him, which they could no longer hold, by Order, as it was supposed, from *Palisse*, who gave the same Directions to the Garrisons of the other Towns, with a View to foment the Differences between *Cæsar* and the *Venetians*. But the Garrison of *Lignago*, tho' provided with a Pass from *Goritz*, had the Misfortune to be plundered by the *Venetian* Army which lay encamped before *Brescia*, whither they had returned from *Bosco*, after they had without Difficulty recovered *Bergamo*; but they forbore to besiege the Town, being prohibited, as it was said, by the Cardinal of *Sion*.

Resolutions of the Congress at *Mantoua*.

IN the Congress at *Mantoua* it was resolved that *Massimiliano Sforza* should be put in Possession of the Dutchy of *Milan*, agreeably to the ardent Desire of the People, the Concession of *Cæsar* and the King of *Aragon*, and the constant Intentions of the Pope and the *Swiss*; and that the Time should be fixed by the Pope with *Goritz*, who was to go to *Rome*, and treat with

his

his Holiness of confirming the Friendship between him and *Cæsar*, and of making an Agreement between *Cæsar* and the *Venetians*, that by means of one common Union the Peace of *Italy* might be secured from any future Disturbances by the *French*.

IN the same Assembly came under Debate an Undertaking against the *Florentines*, which was solicited by *Giuliano de' Medici* in his own Name and that of the Cardinal. A Revolution, he supposed, might be easily effected in that State thro' the Divisions of the Citizens, many of whom desired their Return; and by a private Intelligence which, he said, they maintained with some noble and powerful Personages; and because the *Florentines*, having Part of their Men at Arms dispersed in *Lombardy*, and the rest confined in *Brescia*, had not a Force sufficient to defend themselves against any sudden Attack. He laid before the Assembly the Consequence which, besides the Money offered, would result from their Restoration, which would be, the Taking the Power

A. D.
1512.

Restoration of the
Medici
solicited.

A. D. 1512. Power of *Florence* out of the Hands of one who intirely depended on the King of *France*, and committing it to the Management of Persons who, being injured and abused by that King, would acknowledge no other Dependence and Alliance but that of the Confederates. He was seconded in the Name of the Pope by *Bernardo da Bibbiena*, afterwards a Cardinal, who was deputed by the Pope for this very Purpose, and had been educated with his Brothers from their Childhood in the Family of the *Medici*.

AT the Congress was sent to the Bishop of *Goritz*, *Giovan Vittorio Soderini*, Ambassador of *Florence*, a Lawyer, and Brother to the *Gonfaloniere*; but nothing was said to him, or demanded of him, by the Viceroy, or in the Name of the League. The Bishop only represented to him the Danger, and advised him to agree with *Cæsar* by complying with his first Demand, on which Condition he offered that *Cæsar* and the King of *Aragon* should take the *Florentines* under their Protection. But the Ambassador, having no Authority

to

to conclude an Agreement, could only make his Report to the Republic, and expect their Answer, while in the mean time he, neither by himself nor by others, made any Applications to the Viceroy, nor used any other Means to frustrate the Proposals of the *Medici*. The Enterprize was however attended with many Difficulties in itself; for the Viceroy's Army was not so strong as to induce him to try its Force without Necessity; and *Goritz*, to prevent the *Venetians* from recovering *Brescia*, or making any further Progress, was desirous that the *Spaniards* should march with all possible Speed into *Lombardy*. It was believed therefore that if the *Florentines* had laid aside their nigardly chaffering about the Price, as the imminent Danger required, and consented to give to *Cæsar* the Money he had demanded, and made a Present of a handsome Sum to the Viceroy, who was in extreme Necessity, they might easily have diverted the Storm; and that *Goritz* and the Viceroy would perhaps have been more forward to come to an Agreement with the *Florentines*, who, they were sure, would

A. D.
1512.

Ill Parsimony of the *Florentines*.

A. D. 1512. would be careful to discharge their Obligations; than with the *Medici*, who had nothing to give them before they were restored by the Force of Arms to *Florence*. But, either through Carelessness, or the Malignity of Men, the Cause of that City being in a manner wholly abandoned, it was resolved that the *Spanish* Army, attended by the Cardinal and *Giuliano de' Medici*, should turn their March towards *Florence*; and that the Cardinal, whom the Pope in this Expedition had declared Legate of *Tuscany*, should call to his Assistance the Soldiers of the Church, and those of the neighbouring Towns whom he thought fit for his Purpose.

Viceroy
marches
against
the *Flo-*
rentines.

THE Business of the Congress being dispatched, the Viceroy returned into the *Bolognese*, and immediately put his Troops in Motion against the *Florentines*, who having not been before apprised of what was resolved at *Mantoua*, had very little Time to make the necessary Provisions for their Defence. The Viceroy near the Frontiers was joined by the Cardinal, who had brought with him from *Bologna*

two battering Pieces of Cannon, of which the *Spaniards* were quite unprovided. A. D.
1512.
The Cardinal came attended by *Franciotto Orfino*, and the *Vitelli*, Commanders of the Church; but without their Regiments, which, with the other Troops of the Church, were stopped by the Duke of *Urbino*, who, tho' he had maintained *Giuliano de' Medici* some Years in his Court, and had always professed to desire the Advancement of his Family, yet, whatever might now be the Reason, had denied to accommodate the Army with Artillery, or Assistance of any kind from his Soldiers or Subjects, disregarding the Pope's Orders, signified both to him and to his Subjects of the neighbouring Towns of the Church, by ample Briefs, to assist them.

THE Viceroy was no sooner entered the *Florentine* Dominions than he was met by an Ambassador of the Republic, who, after representing to that General the great Respect which the *Florentines* had always paid to the King of *Aragon*, and their unblameable Behaviour in this last War, and what Advantages the King might

A. D.
1512.

might expect from receiving them into his Friendship, intreated him, that before he proceeded any further, he would please to signify what he required of them, since they were ready to satisfy all reasonable Demands as far as lay in their Power.

The Viceroy answered, that his Coming was in Pursuance of a Resolution taken, not only by the Catholic King, but by all the Confederates, for the common Security of *Italy*, considering that, while the Gonfaloniere remained at the Head of the Administration in their City, they could not assure themselves, that the Republic would not, on some Occasion or other, declare for the King of *France*. Where-

Demands
of the
Viceroy
from the
*Floren-
tines*.

fore he demanded, in the Name of all the Confederates, that the Gonfaloniere should be deprived of his Office, and that such a Form of Government should be established as would not give Occasion of Umbrage to the allied Powers, which could not be effected without restoring the Cardinal and *Giuliano de' Medici* to their Country. If these Demands, he said, were satisfied, any other Matters in Dispute might be easily accommodated; and

that he might return and make his Report, or by some other Way acquaint his Masters with the Intentions of the General, who in the mean time would not stop his March in Expectation of an Answer.

A. D.

1512.

ON Advice that the *Spaniards* were on full march for *Florence*, where it was believed that the Forces of the Pope were to fall upon it from another Quarter, the Government was in the greatest Consternation, being under terrible Apprehensions also from the Divisions among the Citizens, and the Inclinations of Multitudes to a Change. They had but few Men at Arms, and no Foot, but such as were levied in Haste, or chosen from the Militia, the greater Part of whom had no Experience in War; no General of Note for Valour or Authority, on whom they could depend; and as for the inferior Officers, they were never worse served in the Memory of Man. They were careful however to make the best Provisions that the Shortness of Time would permit, by assembling their Men at Arms, who were dispersed into various Places, and listing

Florentines
alarmed.

A. D.
1512.

Foot, such as could be had, and selecting the most serviceable Companies of the Militia. They reduced their whole Force to *Florence*, for the Security of the City, and to be at Hand for the Defence of those Places which the Enemy might threaten to attack. They were not also wanting, tho' late, to attempt an Accommodation; for, besides their continual treating by their Ambassador with the Viceroy *, they wrote to the Cardinal of *Volterra*, who was at *Gradoli* in the Territory of *Rome*, to wait upon his Holiness, and endeavour, by Offers, by Prayers, and every winning Art, to mollify his Resentment. But the Pontiff, hardened more than ever, answered in Words contradictory to his Actions, that this Enterprise was none of his, and that his Troops had no Share in it; but, that he might not give Offence to the whole League, he had been constrained to consent to it, and to give Liberty to the Cardinal *de' Medici*

* Promising him and his Soldiers Presents and great Pay, and that their City should have the same Friends as the confederate Kings should think proper for them to chuse. *Giovio*

to convey the Artillery from *Bologna*: A. D. 1512.
 That he had it not in his Power to obviate the Expedition before it begun, much less to put a Stop to it afterwards.

THE Viceroy in the mean time was descended from the Mountains to *Barberino*, a Town fifteen Miles distant from *Florence*, whence he sent a Message to signify that it was not the Intention of the League to make any Alteration in the Government or Liberty of the City, but only to remove the Gonfaloniere from the Magistracy for the Security of *Italy*: The Confederates desired also that the *Medici* should enjoy their Country, not as Heads of the Government, but as private Persons, living under Subjection to the Laws and to the Magistracy in all Things conformably to the other Citizens.

WHEN these Proposals were published through the City various were the Opinions of Men, according to the Difference of their Judgments, Passions, and Fears. Some blamed the Measures of those who were for exposing the whole Body of Citizens

Different Opinions of the Florentines.

A. D.
1512.

tizens and all the Dominions of *Florence* to so great a Danger merely out of Regard to a single Person, considering that by deposing him from the Magistracy the popular Councils and the Public Liberty would not be affected, but might also be easily preserved from being violated by the *Medici*, if, while they were divested of Reputation and Means, they should offer to exceed the Bounds of a private Station. It ought to be considered, they said, by what Means it was possible for the City to resist the Forces and Authority of so formidable a League; of itself it was insufficient, all *Italy* was against them, and there were not the least Hopes of Relief from the *French*, who having basely abandoned *Italy* were employed in defending their own Kingdom, and conscious of their own Weakness had answered to the Demands of the *Florentines*, that they were content they should make an Agreement with the League. Others on the contrary reasoned that it was ridiculous to imagine that so considerable a Movement had been made only out of Hatred to the *Gonfaloniere*, or that the *Medici* might have Liberty

erty to live in *Florence* as private Citizens. No, very different were the Intentions of the Confederates, who had no other End in View than to establish the *Medici* in a Tyranny, that they might have the City at their Command, and be able to extort from it a prodigious Sum of Money: That they disguised their Intentions under less rigorous Demands, which however were of the same Import. For what else could be the Meaning of removing, by Menaces and Terror of Arms, the *Gonfaloniere* at this Time from the Palace, but to leave the Flock to wander without a Shepherd? Or what else can signify the Entry of the *Medici* amidst so great a Tumult into *Florence*, than erecting a Standard under which may resort all those who have no other Design than to destroy the Name, the Memory, and the very Footsteps of the Great Council, the Abolition of which will be the Abolition of Liberty? And how is it possible to prevent the *Medici*, attended by a *Spanish* Army without, and followed by a Multitude of ambitious and seditious Citizens within, from seizing on our Liberties on the same Day that

A. D.
1512.

A. D. 1512. they shall enter *Florence*? It is our Duty to consider the Consequences that might possibly arise from the Beginnings of Things, and from our once giving way to unjust and pernicious Demands. Nor ought we to be under such terrible Apprehensions of Danger as to be unmindful of the Preservation of the City, and how bitter it will be for one who was born and bred in Liberty to spend his Days in Slavery. Let it be remembered with what a generous Ardor for the Preservation of their Liberty our Citizens opposed *Charles* King of *France* when he was in *Florence* with so powerful an Army, and let us consider how much easier it will be to resist so small a Number in want of Money, without Provision of Victuals, with few Pieces of Artillery, and without any Means for supporting a War, if we defend ourselves from their first Assault. They will be under a Necessity to remove in a short Time out of *Tuscany*, and as they put themselves in Motion on the Hopes given them by the Exiles of obtaining an easy Conquest by one single Attack, when they shall once meet with a vigorous Resistance, they

they will be glad to come to an Agreement on very honourable Conditions on our Side. Such were the Discourses and Arguments used in Circles and in public Places; but the Gonfaloniere chusing that the Answer given to the Messenger of the Viceroy should be in Concert with the People themselves, convoked the Great Council, where before a full Assembly of the Citizens he made a Speech to this Effect.

A. D.
1512.

“ HAD I believed, my worthy Fellow-Citizens, that the Demand of the Viceroy was levelled only at myself, and had concerned only my own Interest, I should of my own Motion have taken that Resolution which would have been conformable to the Ends I have in View. And as these have always kept me ready to expose my Life for your Welfare, it would have been much the easier for me to abdicate the Magistracy which you have conferred upon me, that you might be delivered from the Losses and Dangers of War, especially considering that during so many Years in which I have held this high

Speech of
the Gon-
faloniere
to the
Great
Council

A. D.

1512.

Station; my bodily Frame and Spirits have been exhausted and worn out by the continual Troubles and Fatigues. But since this Demand may possibly import more than what concerns my private Interest, it has been thought proper by these my honourable Colleagues and by myself, that concerning an Affair, in which the Interest of every Individual is so nearly interested, no Resolution should be taken but by public Consent; and that a Business of so weighty and universal Concern should not be debated by the ordinary Number of Citizens who have usually the Cognizance of other Matters, but by you, in whom is vested the Sovereign Power of this City, and to whom alone belong Consultations of such vast Importance. For my own Part, I will not persuade you to chuse one Side more than the other, be yours the Counsel, yours the Judgment, whatever you determine shall be accepted and approved by me, who now here lay before you not only the Magistracy, which is yours, but my Person, and my own Life, and should esteem it a singular Happiness if I could believe that this would be

the

THE WAR IN ITALY.

41

the Means of your Preservation. Examine how much the Demand of the Viceroy concerns your Liberty, and may God give you Grace to illuminate your Understanding, and cause you to make Choice of the better Part. If the *Medici* had an Inclination to live in this City as private Citizens, in due Subjection to the Ordinances of the Magistrates and of your Laws, their Restoration would be a laudable Action, since it would be the uniting the Members of one common Country into one common Body. But if they harbour other Designs, look well to yourselves, and beware of the Danger, and think it not too much to sustain any Costs or Difficulties, to preserve your Liberty, the inestimable Value of which you will know better, but to no Purpose, when, I speak it with Horror! you shall be deprived of it. Let not any Person persuade himself that the Government of the *Medici* will be exercised in the same Manner, as before their Expulsion, for the Form and Foundations of Things are now changed. At that Time being bred amongst us they were by Custom become

A. D.
1512.

in

A. D.
1512.

in a manner as familiar to us as private Citizens, and being possessed of vast Estates in proportion to their high Dignity, and affronted by none, they laid the Foundation of their Greatness in the Affections of the Citizens, with the principal of whom they consulted in public Affairs, and endeavoured, under the Cloak of Civility, rather to disguise than to display their Grandeur. But now since they have lived so many Years out of *Florence*, bred up in strange Customs, and consequently of small Insignificance into our civil Affairs, mindful of their Exile, and of the Severities used towards them, very indigent, affronted by so many Families, and conscious that the greater Part of the People, and even in a manner the whole City, detests and abhors a Tyranny, they will have no Consideration for any Citizen, but, constrained by Poverty and Suspicion, will assume and engross the Direction of all Affairs to themselves, establishing their Administration not on the Foundations of Love and Benevolence, but on those of Fear and Force of Arms, in such a Manner that this City will in a very short time

become like *Bologna* when under the *Bentivogli*, or like *Siena* and *Perugia*. I was willing to speak this in particular to those who extol the Times and Administration of *Lorenzo de' Medici*, under whom tho' Circumstances were hard, and there was really a Tyranny, but milder than many others, yet the Days of his Government, in comparison of what we may expect from the Return of his Family, may be called a Golden Age. It is your Part now, my Fellow-Citizens, to take a prudent Resolution; mine, with a constant and most joyful Heart, to resign this envied Magistracy, or, if you should resolve otherwise, with all Alacrity to attend to the Defence and Preservation of your Liberty." A. D. 1512.

NO ONE doubted what would be the Resolution of the Council, from the Inclination of almost all the People to maintain the popular Government. It was therefore with wonderful Unanimity resolved to consent to the Return of the *Medici* as private Citizens, but to refuse the Removal of the *Gonfaloniere* from the
Magi-

A. D. 1512. Magistracy, and that if the Enemy should obstinately persist in demanding the last, they would freely expose their Lives and Fortunes in the Defence of their common Liberty and Country. All Hands were then set to work on Preparations for War; and Provision was made for Supplies of Money; Troops were ordered to *Prato*, a Town distant ten Miles from *Florence*, which, it was supposed, would be the first the Viceroy would attack.

THE Viceroy assembled his Troops with the Artillery at *Barberino*, from whence he marched with Difficulty over the rugged *Appennine*, because for Want of Money he was but ill provided with Pioneers and Instruments for clearing the Roads. He directed his March, as it was expected, to *Prato*, where arriving early in the Morning, he erected a Battery the same Day, from whence he play'd for some Hours with Falconets on the Gate *Mercatale*, but to no Effect, because it had a good Rampart within. The *Florentines* had put into *Prato* Two Thousand Foot, almost all of them of the Militia,

and

and the rest raised in Haste among all Sorts of Artificers, and People of the meanest Callings, so that there were very few, in so great a Number, of any Experience in War. There were besides One Hundred Men at Arms under *Luca Savello*, an old Officer, but neither by his Age nor Experience arrived to any Degree of military Knowledge; and the Men at Arms were the same as had a little before been disarmed and stripped in *Lombardy*. To this it must be added, that, from the Shortness of Time, and the Unskilfulness of the Person who had the Charge of providing the Place, there was a good Quantity of Artillery, but a Scarcity of Ammunition, and of all Things necessary for the Defence of the Town. The Viceroy had Two Hundred Men at Arms, and Five Thousand *Spanish* Foot, and only Two Cannon: An Army inconsiderable in respect of Number and other Provisions of War, but very considerable with regard to their Goodness; for the Foot were all of the same Infantry that had, so highly to their Honour, saved themselves at the Battle of *Ravenna*, and now, like military Men,

A. D.

1512.

Men, reposing great Confidence in their own Valour, they utterly despised the Unskilfulness of their Adversaries. But as they were come unprovided of Victuals, and found no Plenty of them in the Country, for, tho' Harvest was hardly over, the Corn had been conveyed into fortified Places, they soon began to feel the Want of Necessaries for Subsistence. The Viceroy, extremely uneasy in this Situation, was inclined to come to an Agreement, which was continually under Negotiation, on condition that, the *Florentines* consenting to the Return of the *Medici* on an equal Footing with the other Citizens, no more should be said about deposing the Gonfaloniere; but that they should pay the Viceroy, that he might depart out of their Dominions, a certain Sum of Money, which, it was supposed, would not exceed Thirty Thousand Ducats. With this Design the Viceroy had consented to grant a Pass for the Ambassadors appointed to conclude a Peace with him, and would have desisted from carrying on the Attack of *Prato* till their Arrival, provided that in the mean time

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he were supplied with Provisions from the Place. Nothing in Being has swifter Wings than Opportunity, nothing is more dangerous than to judge from the Professions of others, and nothing is more prejudicial than an immoderate Suspicion. All the principal Citizens were desirous of an Accommodation, being accustomed, after the Example of their Ancestors, to defend their Liberties from Steel by Gold. They were pressing therefore that the Ambassadors appointed should immediately set out, and should be charged, among other Affairs, to take care that the *Spanish* Army might be supplied with Victuals from *Prato*, that so the Viceroy might patiently wait to see whether the Agreement under Consideration would take Effect. But the Gonfaloniere, either persuading himself, contrary to his natural Timidity, that the Enemies in Despair of Victory would of themselves depart, or dreading the Return of the *Medici*, in whatever Manner, to *Florence*, or impelled by Fate to be the Cause of his own Ruin and of the Calamities of his Country, artfully delayed the Setting out of the Ambassadors in so effectual

A. D.

1512.

effectual a Manner that they did not go on the Day appointed by a Resolution. The Viceroy therefore labouring under a Scarcity of Provisions, and uncertain whether the Ambassadors would come at all, the next Night removed his Camp from the Gate *Mercatale* to the Gate called *Seraglio*, which leads towards the Mountain. Here he planted his two Cannon, and began to batter the Wall near that Gate, chusing that Place because there was a high Terrass adjoining to the Wall, from whence it would be easy to mount any Breach made by battering the Wall above it. But the Facility on the Outside became a Difficulty on the Inside, for the Breach which was made above the Terrass was still very high above the Ground on the Inside. One of the Cannon burst at the first Shot, and the other, with which only they continued to batter, had its Force so diminished by often Firing, that the Strokes came but weak, and did little Execution; for after a Battery of many Hours they had made an Opening of no more than Twelve Braces. On this however some *Spanish* Foot got upon the Terrass,

rafs, from whence they mounted the A. D.
 Breach, and fo to the Top of the Wall, 1512.
 where they killed two Soldiers of the
 Guard, at whose Slaughter the reft began Prato
 to retire. But the *Spaniards* now ascend- taken and
 ed in Numbers by Ladders, and tho' there sacked by
 was posted near the Wall on the Inſide the Spaniſh
 a Battalion of Foot, provided with Pikes Army.
 and Fire-arms, who were ordered to pre-
 vent the Enemy from lodging themſelves
 on the Wall, and to diſpatch any that
 ſhould be ſo raſh as to leap down, or in
 any other manner deſcend on the Inſide,
 yet at the firſt Sight of the Enemy upon
 the Walls, they abandoned their Defence,
 and without ſtriking a Blow betook them-
 ſelves to Flight. The *Spaniards*, aſtoniſhed
 that ſuch great Cowardice and little Ex-
 perience ſhould be found amongſt military
 Men, entered the Place at ſeveral Quar-
 ters without Oppoſition, and began to run
 through the Streets, where was no more
 Reſiſtance, but only Flight, Shrieks, Vio-
 lence, Rapine, Blood, and Slaughters,
 the *Florentine* Foot throwing down their
 Arms, and ſurrendering to the Mercy of
 the Conquerors, from whoſe Avarice,

A. D.

1512.

Lust, and Cruelty nothing would have been safe, if the Cardinal *de' Medici* had not placed a Guard at the great Church, and so preserved the Chastity of the Women, who were almost all of them fled thither for Refuge*. There perished, not in fighting, for none had the Heart to fight, but in flying, or in begging for Quarter, above Two Thousand Men, and all the rest, with the *Florentine* Commissary, were made Prisoners. After the Loss of *Prato* the *Pisloiese*, without withdrawing their Obedience to the *Florentines* in other Affairs, took upon them to agree with the Viceroy for supplying his Army with Provisions, on receiving his Promise that they should not be molested.

THIS sad Disaster, which caused the Ambassadors who were going to the Viceroy to stop in the Midst of their Journey, and return back, was no sooner known in *Florence* than it produced a vast Alteration

* *Buonacorsi* says that neither Virgins, Children, nor consecrated Places were spared; and *Giovio* writes that the Cruelty of the *Spaniards* exceeded that of the *Germans* and *French* in the Pillage of *Brescia*, and that there were killed above Five Thousand unarmed Men.

THE WARS IN ITALY.

51

tion in the Minds of the People. The Gonfaloniere repenting the Folly of his Counsel, terrified, and in a manner deprived at once of all Esteem and Authority, rather led than a Leader, and quite irresolute, suffered himself to be subservient to the Will of others, without making the least Provision for his own Preservation or the public Safety. Others who were desirous of a Change of Government grew audacious, and publicly condemned the present Administration. But the greater Part of the Citizens unused to Arms, and having before their Eyes the Example of *Prato*, tho' they were fond of a popular Government, stood exposed by their Fears as a Prey to any who had a Mind to invade them. This Situation of Affairs increased the Audaciousness of *Pagolo Vettori* and *Antonfrancesco de gli Albizi*, young Noblemen, seditious, and desirous of Novelties, who, having some Months before secretly conspired with some others in favour of the *Medici*, and, in order to settle with them the Method by which they might be restored, held a private Conference at a Coun-

A. D.
1512.

A. D.
1512.

try Seat, in the *Florentine* Dominions, on the Borders of the *Senese*, with *Giulio de' Medici*, resolved to make an Attempt to force the *Gonfaloniere* out of the public Palace. And communicating their Design to *Bartolomeo Valori*, a young Man of the same Quality, and by his Prodigality overwhelmed with Debts, as was also *Pagolo*, on the Morning of the second Day after the Loss of *Prato*, which was the last of *August*, they entered with a few Attendants into the Palace, where they found no Provision made for Resistance, because the *Gonfaloniere* had abandoned himself to the Disposal of Chance or Fortune. They proceeded then directly to the Chamber of that Magistrate, and threatened to kill him if he did not leave the Palace; but if he would comply, they gave him their Word of Honour that his Person should be safe. The *Gonfaloniere* submitting, and the City taking Alarm at the Tumult, there appeared many against him, but not a single Person in his Favour: On which the Associates in the Conspiracy gave Orders for immediately assembling the Magistrates, to whom

whom the Laws have given a very ample Authority over the Gonfalonieres, and demanded that he might be deprived of his Office by Law, threatening otherwise to deprive him of his Life. The Fear of this induced the Magistrates, against their Will, to depose him; after which they conducted him in Safety to the House of *Pagolo*, from whence the next Night he set out well attended for the Territory of the *Senese*, and from thence, pretending to go to *Rome* under a Pass obtained from the Pontiff, he privately took the Road to *Ancona*, and passed by Sea to *Ragusa*. For he had been informed, by means of the Cardinal his Brother, that the Pope, either out of Malice, or a covetous Desire to deprive him of his Money; of which it was reported that he had a large Sum; intended to break his Word.

A. D.
1512.

Gonfalo-
niere de-
posed.

AFTER the Gonfaloniere had been deposed from the Magistracy the City of *Florence* immediately sent Ambassadors to the Viceroy, with whom, by Means of the Cardinal *de' Medici* they easily came to an Accommodation. For the Cardinal

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A. D.
 1512.

 was content that nothing should be men-
 tioned concerning his private Interests, but
 the Restitution of his Family and of all
 their Adherents to their own Country as
 private Citizens, with a Power to redeem
 within a certain Time the confiscated
 Estates, indemnifying those to whom they
 were transferred for the Money they had
 expended in the Purchase or Improve-
 ments. As to the public Affairs the *Flo-*
rentines entered into the League, and
 obliged themselves to pay unto *Cæsar*
 Forty Thousand Ducats in consequence of
 what the *Medici*, in answer to the De-
 mand of *Goritz* at *Mantoua*, had promised
 as a Reward for their Restoration; to pay
 the Viceroy for the Use of the Army
 Eighty Thousand Ducats, Half at present,
 and the Remainder within Two Months;
 and for himself Twenty Thousand Ducats:
 On the Receipt of the first Payment the
 Viceroy was immediately to march out of
 the Dominions of the *Florentines*, eva-
 cuating all the Places of which he had
 taken Possession. Besides they made a
 League with the King of *Aragon*, under
 reciprocal Obligations of assisting each
other

other with a certain Number of Men at Arms for the Defence of their States, and that the *Florentines* should take into their Pay Two Hundred Men at Arms of the Subjects of that King, the Command of which, tho' not expressed, was designed for the Marquis *della Palude*, to whom the Cardinal had promised, or at least given Hopes, that he should be constituted Captain General of the *Florentine* Forces.

A. D.

1512.

THE Gonfaloniere being expelled, and the Dangers of War removed by an Agreement, the Citizens applied themselves to reform the Government in those Points in which the former Model had been judged to be of no Service; but with an universal Intention, except of a very few, and those either young Men, or almost all of them scarce worthy of Notice, to preserve their Liberty and the popular Council. For this End they enacted, by new Laws, that the Gonfaloniere should no more be elected for Perpetuity, but only for one Year: That to the Council of Eighteen, which was changed every Six Months, and by whose Authority the

Florentines alter their Government.

A. D.
1512.

most weighty Affairs were determined, should be added for Perpetuity all those who had, to that Day, discharged the great Offices of the State either at Home or Abroad, with an Intent that the Citizens of the greatest Quality might always assist at their Debates; at Home particularly such as had either been Gonfalonieres of Justice, or of the Number of the Ten of the *Balia*, a Magistracy of great Authority in that Republic; of such as had served abroad, all those who being elected by the Council of Eighty had been sent Ambassadors to Princes, or had been Commissaries general in War. In all other Points the Ordinances of the same Government remained in Force without Alteration.

THESE Affairs being settled, *Giovan Battista Ridolfi*, a noble Citizen, and of great Reputation for Prudence, was elected Gonfaloniere for the first Year, the People, as is usually the Case in troublesome Times, not paying so much Regard to those who were most acceptable to them for their popular Arts, as to a Person who

by

by his great Authority in the City, especially with the Nobility, and by his own extraordinary Talents was best capable of establishing the tottering State of the Commonwealth. But Things were now gone too far, and the Enemies of the public Liberty were become too powerful; in the Bowels of the Country was a suspected Army, and within the City the most audacious of the Youth were greatly desirous of oppressing that Liberty. With them concurred in Will, tho' in Words he pretended the contrary, the Cardinal *de' Medici*; for even from the Beginning he would not have thought the Restoration of his Family merely as private Citizens a Reward worthy of such great Fatigues, and now he considered further that their present Situation would not be durable; because they would be universally detested by the People, and himself in particular, on a Suspicion that he would be continually inciting the other Citizens to conspire against their Liberty, but much more from an Indignation conceived against the Family for having conducted a *Spanish* Army against their Country, and being

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A. D.
1512.

A. D.
1512.

the Cause of the most barbarous and cruel Saccage of *Prato*, and that the City was constrained by the Terror of Arms to submit to dishonourable and unjust Conditions. The Cardinal was stimulated to the same Purpose by those who had before conspired with him, and had no honourable Station in the well regulated Commonwealth. But it was necessary to have the Consent of the Viceroy, who still lay with his Army in *Prato* expecting the first Payment, which the Circumstances of the City rendered difficult to get in readiness, and had no Inclination, whatever Cause might be pretended, to favour a new Alteration in the City. But on the Representations of the Cardinal, who had procured himself to be seconded by the Marquis *della Palude*, and *Andrea Caraffa*, Count *di Santa Severina*, Generals in the Army, that it was to be feared lest the City, to whom the Name of the *Spaniards* could not but be henceforth perfectly odious on account of the Damages it had received from them, and which would therefore on all Occasions adhere to the Enemies of the Catholic King, should,

should, as soon as the Army had quitted ^{A. D.} their Dominions, recall the Gonfaloniere, ^{1512.} whom it had been forced to expel, he complied with the Desires of his Eminence, being the rather induced by the great Difficulty the Citizens made of paying him the Money they had promised, in which, had they been more expeditious, they would have laid a greater Foundation for a free Government. The Cardinal therefore having previously settled Matters with the Viceroy, unexpectedly entered *Florence*, and repaired to the Houses of the *Medici*. There entered ^{Medici return to Florence.} also, Part with him and Part separately, a good Number of *Italian* Officers and Soldiers, the Magistrates not daring to forbid their Entrance on account of the Neighbourhood of the *Spanish* Army. The next Day a great Number of Citizens being assembled in Council in the public Palace on the present Juncture, and *Giuliano de' Medici* assisting, the Soldiers on a sudden forced the Gate, and rushing up Stairs took Possession of the Palace, and seized on the Plate which was kept there for the Use of the Magistracy. The
 Magi-

A. D.

1512.

Magistrates then with the Gonfaloniere being forced to submit to the Will of a Man who could do more with Arms than they could do by their unarmed Reverence and Authority, immediately at the Motion of *Giuliano de' Medici*, called, by Sound of the great Bell, an Assembly of the People in the Square of the Palace. Here those that met, finding themselves surrounded by armed Soldiers, and the Youth of the City that had taken Arms for the *Medici*, gave their Consent that about Fifty Citizens, nominated with the Approbation of the Cardinal, should be invested with the same Authority in public Affairs as had resided in all the People, which so ample a Power the *Florentines* call *Balia* *. By a Decree of this Assembly the Government was reduced to that Form in which it subsisted before the Year 1494, a Guard was stationed at the Palace, and the *Medici* resumed their former Grandeur, but governed more

Resume
their Au-
thority.

im-

Giovio, in his Life of Pope *Leo X.* says that Fifteen Men were created with a Power to elect Sixty others of the best Esteem in the City, and most attached to the *Medici*, who with their Electors were to constitute a perpetual or standing Council for the Government of the State.

imperiously, and with a more absolute Authority than their Father had done. A. D.
1512.

AFTER this Manner was the Liberty of the *Florentines* oppressed by Arms, being reduced to this Condition principally by the Divisions among the Citizens. And, to say nothing of the Neutrality which they had imprudently observed, and of the Remissness of the *Gonfaloniere* in suffering the Enemies of the popular Government to take too much Head, it is believed that this Revolution would not even after all have been effected, if the Cause of the Public had not been negligently managed. For the King of *Aragon* at first had not so great a Desire to subvert the Liberty of *Florence*, as to detach the City from its Adherence to the King of *France*, and to squeeze a Sum of Money from it to pay his Army. For as soon as the *French* had abandoned the Dutchy of *Milan*, he charged the Viceroy that when either the Circumstances of Affairs called him on some other Enterprize, or that for any other Reason he should perceive that the Restoration of the *Medici* would be difficult

A. D. 1512. cult to accomplish, he should then take his Measures according to the Times, and agree or not with the City, as he saw most convenient. Such were his Orders at first ; but afterwards being dissatisfied with the Pope for what he had attempted against *Alfonso d'Este* at *Rome*, and taking Umbrage at the Threats which his Holiness threw out in public against the Name of the Barbarians, he openly declared his Mind to the same *Florentine* Ambassador that had been sent to him at the Beginning of the War, and accordingly charged the Viceroy to attempt no Alteration in the Government, either because he judged it safer to preserve the Gonfaloniere who was obnoxious to the Pope, or was apprehensive that the Cardinal *de' Medici* after his Restoration would have a greater Dependance on the Pope than himself. But this last Resolution did not come to the Knowledge of the Viceroy, till the Day after the Republic was reduced under the Power of the Cardinal.

By what has been said it appears that if the *Florentines*, after the Expulsion of the
French,

French, had been diligent in providing for the Security of their Affairs by means of an Harmony among themselves, or had been guarded by a Body of well disciplined and experienced Troops, the Viceroy would either not have put himself in Motion against them, or have met with such Difficulties in his Attempt to oppress them, that he would have been glad to compound with them for a Sum of Money. But it was decreed that they should take none of these salutary Measures; since, besides what might be comprehended by human Reasoning and Foresight, they had been warned from Heaven of the imminent Dangers. For not long before a Thunderbolt fell on the Gate by which you go from *Florence* to *Prato*, and struck off from an antient Escutcheon of Marble the golden Flower-de-Luces, which are the Ensign of the King of *France*. Another falling on the Top of the Palace penetrated into the Chamber of the Gonfaloniere, and touching only the large Silver Box that contains the Balls used in electing the chief Magistrate, descended to the Bottom, where it struck a great Stone that was at the

A. D.
1512.

Signs
prognostic
of the Re-
volution.

A. D. 1512: the Foot of the Stairs, and supported the Frame of the Building, in such a Manner that, being forced out of its Place without receiving any Damage, it seemed to be removed by some very dextrous and skilful Architect.

Castelletto of Genoa surrendered.

AT the same time, or a little before, the Castelletto of *Genoa*, which had been battered by some Cannon lent by the Pope, was surrendered to the *Genoese* on the Payment of Ten Thousand Ducats to the Governor, who despaired of Relief because a Fleet, sent by the King from *Provence* to attend to the Defence of that City before he knew of its Rebellion, was returned back without daring to put to Shore. But the Lantern still held out for the King, having about the same time received a Supply of Provisions and other Necessaries by some *French* Ships.

THE Affairs of *Florence* being settled, and the promised Money received, the Viceroy put his Army in Motion for *Brescia*, which City the *Venetian* Army, after mollifying the refractory Temper of the

the *Swiss*, was employed in besieging. A. D. 1512.
 They lay before the Gate of *San Giovanni*, and battered the Town, and at the same time, with some Pieces of Artillery planted on an opposite Hill, played on the Castle. They were also in hopes of being let into the Place by the Gate of the *Pile* by means of a Plot, which was discovered without taking Effect. But as soon as they were joined by the *Spanish* Army at the Castle of *Gairo*, near to *Brescia*, *Aubigni*, the Commander of the *French* who were in Garrison in the Town, chose to surrender it, together with the Castle, into the Hands of the Viceroy; on Condition that all the Soldiers should march out in Safety with their Effects, but with their Colours folded, their Pikes and Lances lowered; and leaving behind them their Artillery. Brescia surrendered to Spaniards
 It is suspected that *Aubigni* chose to surrender to the Viceroy rather than to the *Venetians* by the Orders of his King, by which he was directed to give up the Place to the *Spaniards*, or to *Cæsar*, not out of Hatred to the *Venetians*, but to suggest Matter of Contention between *Cæsar* and the King of *Arragon*. The same Step was
 VOL. VI. E taken,

A. D. 1512. taken, before the *Spaniards* passed into *Lombardy*, by the *French* Garrison of *Lignago*, who despising the repeated Offers of the *Venetians*, put that Fortrefs into the Hands of the Bishop of *Goritz*, to whom also *Peschiera* was in like manner surrender'd at the same time that the Viceroy entered into *Brescia*, the Possession of which City also was demanded by the Bishop, but the Viceroy was pleas'd to keep it for the present for the Use of the League, in whose Name he had received it. But the Enterprize against *Crema* took a different Turn, for *Renzo da Ceri* with a Part of the *Venetian* Army lying before the Place, on the Approach of Four Thousand *Swiss* sent by *Ottaviano Sforza*, Bishop of *Lodi*, and Governor of *Milan*, to make the Conquest of it in the Name of *Massimiliano Sforza*, the future Duke, *Benedetto Cribrario*, corrupted with Gifts and a Promise of being created a Nobleman of *Venice*, surrendered the Town to the *Venetians*, with the Consent of *Monf. di Duraso*, who commanded in the Castle, and would not depend for his Safety on the Faith of the *Swiss*.

Crema
 surren-
 dered to
 the *Ve-*
netians.

A. D.

1512.

THE Bishop of *Goritz* after this took a Progress to *Rome*, where the Pope being extremely sollicitous to gain his Affections forced his Nature, and caused him to be received through his whole Dominions with all imaginable Honours, defraying the Expences of him and all his Attendants during the whole Journey in a most sumptuous Manner, and receiving him in all the Towns with excessive and even unusual Marks of Honour. In many Places he was addressed by new Embassies of Prelates and honourable Persons sent by the Pope, who would have persuaded the College of Cardinals to walk in Procession and receive him at the Gate of *Rome*; but the College refusing it, as a Step not only without Precedent but full of the highest Indignity, the Cardinals of *Agen* and *Strigonia* went forth as far as the Meadows half a Mile from the Gate to receive the Bishop in the Name of the Pontiff, and conducted him, marching in the Middle between them, as Lieutenant of *Cæsar*, to the Church of *Santa Maria del Popolo*, from whence, after the two

Reception
of *Goritz*
at *Rome*.

A. D. 1512. Cardinals had taken their Leave of him, he was accompanied by an innumerable Multitude to the Presence of the Pontiff, who waited for him in a public Consistory, vested in his Robes, and seated in the pontifical Chair. With the same Formalities he had a few Days before very honourably received twelve Ambassadors of the *Swiss*, who were deputed from all the Cantons to pay their Obedience in a public Manner, and to offer the Service of the whole Nation for the perpetual Defence of the State of the Church, with their Thanks to his Holiness for the signal Honour he had done them in presenting them with the Sword, Cap, Helmet, and Standard, and bestowing on them the Title of *Defenders of the Ecclesiastic Liberty*.

ON the Arrival of *Goritz* a Council was held for settling the public Affairs on a solid Foundation, which could only be done by removing the Causes of Feuds and Contentions between particular Parties, that the Peace of *Italy* might be so firmly established, that all its Powers might with united Counsels and Resolutions resist the
King

King of *France*. The most difficult Part of this Work was an Accommodation, so often attempted, between *Cæsar* and the *Venetian* Senate: For *Goritz* consented that the *Venetians* should have the Possession of *Padoua*, *Trevigi*, *Brescia*, *Bergamo* and *Crema*, but insisted on the Restitution of *Vicenza* to the Emperor, and a Renunciation of all Right and Title to those Towns which *Cæsar* retained, besides the present Payment of Two Hundred Thousand *Rhenish* Florins, and a yearly Tribute of Thirty Thousand more for ever. The *Venetians* thought it hard to acknowledge themselves Tributaries for those Towns which they had held so many Years in Possession as their Property; harder to pay such a Sum of Money, though the Pope offered to lend them Part of it; but intolerable to restore *Vicenza*, which being in the Hands of the Emperor would, as they alledged, by dividing the Body of their State, cut off the Communication of the Head and other principal Parts with the rest of the Members, by which Means their Possession of *Brescia*, *Bergamo* and *Crema* would become very uncertain and precarious.

A. D. precarious. Besides this, they represented,
 1512. as a more decent Excuse for their Refusal,
 that they had passed their solemn Word to
 the *Vicentines* at their last Surrendry, that
 they would never suffer themselves to be
 separated from them.

Pope's
 Demands
 of the
 King of
Aragon.

SOME other Articles came under De-
 bate between the Pope and the Ambassa-
 dors of the King of *Aragon*, which were
 proposed by one Party more with a View
 to countervail the Complaints of the other,
 than in Hopes to obtain Satisfaction, For
 the Pope demanded that the King should,
 according to the Stipulations of the Confe-
 deracy, assist him in the Conquest of *Fer-
 rara*, and withdraw his Protection from
Fabritio and *Marc' Antonio Colonna*, against
 whom his Holiness had begun to proceed
 with spiritual Arms, for having forced the
Lateran Gate, and received *Alfonso d'Este*
 his Rebel into the Towns the Dominion of
 which directly belonged to the Church.
 He demanded also that the King should
 renounce the Protections which he had
 granted in *Tuscany* to the *Florentines*, *Se-
 nese*, *Lucchese*, and to *Piombino*, as done in
 Diminution

Diminution of the Rights of the Empire, and giving Umbrage to *Italy* in general, and particularly to the Church, since as it could not be of any Service to the other Potentates that he should have so many Adherents in *Italy*, so it would be very dangerous for the Church to have a Province adjoining to its Dominions dependent on his Authority.

A. D.
1512.

THE Answer of the *Spaniards* to those Demands was, that the King their Master did not refuse to assist his Holiness against *Ferrara*, provided that, according to the Obligations of the former Confederacy, he paid the Sums due to the Army for the Time past, and provided for future Payments; that his Proceedings against *Fabritio* and *Marc' Antonio Colonna* were by no means laudable; for by the Dependencies which they had contracted, and by the Reputation they had gained as Generals, the Prosecution of them would furnish Matter for new Combustions: That his Catholic Majesty could not abandon them without great Prejudice to his own Honour; and that the Exploits performed

Answer
of the
King's
Ambassa-
dors.

A. D. 1512. by both of them in the Service of the Pontiff, as well as of himself, in the War against the King of *France*, deserved a better Recompense: That the Complaint of the Protections of *Tuscany* did not arise from any just Umbrage or Jealousy, but was made with an Intent that *Siena*, *Lucca* and *Piombino* might be left as a Prey to the covetous Ambition of the Pontiff; That the King, however, as to these Points would refer himself to the Arbitration of the Emperor.

IT was the unanimous Desire of the Confederates that *Massimiliano Sforza* should be instated in the Dutchy of *Milan*, though *Cæsar* would not consent to grant him the Investiture, nor give him the Name of Duke or any Title of Jurisdiction. But there was revived a Complaint of *Goritz* and the *Spaniards* concerning the Seizure of *Parma* and *Piacenza*, in Prejudice of the Rights of the Empire, to the immoderate Increase of Power in the Popes, and too much weakening the Dutchy of *Milan*, which it would rather have been necessary to render more powerful,

Parma
and *Piacenza* unjustly
seized by
the Pope.

ful, because it was always sure to receive the first Impressions from the *French*. The Pontiff, it was said, had not in the Articles of the League mentioned any other Cities than *Bologna* and *Ferrara*; but now, under Pretence of Rights of which there appeared no authentic Traces in the Memory of Man, usurped what had not for a vast Space of Time been in the Possession of the *Roman* Church, nor was there any certain Knowledge that she had ever been possessed of it even in the most antient Times, for of Donations made by Emperors there was nothing to shew but one simple Writing, which might have been forged by any one at Pleasure; and yet the Pope, as if the Case were manifest and notorious, taking Advantage of the Troubles of *Lombardy*, had taken upon himself to judge in his own Cause.

A. D.
1512.

ALL these Disputes were difficult to be terminated; but what by far occasioned the greatest Trouble and Disturbance was the Difference between *Cæsar* and the *Venetians*, the Pope fatiguing himself to the utmost

A. D.
1512
Agree-
ment be-
tween Cæ-
sar and
the Vene-
tians fol-
lited in
vain.

utmost of his Power, sometimes by Exhortations, sometimes by Intreaties, and sometimes by Menaces, being desirous, as he was at first, of the Preservation of the *Venetians* for the public Good of *Italy*, for he hoped by their Assistance, without employing the *Spaniards*, to make himself Master of *Ferrara*. The Ambassadors of the King of *Aragon* also laboured for a Reconciliation, being apprehensive that the *Venetians*, to the common Danger, might be induced to turn their Thoughts once more on uniting with the King of *France*. But they were under a Necessity of acting cautiously for fear of provoking *Cæsar* to enter into an Alliance with *France*, from which their King had taken so much Pains to separate him, and because his Catholic Majesty for some other Reasons would by no means forfeit his Friendship. The *Swiss* Ambassadors also interposed their good Offices for adjusting these Differences; for they had obliged themselves to defend the *Venetians* on the yearly Pension of Twenty-five Thousand Ducats, and they desired not to be reduced to the Necessity either of violating their Promises,

THE WARS IN ITALY.

75

Promises, or of opposing *Cæsar* if he should attack the *Venetian* Dominions.

A. D.
1512.

AT last, the Pontiff finding he could not induce *Goritz* to recede from his Demand of the Restitution of *Vicenza*, nor dispose the *Venetians* to give it up, and that they disagreed also about the Sum of Money, and desirous above all things that, in order to extinguish the Name and Authority of the *Pisan* Conventicle, the Emperor might approve of the *Lateran* Council, protested to the *Venetian* Ambassadors that he should be constrained to prosecute their Republic with spiritual and temporal Arms. But his Protest making no Impression on the Ambassadors, he entered into a Confederacy with *Cæsar* alone, for the *Spanish* Ambassador refused to be a Party concerned, either because he had no Commission from his Master, or because that King, though inclined to assist *Cæsar*, was yet sollicitous to find some Means for keeping alive the Hopes of the *Venetians*.*

League
between
the Pope
and *Cæsar*.

Means

* The *English* Ambassador also refused the League, it appearing to him, as *Mocenigo* says, a scandalous and unhandsome

A. D.

1512.

Condi-
tions on
Cæsar's
Part.

IN the Preamble to this Confederacy, which was afterwards solemnly published in the Church of *Santa Maria del Popolo*, it was expressed that the *Venetians* having obstinately refused Peace, and the Pontiff, obliged by the Necessities of the Christian Commonwealth, having protested to abandon them, *Cæsar* had entered into and accepted of the League made in the Year 1511 between the Pope, the King of *Aragon*, and the *Venetians*, by Virtue of the Liberty which had been hitherto reserved for his Accession; that he promised to adhere to the *Lateran* Council, disannulling the Mandate, and revoking all Powers and Acts made or granted in favour of the *Pisan* Conventicle; and that he was obliged not to assist any Subject or Enemy of the Church, particularly *Alfonso d' Este* and the *Bentivogli*, the Possessors of *Ferrara* and *Bologna*; and he was also to recall the *German* Foot that were in the Service of *Alfonso* and of *Federigo da Bozzolo* his Feudatory.

ON handsome Action to engage against the *Venetians*, who, according to *Bembo*, had deserved infinitely well of the Pope.

ON the other Part the Pope engaged to assist *Cæsar* with spiritual and temporal Arms against the *Venetians*, till he should have recovered all that was allotted him by the League of *Cambray*. The *Venetians* were declared to be wholly excluded from the League, and from the Truce made with *Cæsar*, because they had several Ways acted in Contravention to both; and to be Enemies to the Pontiff, to *Cæsar*, and to the Catholic King, to whom Room was reserved for entering into the Confederacy within a certain Time, and on certain Conditions: The Pope was to make no Agreement with the *Venetians* without the Consent of *Cæsar*, or before *Cæsar* had recovered all that belonged to him, as above: Neither the Pope nor *Cæsar* were at Liberty to enter into an Agreement with any Christian Prince without the Consent of the other Party: During the War against the *Venetians* the Pope was not to molest *Fabritio* or *Marc' Antonio Colonna*, reserving Liberty to proceed against the Bishop, *Pompeo*, *Giulio*, and some other declared Rebels: Lastly, that

On the
Pope's
Part.

A. D. that tho' by this Agreement the Possession
^{1512.} of *Parma*, *Reggio* and *Piacenza* by the
 Pope was tolerated, no Prejudice was in-
 tended to the Rights of the Empire.

THE Confederacy being published,
Goritz, at the next Session of the *Lateran*
 Council, gave his Approbation to that
 Assembly in the Name of the Emperor,
 and as his Vicegerent General in *Italy*,
 disannulling the Mandate, with all the
 Powers and Acts made and granted, and
 testifying before the whole Council that
Cæsar had never assented to the *Pisan*
 Conventicle, but abhorred every one that
 had used his Name to authorise their
 Proceedings*.

Cæsar ap-
 proves of
 the *Late-*
ran Coun-
 cil.

THIS Business being dispatched, *Goritz*
 set out from *Rome* to be present when
Massimiliano Sforza, who was arrived
 with the Emperor's Commission at *Verona*,
 took Possession of the Duchy of *Milan*.
 But the Cardinal of *Sion*, and the Am-
 bassadors

* The Bishop of *Goritz* by his Adherence to the
Lateran Council so much ingratiated himself with the
 Pope, that he obtained of him a Monitory against the
Venetians, and that *Cæsar* should have *Brescia*. *Moc.*

bassadors of the whole *Swiss* Nation, who were in *Milan*, were with Difficulty induced to wait the Arrival of the Bishop, for they were desirous that in the Ceremonies and Solemnities to be performed on that Occasion it should appear, by some Marks of Distinction, that the *Swiss* were the Cause of this happy Event, that they were the Men who had driven the *French* out of that State, the Men to whose Labour and Valour *Massimiliano* was indebted for receiving it. The Viceroy however prevailed on them, more by Cunning and Industry than by Authority, to wait the Coming of *Goritz*. That Prelate having in the Name of *Cæsar* ratified at *Florence* the Confederacy made in *Prato*, and received a certain Sum of Money from the *Lucchese*, for taking them under his Protection, proceeded to *Cremona*, where he was expected by *Massimiliano Sforza* and the Viceroy, and from thence they all set out together for *Milan* to make their Entry into that City, on the Day appointed, with the Solemnities and Honours usually attending new Princes. In the Cavalcade there was a great Dispute between the

A. D.

1512.

Cardinal

A. D.
1512.

Cardinal of *Sion* and the Viceroy which of them was best qualified to deliver the Keys at the Entrance of the Gate to the new Prince, as a Mark of putting him in Possession of his State. But the Viceroy at last submitting, the Cardinal in the public Name of the *Swiss* put the Keys in the Hands of the Prince, and that Day, which was about the latter End of *December*, performed all the Ceremonies that were necessary to shew that *Massimiliano* received Possession from the *Swiss*. The new Duke was received with incredible Demonstrations of Joy by all the People, from a most ardent Desire to have a Prince of their own, and because they hoped that he would imitate his Grandfather or his Father, the former of whom had greatly endeared his Memory to the Inhabitants by his excellent Virtues, and their Weariness and Vexations under foreign Governments had changed their Hatred of the other into Benevolence; and before they had ended their Rejoicings the Castle of *Novara* was recovered, the Garrison surrendering that Fortrefs.

Massimiliano Sforza put in Possession of the Dutchy of *Milan*.

A. D.

1512.

THE Confederacy made in *Rome* had not wholly broken off all Hopes of Accommodation between *Cæsar* and the *Venetians*, for the Pope had immediately sent to *Venice* *Jacopo Staffileo* his Nuncio, who was accompanied by three Ambassadors of the *Swiss*, in order to induce them to come to an Agreement. On the other Side the Senate, to preserve the Benevolence of the Pope, and to avoid giving *Cæsar* any Cause to employ his Arms against them, had directed their Ambassadors to profess their Adherence to the *Lateran* Council, and as soon as the Confederacy was made sent Orders for their Troops to retire into the *Padouan*. The Viceroy therefore, unwilling to disturb the Hopes of a Peace, had drawn off his Army towards *Milan*. But the same Difficulties concerning the Restitution of *Vicenza*, and the Payment of the Money still subsisting, all those Labours were to no Purpose. And this was the Reason why the Pope did not attack *Ferrara*, because had the Peace taken Effect, he would have been in Hopes that his own

Accommodation between *Cæsar* and the *Venetians* miscarries.

VOL. VI. F Forces,

A. D. Forces, with the Assistance of the *Vene-*
 1512. *tians*, together with the Report that they
 were to be joined, if needful, by the
Spaniards, were sufficient to secure him
 the Victory; but otherwise he had re-
 solved to defer the Undertaking till the
 Spring, because *Ferrara* was thought
 difficult to be taken in the Winter, being
 strong by Situation with respect to the
 River, and *Alfonso* had strongly fortified
 it, and was continually adding some new
 Fortifications.

IT may perhaps seem foreign to my
 Purpose, which was not to take any No-
 tice of Occurrences happening without
 the Bounds of *Italy*, to give an Account
 of Transactions during the Course of this
 Year in *France*; but the Dependence of
 the State of Affairs in our own Country
 upon that on the other Side of the Moun-
 tains, and the Connexion of Events, so
 often observed, in one with the Resolu-
 tions and Events in the other, oblige me
 not to pass them quite over in Silence.----

English
 land at
Fontera-
bia.

So early as the Beginning of *May* Six
 Thousand *English* Foot had been transport-
 ed

ed in *English* and *Spanish* Ships to *Fontarabia*, a Town on the utmost Border of the Kingdom of *Spain* towards *France*, and seated on the Ocean. Here they were to be joined by the *Spanish* Forces, and, according to the Agreement made between the Father-in-law and Son-in-law, jointly attack the Dutchy of *Guyenne*, which, according to the antient Names and Divisions of Countries, is a Part of the Province of *Aquitaine*. Against this Invasion the King of *France*, not as yet secure on the Side of *Picardy*, had got in readiness a Regiment of Eight Hundred Lances, which he had formed on a new Establishment, and had listed a great Number of Foot in the lower Parts of *Germany*, not subject to *Cæsar*. And knowing how much more important it was for the Defence of the Dutchy of *Guyenne* to be secure of the Kingdom of *Navarre*, which being appropriated in Dowry to *Catherine de Foix* was enjoyed in common by herself and *John* her Son by her Husband *Albert*, he had invited *Albert* to his Court, and was very sollicitous to gain him to his Interest. And he had a very

A. D.
1512.

A. D. 1512. fair Colour offered him for taking Possession of the Country by the Death of *Gaston de Foix*, on which Occasion the King of *France* pretending that *Navarre* did not belong to Females, but to himself as the next Heir male of the Family of *Foix*, had begun a Process at Law against *John*.

King of
France
claims
Navarre.

ON the other Side the Catholic King, who had set his Eyes on the Kingdom of *Navarre*, demanded of the King that he should stand neuter between him and the King of *France*, should grant a free Passage through *Navarre* to his Troops that were to enter *France*, and for the Security of observing such Engagements should put into his Hands some Fortresses, which he promised to restore as soon as the War was ended. The King of *Navarre* being sensible of the Tendency of these Demands, for he knew that the Kings of *Spain* had of old a longing Desire to seize on *Navarre*, chose rather to expose himself to an uncertain Danger, than to embrace certain Ruine, in Hopes that he should not fail of the Succours promised by the King of *France*, for whose Affairs

it

it would be very convenient to keep the War out of his own Dominions in *Navarre*. At the same time, either to give

A. D.
1512.

more Leisure to the Troops for marching, as appointed, to his Assistance, or to free himself, if possible, from these Demands, he treated with the King of *Aragon*, who, according to his Custom, proceeded in this Affair with profound Policy. But he was no more injured by the Diligence and Sollicitude of the Catholic King, than he was by the Negligence of the King of *France*, who taking Encouragement because the *English* who had been landed at *Fontarabia* had lain still in their Quarters for many Days, and being confident that the King of *Navarre* could for some Time defend himself with his own Forces, proceeded but slowly in sending him Succours. On this Occasion the King of *Aragon*, who had craftily amused *Navarre* with fallacious Hopes, turned his Forces that were prepared to join with the *English*, with the utmost Expedition, against the Dominions of that King, who being unprepared, and despairing of Resistance,

King of
Aragon
seizes on
Navarre.

A. D. 1512. assistance, fled over the *Pirenean* Mountains into *Bearn*.

THUS the Kingdom of *Navarre*, except some garrisoned Fortresses, which held out for the fugitive King, being abandoned, was without any Expence or Difficulty, and more from an Awe of the Neighbourhood of the *English* than by his own Forces, reduced under the Power of the King of *Aragon*. That Prince knowing himself incapable of asserting his Right to that Kingdom by any other Title, alledged that he had taken lawful Possession of it by Authority from the Apostolic See. For the Pope, not satisfied with his prosperous Successes in *Italy*, had a little before published a Bull against the King of *France*, in which, calling him no longer *most Christian* but *most illustrious*, he subjected him and all his Adherents to all the Punishments of Heretics and Schismatics, granting a Power to any one lawfully to seize on their Goods, Estates, and whatever else belonged to them. With the same bitter Spirit, being highly offended with the City of *Lions* for

Pope ex-communicates the King and Kingdom of *France*.

for receiving the Cardinals and the other Prelates who had fled from *Milan*, he had commanded, under grievous Cenfures, that the Fair used to be kept four times a Year, with a vast Concourse of Merchants, at *Lions*, should be held for the future in the City of *Geneva*, from whence *Lewis XI.* had, for the Benefit of his Kingdom, removed it; and at last he subjected the whole Kingdom of *France* to the Ecclesiastic Interdict.

BUT the King of *Aragon* having got Possession of *Navarre*, a Kingdom, though of small Extent and Revenues, yet very commodious by its Situation, and a great Security to *Spain*, had firmly resolved to proceed no further, not thinking it for his Purpose to go to War with the King of *France* beyond the Mountains. Hence he had been but slow in preparing his Forces even from the first Landing of the *English*, and after his Acquisition of *Navarre*, when the *English* sollicit him to join his Forces with theirs, that they might march in conjunction, and lay Siege to *Bayonne*, a City in the Neighbour-

A. D. hood of *Fontarabia*, and seated almost on
 1512. the Ocean, he propos'd other Enterprises
 in Places distant from the Sea, alledging
 that *Bayonne* was so well fortified and gar-
 risoned, that there were no Hopes of taking
 it. But the *English* opposing his Schemes,
 and setting no Value on any Conquest in
 the Dutchy of *Guyenne* without *Bayonne*,
 after much Time spent in these Disputes,
 grew tired, and thinking themselves
 deluded, embarked without Orders or
 Leave from their Prince, and returned
 to *England*.

English
 return
 home.

By their Departure the King of *France*
 remained secure on that Side, and he was no
 longer under Apprehensions from the
English, who had attacked him by Sea,
 for he was become at length so powerful
 in his naval Armaments, that he com-
 manded all the Ocean between the Coasts of
England and *Spain*. He resolv'd therefore

French at-
 tempt in
 vain the
 Recovery
 of *Na-*
warre.

now to attempt the Recovery of *Navarre*,
 to which he was encouraged not only by
 the Departure of the *English*, but because
 by the ill Success of his Wars in *Italy* his
 Troops were all collected within the King-
 dom

dom of *France*. The King of *Aragon*, at ^{A. D.} the Time when he gave Hopes to the ^{1512.} *English* that he would make War, had, in order to secure the whole Kingdom of *Navarre*, sent some Troops to *St. Jean Pied de Port*, a Town on the utmost Borders of *Navarre*, and seated at the Foot of the *Pirenean Mountains* towards *France*; and when afterwards the *French Forces* began to increase in the neighbouring Places, had sent thither *Federigo Duke of Alva*, his Captain General, with his whole Army. But at length being much inferior to the *French*, who were joined by the Dauphine, *Charles Duke of Bourbon*, and *Longueville*, Lords of the first Quality, the Duke of *Alva* entrenched himself in a strong Post between the Plain and the Mountain, and judged that he should do enough if he could prevent the *French* from entering *Navarre*. The Enemy, being sensible that they could not hurt him in that Place because of the Strength of its Situation, resolved that the King of *Navarre* with Seven Thousand Foot of his own Country, accompanied by *M. la Palisse* with Three Hundred Lances, should

A. D. should march from *Salvaterre* near *St.*

^{1512.} *Jean Pied de Port*, where the whole Army was encamped, and pass the *Pirenean* Mountains by the Way of *Valdironcales*, and approaching *Pampelona*, the Capital of *Navarre*, in which the People, taking Encouragement from the near Approach of the *French*, began already to be very tumultuous, from a Desire after their King, should seize the Pass of *Roncisvalle*, by which alone Provisions were conveyed to the *Spanish* Camp, which in its present Situation, by means of the Barrenness of the Country, did not abound with Victuals. The Event was, that, after the King of *Navarre* and *Palisse* had seized a Pass on the Summit of the *Pirenean* Mountains, they took by Storm *Borghetto*, a Town seated at the Foot of those Mountains, and defended by *Baldes*, a Captain in the King of *Aragon's* Guards, with a considerable Number of Foot. And if they had hastened with due Expedition to seize the Pass of *Roncisvalle*, Hunger alone would have been sufficient to subdue the *Spanish* Army, which would have been surrounded with Enemies on all Sides, in

a Country beyond Measure rugged and difficult. But they were prevented by the Expeditionness of the Duke of *Alva*, who leaving a Garrison of a Thousand Foot in *St. Jean Pied de Port*, with all the Artillery, passed to *Pampelona* through the Pass of *Roncivalle* before the Enemy arrived. But the King of *Navarre* and *Palisse*, who had received a Reinforcement of Four Hundred Lances and Seven Thousand *German* Foot from the *Dauphine*, being disappointed of their Hopes, made their Appearance before *Pampelona* with four Pieces of Artillery, which they had conveyed with great Difficulty over the rough and craggy Mountains. They attempted to take the Place by Storm, but were repulsed, and constrained by the Season of the Year, it being in *December*, and the Want of Provisions in that barren Country, to raise the Siege, and repass the *Pirenees*, on which by the Difficulties of the Passes, and the Obstructions they met with from the Peasants, they were forced to leave their Artillery. At the same time *Lautrech*, who had made an Inroad into *Biscay* with Three Hundred Lances and

Three

A. D. ^{1512.} Three Thousand Foot, and plundered and burnt all that came in his Way, after an unsuccessful Attempt on the Town of *St. Sebastian*, repassed the Mountains, and returned to the Army, which, having nothing farther to fear or hope, broke up, and left the King of *Aragon* in free and peaceable Possession of the Kingdom of *Navarre*.

AT this Time it came to be discovered that *Ferdinando*, Son of *Federigo*, late King of *Naples*, and declared Duke of *Calabria*, had made a private Agreement with the King of *France*, and was contriving to make his Escape to the *French* Army, which lay not far from the Town of *Logrogna*. On this Discovery the King of *Aragon*, who was at that Time in *Logrogna*, sent the young Prince to the Castle of *Sciativa*, in which the Kings of *Aragon* use to imprison such Persons as are distinguished by their Nobility or extraordinary Merit; and *Filippo Copola*, a *Neapolitan*, who had gone secretly to the King of *France* to treat about the Affair, was quartered; Fortune so varying the
 Lot

THE WARS IN ITALY.

93

Lot of Mortals, that he received his Punishment in the Service of a Prince whose Grandfather by the Father's Side had caused his Father the Count *di Sarni* to be beheaded. And the Discovery of this Conspiracy, which had its Original from a Fryar who was privately sent to *Ferdinando* from the Duke of *Ferrara*, had some Influence on the Affairs of *Italy*: For the Catholic King, who was before inclined to satisfy the Pope, was now much more incited to it by this Affront, so that he sent Orders to the Viceroy and his Ambassador at *Rome* to lead his Army against *Ferrara* whenever the Pope pleased, without demanding any Money of him more than was necessary for the Subsistence of the Soldiers.

A. D.
1512.

Ferrara
Italy
Rome
Viceroy
Ambassador

THESE were the Transactions during the Course of this Year in *Italy*, *France* and *Spain*. The following Year 1513 was as full of memorable Events as the preceding: It began with a Cessation of Arms on all Sides; for the *Venetians* neither gave nor received any Molestation. Only the Viceroy went with Three Thousand

1513.

sand

A. D.

1513.

King of
France
meditates
the Re-
covery of
Milan.

land Foot to besiege the Castle of *Trezzo*, which surrendered on Condition that the Garrison might march out in Safety with their Effects. But the Minds of the People in general were disquieted with the Thoughts of future Events; for it was known that the King of *France*, having delivered his Kingdom from Foreign Arms, and resumed new Spirits from his numerous Levies of *German* Infantry, and the considerable Addition he had made to his Establishment of Lances, had nothing so much in View as the Recovery of the Dutchy of *Milan*. But though he set his Heart upon this Enterprize, and was extremely desirous to hasten it while the Castles of *Milan* and *Cremona* were still in his Possession, yet considering the great Difficulties that would occur from the Opposition of so many Enemies, and being not without Apprehensions that the King of *England* might next Summer attack his Dominions with a very potent Army, he resolved to make no Movement unless he could either separate some of the Confederates from their common Association, or procure an Alliance with the *Venetians*. That one or other

other of these Events might happen he had various Reasons to hope from the Transactions of the last Year: For the Bishop of *Goritz*, when he was on his Journey from *Rome* to *Milan*, had given a favourable Audience to a Domestic of Cardinal *San Severino*, sent to him in the Name of the Queen of *France*, and had afterwards privately sent to *France* a Confidant of his own with Overtures, proposing that the King should assist *Cæsar* against the *Venetians*; that a Marriage should be contracted between the second Daughter of the King and *Cæsar's* Grandson *Charles*, with the Dutchy of *Milan* for her Dowry; that the King should make over to his Daughter and future Son-in-law his Pretensions to the Kingdom of *Naples*; and that the Emperor might not be obliged to trust to bare Words and Promises, the Spouse should immediately be delivered into his Hands; and that when the King should have recovered the Dutchy of *Milan*, *Cremona* and the *Ghiaradadda* should be put in the Possession of *Cæsar*. The King was also in Hopes of entering into an Alliance with the *Venetians*, who

were

A. D.

1513.

Grounds
of his
Hopes of
Success.

A. D. 1513. were highly provoked at the Viceroy's taking Possession of *Brescia*, and much more at the subsequent Convention at *Rome* between the Pope and *Cæsar*; for which Reason the King, taking Advantage of that Juncture, had very privately ordered to Court *Andrea Gritti*, who was taken at *Brescia*, and still remained a Prisoner in *France*, and contrived that *Gianjacopo da Trivulzi*, in whom the *Venetians* put great Confidence, should, under Pretence of other Business, send his Secretary to *Venice*. He had also some Prospect of an Agreement with the King of *Aragon*, who, according to his usual Way of entrusting his Concerns with Persons in religious Orders, had privately sent into *France* two Fryars, who, under a Show of Zeal for the public Good, should begin with addressing the Queen with Proposals relating to a Peace, either universal, or particular between the two Kings. But they had but small Hopes of Success, for the King of *France* knew that his Catholic Majesty intended to retain *Navarre*, and that it would be an Act of great Cruelty, and of the highest Indignity imaginable,

THE WARS IN ITALY.

97

imaginable, to abandon a King who, for procuring his Friendship, and in Confidence of his Assistance, was fallen into so great a Calamity.

A. D.
1513.

BUT the chief Concern of the King of *France* was a Reconciliation with the *Swiss*, on which he knew that Victory infallibly depended, by the vast Authority which that Nation had at present obtained, not only by the Terror of their Arms, but by their Conduct, which no longer appeared like that of mercenary Soldiers or Grasers, but of Men educated in the Administration of States, keeping a strict Eye, as is usual in a well managed Commonwealth, over every Step taken in public Affairs, and suffering no Movement to be made but at their Discretion. Hence *Switzerland* became the Residence of Ambassadors from all the Christian Princes, and the Pope, and almost all the *Italian* Powers, paid them yearly Pensions, to be received into their Confederacy, and for Permission to list Soldiers of that Nation, when Occasion required, for their own Defence. The *Swiss*, grown proud at

Swiss in
great Re-
putation.

A. D. 1513.
 this Authority, and remembering that by their Arms first *Charles* King of *France* had subverted the happy State of *Italy*, and *Lewis* his Successor had acquired the Dutchy of *Milan*, recovered *Genoa*, and overthrown the *Venetians*, they behaved towards every one after an imperious and insolent Manner. The King of *France*, however, besides the Encouragement given him by many private Persons among the *Swiss*, and his persuading himself that he should work upon them by Offers of a very large Sum of Money, entertained Hopes of Success because the Cantons had never ratified the Agreement concluded between the Government of *Milan* in the Name of *Massimiliano Sforza* and their Ambassadors, by which, as soon as he should be put in Possession of the Dutchy of *Milan* and its Fortresses, he was to pay them an Hundred and Fifty Thousand Ducats, and Forty Thousand more every Year for Five and Twenty Years to come, on which Consideration they were to receive him under their Protection, and allow him to lift their Foot into his Service. Wherefore in the Beginning of this

Courted
 by the
 King of
France.

this Year the King, tho' he had before ^{A. D.} in vain attempted to obtain an Audience ^{1513.} for the Ambassadors whom he designed to send in order to treat about a Reconciliation, consented to give them free Possession of the Fortresses of the *Val di Lugana*, and *Lugarna*, as a Price at which he desired to purchase only a bare Hearing. With so much Indignity did great Princes court the Friendship of that Nation!

MONS. de la Tremouille then, by Commission from the King, arrived at *Lucern*, where a Diet was called to give him an Audience. But tho' he met with a cheerful Reception, he soon found that his Labours in regard to the Dutchy of *Milan* would be fruitless. For a few Days before Six of the Cantons had ratified and signed the Articles of the Agreement made with *Massimiliano Sforza*, three had resolved to ratify it, and the other three seemed as yet to stand in Suspense. There was no more Talk therefore about the Affair of *Milan*, but *Tremouille* proposed to them their Assistance of the King at least in the Recovery of *Genoa* and *Asti*,

A. D. 1513. which were not included in the Convention made with *Massimiliano*. To give Weight to this Demand *Trivulzio*, under Pretence of treating about his private Concerns, requested Leave to come to the Diet, and obtained a Pass, but on Condition that he should treat of nothing relating to the King of *France*; and as soon as he was arrived at *Lucern*, he received Orders not so much as to converse with *Tremouille* either in public or private. At last the Articles of the Treaty with the Duke of *Milan* were ratified by the common Consent of all the Cantons, and every Demand of the King of *France* was rejected, and it was further resolved that no Leave should be granted him to list Soldiers of their Nation for his Service either in *Italy* or elsewhere.

Demands
of the
King of
France re-
jected by
the *Swiss*.

THE King of *France* thus excluded by the *Swiss*, found it necessary to reconcile himself either with *Cæsar* or with the *Venetians*, who at the same time were treating also with *Cæsar*. For the Confederates entertaining a Suspicion of their embracing a Reconciliation with the King
of

of *France*, *Goritz* consented that they should retain *Vicenza*. But the Senate taking Encouragement from the same Cause as excited the Fears of the Enemy, refused to make Peace without the Restitution of *Verona*, for which they offered to recompense *Cæsar* with the larger Sum of Money. But finding their Demand attended with Difficulties, they were the more inclined to embrace the Friendship of the *French*, and agreed, by *Trivulzio's* Secretary, to enter into a Confederacy with the King on the Foot of the first Alliance, by which they were to have the Possession of *Cremona* and the *Ghiaradadda*. But the Secretary having expressly mentioned in the Instrument that nothing should be of any Validity unless it were approved by the King within a certain Time, various were the Debates in Council whether it was more expedient to chuse a Reconciliation with the Emperor, or a Confederacy with the *Venetians*. *Robertet*, a Secretary of State, and of great Authority, *Trivulzio*, and almost all the chief Men of the Council advised the latter, representing that present Experience had

A. D.
1513.

Debate in
the *French*
Council
on chu-
sing an
Ally.

A. D. 1513. demonstrated the great Prejudice they had received from the Inconstancy of *Cæsar*, the Hatred he had conceived against the King, and his Desire to revenge himself, especially as they had learnt with deep Concern from Authors of no mean Credit, that he had been often heard to say, and very lately, that he had fixed in his Mind the Memory of seventeen Injuries that he had received from the *French*, and that he would not lose the Opportunity which now offered of revenging himself for every one of them; that he would enter into a Treaty with no other Design than, by means of a fraudulent Reconciliation, to have the greater Conveniency to do Mischief, or at least interrupt what he knew to be under Negotiation with the *Venetians*, or to retard the Preparations of War; that the Man deserved no Pity nor Excuse who being once deceived by another, was so unwary as ever to trust him again.

Reasons
for pre-
ferring the
Venetians.

ON the Contrary the Cardinal of *San Severino*, induced rather by his Zeal for a Party in Opposition to *Trivulzio*, as his
Ad-

Adversaries said, than for any other Reason, because when he was in *Milan* he himself with his Brothers had always followed the Faction of the *Ghibellines*, replied, that nothing would be more for the King's Interest than to associate himself with *Cæsar* in order to break the Union between his Enemies, especially when a Conjunction could be effected by such Means, as, it was to be hoped, would render it durable; that it was the Property of Princes in their Resolutions always to prefer Interest before Benevolence, Hatred, or any other Passion; and what could be of greater Benefit to *Cæsar* than a present Assistance against the *Venetians*; and putting him in Hopes that his Grandson would succeed to the Dutchy of *Milan*? If *Cæsar* were once separated from the others, the Catholic King would make no Opposition to his Authority, out of Regard to the Interest of his Grandson, and for other Considerations; and nothing could strike a greater Terror into the Pope. On the contrary, a Confederacy with the *Venetians* would be highly dishonourable on account of the Cession which must be

A. D.

1513

Cardinal
S. Severino
advises
an Alliance
with
Cæsar.

A. D. 1513. made to them of *Cremona* and the *Ghiaradadda*, which are so essential Parts of the Dutchy of *Milan*, that the King had set all *Europe* in a Combustion to recover them; and yet a Conjunction with the *Venetians* was not sufficient to obtain the Victory, if the Union between the others were not dissolved.

Alliance
with *Cæ-*
sar folli-
cited in
gain.

THIS Opinion at last prevailed through the Authority of the Queen, who was desirous of the Aggrandizement of her Daughter, provided that till the Time of Marriage she might be permitted to remain under the Tuition of her Mother, who would engage her Word to keep her in the Name of *Cæsar* as a Spouse designed for his Grandson, and to resign her to her Husband, as soon as she should be of an Age fit for Matrimony. But the King being afterwards assured that *Cæsar* would not consent to this Restriction; and, what is more, that he had artfully made his Proposals rather to give him Occasion to proceed more slowly in his other Projects, cast off all Thoughts of this Negotiation, and recalled *Asparot*, Brother of *Lautrec*,
who

who had set out from Court with his Commission to treat with *Goritz* on this Affair. A. D.
1513.

ON the other Side, the Apprehensions of a Union between the King of *France* and the *Venetians* increasing daily, the King of *Aragon* advised *Cæsar* to restore *Verona*; and proposed to him, with the Help of the Money which he would receive of the *Venetians*, and with the *Spanish* Army, to remove the War into *Burgundy*. Of the same Opinion was *Goritz*, who, in Hopes that he could work upon *Cæsar* by his Presence, returned to *Germany*, attended not only by *Don Pedro Durrea*, who came with him, but also by *Giovan Battista Spinello* Count of *Carriati*; the *Spanish* Ambassador at *Venice*, having first induced the Senate, that no new Difficulties might interrupt the depending Negotiation, to make a Truce for the whole Month of *March*, and passed his Word to the said Ambassadors that *Cæsar* should restore *Verona*, on a Promise of the Payment of Two Hundred and Fifty Thousand Ducats at certain Times, and Fifty Thousand Ducats yearly.

A. D.

1513.

Pope falls
sick.His vast
Projects.

IN this turbulent Juncture and troublesome Times, the Pope fell Sick at a Time when his Imagination was teeming with grander Ideas and Conceptions than, perhaps, it had ever been before, for his Schemes were not contracted, but always enlarged by the Accomplishment of his Desires. Hence he had resolved to undertake in the Beginning of the Spring the Enterprize so long meditated against *Ferrara*. That City being left destitute of all Assistance, and expecting to be attacked by the Ecclesiastic Troops in conjunction with the *Spanish* Army, it was believed, would make but small Resistance. He had secretly purchased of *Cæsar* for Thirty Thousand Ducats the City of *Siena* for the Duke of *Urbino*, to whom he would never grant any Lands belonging to the Ecclesiastic State except *Pesaro*, that he might preserve unblemished the Glory of sincerely seeking the Aggrandisement of the Church. He had agreed to lend *Cæsar* Forty Thousand Ducats, for which he was to receive *Modena* in Pledge. He threatened the *Lucchese* for having in the

the Troubles of the Duke of *Ferrara* seized on the *Carfagnana*, and insisted that they should give it up to him. His Indignation was kindled against the Cardinal *de' Medici*, because he fancied that he was more devoted to the Catholic King than to himself, and because he was vexed that he had it not in his Power, as he had before imagined, to dispose of *Florence*, having formed new Designs, and new Negotiations, to change the State of that City. He was angry with the Cardinal of *Sion* for appropriating to himself a Revenue of above Thirty Thousand Ducats yearly out of the Estates and Possessions of several Persons in the Duchy of *Milan*, and had deprived him of the Title of Legate, and cited him to *Rome*. The better to establish the Duke of *Urbino* in the Government of *Siena* by a good Understanding with his Neighbours, he had lately taken into his Pay *Carlo Baglione* with a Design to expel from *Perugia* *Gian Pagolo*, who was very closely allied by Affinity to the Sons of *Pandolfo Petrucci*, Successors to their Father's Grandeur. He designed to constitute *Ottaviano*:

A. D. *Fregoso* Doge of *Genoa*, and to remove
 1513. *Janus* from that Dignity, with the Con-
 sent of the other *Fregosi*, because it ap-
 peared from the Rank which the Ancestors
 of *Ottaviano* had held in that City that the
 Office belonged rather to him. He had it
 continually in his Thoughts to remove out
 of *Italy*, or oppress by Help of the *Swiss*,
 whom alone he magnified and carested,
 the *Spanish* Army, that he might seize on
 the Kingdom of *Naples*, by which Means
Italy would remain (to use his own fre-
 quent Expression) free from Barbarians*.
 With this View he had prevented the *Swiss*
 from entering into a Confederacy with the
 Catholic King; and yet, as if it had been
 in his Power to smite all the World at
 once, he continued eagerly bent against
 the King of *France*, though he had given
 Audience to a Messenger from the Queen,
 and

* *Julius* was so fond of the Title of *Deliverer of Italy*,
 that he permitted every one to give it him. But Cardinal
Grimani freely telling him one Day that there yet remained
 under the Yoke the Kingdom of *Naples*, one of the largest
 and richest Members of *Italy*, the Pope shaking his Staff
 on which he leaned, and fretting with Anger, replied,
 that in a short Time, unless Heaven had otherwise dis-
 posed, the *Neapolitans* as well as the rest should have the
 Yoke taken off their Necks. *Giovio*, in his Life of *Alfonso*.

and excited against him the Arms of the King of *England*, to whom he had appointed that the Title of *Most Christian King* should be transferred by a Decree of the *Lateran Council*, for which Purpose there was already drawn up a Bull, which also contained a Deprivation of *Lewis* of the Dignity and Title of King of *France*, with Leave for any one to seize upon that Kingdom.

A. D.
1513.

IN the Midst of such and so great Designs, and perhaps of greater unknown (for of so fierce and resolute a Mind no Conception is incredible, however vast and boundless) Death intervened after a Sickness of many Days. When he was sensible that he was drawing near his End, he ordered a Consistory to be called, at which his Weakness would not permit him to be present in Person, but he caused the Bull to be confirmed which he had before published against him who should obtain the Pontificate by Simony, and declared the Election of a Successor to belong to the College of Cardinals, and not to a Council, and that the Schismatic Cardinals

Death of
Pope
Julius II.

A. D.
1513.
 dinals should have no Power to intervene in the Election; but he forgave them, he said, all their Offences committed against himself, and prayed God to pardon them the Injuries they had done to his Church. After this he beseeched the College of Cardinals to gratify him so far as to grant the City of *Pesaro* in Vicarage to the Duke of *Urbino*, putting them in mind that it was chiefly by means of that Duke that at the Death of *Giovanni Sforza* it had been recovered to the Church. This was the only Instance in which he shewed any private Affection or Concern for his own Family; on the contrary, when the Lady *Felice* his Daughter instantly besought him, as did many others by her Intercession, to create *Guido da Montefalco* a Cardinal, because they were Brother and Sister by the Mother's Side, he positively answered that he was not a Person worthy of that Dignity. Thus in all Respects retaining his usual Constancy and Severity, with the same Judgment and Vigour of Mind which he enjoyed before his Sickness, after devoutly receiving the Sacraments of the Church, on the Night of *February 21*,
when

when it was near Day, he finished the Course of his painful Life.*

A. D.

1513.

HE was a Prince of inestimable Courage and Constancy, but impetuous, and boundless in his Conceptions, which would have carried him headlong to his own Ruine, had he not been sustained more by the Reverence of the Church, the Discord of Princes, and the Condition of the Times, than by his own Moderation or Prudence. He would certainly have been worthy of the highest Honour had he been a secular Prince, or employed the same Ardor and Vigilance with which he prosecuted the Advancement of the Church in temporal Greatness by the Force of Arms, in promoting her Progress towards Purity and spiritual Perfection by the milder Arts of Peace. His Memory, however, is most dear and honoured above that of all his Predecessors, especially by those who having lost the true Names of Things, and confounded the Distinction that arises from weighing them in a just Balance, think it more the Duty

* *Gradinico* and *Giustiniaro* write that he died under an Oppression of Grief, being apprehensive that he should be deposed by the Council from the Popedom.

A. D. ^{1513.} Duty of Pontiffs to increase the Empire of the Apostolic See by Arms and the Blood of Christians, than to strive and labour, by the Example of a good Life, and by correcting and healing a Degeneracy and Corruption of Manners, to promote the Salvation of those Souls for whose Benefit they boast that Christ has constituted them his Vicars upon Earth.

Consequences of his Death.

ON Advice of the Pope's Death the Viceroy of *Naples* marched with the *Spanish* Soldiers towards *Piacenza*, and constrained that City to return, as it formerly used to be, under the Dominion of the Dukes of *Milan*; and the *Parmesans*, induced by the same Terror, followed the Example of the *Piacentines*. On the other Side the Duke of *Ferrara* soon recovered his Towns in *Romagna*, and then came before *Reggio*; but his Approach occasioning no Commotion in the Place, he would not venture to stay there, because the *Spanish* Army had extended their Quarters between *Piacenza* and *Reggio*. There was no other Movement in the Ecclesiastic State, nor did *Rome* or the College of Cardinals

dinals find themselves under those Difficulties that had embarrassed them at the Death of the two last Pontiffs. Wherefore, after the Performance of the funeral Rites according to Custom, Five and Twenty Cardinals peaceably entered the Conclave, having first declared the Marquis of *Mantoua's* Son, whom *Julius* had kept as a Hostage, free from his Word of Honour, and at Liberty to return to his Father. The first Care of the Conclave was to moderate, by very strict Articles, the Authority of the future Pontiff, which the Deceased, they said, had exercised beyond the Bounds of Moderation; but as among Men some have not the Courage to oppose the Will of the Prince, and others are solicitous to gain his Favour, so these same Persons not long after voluntarily repealed almost every one of these Articles.

A. D.
1513.

ON the Seventh Day of the Conclave Pop: Leo X the Cardinals unanimously elected Pontiff *Giovanni* Cardinal *de' Medici*, who assumed the Name of *Leo X.* aged 37; which was very surprising on account of his Youth with Regard to the Custom of past Times,

A. D. 1513. but principally owing to the Diligence of the young Cardinals, who had long before tacitly agreed together to create the first Pontiff out of their own Number. This Election gave vast Satisfaction to almost all Christendom; every one persuading himself that *Leo* would prove a most accomplished Pontiff, from the dear Memory of his Father's Merits, and from the Fame which spread every where of his own Liberality and good Nature, having the Reputation of a chaste Person, and of unblameable Manners; and it was hoped too that he would imitate the Example of his Father in being a Lover of learned Men, and of all those of an illustrious Genius; and those Expectations were increased by considering that he was chosen fairly without Simony, or Suspicion of any corrupt Practice. It seemed also as if Heaven itself gave its Approbation in the very Beginning of this Pontificate, for in the fourth Day after the Election the deprived Cardinals of *Santa Croce* and *San Severino* came into the Power of the new Pope. These Prelates having Advice of the Death of *Julius* set out for *Rome* by Sea, accompanied

panied by the *French* Ambassador, and put in at *Leghorn*, where being informed of the Election of the Cardinal *de' Medici*, trusting to his Good-nature, and the Cardinal of *San Severino* in particular depending on his intimate Friendship with the new Pontiff and his Brother, obtained a Pass of the Governor of *Leghorn*, which did not extend beyond the Bounds of his Jurisdiction, and went ashore. From *Leghorn*, without requiring any farther Security, they boldly ventured to *Pisa*, in which City they were respectfully received, and thence conducted to *Florence*, where they were put under honourable Custody, without any Power to depart. They were confined at the Desire of the Pontiff, who by the Bishop of *Orvieto*, sent for that Purpose, exhorted them, with very civil and gracious Expressions, that for their own Security, and for the Good of the Church, they would be content to stay at *Florence* till it should be determined in what Manner it was proper for them to go to *Rome*; and that, since they had been legally deprived of their Dignity, and their Deprivation was confirmed in the *Lateran* Council, they

A. D.

1513.

Two
Schisma-
tic Cardi-
nals in
Custody.

A. D. 1513. would no longer appear in the Habit of Cardinals, for their shewing outward Marks of Humiliation would facilitate his Design of restoring their Affairs to a happy Situation.

Pompous
Corona-
tion of the
new Pope.

THE first Transaction of the new Pope was his Coronation, which was performed, according to Custom, in the Church of *San Giovanni Laterano*, with so pompous an Appearance of his Family and Court, of all the Prelates, and many Nobles from divers Parts, and with so great a Concourse of the *Roman* People, that it was universally believed that *Rome* had never seen a more superb and magnificent Day since the Inundations of the Barbarians. In this Solemnity the Standard of the Church was carried by *Alfonso d'Este*, who had obtained a Suspension of his Censures, and was come to *Rome* in great Hopes, from the gentle Disposition of the Pope, to settle his Affairs. The Standard of the Knights* of *Rhodes* was carried by *Giulio de' Medici*,

* *Orig. Religione*; for the Knights of *Rhodes*, now Knights of *Malta*, were a religious Order, wore a Habit and Cross, and were sworn, like the Knights Templars, to defend the Christian Faith against the Infidels.

Medici, all in Armour, and mounted on a large Courser; he was by Nature inclined to the Profession of Arms, but his Destiny drew him against his Will to a sacerdotal Life, in which he was to be a surprising Example of the Variety of Fortune, and what rendered that Day the more memorable and remarkable, was to consider that the Man who now carried with so much Pomp and Splendor the Ensigns of so great a Dignity, had but the Year before on the same Day been made a miserable Captive. This magnificent Parade confirmed the Vulgar in their Expectations from this Pontificate, every one flattering himself with Happiness under a Pontiff that abounded in Liberality, and delighted in Splendor, for it is certain that the Expences of that Day amounted to an Hundred Thousand Ducats. But Men of better Judgment would have been more pleased if the Affair had been conducted with greater Gravity and Moderation, being of Opinion that so much Pomp did not become a Pontiff, and that it was by no means suitable to the Condition of the present Times to squander away the Treas-

A. D.

1513.

A. D. 1513. } sure accumulated by his Predecessor in
 useleſs Expences.

BUT neither the Change of the Pontiff nor any other Events were ſufficient to eſtabliſh the Quiet of *Italy*; on the contrary, the Diſpoſition of Affairs began manifeſtly to tend more to War than to Peace.

*Cæſar re-
 fuſes to
 reſtore
 Verona.*

For *Cæſar* being quite averſe to the Reſtitution of *Verona*, by which he imagined that he ſhould deprive himſelf of an eaſy Entrance into *Italy*, though the Truce had been prolonged for all *April*, rejected the Articles of the Agreement negotiated at *Milan*; and being diſguſted at the Importunities of the Ambaſſadors of the Catholic King, told the Count *di Carriati* that, from the Inclination which he ſhewed towards the *Venetians*, he ought rather to be called a *Venetian* than a *Spaniſh* Ambaſſador.

THIS Tendency of Affairs towards a Rupture was yet much more increaſed by the Truce made between the moſt Chriſtian and Catholic Kings, for a Year only, for their Dominions beyond the Mountains.

*Truce be-
 tween the
 Kings of
 France
 and Ara-
 gon.*

By

By this Truce the King of *France*, being freed from all Apprehensions on the Side of *Spain*, found it very easy to renew the War in the Dutchy of *Milan*. The Catholic King was at all Times averse to a War with the *French* on the other Side of the Mountains; for not abounding with Money, and therefore obliged to assist himself with the Forces of the Nobility and People of *Spain*, either these Succours were not in due Readiness, or he was necessitated in Time of War to stand as it were in Subjection to their Pleasure. But at this Juncture he was mightily confirmed in his old Counsels by his Desire to establish his newly acquired Kingdom of *Navarre* in Peace, and much more because, since the Death of *Isabella*, being no longer King but Governor of *Castile*, he had not so well founded his Authority in troublesome Times, as he had lately found by Experience in the Defence of *Navarre*, which, though it ended happily, was however rendered very hazardous by the Slowness of the Succours. The King therefore, unwilling to be reduced to such Straits, agreed on the Truce before he knew of

A. D.

1513.

A. D.

1513.

Motives
of the
King of
Aragon.

the Death of the Pontiff, though it had not been published till he was informed of the Election of another. He alledged, in Justification of this unexpected Resolution, that the Pope and the *Venetians* had violated the League, since after the Battle of *Ravenna* they would never pay the Forty Thousand Ducats, which they were bound to do as long as the *French* had any Possessions in *Italy*. As for himself it was manifest he had only in View the common Welfare of the Confederates, for he had not appropriated to himself the Rewards of the common Victory, nor possessed in *Italy* so much as a small Tower more than what he was in Possession of before the War. But the Pope had his private Ends in Prospect, and had made a Property of what should have remained in common, by seizing on *Parma*, *Piacenza* and *Reggio*, and had employed all his Thoughts on making himself Master also of *Ferrara*; by this covetous Desire he had disturbed the Measures for the Recovery of the Fortresses of the Dutchy of *Milan*, and the Lantern of *Genoa*: That he himself had interposed all his Diligence and Authority

thority for procuring an Agreement between *Cæſar* and the *Venetians*, but that the

A. D.

1513.

Pope had for his own Intereſt precipitately excluded the *Venetians* from the League; in which Affair his own Ambaſſadors had acted imprudently, for they had not conſented that his Name ſhould be inſerted in the Article in which the Confederacy was introduced, becauſe they knew that ſuch was his Intention, and yet had ſuffered him to be named in the Article by which the *Venetians* were excluded: That the *Venetians* had not in that Tranſaction behaved in a Manner anſwerable to the Opinion People had entertained of their Prudence, having ſet ſo high a Value on *Vicenza* as to reſolve not to part with it, though it were to free themſelves from a burdensome War: That it was impoſſible for him to maintain the Army which he had in *Italy* without the Payment of the Subſidies which had been promiſed him, and he was leſs able to ſuſtain the whole War on the Frontiers of his own Kingdoms, which he well knew all the reſt deſired, and were labouring to procure: That the Pontiff did not diſſemble his

late

A. D. late unjust Desire to deprive him of the Kingdom of *Naples*: That he was not however moved by these Injuries to think of abandoning the Church or the other States of *Italy*, while he found a suitable Correspondence, and that he was in Hopes that the Powers concerned, being induced by the Truce which he had made with the King, would be the more ready to enter into an Agreement with him for their mutual Defence. *Ferdinando* had inserted in the Instrument of the Truce the Names of *Cæsar* and the King of *England*, tho' he had communicated nothing of the Negotiation to either of these Princes; and it was ridiculous to observe, at the Time when the Truce was solemnly proclaimed throughout all *Spain*, the Arrival of a Herald from the King of *England* to notify the vast Preparations made by his Master for attacking the Kingdom of *France*, and to solicit the King of *Aragon* to be ready at the same time, as he had promised, to invade it on the Side of *Spain*.

THE Truce made in this Manner struck the greatest Terror into all the *Italians* who had been uneasy under the *French* Government, as they were firmly persuaded that the King of *France* would send with all Speed an Army on this Side the Mountains, that, through *Cæsar's* obstinate Refusal of a Peace, the *Venetians* would join with the *French*, and that it would be very difficult to resist their united Forces, because the *Spanish* Army, that had Time after Time drawn Sums of Money from the State of *Milan*, which was impoverished and exhausted with infinite Expences, had no longer any Means of Subsistence. As to the new Pontiff, they could not as yet dive into his Intentions, for tho' he was thought secretly to wish that the Power of the King of *France* might be bounded by the Mountains, yet being but newly placed in the pontifical Chair, and as much perplexed as the rest at the Truce made by the Catholic King at a Time when he was believed to be employing all his Thoughts on War, he stood in great Suspense of Mind, being disgusted also

A. D.

1513.

also that when he had sollicitèd with great Earnestness the Restitution of *Parma* and *Piacenza* to the Church, he found a Readiness to give him Hopes, but Slowness in the Execution, all the other Allies being desirous to preserve those Cities to the Dutchy of *Milan*, and perhaps expecting that the Pope's Desire to recover them would induce him to the Defence of that State. The Assistance of the *Swiss* was more certain as well as more powerful; but when it was considered that neither *Massimiliano Sforza* nor the other Confederates were in a Condition to advance the Money necessary, according to Agreements, to put them in Motion, it was feared they would refuse to descend into the State of *Milan* when they were most wanted.

ON the other Side the King of *France*, depending on the Truce, resolvèd to send an Army into *Italy*, being put in Hopes of Success by the Reasons mentioned above, to which might be added that he knew very well that the People of the State of *Milan*, being plagued with the
repeated

repeated Exactions and Rapines of the *Swiss*, and the Quarters and Payments provided for the *Spaniards*, heartily wished to return under his Dominion, having found by Experience the Government of the *French* easy and desirable in comparison of the severe and oppressive Administration of others. Besides, many private Noblemen, by particular Messages, directed some to the King, others to *Trivulzio*, whom the King had sent to *Lions*, that he might be nearer at hand to treat with the *Milanesse*, encouraged his Majesty not to delay the March of his Army, promising, as soon as it had passed the Mountains, to take up Arms, and openly declare for him. To these Motives were added the constant and pressing Sollicitations of *Trivulzio* and of the other Exiles, who, as is usual with those who are forced to leave their native Country, represented the Undertaking as very easy, especially as the *Venetians* were to assist in it: The King was also constrained to hasten his Enterprize by flattering himself that he should be able to attain his Ends before he was attacked by the King of *England*, who

A. D.

1513.

King of
France invited to
recover
Milan.

}

 A. D.
 1513.

 who could not be in Readiness till after some Months. For the Kingdom of *England*, having been for many Years in a State of Peace, was unprovided of Armour, Artillery, and almost of every Thing else necessary for a War; there were no War-Horses, because the *English* fight all their Battles on Foot, and their Infantry too being unexperienced, it was necessary for the King, who designed to pass into *France* with a very powerful Force, to hire a great Number of *German* Foot; all which Provisions could not be made under some Length of Time. What further urged the King to make the utmost Expedition was his Fear of losing the Castles for Want of Provisions, and particularly the Lantern of *Genoa*, into which he had a few Days before unsuccessfully attempted to put a Supply of Provisions by a Ship sent for that Purpose. This Vessel sailed out of the Port of *Albenga*, whither she had been convoyed by three Ships and a Galeon, with a prosperous Gale, by favour of which she passed through the Midst of the *Genoese* Fleet, and cast Anchor under the Castle,

to which she fastened herself by a Cable, and began to unload her Provisions. But *Andrea Doria*, who was afterwards so famous and successful a Commander at Sea, very dangerously thrust in with a large Vessel, of which he was Master, between the Lantern and the *French Ship*, and cutting the Cable that fastened her to the Castle, with the Cables of her Anchors, attacked her with great Resolution, and tho' in the Engagement he received a Wound in the Face, he yet took her.

A. D.
1513.

Brave
Action of
*Andrea
Doria.*

THE King therefore resolving to begin the War without Delay, for which Purpose, that he might be ready on all Occasions, he had before sent a great Number of Lances into *Burgundy* and *Dauphine*, applied himself with all Diligence to perfect the Treaty with the *Venetians*, which had been many Months under Debate, but had met with Delays and Obstructions as well from one Party as from the other. For the King was held in Suspense sometimes by his Hopes of a Peace with *Cæsar*, sometimes by the obstinate Demand that the *Venetians* made of *Cremona* and the *Ghia-*

A. D. *Ghiaradadda*. And in the *Venetian* Senate

1513.

were different Opinions; for many of great Authority in the Republic proposed an Agreement with *Cæsar*, representing that it was more for their Interest to ease themselves at present from so vast an Expence, and to free themselves from Danger, that they might be enabled the more readily to embrace such Opportunities as should offer themselves, than, at a Juncture when the Republic was exhausted, and the Substance of private Persons much impaired, to involve themselves in new Wars in conjunction with the King of *France*, who had so lately shown them how much Faith and Security they were to repose in his Friendship. The major Part however being of Opinion that so fair an Opportunity would very rarely offer for recovering their antient State, and that an Agreement with *Cæsar* while he retained *Verona* would not free them from Troubles and Dangers, it was resolved to enter into a Confederacy with the King of *France*, without insisting on *Cremona* and the *Ghiaradadda*; and the same was concluded in the King's Court by *Andrea Gritti*, who had

had lately appeared more like an Ambassador than a Prisoner. By this Treaty A. D. 1513. *Bartolomeo Alviano* and *Andrea Gritti* obtained their Liberty, the *Venetians* were bound to assist the King of *France* with Eight Hundred Men at Arms, Fifteen Hundred light Horse, and Ten Thousand Foot against all who should oppose his Recovery of *Asti*, *Genoa*, and the Dutchy of *Milan*; and the King was obliged to assist the *Venetians* till they had intirely recovered all that they possessed in *Lombardy* and in the Marquisate of *Trevigi* before the League of *Cambray*. As soon as the Confederacy was stipulated *Gianjacopo da Trivulzi* and *Bartolomeo Alviano* set out for *Susa*; *Alviano* that he might proceed from thence by a safer Way to *Venice*, and *Trivulzi* to assemble there the Army designed for the War, which consisted of Fifteen Hundred Lances, Eight Hundred light Horse, and Fifteen Thousand Foot, Eight Thousand of whom were *Germans*, and the rest *French*, all under the Command of *M. de la Tremouille*, whom the King, to give the more Reputation to the Proceedings, appointed his Lieutenant.

A. D.

1513.

LEWIS at this Juncture very earnestly intreated the Pope not to obstruct the Recovery of his Dutchy, offering him not only to stop any farther Proceedings after that Conquest, but always to make Peace at the Discretion of his Holiness. The Pope lent a gracious Ear to these Assurances. and, to gain the greater Credit to his Words, treated with the King by the Ministry and Mediation of his Brother *Giuliano*. The King, however, suspected him on many Accounts; as, the Memory of Things preceding his Pontificate; his dispatching to him, immediately upon his Assumption, *Cintio* his familiar Friend with a Letter expressing much Civility, but in such general Terms as manifested that he was not well affected in his Heart towards him; besides, he had given Consent that *Prospero Colonna* should be constituted by the Duke of *Milan* his Captain General, which *Julius*, out of Hatred to the *Colonna's*, had always opposed. But what gave much more Umbrage to his Majesty was the Pope's intimating to the King of *England* that he was willing to adhere to

the

Pope suspected by
Lewis.

THE WARS IN ITALY.

131

the Confederacy contracted with *Cæsar*, the Catholic King, and himself; and his Letter to the Community of the *Swiss*, in which he seemed to exhort them to the Defence of *Italy*, and did not dissemble that he was willing to continue the Confederacy made with them by *Julius*, in which they undertook, for the yearly Pension of Twenty Thousand Ducats, the Protection of the Ecclesiastic State. *Leo* also sufficiently betrayed his Inclination by not receiving the Duke of *Ferrara* into Favour, and delaying, under various Pretences, the Restitution of *Reggio* till the Return of his Brother the Cardinal to *Rome*, who, to avoid the Persecutions of *Julius*, and the Instances of the King of *France* for his repairing to the *Pisan* Council, was retired to his Bishopric of *Agria* in *Hungary*. But what gave the King most Reason to suspect the Pontiff was that he had, though as secretly as it was possible, advised the *Venetian* Senate to agree with *Cæsar*; which was an Attempt in direct Opposition to the Designs of the King, who had also taken it ill that the Pope, pretending no other Motive than the Duty of his pontifical

I 2

Office,

A. D.
1513.

A. D. Office, had written to him a Brief exhorting him to cease his warlike Preparations, and to shew himself disposed rather to put an End to the War by some honourable Composition: A pious Pre-
 1513. tence, which in itself the King would not have blamed, if his Holiness, moved by the same Desire of Peace, had exhorted the King of *England* to forbear molesting *France*.

Causes of
 the Pope's
 Diffaf-
 sion to
 the *French*

THE King of *France* indeed had good Reason to be jealous of the Pope, for *Leo* desired nothing more than that the *French* should have no longer any Footing in *Italy*; either because he thought it most conducive to the common Security, and to the Grandeur of the Church, or because he retained the Memory of the Injuries received from the Crown of *France*. For though his Father and his other Ancestors had been firmly attached to the *French* Interest, and had on several Occasions reaped both Honour and Profit from their Adherence, yet he was most affected with what had more lately happened when he and his Brothers were driven out of *Florence* by
 the

the Coming of King *Charles*; and this present King was known to favour the popular Government, and had always despised the *Medici*, or if at any Time he seemed inclined to espouse their Cause, it was only with a Design to employ them as Tools for drawing the *Florentines* by that Suspicion into Conventions for his own Advantage, and then cast them quite out of Remembrance. His Resentment might perhaps too be aggravated by reflecting that after the Battle of *Ravenna* he himself had been carried Prisoner to *Milan*, and had been ordered by the King to be conducted to *France*.

BUT though the Pope, either for the abovementioned or for some other Reasons, was thus disaffected towards the *French*, yet, since he saw no strong Foundations, as he could have wished, for Resistance, he was obliged to proceed with Caution, and to dissemble, as much as he could, his Intentions, yet always gladly hearkening to any Suits or Instances made to him against the King. The *Swiss*, who were very ready to put themselves in Motion for

I 3

defending

A. D. 1513. defending the Dutchy of *Milan*, offered to take the Field with a much greater Number of Men, if they were supplied with but a moderate Sum of Money, which, through the Inability of the other Allies, could be expected only from the Pope. But the Designs of the Viceroy were uncertain, and his Speeches various and mysterious: For sometimes he offered the Pontiff to oppose the *French*, and openly to interest himself in the Cause by sending his Troops to join with his own, and maintaining a good Number of Foot for three Months; and to make himself the more easily believed he had recalled his Soldiers from the Territories of *Parma* and *Reggio*, and was encamped with his Army on the River *Trebbia*; but some of his Troops, which remained in Garrison at *Tortona* and *Alessandria*, he had never moved from their Quarters: Sometimes he affirmed that he had received Orders from his King, at the same time that he signified to him that he had made a Truce, to lead back the Army into the Kingdom of *Naples*.

BUT *Gieronimo Vich*, the *Aragonian* Ambassador to the Pope, talked in a different

ferent Strain, in which he assured him that the King his Master promised, if his Holiness would undertake the Defence of *Milan*, to have no Regard to the Truce he had made, but begin a War in *France*, which he might lawfully do without Breach of Faith. By this Conduct many were persuaded that the King of *Aragon*, being apprehensive that there would be none to oppose the Progress of the *French* on account of the Truce, had ordered the Viceroy that if he should find no hearty Concurrence of the Allies in the Defence of the Dutchy of *Milan*, he should not labour to provoke the King of *France* by new Injuries, but march off with the Army for *Naples*. And for these Reasons *Ferdinando* was inclined to a Peace with *France*, and offered to bring into it *Cæsar* and the King of *England*; and to render *Lewis* the more easy and tractable, in case he should recover *Milan*, he did in a manner assure him that his Army should not oppose his Enterprise.

A. D.

1513.

Politic
Conduct
of the
King of
Aragon.

THE Viceroy therefore intending to depart recalled the Soldiers who were in

A. D. 1513. Garrison at *Tortona* and *Alessandria* under the Marquis of *Pescara*, signifying, as it was reported, at the same Time his Resolution to *Trivulzio*, with an Intention that the King of *France* should regard his Departure as if it were made upon his Account. He did not however immediately put his Design in Execution, because the *Swiss*, being most ardently intent on the Defence of the Dutchy of *Milan*, had by a public Decree sent thither Five Thousand Foot, and given Hopes of sending a much greater Number; but, rather pretending the contrary, sent *Prospero Colonna* to treat with the *Swiss* about appointing a Place for joining their Forces against the *French*. It was thought he proceeded in this Manner, either because he had been informed that *Cæsar* was greatly displeas'd with the Truce, or that he had received new Orders from his King to obey the Commands of the Pontiff, who, between the Struggles of his small Hopes on one Side, and his own Inclinations on the other, remained in the same Perplexity. The *Swiss*, however, were arriv'd in the *Tortonese*, where, as *Prospero* gave

gave them Notice, the Viceroy designed to join them; but now that General excused himself on various Pretences, and requested that they would come and join him on the *Trebbia*. By this Demand they plainly perceived the Difference between his Speeches and Intentions, and fiercely answered, that he did not make this Request in order to go boldly and face the Enemy, but that he might turn his Back with the greater Security; that it was of no Importance to the *Swiss*, if he was afraid to fight the *French*; that it was all one to them whether he went, staid, or ran away, for they were sufficient of themselves to defend the Dutchy of *Milan* against all Invaders.

A. D.
1513.
Fierce answer of the *Swiss* to the Viceroy.

BUT now the whole Country was in a Tumult; the Count of *Musocco*, Son of *Gianjacopo*, had taken Possession of *Asti* and *Alessandria* without Opposition; the *French* were in full March from *Susa*; and the Duke of *Milan* coming too late to secure *Alessandria* had joined the *Swiss* near *Tortona*, who receiving express Notice from the Viceroy that he had resolved

A. D. 1513. to depart, they marched from thence to *Novara*. The *Milanese*, on the Report that the Viceroy was departed, sent Ambassadors to *Novara*, to excuse themselves to the Duke for that, having none to defend them, they had, to avoid utter Destruction, agreed with the *French*. The Duke seemed to accept their Excuses very favourably, and even commended them for affectionately consulting the Safety of their common Country. On this Occasion *Sacromoro Visconti*, who commanded at the Siege of the Castle, revolted to the *French*, and supplied that Fortrefs with Provisions.

*Milan sur-
renders to
the French*

THE Viceroy then decamped from the *Trebbia* with all his Army, in which were Fourteen Hundred Men at Arms, and Eight Thousand Foot, to return into the Kingdom of *Naples*, as if he despaired of the Affairs of *Lombardy*, and was therefore only sollicitous to save his Army. But on the same Day, while he was on his March between *Piacenza* and *Firenzuola*, receiving Letters from *Rome*, he immediately turned about and marched back

back to his Camp. So sudden an Alteration happened because the Pope, who about this Time had *Parma* and *Piacenza* restored to him, having resolved to try whether the Dutchy of *Milan* could be preserved by Means of the *Swiss*, had very privately delivered to *Girolamo Morone*, the Duke's Ambassador at *Rome*, Forty-two Thousand Ducats to be sent to the *Swiss*; but with this Pretence, if it should come to the Knowledge of the others, that Twenty Thousand Ducats were on the Account of Pensions, and the other Twenty-two Thousand in Satisfaction for what the three Cantons pretended to be due from his Predecessor, who had always refused to pay them.

A. D.
1513.

Pope
sends Money to the
Swiss.

BY the Return of the Viceroy on the *Trebbia*, and the Report of the March of more *Swiss*, the *Milaneze*, repenting their hasty Resolution, put *Massimiliano Sforza* in Hopes that they would return under his Dominion whenever the *Swiss* and the *Spanish* Army should join together in the Field. The Viceroy, who was attended by *Prospero Colonna*, to encourage these

A. D.

1513.

Motions
of the
Armies.

these Hopes, laid a Bridge over the *Po*, promising continually to pass without putting it in Execution, because, as he principally consulted the Safety of his Army, he resolved to proceed according to the Success of Affairs; it appearing to him very dangerous to have in his Front the *French*, and at his Rear the *Venetians*, who having already taken Possession of the City of *Cremona*, and thrown a Bridge over the *Po* at *Cava*, were in his Neighbourhood.

Alviano
Captain
General
of the
Venetians.

BARTOLOMEO D'ALVIANO was gone from *Susa* by a long Way about to *Venice*, where having in their Councils without Contradiction thrown all the Blame of the Overthrow of the *Ghiaradadda* on the Count of *Pitigliano*, and talked in a magnificent Strain of the present War, he was constituted by the Senate Captain General with the same Powers that were conferred on Count *Pitigliano* when he was promoted to that high Post, and, as it happened, (through the frequent Sports of Fortune with the Ignorance of Mortals!) on the same Day that four Years before he

he fell into the Hands of his Enemies. He immediately set out for the Army, which was assembled at *San Bonifacio* in the *Veronese*, being accompanied by *Teodoro da Trivulzi*, as Lieutenant of the King of *France*, and with the greatest Speed imaginable, on the same Day that the *French* Army moved from *Susa*, approached the Gates of *Verona*, into which City some had conspired to receive him. But the next Day there entered into that Town by the River *Adice* Five Hundred *German* Foot, and the Plot also being discovered, *Alviano* losing all Hopes of getting Possession of the Place, resolved, contrary to the Authority of the *Venetian* Proveditor, to march towards the *Po*, to prevent the *Spaniards* from passing it, or, if Occasion should require, to join with the *French* *. He did not signify this Resolution to the Senate till after he was got one Day's March from *Verona*, because, tho' he alledged that the final Event of the War intirely depended on the Success

* *Alviano* was willing to take his own Way to ingratiate himself with the *French*, contrary to the Authority of those who had more Care of the Republic than of the *French* Concerns. *Mocenigo*.

A. D. ^{1513.} cess of the Efforts in the Dutchy of *Mi-*
lan, and that if the *French* were un-
 prosperous in that Country, whatever
 Attempts or Acquisitions were made in
 any other Parts would be fruitless and not
 durable, and that the Victory of the
French in that State was therefore by all
 possible Means to be promoted, he was
 yet apprehensive, and not without Reason,
 that the Senate would contradict this
 Measure, not so much out of a Desire
 that he should first attend to the Recovery
 of *Verona* and *Brescia*, as because some
 of their other Commanders had con-
 demned the Passage of the River *Mincio*,
 before they had received a particular Ac-
 count of the Progress of the *French*, and
 represented how difficult it must be, if
 any Disaster should happen, to retire with
 Safety through the *Veronese* and the *Man-*
touan, Countries either subject or devoted
 to *Cæsar*.

He takes
Valeggio,
Peschiera,
 &c.

ALVIANO by his Menaces so intimi-
 dated the Garrisons of *Valeggio* and of the
 Town of *Peschiera*, that they surrender-
 ed; whence the Governor of the Castle
 of

of *Peschiera* despairing of Defence gave up that Fortrefs on the Payment of a very small Sum of Money to himself, and for some *German* Foot that were in Garrison. About the same Time some of the principal Inhabitants of the Mountain, with a Multitude of Peasants, entered *Brescia* in favour of the *Venetians*; and yet *Alviano*, tho' earnestly entreated by the *Brescian* Ambassadors, who found him at *Gambera*, and pressed by the *Venetian* Proveditor, would not consent to turn his March to *Brescia*, tho' it were only to tarry there for a Day, in order to recover the Castle, which was garrisoned in the Name of the Viceroy; so great was his Ardor to prosecute without Intermission his first Resolution! With the utmost Expedition he came before the Gates of *Cremona*, and finding that *Galeazzo Pallavicino*, at the Invitation of some *Cremonese*, was at the same time entering the Place in favour of the King of *France*, he resolved to have no Sharers in the Glory of recovering that City, but fell upon his Troops and plundered them, and then entering the Town routed and made Booty

A. D.
1513.

A. D.

1513

Booty of Three Hundred Horse and Five Hundred Foot of the Duke of *Milan*, who lay in Garrison under the Command of *Cesare Fieramusca*. He had no Occasion to lose Time in the Recovery of the Castle, for that had always held out for the King of *France*, and had a little before been supplied with Provisions by *Renzo da Ceri*, who in his Return to *Crema*, of which he was Governor, had met at *Serezana* and routed Two Hundred Horse of *Alessandro Sforza*. *Alviano* after this posted himself at *Cava* on the *Po*, where he had a Bridge laid in readiness to pass, and did not prohibit his Soldiers from sometimes marauding on the Pope's Territories. From thence he proceeded to *Pizzichitone*, the Revolution of *Cremona* having given Occasion to *Soncino*, *Lodi*, and other circumjacent Towns to hang out *French* Colours. But first, as soon as he had recovered *Cremona*, he had ordered *Renzo da Ceri* to *Brescia* with Part of the Troops, to provide for the Establishment of that City, and for the Recovery of the Castle, but much more to check the prosperous Success of the *Germans*. For

THE WARS IN ITALY.

145

A. D.

1513.

as soon as *Alviano* was decamped from before *Verona*, *Roccandolf*, who commanded the *German* Foot, accompanied by *Federigo Gonzaga da Bozzolo*, marched out of *Verona*, with Six Hundred Horse and Two Thousand Foot, for *San Bonifacio*, where *Alviano* had left Three Hundred light Horse and Six Hundred Foot under the Command of *Sigismondo Caballo* and *Giovanni Forte*. These Troops being under no military Discipline, but dispersed about the Country, as soon as they perceived the Coming of the Enemy fled to *Cologna*, whither they were followed by the *Germans*, who forced an Entrance into the Town, and made them all Prisoners, after which they plundered and burnt the Place. They afterwards treated *Soave* in the same Manner, broke the Bridge which the *Venetians* had laid over the *Adice*, and would in the same Career of Success have seized on *Vicenza*, if a vast Number of Peasants had not speedily entered the Place. This Progress of the Enemy gaye the more Concern, as it was reported that a Reinforcement of Foot

Success of
the Ger-
man Gar-
rison of
Verona.

A. D. was marching from the Country of *Tirol*
 1513. to *Verona*.

*French
 recover
 Genoa.*

IN the mean time the *French* Fleet, consisting of Nine light Gallies and other Vessels, approached *Genoa* by Sea; while *Antoniotto* and *Gieronimo*, Brothers of the Family of the *Adorni*, by the Favour of those of the *Rivieras* who were of their Faction, and with other Soldiers hired by the King, marched against it by Land. They had a very fair Opportunity given them by the Breach which had happened a little before between the *Fieschi* and the Doge of *Genoa*, with whom they were before united against the *Adorni*. For *Gieronimo*, Son of *Gianluigi dal Fiesco*, coming out of the public Palace, either on some accidental Quarrel arising, or some preconceived Jealousy, was murdered by *Lodovico* and *Fregosino*, Brothers of the Doge. On this barbarous Fact *Ottobuono* and *Sinibaldo*, Brothers of the Assassinated, retiring to their Castles, soon after entered into an Agreement with the King of *France*, and into a Conspiracy with the *Adorni*, and approached *Genoa* on another Quarter with

with Four Thousand Men. The Doge ^{A. D.} was not sufficient of himself to resist the ^{1513.} Partisans of the *Fieschi* and *Adorni* in conjunction, and the Expeditionness of his Adversaries prevented the Succours which he had requested of the Viceroy from coming in Season, and, to render his Affairs quite desperate, One Thousand of his Foot posted on the neighbouring Mountains were over-powered by the Enemy and defeated. The Doge therefore, together with *Fregosino*, having hardly had Time to save his own Life, fled by Sea, leaving his other Brother *Lodovico* to guard the *Castelletto*, and the Conquerors entered *Genoa*, where the Brothers of the *Fieschi*, transported with the Fury of Revenge, massacred *Zaccheria*, another Brother of the Doge, who was taken Prisoner in the Fight on the Mountains, and was an Accessary to the Murder of their Brother, and barbarously tying the dead Body to the Tail of a Horse dragged it through the whole City. Thus was *Genoa* reduced to the Obedience of the King of *France*, who appointed *Antoniotto Adorno* to govern the

A. D.

1513.

Place under his Authority, and the *French* Fleet, after putting a Supply of Men and Provisions into the Lantern, and then plundering *Specie*, came to an Anchor in *Porto Vencre*.

THE *French* had now intirely recovered what they had lost the Year before, except *Novara* and *Como*, which two Cities only in the whole Dutchy of *Milan* still remained in the Possession of *Massimiliano Sforza*. But the Glory of this War, to the great Shame of all the Rest, was destinated, not to the *French*, not to the *German* Foot, not to the *Spanish* Arms, not to the *Venetians*, but wholly to the *Swiss*, against whom the *French* Army, leaving in *Alessandria* a Garrison sufficient to secure the Country on that Side the *Po*, now advanced, and approached them at *Novara*. They were become fierce and in high Spirits from such a Train of Success, from the Confession of the Enemies, who had shut themselves up within Walls, and from the manifest Fears of the *Spaniards*. Besides this, the present Face of Affairs seemed in a manner to represent
to

to the Memory of Men the Image and Resemblance of Times past. For this was the same *Novara* in which *Lodovico Sforza*, the Father of the present Duke, had been made Prisoner; the same Generals, *la Tremouille* and *Gianjacopo da Trivulzi*, were in the *French* Camp; and some of the same Colours, and of the same Officers of those Cantons which had at that Time sold the Father, were now in the Service of the Son. Hence *Tremouille* had proudly written to the King that he would make him a Present of the Son for his Prisoner, from the same Place whence he presented him with the Father.

A. D.

1513.

Vain
Boast of
Tremouille.

THE *French* battered the Walls of *Novara* with great Fury, but in a Place whence it would be very difficult and dangerous to descend into the City; and the *Swiss* seemed so little afraid of them, that they never suffered the Gate of the City toward their Camp to be shut*. A suffi-

K 3

cient

* The *Swiss* Commander would never suffer any Bank to be cast up, or any Trench or Ditch to be dug, reposing all his Defence in his Arms, and Robustness and Vigour of Body; and sent a Trumpet to acquaint the *French* that the Gates of *Novara* were left open, and to advise them not to waste their Powder. *Giouis.*

A. D. 1513. cient Breach being made in the Walls the Besiegers gave a very fierce Assault, but were repulsed with incredible Valour, and obliged to retire to their Quarters; where being informed that a Reinforcement of *Swiss* had the same Day entered *Novara*, and that *Altosasso*, a General of great Reputation, was expected with a much greater Number, they despaired of Success, and retired the next Day two Miles from *Novara*, in Hopes of obtaining their Ends more by temporising, and taking Advantage of the Disorders and Distress of the Enemy for Want of Money, than by Force of Arms. But their Hopes were all frustrated by the Fierceness and high-spirited Courage of *Mottino*, one of the *Swiss* General Officers, who called an Assembly of the Multitude in the Square of *Novara*, and encouraged them with the warmest Expressions not to wait the Assistance of *Altosasso*, whose Arrival was expected the next Day, but to march out and attack the Enemy in their Quarters, and not suffer the Glory and the Victory, which they might secure to themselves, to be shared in common, or rather to become wholly

wholly transferred to others. For as A. D. 1513. Things consequent attract to themselves Things preceding, and the Increase covers and eclipses the Part increased, so all the Praise and Honour would be ascribed not to them but to the new Comers.

“ THE more difficult and dangerous Speech of Mottino a Swiss General to his Countrymen. the Attempt, says *Mottino*, may possibly appear, so much the more easy and safe it will prove in the Execution; for Accidents strike Men with the greater Terror in proportion as they are unforeseen and unexpected. The *French* at present have not the least Thought of being attacked by us; as they have removed the Camp but this Day, they must have taken up their Quarters in a disorderly Manner, and without any Fortification. *French* Armies are not usually very eager to fight, unless supported by our Foot. And if they have for some Years past ventured to fight without us, yet they have never fought against us. What Amazement, what Terror will seize them, when they shall see themselves suddenly and furiously attacked by those whose Valour and Ferocity used to be their Con-

A. D.
 1513. }
 fidence and Security! Let not their Cavalry, or their Artillery give you much Concern, for we have on another Occasion experienced how much they rely on these Preparations when they have to deal with us. Did not *Gaston de Foix*, so bold a General, with such a Number of Lances, and so formidable a Train of Artillery, always retire before us on the Plains, when without Cavalry, or any other Arms than Pikes, we descended two Years ago to the very Gates of *Milan*? They have now in their Army *German* Foot; and this is what moves my Resentment, and makes me eager to embrace the Opportunity which this very Juncture offers us to convince the Man that he never took a worse Resolution, either for himself or for his Kingdom, than when he was prompted by base and unreasonable Avarice and Ingratitude to despise and set so low a Price on our Labours and our Blood; and also to demonstrate to those who imagined their Service of sufficient Merit to deprive us of our Bread, that the *Lanskenets* are no Match for the *Swiss*; and that though they have the same Language, and the same Discipline,

Discipline, yet they have not the same Valour and Fierceness. The only Difficulty will be to seize the Artillery; but this will be alleviated by its not being planted within a fortified Place, by attacking it unexpectedly, by the Darkness of the Night, by the Fury of the Assault, and by the very small Space of Time which it will have to annoy us, and that too interrupted by the Tumult, Disorder, and sudden Confusion. The other Business of the Field will be dispatched with the greatest Ease; the Horse will not venture to come and run themselves upon our Pikes, much less will the despicable Rabble of *French* and *Gascon* Foot dare to come to close Engagement with us. In this Resolution our Prudence will be no less conspicuous than our Valour. Our Nation is arrived to such a Pitch of Renown, that the Glory of our Name can no longer be supported but by attempting something beyond Expectation and the ordinary Reach of Men. And since we are now about *Novara*, the Place itself admonishes us that we have no other Means to wipe off that antient Reproach which we incurred

A. D. 1513. in the Service of *Lodovico Sforza* at this same *Novara*. Let us go on then boldly with the Help of God Almighty, who is the Punisher of Schismatics, Excommunicated, and Enemies to his Name; let us go to a Victory, if we behave like Men, secure and easy; a Victory, in which the greater the Danger it shall appear to carry with it, the greater and more glorious will be the Name of the *Swiss*, and the more we are exceeded by the Enemy in Number, the more shall we enrich ourselves by their Spoils."

AT this Speech of *Mottino* all the Troops gave a fierce Shout, and every one stretched forth his Arm in token of Approbation of what he had said*. The General, after promising them a certain Victory, ordered them to go to their Repose, and take care of themselves, that they might be in Readiness at Beat of Drum to repair to their Colours. The Nation of the *Swiss* never

* The Learned observe, that in military Assemblies lifting up the Hands, and stretching out the Arm are Signs of Approbation and Consent. So we often read in *Xenophon* that the Soldiers were ordered, if they approved of what was proposed to them, to lift up their Hands.

never took a prouder or bolder Resolution, A. D. 1513.
 Few against Many, without Cavalry or Artillery against an Army very strong in both, and not induced by any Necessity, Bold Resolution of the Swiss.
 for *Novara* was freed from Danger, and they expected the next Day a considerable Reinforcement. They voluntarily chose to try a Measure attended with less Security but greater Hopes of Glory, before another which would be more secure but less glorious in the Event.

ON the Sixth Day of *June*, then, after Midnight, the *Swiss* in a very boisterous Manner marched out of *Novara*, in Number about Ten Thousand, and disposed in such Order that Seven Thousand were to attack the Artillery, about which were the Quarters of the *German* Infantry, and the rest to post themselves with their Pikes upright, opposite to the Men at Arms. The *French* had not fortified their Camp on account of the Shortness of Time, and because they had no Apprehensions of so quick and sudden a Visit. At the first Alarm therefore given by the Centinels of the Approach of the Enemy, the Suddenness

A. D.

1513.

darkness of the Accident, with the Darkness of the Night, concurred to increase the Confusion and Terror. The Men at Arms, however, soon assembled and formed themselves into Squadrons, and the *German* Foot, followed by the rest of the Infantry, quickly got into Rank, and presented themselves in Order of Battle. The Artillery was now discharged with a horrible Noise against the *Swiss* that went to attack it, making a terrible Slaughter among them, which might be perceived by the Cries and Roarings of the Men more than by the Benefit of Sight, the Use of which was as yet prevented by the Night. The *Swiss* however with incredible Resolution, not regarding present Death, nor terrified at the Fate of those who fell by their Side, marched with all possible Speed against the Artillery, where being arrived, they entered into a most furious Engagement with the *German* Infantry, both Parties combating with the greatest Rage, which was still inflamed with Hatred and a Desire of Glory. You might have seen, as now the Sun began to appear, now one Side

giving

giving Way, now the other, oftentimes that Party to get the Advantage which at first seemed to be worsted; on the same Side, and at the same Time, some giving Way, others advancing forwards, some resisting with Difficulty, others violently pressing upon and insulting the Enemy, while every Place was full of Dead, Wounded, and Blood. The Officers sometimes most valiantly discharged the Office of common Soldiers, striking the Enemy, and defending themselves and their Men; sometimes they most prudently performed the Duties of their Station, encouraging, providing, succouring, disposing, and commanding. On another Part the Men at Arms stood quietly in their Armour without striking a Stroke, for their Fears operated so strongly upon them, that all the Authority, Encouragements, Commands, Intreaties, Exclamations and Threatenings of *Tremouille* and *Trivulzi* could not inspire them with Boldness sufficient to charge the Enemy, whom they had in their Front; and the *Swiss* thought they did enough in keeping them confined, and preventing them
from

A. D.

1513.

A. D. from succouring their Infantry. At last
 1513. in so fierce a Conflict, and so great Va-
French lour shown on both Sides, Victory de-
defeated. clared for the *Swiss*, who with irresistible
 Force made themselves Masters of the
 Artillery, and turned it against their Ene-
 mies, who by that Means and by their
 Valour were put to Flight. With the
 Foot fled also the Men at Arms, in whom
 appeared no military Virtue, nor any
 thing that deserved Praise; only *Ruberto*
della Marcia, prompted by paternal Af-
 fection, entered with a Squadron among
 the *Swiss*, to save his two Sons *Floranges*
 and *Denesio*, Captains of *German* Foot,
 who lay on the Ground covered with
 Wounds, and fought with such Ardor
 and Fierceness, that, to the great Amaze-
 ment of the *Swiss* themselves, he brought
 them both alive out of so great a Danger.
 The Battle lasted two Hours with very
 considerable Loss on both Sides; of the
Swiss were killed about Fifteen Hundred,
 among whom was *Mottino*, the Author
 of so glorious a Resolution, who while he
 was fighting received a Thrust with a
 Pike in the Throat. The Loss of their
 Enemies

Enemies was much greater, some make ^{A. D.}
 it Ten Thousand, but the greater Part of ^{1513.}
 the *Germans* were killed in fighting,
 whereas most of the *French* and *Gascon*
 Foot perished in their Flight. The Ca-
 valry escaped almost intire, and were in
 no Danger of Pursuit from the *Swiss*,
 who if they had been provided with
 Horses might have easily dispersed them,
 so great was the Terror in which they
 fled out of the Field. The victorious
 Army remained Masters of all the Car-
 riages with Twenty-two Pieces of heavy
 Cannon, and all the Horses that belonged
 to the Train of Artillery. The *Swiss* re-
 turned in a triumphant Manner the same
 Day to *Novara*, with such universal
 Honour and Renown, that many who
 considered the Magnanimity of the Reso-
 lution, the most manifest Contempt of
 Death, the Fierceness of the Fight, and
 the Felicity of the Success, did not scrup-
 le to prefer this Action to almost all the
 memorable Facts that are recorded of the
 antient *Romans* and *Greeks*. The *French*
 fled into *Piedmont*, from whence, *Trivul-*
zio in vain exclaiming against it, they
 im-

A. D. immediately passed beyond the Mountains.
 1513.

AFTER the Victory *Milan* and the other Towns that had adhered to the *French*, sent to demand Pardon, which was granted on condition of paying a certain Sum of Money; the *Milaneſe* in particular Twenty Thousand Ducats, and the reſt according to their Abilities; all which was paid away to the *Swiſs*, who ought in Juſtice to reap the Profit as well as the Glory of a Victory obtained by their Valour, and with their Blood. In order to collect as much Money as could be had, the *Swiſs* after this entered the Marquiſate of *Monferrato*, and *Piedmont*, which were accused of entertaining the *French* Army, and partly by Plunder, partly by Contributions, tho' abſtaining from all Acts of Violence to Life and Honour, raiſed vaſt Sums on the miſerable People. Nor were the *Spaniards* wholly excluded from the Rewards of the Victory; for after the Battle of *Janus* and *Ottaviano Fregoſi*, the former of whom had been lately driven out of *Genoa*, and each

each aspired to be Doge, having applied to the Viceroy, he preferred *Ottaviano*, for whom also the Pontiff highly interested himself on account of their old Friendship, and received from him a Promise to pay him Fifty Thousand Ducats as soon as he had entered *Genoa*. The Viceroy then, after furnishing *Ottaviano* with Three Thousand Foot under the Marquis of *Pescara*, moved with the rest of the Army to *Chiesteggio*, shewing himself ready to proceed further if Occasion required. But as soon as the Marquis with *Ottaviano* approached *Genoa*, the Brothers *Adorni*, conscious of their Inability to resist, left the Place, into which *Ottaviano* made his Entrance, and was created Doge of that City, which in the same Year saw itself under the Government of the *French*, *Janus Fregoso*, the *Adorni*, and *Ottaviano*.

A. D.
1513.

BUT *Bartolomeo Alviano*, as soon as he had received Advice of the Defeat of the *French* Army, being apprehensive that the *Spaniards* would immediately march in Pursuit of him, retired in all Haste to

A. D. *Ponte Vico*, leaving for the more Speed
 1513. some Pieces of Cannon that were slow of
 Carriage on the Road. From *Ponte Vico*,
 leaving *Renzo da Ceri* in *Crema*, and abandon-
 ing *Brescia*, because it was of no
 Service to diminish the Army, in which
 remained but Six Hundred Men at Arms,
 One Thousand light Horse, and Five
 Thousand Foot, he continued his March
 with the same Expedition, and under such
 Dread and Disaffection of the Country,
 that, had he been pursued by any small
 Party, his Troops would have been
 broken and routed by themselves, till he
 arrived at *Tomba* near the *Adice*, not
 having given himself Time to rest in any
 Place, but merely so long as he was con-
 strained by Necessity for the Refreshment
 of the Men and Horses. At *Tomba* he
 halted, and laying aside all Fear, because
 he was not pursued, got together as
 great a Quantity of Provisions as he could
 draw from the *Veronese*, and took care to
 have it conveyed to *Padoua* and *Trevigi*.
 At the same time he sent *Gian Pagolo*
Baglione with Sixty Men at Arms and
 Twelve Hundred Foot to *Lignago*, where
 he

THE WARS IN ITALY. 163

he was immediately received by the Men of the Town, which had no Garrison, and stormed the Castle, in which were One Hundred and Fifty *Spanish* and *German* Foot, after he had first battered it on the Side that looks towards the Square. In the Success of the Assault it is difficult to say whether Fortune or Valour had the greater Share; for during the Attack a Fire got hold of the Stores, occasioned by some Instruments of artificial Fires thrown by the Besiegers, and burnt Part of the Castle, in which Confusion the Enemy partly through the Breach and partly by Scaling-Ladders entered the Place, took the *Spanish* Governor, and killed or took Prisoners all the rest.

A. D.
1513.

Lignago
taken by
the Venetians.

LIGNAGO being thus taken *Alviano* laid a Bridge over the *Adice*, and being put in Hopes by some *Veronese* of an Insurrection against the *Germans* went and encamped at *San Giovanni* four Miles from *Verona*, from whence the next Morning he approached the Gate of *San Martino*, and planting his Cannon play'd with great Fury on the Turret of the Gate, and the

Verana
attempted
in vain by
Alviano.

A. D.

1513.

contiguous Wall, expecting in the mean Time some Tumult, to arise in the City. The Breach in the Wall being Forty Braces wide, and the Turret thrown down, which fell in such a Manner as to make a very strong Fence before the Gate, the Assault was given with great Fury. But in *Verona* were Three Hundred Horse, and Three Thousand *German* Foot under *Roccandolph*, a General Officer of great Reputation, who made a valiant Defence. The Breach in the Wall being of a good Height from the Ground on the Inside, and the *Veronese* making no Movement in Favour of the *Venetians*, as it was hoped, *Alviano* seeing it would be difficult to take the Place, called off his Troops from the Wall, and had begun to draw off his Cannon; but changing his Mind in a Moment, on receiving, as it was supposed, some Message from the Inhabitants, he made his Soldiers return to the Wall, and gave a fresh Assault more vigorous than the first, but met with the same Difficulties as before, and the same Remifness in those who had recalled him. Casting off therefore all Hopes

THE WARS IN ITALY, 165
 Hopes of Success, with the Loss of above A. D.
 Two Hundred of his Men, among whom 1513.
 was *Tommaso Fabbro* of *Ravenna*, Captain
 of Foot, he drew off his Artillery from
 the Walls with wonderful Speed, and re-
 turned the same Day to his Camp from
 which he had set out in the Morning,
 having acquired no Reputation from the
 Counsel or Event of that Day, but he
 was highly celebrated through all *Italy* for
 his Quickness, in doing as much in one
 Day as other Generals used to do with
 Difficulty in three or four. After this
 he laid waste the Territory of *Verona*, to
 try whether the Fear of seeing their Coun-
 try desolate would constrain the *Veronese*
 to come to some Agreement.

BUT now the *Spanish* Army was ad-
 vancing forwards; for the Viceroy on
 Advice of the Loss of *Lignago* being ap-
 prehensive that *Verona*, through the Dis-
 affection of the Citizens, would open its
 Gates to the *Venetians*, as he was no
 longer retarded by the Affairs of *Genoa*,
 which had taken a happy Turn, now re-
 solved to succour without Delay the de-
 clining

A. D. 1513. clining Interests of *Cæsar*. For this End having passed the *Po* at *Stradella*, and taken Possession without Difficulty of the Cities of *Bergamo* and *Brescia* and the Town of *Peschiera* by their Surrendry, he laid Siege to the Castle of this last Place, in which was a Garrison of Two Hundred and Fifty Foot, and tho' the Place was generally expected to hold out some Days, he took it at once with Sword in Hand, making the *Venetian* Proveditor, with those of the Garrison that remained alive Prisoners. *Alviano* at the Approach of the *Spaniards* retired to *Albere* on the other Side of the *Adice*, and to increase his Army as much as possible, not only recalled some Foot that were in the *Polesine* of *Rovigo*, but those whom he had left in *Lignago*. And soon after the *German* Foot joining the Viceroy at *San Martino*, and marching after they had recovered *Lignago* to *Montagnana*, the *Venetians*, who had nothing left in these Parts but *Padoua* and *Trevigi*, attended only to the Preservation of these Cities, and appointed the Army to be distributed between them. In *Trevigi* they placed

a Garrison of Two Hundred Men at Arms, ^{A. D.} Three Hundred light Horfe, and Two ^{1513.} Thousand Foot under *Gian Pagolo Baglione*, assisted by *Malatesta da Sogliano*, and the Chevalier *della Volpe*. *Alviano* with the rest of the Army took up his Quarters ^{Alviano} in *Padoua*, where he employed himself ^{fortifies} in fortifying the Place, repairing the ^{Padoua.} Bastions that had been erected, and perfecting many Works that were left unfinished; and that the Enemy might not be able to approach the Place without extreme Danger and Difficulty, and without a vast Number of Pioneers, he demolished all the Houses, and felled all the Trees within three Miles of *Padoua*.

WHILE the military Operations pro- ^{Pope Leo} ceeded in this Manner, the Pope used his ^{seeks to} utmost Care and Diligence for extirpating ^{extirpate} the Division made in the Church by the ^{the Schism} *Pisan* Council; and that Affair depending wholly on the Will of the King of *France*, he employed abundance of Arts for softening the Mind of that Prince; assuring him that the Report of his sending Money to the *Swiss* was utterly false, protesting

A. D. that he desired nothing but Peace, and to
 1513. be the common Father of all Christian
 Princes, and that he was extremely grieved
 that his Majesty, by his Dissention from
 the Church, had deprived him of the
 Power of demonstrating to him how
 much he was by Nature inclined to be
 his Friend, and that he was necessitated
 for the Honour of the Apostolic See, and
 of his own proper Person, to proceed
 separately with him till he was returned
 to the Obedience of the *Roman* Church,
 when it would be lawful for him to receive
 him as a most Christian King, and to em-
 brace him as the eldest Son of the
 Church.

King of
France
 and Pre-
 lates solli-
 cit a Re-
 concilia-
 tion with
 the *Roman*
 Church.

THE King was desirous, for his own
 Sake, of a Union of his Kingdom with
 the Church, which was earnestly de-
 manded by all the People, and by the
 whole Court, and to which he was
 mightily stimulated by the Queen; he
 knew also that he could never hope to
 agree with the Pope in temporal Concerns,
 if the spiritual Differences were not first
 composed. Trusting therefore, or pre-
 tending

tending to trust, to the Pope's Words, he deputed the Bishop of *Marseilles* his Ambassador to treat with his Holiness about these Affairs. On his Arrival at *Rome*; the Pontiff caused, by a Decree of the Council, the *French* Bishops, and other Prelates, to be restored to the Power of purging themselves from Contumacy during the whole Month of *November* next. The late Pope had proceeded very rigorously against these Reverend Dignitaries as Schismatics by way of Monitory. And the same Morning in which the Decree was ordered, a Paper was read in the Council, subscribed by *Bernardino Cavigiale* and *Federigo da San Severino*, in which, not styling themselves Cardinals, they approved of all that was done in the *Lateran* Council, promising to adhere to that Council, and to obey the Pope, and by consequence confessed that their Deprivation of the Cardinalship made by *Julius*, and confirmed by the said Council before his Decease, was lawful and right. The Restitution of these Prelates had been under Debate before, but delayed by the Opposition of the Ambassadors

A. D.

1513.

A. D. 1513. } dors of the Emperor, and King of *Ara-*
gon, and of the Cardinals of *Sion* and *York*,
 who exclaimed against it as an Act unwor-
 thy of the Majesty of the Apostolic See,
 and of very bad Example, to grant Pardon
 to the Authors of a Crime so pernicious,
 and full of abominable Impiety, putting
 the Consistory in Mind of the Constancy
 of *Julius*, who retained his just Resent-
 ment against them, from no other Motive
 than the public Good, to his last Moments.

BUT the Pontiff, inclining to the more
 merciful Side, judged it easier utterly to ex-
 tinguish the Name of the *Pisan* Council
 by Clemency than by Rigour, and was not
 willing to exasperate the King of *France*,
 who earnestly interceded for the Delin-
 quents; besides, he was not hindered in
 his good Intentions by any private Malice,
 for the Offence was not committed against
 him, nay, he himself and his Brothers had
 been intimate Acquaintance of *Federigo*
 before his Pontificate. For these Reasons,
 following his own Judgment, he had
 caused to be read before the Fathers of the
 Council a Paper of the deprived Cardinals
 containing

containing their Humiliation, and afterwards appointed a Day for their Restitution, which was transacted in the following Order. *Bernardino* and *Federigo* entered *Rome* privately by Night without the Habit and Ensigns of Cardinals, and next Morning being appointed to present themselves before the Pope sitting in Consistory, accompanied by all the Cardinals except *Sion* and *York*, who refused to be present, they first passed along, clothed like simple Priests with black Bonnets on their Heads, through all the public Places of the Palace of the Vatican in which they had lodged the Night before, a vast Multitude of People flocking to see them, and every one saying that so public a Disgrace must needs be a stinging Rebuke to the excessive Pride of *Bernardino*, and to the no less immoderate Arrogance of *Federigo*. Being admitted into the Consistory, falling on their Knees with Marks of the greatest Humility, they asked Pardon of the Pope and Cardinals, testifying their Approbation of what had been transacted by *Julius*, and particularly their own Deprivation, and the Election of a new Pontiff, as done canonically,

A. D.

1513.

Ceremony of restoring the schismatic Cardinals.

A. D. canonically, and condemning the *Pisan*

1513.

Conventicle as schismatic and detestable. When an authentic Copy of this their Confession, signed with their Names, had been entered upon Record, they rose on their Feet, did Reverence, and embraced all the Cardinals, who stirred not from their Seats; after which they were vested in the Habit of Cardinals, and admitted to sit in the same Order in which they had sat before their Deprivation. By this Act they recovered only the Dignity of the Cardinalship, but not the Churches and other Revenues which they used to enjoy, for these had been long before disposed of to others as Vacancies.

IN this Transaction the Pope satisfied, if not wholly yet in a great Measure, the King of *France*, but he did not satisfy him in other Actions, for he was sollicitous to procure an Agreement between the Emperor and the *Venetians*, which from the present Circumstances of Affairs seemed not difficult to be accomplished; it being believed that *Cæsar*, invited by fair Opportunities beyond the Mountains, was inclined

clined to ease himself of this Burden, that he might the more readily attend to the Recovery of *Burgundy* for his Grandson. And there were much more Grounds to hope that Peace was the Desire of the *Venetians*, who were terrified at the Defeat of the *French*, and knew that the King of *France*, on account of the Multiplicity of Dangers that threatened his own Kingdom, had-laid aside all Thoughts of *Italy* for the present Year. They perceived that the *Spanish Army* was approaching, and that it was to join the Troops which were in *Verona*; they found themselves exhausted of Money, weak in Soldiers, especially in Foot, and obliged to stand the Brunt alone, without the least Glimmerings of approaching Light to dispel their gloomy Apprehensions; and yet the Senate very constantly answered to all Proposals, that they would come to no Accommodation without the Restitution of *Vicenza* and *Verona*.

Constancy
of the
Venetian
Senate.

THE Emperor now requested of the Pope to supply him with Two Hundred Men at Arms to act against the *Venetians*,

and

A. D.

1513.

and tho' the Demand was very disagreeable to the Pontiff, who doubted that by granting it he should disgust the King of *France*, and did not comprehend how it could answer any Purpose of *Cæsar* or of himself to give Umbrage to the *Venetians* in a Matter of so small Importance, yet the Emperor obstinately persisting in his Importunity, he sent him the Number desired under the Command of *Troilo Savello*, *Achille Torello*, and *Mutio Colonna*, not chusing by a Refusal to shew any Sign that he did not intend to continue in the Confederacy contracted by the late Pontiff, and not thinking himself restrained by any Obligation to the *Venetians*, who, besides suffering their Troops, when *Alviano* lay at *Cremona*, in no very friendly Manner, to go marauding over the *Parmesan* and *Piacentine*, had never appointed any Ambassadors to pay him Obedience, according to antient Custom, till the *French* had been defeated, and had repass'd the Mountains.

Pope
assists *Cæ-*
sar against
the *Vene-*
tians.

THIS Step of the Pontiff alarmed the *Venetians*, not so much for the Importance

tance of such a Succour as out of an Apprehension that this was but a Prelude to much further Proceedings, taking it as a most evident Sign that his Holiness never intended to separate himself from their Enemies. They made no Alteration however in their first Resolutions, but, being rather disposed to brave Fortune as well as they could, sent Orders to their Proveditor of marine Affairs, who lay at *Corfu*, to assemble as many Ships as he could, and attack the maritime Towns of *Puglia*. But soon afterwards reflecting on the important Consequence of so highly provoking the King of *Aragon*, a powerful Prince, and who had always appeared to advise *Cæsar* to an Agreement, they countermanded those Orders, as the Result of Animosity rather than of Prudence. The Viceroy lay encamped at *Montagnana*, undetermined as yet what he was to undertake; for the *Germans* were in high Expectations, the Enterprises on *Padoua* or *Trevigi*, which only remained on Hand, were difficult, and the Forces were much inferior to the Difficulties; for the whole Army consisted of no more than

Prudent
Reflection
of the
Venetians;

A. D. 1513. than One Thousand Men at Arms, no great Number of light Horſe, and Ten Thousand Foot between *Spaniards* and *Germans*. The Reſolution on this Point being at laſt referred to the Determination of the Biſhop of *Goritz*, who was to be in the Army within a few Days, his Arrival was earneſtly expected.

Number
of the
Viceroy's
Army.

IN the mean time, while the *Spaniſh* Commiſſary in *Bergamo* was collecting the Fine of Twenty-five Thousand Ducats, impoſed on that City when it ſurrendered to the Viceroy, *Renzo da Ceri* ſent thither a Party from *Crema*, which entered by Night with the Aſſiſtance of ſome of the Town, ſeized the Commiſſary with that Part of the Money which he had received, and then returned to *Crema*.

Successful
Action of
*Renzo da
Ceri*.

PREPARATIONS were alſo making much about the ſame Time for raiſing new Diſturbances in *Genoa*, in compliance with the Inclinations of the Duke of *Milan* and the *Swiſs*, to whom *Antoniotto* and *Gieronimo Adorni* had Recourſe;

put-

putting the Duke in Mind of the Dependancy of their Fathers on his Father *Lodovico*, who by the Assistance of the *Adorni* had recovered, and many Years enjoyed in Peace the Dominion of *Genoa*, of which he had been treacherously deprived by the Doges of the Family of the *Fregosi*: That the *Adorni* had also a Share in the Misfortunes of the *Sforzas*, for at the same Time that *Lodovico* lost the Dutchy of *Milan* the *Adorni* were driven out of *Genoa*; it seemed reasonable therefore that they should in like manner partake of their good Fortune, since there remained the same Affection, and the same Fidelity: That they were not to be charged with the Fault, if, being destitute of all Hope, and finding none to hearken to them, they had at last, not out of Choice but Necessity, had Recourse to that King by whom they had before been expelled: On the other Side he ought not to forget the inveterate Hatred of the *Fregosi*, and the Multiplicity of injurious and fraudulent Practices with which his Father had been abused by *Battista* and the Cardinal, both of that Family, and

A. D.

1513.

The *Adorni* sollicit their Restoration.

A. D. ^{1513,} successive Doges of *Genoa*; he should consider also how it could be proper to put any Confidence in *Ottaviano Fregoso*, who, besides his inveterate Enmity, had refused to have a Superior in that City. To the *Swiss* they had proposed the powerful Incentives of Profit, Safety, and Honour; to pay them, if by their Assistance they should be restored to their Country, the same Sum of Money that *Fregoso* had paid to the *Spaniards*. They represented to them that as the Dutchy of *Milan* had been preserved by their Valour, so to them also belonged its Protection; they ought to consider therefore how inconsistent it would be with the Security of that State for *Genoa*, a neighbouring City, and of such Importance, to be under the Dominion of a Doge dependent on the King of *Aragon*; that it would be greatly unworthy of their Name and of their Glory to suffer *Genoa*, the Fruits of the Victory of *Novara*, to fall a Prize to the Covetousness of the *Spaniards*, who, while the *Swiss* marched with so much Resolution to the Mouths of the *French* Cannon, or, to speak more

pro-

properly, ran to meet Death, sat idle on the *Trebbia*, keeping themselves on the Watch, and prepared, according to the Event of the Battle, either to fly like Cowards, or fraudulently steal away the Fruits of a Victory obtained by the Blood of others. These Representations had such an Effect, that the Duke put his Troops in Motion, and the *Swiss* were ready to march with Four Thousand Foot; but the Threats of the Viceroy against the Duke, and the Authority of the Pontiff, who had the Interests of *Ottaviano* very much at Heart, put a Stop to their Proceedings.

IN the mean time the Viceroy took his March to *Battaglia*, a Place seven Miles distant from *Padoua*, where *Bernardino Carvagiale*, inconsiderately advancing with a few Horse to view the Situation of the Country, was taken by *Mercurio*, Commander of the *Venetian* light Horse. The Bishop of *Goritz* being now arrived in the Army, a Council was held on the future Operations, in which *Goritz* proposed the Siege of *Padoua*, re-

A. D.

1513.

Siege of
Padoua
debated.

presenting that so great a Dependence might, justly be laid on the Valour of the *Germans* and *Spaniards*, when exerted against *Italians*, that it was to be hoped they would in the End surmount all Difficulties; that the Conquest of *Trevigi* would indeed be somewhat less laborious, but the Advantage to be reaped from it was very different, for to become Master of *Trevigi* alone conduced but little to a Decision of the War, but the Acquisition of *Padoua* would entirely secure the Towns subject to the Emperor from all Insults and Dangers of War, and deprive the *Venetians* of all Hopes of ever retrieving their Losses. The Viceroy was of a different Opinion, as were almost all the other General Officers, judging it rather impossible than difficult to force *Padoua*, because of its Fortifications, which were almost incredible; it was also extremely well provided with Artillery and all Things necessary for its Defence, and had a very numerous Garrison, among whom were arrived, as at other Times, a good Number of the noble Youth of *Venice*. The Town itself, they said, was of a very large

large Compass, and upon that Account, A. D. 1513. with the Multitude of Defendants, and other Difficulties, it required two good Armies to surround and besiege it; which was so far from being the Case at present, that they were not able so much as to form one considerable Army, the Number of Soldiers not being great, and of these; the *Germans* especially, who used to be very uneasy under slow Payments, not being over zealous for the Service; that besides they did not abound with Ammunition, and laboured under a Scarcity of Pioneers, whose Service was very necessary for carrying on so difficult a Siege.

BUT the Reasons alledged by the Viceroy and others were at last obliged to give Way to the Will and Pleasure of the Bishop of *Goritz*, pursuant to which the Army drew nearer to *Padoua*, and posted itself at *Bassanello*, on the Right of the Canal, within a Mile and Half of the City. But the Camp in that Place being pretty much annoyed by some double Cannon planted on a Bastion of the Town, the Troops passed the Canal, and Second Siege of Padoua. camped

A. D. 1513. camped at a somewhat farther Distance from the Place, from whence they ordered some Foot to take Post at the Church of *Sant' Antonio* within half a Mile of *Padoua*, and, in order to make their Approaches with less Danger, set themselves at Work in casting up Trenches towards the Gate of *Sant' Antonio*. But the Works were very great, and in a Country whence all the Inhabitants were fled there was an extreme Want of Pioneers; so that the Trenches advanced but slowly, and not without Danger, the Workmen being greatly incommoded Day and Night by frequent and sudden Sallies. To this was added a Dearth of Provisions; for as but a small Part of the Town was surrounded by the Besiegers, the *Stradiotti*, having free Liberty to sally from the other Parts of the City, ranged over the Country at Discretion, and intercepted all Convoys designed for the Camp, which were also prevented by some armed Boats, which the *Venetians* had manned for that Purpose on the River *Adice*; for the Crews were continually landing

landing in one Part or other, and infested all the open Country.

A. D.

1513.

THE Viceroy beset with these Difficulties, and laying the State of Affairs once more before a Council, every one freely gave his Opinion that it would be less disgraceful to correct a Resolution imprudently taken by raising the Siege, than by persisting in an Error to give Occasion for greater Loss, attended with greater Shame and Reproach. This Opinion being reported by the Viceroy, in the Presence of many of the General Officers, to *Goritz*, who had refused to be present at the Council, he answered that, as the military Art was not his Profession, he was not ashamed to confess his Want of Judgment in Affairs relating to War, and tho' he had advised the Siege of *Padoua* he was not prompted to it by trusting to himself in that Resolution, but by trusting and following the Authority of the Viceroy, who both by Letters and by private Messengers had several times advised *Cæsar* to the Undertaking, and given him mighty Hopes of Success. At length, as Com-

A. D. 1513. } complaints and Disputes could not remove the Difficulties which every Moment increased, the Siege was raised, after the Army had lain eighteen Days before the Walls of *Padoua*; and the Besiegers, who had been continually harassed in decamping and afterwards in their March by the *Stradiotti*, retired to *Vicenza*, which was then void of Inhabitants, and a Prey to whoever was Master of the Field.

Siege
raised.

ACTIONS OF PARTIES. IN the mean time the Troops of the Duke of *Milan*, assisted by One Thousand Foot sent by the Viceroy under *Antonio da Leva*, made themselves Masters of *Ponte Vico*, garrisoned by Two Hundred *Venetian* Foot, who valiantly sustained the Siege, undaunted at Batteries or Mines, but after a Month were constrained to surrender for Want of Provisions. About the same Time *Renzo da Ceri* marched out of *Crema*, and routed *Silvio Savello*, who by Orders from the Duke of *Milan*, with his own Regiment and Four Hundred *Spanish* Foot, was marching to *Bergamo*. And a few Days after on Advice that a *Spanish* Commissary was returned to *Ber-*
to gamo

gamo in order to collect Money, he detached thither a Party of Three Hundred Horse and Five Hundred Foot, who took the Commissary, together with the Castle whither he was fled, and the Money that he had gathered, the Place having very few Defendants. In order to recover *Bergamo* there marched out of *Milan* Sixty Men at Arms, Three Hundred light Horse, and Seven Hundred Foot, with Two Thousand Men of the Mountain of *Brianza*, under *Silvio Savello* and *Cesare Fieramosca*, who in their March meeting with Five Hundred light Horse, and Three Hundred Foot, ordered by *Renzo* for *Bergamo*, easily put them to Flight, on which the others who were before in Possession of *Bergamo* abandoned it, only leaving a Garrison in the Castle, called *Capella*, that stands on a Mountain without the Town.

THE Viceroy and the Bishop of *Goritz* stayed some Days at *Vicenza*, and sent Part of the *Spaniards* under *Prospero Colonna* to pillage *Basciano* and *Marostico*, not for any Fault, but that the Substance
of

A. D.

1513.

}

Viceroy in
Vicenza.

of these unhappy People might go as far as possible towards the Maintenance of the Army, which wanted their Pay; for *Cæsar* always laboured under the same Difficulties, the King of *Aragon* was not able to support so great a Burden alone, and the Dutchy of *Milan*, excessively burdened by the *Swiss*, was incapable of contributing towards the Assistance of others. The Army was vastly incommoded in its Quarters at *Vicenza* by the continual Molestations of the Enemy's light Horse, who scoured all the Country Night and Day, and intercepted all Convoys of Provisions, not attended with a strong Guard, in which, because they had but very few light Horse, they were obliged to employ their Men at Arms. *Goritz* therefore, to avoid this Vexation, marched off with the *German* Foot to *Verona*, much dissatisfied with the Viceroy, who following him by easy Journeys halted at *Albere* on the *Adice*, where he rested some Days to give the *Veronese* an Opportunity to gather in their Corn and their Vintage, but not able to restrain the continual IncurSIONS of the light Horse,

who

who carried off the Oxen belonging to the Artillery from the *Germans* under the very Gates of *Verona*. A. D. 1513.

THE Viceroy had intended to distribute the Army into Quarters in the *Brescian* and *Bergamasco*, and at the same time to distress *Crema*, the only Place possessed by the *Venetians* beyond the *Mincio*; and the Report of his Design being spread, the Inhabitants of the adjacent Countries thought themselves secure, so that the *Padouan* was full of People and Goods. On this Consideration the Viceroy, who had no other Means of maintaining his Army than by Plunder, altered his Purpose, and sending for the *German* Foot marched to *Montagnana* and *Este*, whence he proceeded to the Village of *Bovolenta*, which, after making a vast Booty of Cattle, the Soldiers burnt with many stately Seats in that Neighbourhood. From *Bovolenta*, allured by a Desire of Plunder, and emboldened by knowing that the *Venetian* Troops were distributed into Garrisons at *Padoua* and *Trevigi*, the Viceroy took a Resolution, tho' contrary to

Ravages the Venetian Territory.

A. D.

1513.

to the Advice of *Prospero Colonna*, who censured it as rash and dangerous, to approach *Venice*. Passing therefore the River *Bacchiglione*, he pillaged *Pieve di Sacco*, a populous and plentiful Borough, after which he proceeded to *Mestri*, and from thence he arrived at *Marghera* on the Salt Water, where, to render the Memory of this Expedition the more famous, he discharged ten Pieces of heavy Artillery towards *Venice*, the Balls of which reached the Monastery of the Temple of *San Secondo*. At the same time the Troops plundered and laid waste the whole Country, from whence all the Inhabitants were fled, and very unfairly made War against the Walls; for not being satisfied with the vast Booty of Animals and Moveables, they burnt, in a most barbarous Manner, *Mestri*, *Marghera*, and *Lizzafusina*, with all the Towns and Villages in the Country, besides every House of more than ordinary Beauty and Appearance. In these Devastations the Savageness of the Pope's Soldiers, and of the other *Italians*, distinguished itself as much as that of the Barbarians, and was the more unpardonable
in

in them, as they unnaturally spent their Fury and Malice in defacing the Magnificence, and destroying the Ornaments of their own Country.*

BUT in *Venice*, when from the Smoke by Day, and the Flames by Night, the Inhabitants discerned the Burning of their Country Seats and Palaces, and heard in their own Houses and Habitations the thundering Noise of the Cannon, which was planted on Purpose to render their Disgrace the more notorious, it was impossible to express the public Indignation and Grief, every one taking to Heart, and bitterly regretting beyond Measure so dismal a Change of Fortune, that instead of so many Victories obtained both in *Italy* and foreign Parts, by Land as well as Sea, in Times past, they now saw a little Army,

in
 * *Mutio Colonna* was first detached with some Squadrons of Horse and a good Body of *Germans* to *Mestri*, where he took the Town and Castle, putting all the Defendants to the Sword, after which the Viceroy and *Colonna* advanced thither with the whole Army. *Lissafusina*, which is the Place where Vessels are halled by Windlasses out of the *Brenta* into the *Adriatic* Sea, was plundered by *Treilo Savello*, who also was the first that passed the *Brenta*, and made a large Booty of Cattle. *Giovie*.

A. D. 1513. in Comparifon of their antient Forces and Power, fo fiercely and in fo outrageous a Manner infult the Name of fo glorious a Republic. Provoked by fuch Indignities the Senate, which was hitherto determined not to try the Fortune of a Battle, whatever Hopes of Succes might be offered, now changed its Refolution, and consented to the preffing Importunities of *Bar-tolomeo d'Alviano* that they would give him Leave to affemble all the Soldiers, raife all the Peafants of the Plains and of the Mountains, and endeavour to intercept the Retreat of the Enemy. This Attempt was represented by *Alviano* as very eafy, becaufe having rashly advanced fo far beyond their Bounds, and got into the Middle between *Venice*, *Trevigi* and *Padoua*, it was impoffible for them, efpecially as they were encumbered with fo much Plunder, to retire without very great Danger, on account of the Inconveniencies of procuring Subfiftence, and the Obftacles of Rivers and difficult Paffes. The *Spaniards* were now fenfible of the Preparations on Foot againft them, and haftening their March were arrived at *Cittadella*, but were prevented

prevented from taking Possession of it by the Entrance of a good Number of Soldiers into the Place. They took up their Quarters therefore under *Cittadella* by the Side of the *Brenta*, in order to proceed to *Villa Conticella*, at which Place the River was fordable; but they were deterred from attempting the Passage by *Alviano*, who had posted himself on the other Side with Troops drawn up in Order, and had planted Cannon along the Bank of the River, carefully providing not only for the Defence of that Place, but of several others, which would have been easy to be passed without Resistance. The Viceroy continually making a Show as if he designed to pass the River at the Part below, to which *Alviano* had bent all his Forces, passed it the next Night without Resistance at the Pass of *Nuovacroce* three Miles above *Cittadella*, whence he directed his March with great Speed towards *Vicenza*. But *Alviano* resolving to oppose his Passage of the River *Bacchiglione* prevented him, and near to *Vicenza* was joined by Two Hundred and Fifty Men at Arms and Two Thousand Foot from *Trevigi* under *Gian*

Pagolo

A. D.
1513.

A. D. *Pagolo Baglione* and *Andrea Gritti*. It
 1513. was the Intention of the *Venetian* Generals not to engage the Enemy, who were making towards *Vicenza*; in a pitched Battle in an open Place, but by guarding the strong Passes, and advantageous Posts, to prevent their Passage to whatever Quarter they turned. For this Purpose they had sent *Gian Pagolo Manfrone* with Four Thousand Militia to *Montecchio*, and Five Hundred Horse with a Multitude of other Peasants to *Barberano* to stop the Passage of the Mountains, and had caused the Peasants to possess themselves of all the Passes that lead to *Germany*, and to fortify them with Ditches, Trenches and Stones, and with Trees thrown across the Roads. *Alviano* left *Teodoro da Tribulzi* with a sufficient Garrison in *Vicenza*, and he himself with the rest of the Army posted himself at *Olmo*, a Place two Miles distant from *Vicenza* on the Road that leads to *Verona*, blocking up that Pass and another near it with Trenches, Ditches, and Artillery disposed in proper Places in such a Manner that it was almost impossible to pass that Way. The Road then
 which

which the *Spaniards* designed to take towards *Verona* being thus stopped up, it was difficult also for those who marched along by the Mountains to extend themselves in a marshy Country, full of Pools of Water; and it was no less difficult and hazardous to take the narrow Way over the Mountains, which was guarded by a Multitude of armed Men. As they were thus surrounded with Enemies on all Sides, in Front, Flank and Rear, and continually harrassed by great Numbers of light Horse, and could come to no Resolution but what was attended with Difficulty, and much Hazard, when Night came on, after skirmishing a while, they took up their Quarters within half a Mile of the *Venetians*. The Generals, after holding a Council of War in the Night on the best Method to extricate themselves from such pressing Difficulties and Dangers, resolved, as least hazardous, to take the Road to *Germany*, in order to return to *Verona* by the Way of *Trent*, though they were under strong Apprehensions that, on account of the Length of the March, and the small Garrison they had left in the Place, the *Ve-*

A. D.

1513.

A. D. *netians* would prevent them, and enter the

1513.

Town before they could arrive. At Break of Day they put themselves in Motion towards *Bassano*, turning their Backs to the Enemy; which above all things disheartens and is pernicious to an Army; and though they marched in Order with so little Hopes of Safety that they thought the Loss of their Baggage and their least serviceable Horses the smallest Misfortune that was like to befall them, *Alviano* did not very quickly perceive their Decampment, which was made in great Silence, without Sound of Trumpet, or Beat of Drum, and a very thick Fog that happened that Morning intercepted all Prospect. But as soon as he had discovered that they were gone he hastened to follow them with all his Army, in which, it was said, were a Thousand Men at Arms, a Thousand Stradiotti, and Six Thousand Foot, harrassing them on every Quarter with the Stradiotti, and an infinite Number of Peasants who descended from the Mountains, and annoyed the Enemy with Harquebuses. Hence the Dangers in the March still increased as well as the Difficulties, which were augmented

mented by the Multitude of Carriages, and the vast Body of Cattle which they drove, and because they proceeded thro' narrow Roads between Ditches, which they had not the Conveniency of widening by levelling the Ground. But tho' they marched a great Pace they kept themselves in firm Order by the Goodness of the Troops, and the diligent Inspection of the Officers; and yet after they had proceeded in this distressed Condition about two Miles, they could not themselves but think it very difficult to hold out much longer. But the Rashness of the Enemies would not suffer them to wait with Patience the Maturity of so fair an Opportunity, which was almost brought to Perfection. *Alviano* incapable, as he always was, of restraining himself, attacked, not in a tumultuous Manner, but with his Army drawn up in Order of Battle, and with Cannon, the Rearguard of the Enemy commanded by *Prospero Colonna*. It is reported for a Truth that *Alviano* delaying to engage was very sharply reprimanded by *Loredano*, one of the Proveditors, for not charging the Enemies, but suffering

A. D.
1513.

Battle of
Vicenza.

A. D.

1513.

ing them, when now they were already discomfited, to march off in Safety.

These Reproaches were so provoking to a General of such extraordinary Fierceness, that he hurried himself into precipitate Measures, and in a Rage gave the Signal of Battle. Others ascribe the Cause of the Engagement to *Prospero Colonna*, by whose Advice the Viceroy chose rather to try the uncertain Fortune of the Field, than to act otherwise in Dependance on the slender Hopes he could entertain of saving himself. They add that when the Viceroy gave the Signal for returning towards *Vicenza*, *Alviano* had posted *Gian Pagolo Baglione* with the Troops arrived from *Trevigi*, in the Suburbs of that City, and he himself with the rest of the Army had taken Post at *Creatia*, two Miles from *Vicenza*, where was a little Hill from whence he could conveniently do Execution upon the Enemy with his Cannon. At the Foot of this Hill was a Valley capable of an Army in Battle Array, but accessible only by one narrow Road near the Hills, and almost surrounded by Marshes; this Place *Prospero* knew to be very incommodious for the

the Enemy, and advised to attack them on that Side. However it were *Prospero* began the Fight with much Valour, and sent to hasten the Viceroy who commanded the main Battle; and the *Spanish* Infantry on one Side, and the *German* on the other, under the Command of the Marquis of *Pescara*, moving at the same Time, they attacked the *Venetians* with such vast Impetuosity that they could not stand the Shock, but were broken and put to Flight almost in an Instant. For the Foot not sustaining the Fury of the first Onset threw their Pikes on the Ground, and immediately began to fly in a most shameful Manner, the Regiment of *Romagna*, of which *Babone di Naldo* of *Brigbella* was Colonel, being the first to give so disgraceful an Example to the others; and the same vile Cowardice and Panic ran through the rest of the Army, there being scarce any that offered to fight, or turn their Faces to the Enemy. Thus was the Valour of *Alviano* rendered useless at least by the Flight of his Soldiers, and he was forced to leave without fighting the Victory to his Enemies, who remained Masters of

A. D.

1513.

Venetians
defeated.

A. D. 1513. the Artillery and all the Baggage: The Venetian Foot were dispersed into different Places; of the Men at Arms Part fled to the Mountains, and others saved themselves in *Padoua* and *Trevigi*, whither also fled for Refuge *Alviano* and *Gritti*. There were killed *Francesco Calzone*, *Antonio Pio* an old Officer, together with *Costanzo* his Son, *Meleagro da Forli*, and *Luigi da Parma*; but *Paolo da Sant' Angelo*, being almost spent, escaped, though covered with Wounds. The Prisoners were *Gian Pagolo Baglione*, *Giulio* Son of *Gian Pagolo Manfrone*, *Malatesta da Sogliano*, and many other Officers and Men of Note, but with worse Fortune the Proveditor *Loredano*, for a Quarrel arising between two Soldiers about their Property in him as a Prisoner, one of them barbarously cut his Throat. The Number of the Killed and Taken was in all about Four Hundred Men at Arms, and Four Thousand Foot; for many were stopped in their Flight by the Marsh; and the Loss sustained among the Fugitives was the greater because *Teodoro da Trivulzi*, having shut the Gates of *Vicenza* to prevent the Entrance of the Pursuers

Pursuers with the Croud of them that fled, admitted no Person; hence Multitudes seeking a Passage were drowned in the neighbouring River, among whom were *Ermes Bentivoglio*, and *Sacramoro Visconti*. Such was the Overthrow which the *Venetians* received on the Seventh Day of *October* near to *Vicenza*, memorable for the Example it gave to Generals by which they are warned in Battles to put no Confidence in *Italian* Infantry, who are unexperienced in firm and close Engagements; and also for the remarkable Turn, as it were in an Instant, of Victory to that Party who had very small Hopes of their Safety; and this Defeat would have endangered *Trevigi* or *Padoua*, though into this latter City *Bartolomeo d'Alviano*, and into the other *Andrea Gritti* with the Remains of the Army had retired for Refuge, had not, besides the Strength of the Towns, the Time of the Year, which was near the rainy Season, been contrary, and the Generals incapable of disposing at Pleasure the Soldiers under Want of Pay to go upon new Enterprises. The *Venetians*, however, afflicted with so many Calamities,

A. D.
1513.

A. D. 1513. and terrified by an Event so contrary to their Expectations, were not wanting to provide as well as they could for the Security of *Padoua* and *Trevigi*, to which, according to Custom in Times of extraordinary Danger, they sent a good Number of their noble Youth,

Treaty of Peace resumed. AFTER the Battle the Thoughts of the Warriors were diverted from Arms to a Treaty of Peace, which was negotiated at *Rome*, where was arrived the Bishop of *Goritz*, whose principal Commission was to pay Obedience to the Pope in the Name of the Emperor and of the Archduke. He was attended by *Francesco Sforza* Duke of *Bari*, who came to pay Obedience in the Name of *Massimiliano Sforza* his Brother. And tho' *Goritz* represented, as at other Times, the Person of the Emperor in *Italy*, yet laying aside his usual Ostentation he entered *Rome* in a modest Manner, and would make no Use on the Road of the Ensigns of the Cardinalship which were sent to him as far as *Poggibonzi* by the Pontiff.

AT the Arrival of the Cardinal of *Goritz*, a Compromise was made by him and the *Venetian* Ambassadors for referring all the Differences between the Emperor and the Republic to the Arbitration of the Pontiff. But this Compromise was more in Name and Show than in Effect and Substance; for neither of the Parties, on account of the Importance of the Cause, would acquiesce in the Arbitration of a Person suspected, unless he received a separate and private Promise from him not to bring in his Arbitration without his Consent*. The Compromise being made, the Pope by a Brief suspended Hostilities between the Parties, which, though it was joyfully received by all, was but ill observed by the Viceroy, who had done nothing since the Victory, but plunder and ravage the Country, and by sending Part of his Soldiers to the Polesine of *Rovigo* had done great Damage to those Parts, sometimes alledging in Excuse that they

* The Pope promised by a Writing under his own Hand to do nothing but what should please both Parties, *Mocenigo*.

A. D. they were the Territory of *Cæſar*, some-
 times ſaying that he expected Advice from
Goritz. Nor had the Compromiſe a more
 happy Iſſue than it had in the Beginning
 or Progreſs, on account of the Difficulties
 which occurred in the Treaty; for *Cæſar*
 would conſent to no Agreement without
 retaining Part of the Towns, and receiving
 a very large Sum of Money for the reſt;
 and, on the contrary, the *Venetians* de-
 manded all the Towns, and offered but a
 ſmall Sum of Money. It was believed
 that the Catholic King, though he openly
 ſeemed to deſire, as he had formerly done,
 this Agreement, had now ſecretly diſſua-
 ded it, and to render it the more difficult, as
 it was underſtood, had at the ſame Time
 put *Breſcia* in the Hands of *Cæſar*, which
 Town the Viceroy, proteſting that he re-
 tained it to render that Prince the more
 diſpoſed to Peace, could never before be
 induced to deliver up to him. Of the
 Cauſes of *Cæſar*'s Averſeneſs to Peace there
 were various Conjectures: It was imagined
 that he had done ſuch Injuries and Da-
 mages to the *Venetians*, that he could never
 expect for the future to live in ſincere
 Friendſhip

Compro-
 miſe be-
 tween *Cæ-
 ſar* and
 the *Vene-
 tians* takes
 no Effect.

1513.

Friendship with them, and therefore declined an Accommodation ; or for another Reason, which was because he knew that his Authority and Grandeur in *Italy* depended on his keeping in Heart that Army which, for Want of Money, he could not maintain without oppressing and taxing the People that were his Friends, and ravaging and plundering the Countries of his Enemies.

THE Affair of the Accommodation was therefore left imperfect by the Pontiff, and a few Days after the *Germans*, by Means of some Exiles, surpris'd *Marano*, a maritime Town of *Friuli*, and afterwards took *Montefalcone* ; and though the *Venetians*, being desirous to recover *Marano*, which is Sixty Miles from *Venice*, besieged it by Land and Sea, yet their Fortune proving alike in all Places, they were repulsed with Loss in both Attacks. *Renzo da Ceri* was the only Person at that Time who, to his high Commendation, supported in some Measure the Reputation of the *Venetian Arms*. For though in *Crema*, of which he was Governor, there was a

Pestilence,

A. D.
1513.

Renzo da Ceri an active Officer.

A D.
1513.

Pestilence, and no small Scarcity of Provisions, and the Place, by the Distribution of the *Spaniards* and *Milanesè* on account of the Season into Quarters through the circumjacent Towns, was in a manner besieged, that vigilant Officer surpris'd *Calcinaja*, a Town in the *Bergamasco*, and took *Cesare Fieramosca* with Forty Men at Arms and Two Hundred light Horse of the Regiment of *Prospero Colonna*. And a few Days after he entered *Quinzano* by Night, and took Prisoner the Lieutenant of the Count of *Santa Severina* with fifty Men at Arms; and in *Trevi* he took Ten Men at Arms more belonging to *Prospero*.

Attempt
of the
Adorni
miscarries

THE other Affairs of *Italy* at this Time proceeded in a peaceable Manner, except that the *Adorni* and *Fieschi*, with Three Thousand Men of the Country People, and perhaps with the secret Favour of the Duke of *Milan*, took *Specie*, and other Places in the *Eastern Riviera*, and afterwards approached the Walls of *Genoa*; but being baffled in their Attempt they marched off, almost like Men after a Defeat, with the Loss of Part of the Troops which

which they had brought with them, and some Pieces of Artillery: A. D. 1513.

IN *Tuscany* also there appeared some Beginnings of new Disturbances; for the *Florentines* began to molest the *Lucchese*, in Hopes that, for Fear of the Pope, they would redeem their Peace by the Restitution of *Pietrasanta* and *Mutrone*, alledging that it was not fit they should enjoy the Benefit of that Confederacy which they had violated by secretly lending Assistance to the *Pisans*. The *Lucchese* complaining to the Pope, and to the Catholic King who had taken them under his Protection, of those Grievances, and finding no Redress, were content at last, for avoiding greater Inconveniencies, to refer the Cause to the Arbitration of the Pontiff, who, being also authorized by the *Florentines*, gave Sentence that the *Lucchese*, who had before restored the *Carfagnana* to the Duke of *Ferrara*, should yield up the Towns aforesaid to the *Florentines*, and that there should be a perpetual Peace and Confederacy between them.

Differences between the *Florentines* and *Lucchese* compromised.

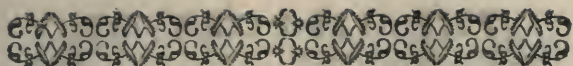
A. D.

1513.

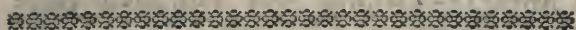
At the End of this Year the Castles of *Milan* and *Cremona*, which had before, because they begun to want Provisions, capitulated to surrender if they were not relieved within a certain Time, were delivered into the Possession of the Duke of *Milan*. Nothing now remained to the King of *France* in *Italy* but the Lantern of *Genoa*, which the *Genoese* about the Close of the Year attempted to ruin and demolish by Mines. For this Purpose they approached the Wall by Means of a Kind of wooden Gallery thirty Braces long and twenty wide, capable of Three Hundred Men, and begirt all around with Woolpacks to resist the Strokes of the Artillery: A Work of singular Artifice and Invention, but, as it frequently happens with such Machines, found to be of no Service upon Tryal*.

* The Garrison perceiving the Approach of the Machine, by Means of a great Fire which they had kindled on the Rampart, played on her with their Cannon till she sunk, with the Destruction of all that were in it, except some few saved by swimming or in Boats sent out for that Purpose. *Giovio.*

The End of the Eleventh Book.



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



B O O K XII.


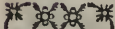
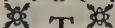

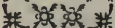



T H E C O N T E N T S.

King of England with a potent Army invades the French Dominions, obtains a Victory, takes Terrouane and Tournay, and then makes Peace, which the Pope labours in vain to make universal, the King of France being intent on recovering the Dutchy of Milan, and Cæsar on prosecuting the War against the Venetians. Marriage and Death of Lewis XII. Succeeded by Francis I. who passes into Italy, defeats the Swiss in the famous Battle of Marignano, and recovers Milan. Interview of the Pope and King of France at Bologna. Advantages of the Spaniards

Spaniards *over the French and Venetians.*
 Pope *deprives the Duke of Urbino of his*
Dominions, and bestows them on Lorenzo
de' Medici his Nephew. Verona *restored*
to the Venetians, and an End put to the
Venetian War.

1513.







 HIS Year was also memorable
 T for very destructive Wars in the
 Ultramontane Countries, of which
 I shall give some Account, for the same
 Reasons, and with the same Brevity, as I
 related those of the preceding Year. The
 Origin of these Movements was the Reso-
 lution of the King of *England* to attack
 this Summer the Kingdom of *France* with
 a very powerful Force, both by Sea and
 Land. In order to facilitate the Success
 of this Enterprize, he had agreed with *Cæ-*
sar to give him an Hundred and Twenty
 Thousand Ducats, to enable him to enter
 at the same Time *Burgundy* with Three
 Thousand Horse, and Eight Thousand
 Foot, Part *Swiss* Part *Germans*. He pro-
 mised also a Sum of Money to the *Swiss* to
 engage them to act in Concert with *Cæsar*,
 who consented that they should keep Pos-
 session

King of
England
 prepares
 to invade
France.

cession of Part of *Burgundy* as a Security till he had entirely satisfied them for their Arrears. The King of *England* persuaded himself also that the Catholic King his Father-in-law, in Consequence of the Confederacy in which he was engaged with *Cæsar* and himself, to which he had always assured them of his constant Adherence, would at the same Time attack the Enemy from his own Borders. The News therefore of the Truce which that King had made with the King of *France*, though it did not cool the Ardor for the War, was received with so much Indignation, not only by the King, but by all the People of *England*, that, had not the royal Authority interposed, the *Spanish* Ambassador would have been torn in Pieces by the Populace. The Conveniency of the Dominions of the Archduke was a farther Encouragement to the War, not so much because that Prince did not prohibit his Subjects from listing themselves in the Service of the Enemies of *France*, as because he promised to grant Leave for Provisions to be conveyed from his Territories to the *English* Army.

A. D.

1513.

Measures
taken by
Lewis for
his De-
fence.

AGAINST these mighty Preparations, and most threatening Dangers, the King of *France* did not omit to make all possible Provisions. By Sea he prepared a powerful Fleet to oppose that which was fitting out in *England*; and by Land he assembled an Army from all Parts, and was especially careful to list as many *German* Foot as he could procure. He had also before solicited the *Swiss* that, though they were not willing to assist him in his Wars in *Italy*, they would at least consent to grant him a Body of their Troops for the Defence of *France*. But the Cantons being wholly intent on establishing the Dutchy of *Milan*, answered that they would not comply with his Request, unless he returned to the Communion of the Church, evacuated the Castle of *Milan* (which was not yet surrendered) renounced his Pretensions to that State, and promised never more to molest *Milan* nor *Genoa*. To divert the King of *England* with a Jealousy of his own Security, the King had also invited into *France* the Duke of *Suffolk* as a Competitor to that Kingdom, which provoked
the

the *English* King to cut off the Head of the Duke's Brother, who had been kept a Prisoner in *England* since the Time that *Philip* King of *Castile*, after his Voyage to *Spain*, had delivered him up to this King's Father. The King of *France* had also some Hopes of a Peace with the Catholic King, because *Ferdinando*, as soon as he had heard of the League made between him and the *Venetians*, apprehending that the Dutchy of *Milan* could not be defended, had sent one of his Secretaries to *France* with new Proposals. And it was believed that, when he considered that the Greatness of the Emperor and of the Archduke might occasion some Alteration in his Government of *Castile*, he could not be entirely pleased with humbling the Crown of *France*. Moreover, he excited *James* King of *Scotland*, his old Ally, to invade the Kingdom of *England*; and that Prince, who had much stronger Inducements from his own Interest, for the Depression of *France* would be dangerous to his Kingdom, was very ready to engage in the Quarrel, and demanded nothing of

A. D.

1513.

A. D. 1513
 the King but Fifty Thousand Livres to purchase Provisions and Ammunition.

LEWIS, however, had proceeded but slowly in making these Preparations, because he had diverted his Thoughts to the Enterprize against *Milan*, and was also retarded by his usual Negligence, and his vain Confidence in the Truce which he had made with the Catholic King. The King of *England* spent many Months in making Preparations, for his Subjects had enjoyed a long Peace, and the Methods of War being much altered, the Bows and other Arms that were in use in former Times were now become useles. The King was therefore under a Necessity of making vast Provision of Arms, Artillery and Ammunition, to take into Pay a good Body of *German* Foot, as experienced Soldiers, and to purchase great Numbers of Horses, because it was the antient Custom of the *English* to fight on Foot. For these Reasons the *English* Forces did not pass the Sea before the Month of *July*, after which they encamped several Days near *Boulogne*, and then went and laid Siege to *Terrouane*,

English
 pass the
 Sea into
France
 and be-
 siege *Ter-*
rouane.

Terrouane, a Town situated on the Borders of *Picardy*, and inhabited by the People whom the *Latins* call *Morini*. Not long after the King passed the Sea in Person, and now had in his whole Army Five Thousand Fighting Horse, and above Forty Thousand Foot. This Multitude encamped together, and, after they had, according to the antient Custom of the *English*, surrounded their Quarters with Trenches, Carts and Ramparts of Wood, defended by Cannon planted all around, so that they seemed to be inclosed within a walled Town, they plied their Batteries against *Terrouane* in several Places, and worked on Mines; but their Valour not answering the Greatness of their Preparations, nor the Fame of their Fierceness, they did not venture to give the Assault. There were in the Town, which was well furnished with Artillery, Two Hundred and Fifty Lances and Two Thousand Foot; a small Garrison, but not without Hopes of a Reinforcement: For the King of *France*, who had been careful to assemble the Army, which was designed to consist of Twenty-five Hundred Lances,

A. D.

1513

A. D.

1513

Ten Thousand *German* Foot commanded by the Duke of *Guelderland*, and Ten Thousand Foot of the National Troops, was arrived at *Amiens*, that the Vicinity of his Forces might animate the Hopes and Resolution of the Besieged. The Garrison were under no Apprehensions but of the Want of Provisions, with which they had neglected to supply themselves, except it were with Bread, of which they had enough, and annoyed the Enemy both Night and Day with their Cannon, by which the King's great Chamberlain was killed, and *Talbot*, Captain of *Calais*, had a Leg shot off. The King of *France* was much concerned at the Danger of *Terrouane*, but because he had too late, and with a *French* Negligence, set about providing himself, and because of the Difficulty of procuring the *German* Infantry, he had not as yet assembled all his Troops. He was resolved, however, at all Events not to hazard a Battle, for if he should be defeated the whole Kingdom of *France* would be exposed to most manifest Danger, and therefore he trusted to the Winter, which in those cold Countries was already

ready

THE WARS IN ITALY.

215

A. D.

1513.

ready on its Approach. But as soon as the Army was assembled, he continued himself at *Amiens*, but ordered the Troops to march to *Aire*, in the Neighbourhood of *Terrouane*, under the Command of M. de *Longueville*, otherwise entitled Marquis of *Rotelin*, a Prince of the royal Blood, and Captain of the King's Lifeguard, and of M. de *la Palisse*, with a Charge to avoid all Occasions of coming to an Engagement, and employ themselves in furnishing with Necessaries for their Defence the Towns in that District, which had, thro' the same Negligence, been hitherto but ill provided, and to throw, if possible, some Succours of Men and Provisions into *Terrouane*; an Attempt difficult in itself, but become more difficult for Want of Agreement between the Generals, each of them, one on account of his Nobility, and the other on the Score of his long Experience in War, arrogating to himself the chief Management of Affairs. The Garrison, however, of *Terrouane* demanding a Reinforcement of Men, Fifteen Hundred Lances approached the Place at a Side most remote from the *English* Quarters, and

A. D.

1513.

while the Cannon of the Town kept playing on Three Thousand *English* posted at certain Passes to intercept the Succours in so furious a Manner that they could not effect their Design, and the rest of the Army was prevented from advancing to stop the *French* by Means of certain Traverses of Ramparts and Trenches cast up by the Besieged, Captain *Frontaille* made his Way to the Gate, and introduced into *Terrouane* Eight Hundred Men at Arms without their Horses as it had been desired, and then retired without Loss; and he might in the same Manner have put Provisions into the Place, if he had brought them with him. The *French* Generals encouraged by the Success of this Attempt approached another Day with a great Quantity of Provisions, in order to introduce them by the same Way. But the *English* had thrown up a new Fortification on that Side, and presenting themselves prevented their advancing forwards, and on the other hand sent out their Cavalry and Fifteen Thousand *German* Foot to cut off their Retreat. The *French* returning without Suspicion, and for Con-
veniency

veniency mounted on little Horses, as soon ^{A. D.} as they were attacked immediately betook ^{1513.} themselves to Flight without Resistance, ^{English} in which Disorder they lost Three Hun- ^{defeat the} dred Men at Arms, who were taken ^{French.} Prisoners, and among them the Marquis of *Rotelin*, Generals *Bayard* and *Faiette*, with many other Persons of Note; *Palisse* was also taken, but had the good Fortune to make his Escape. It was believed that if the *English* had known how to follow their Victory, they would that Day have opened themselves a Way to become Masters of the Kingdom of *France*. For a great Body of *Germans*, that had followed the Men at Arms, had rested behind; and if they had been defeated the *French* Army would have received so great a Loss that, as we are assured, the King on the first Advices imagining that the *Germans* also had been routed, looked upon his Affairs as in a desperate State, and miserably lamenting and bemoaning himself thought of nothing but flying into *Bretany*. But the *English*, as soon as they had put to Flight the *French* Cavalry, intent on the Acquisition of *Terrouane*, conducted the
 Prisoners

A. D. 1513. Prisoners with their Colours before the Walls. The Besieged therefore despairing of Relief, and the *Germans* that were in Garrison not willing to suffer without Hope the utmost Scarcity of Provisions, capitulated, and agreed to march out of the Place, if it was not relieved in two Days, the Soldiers to pass unmolested, and to keep their Horses; and it is not doubted that their bravely sustaining a Siege Fifty Days was of signal Service to the King of *France*. A few Days before *Maximilian* arrived in Person in the *English* Army, and refreshed his Memory with the Sight of those Places where, though now unlike himself, he had, when yet a Youth, with so much Glory defeated the Army of *Lewis XI.* King of *France**; while he stayed he was complimented with the Title of Commander in chief†.

Terrouane
taken.

BUT

* When the *French* and *Germans* contended about the Bounds of their Dominions *Maximilian*, when very young, in the Plains of *Cbingatta* (near *Terrouane*) routed *Philip Des Cordes*, a very experienced General of *Lewis XI.* at the Head of Thirty Thousand *French*. *Giovio*.

† *English* Historians say that he did *Henry VIII.* the Honour to list under him, wore the *English* red Cross, and received a Salary of an Hundred Crowns a Day.

BUT the King of *France* was not only molested on that Side of his Dominions by the *English*, but distressed in a more dangerous Manner in a different Quarter by the *Swiss*. The Populace of that Nation being ardently desirous that the King should give up the Right which he pretended to the Dutchy of *Milan*, and burning with inexpressible Hatred against him because he shewed no Compliance, had set on Fire the Houses of many private Citizens of *Lucern*, whom they had suspected of immoderately favouring the *French* Interest, and continuing their Proceedings against those who laboured under the like Suspicion, had constrained all the principal of them to deliver up their Pensions upon Oath for the Service of the Community. After this, taking up Arms by public Decree, they entered *Burgundy* in a tumultuous Manner, to the Number of Twenty Thousand Foot, being supplied with Artillery and a Thousand Horse by *Cæsar*, who had promised them and the King of *England* to go with them in Person, but out of his usual Inconstancy, or from some Jealousy which he had conceived

A. D.

1513.

Swiss enter *Burgundy* and besiege *Dijon*.

A. D.

1513.

ceived of them, now refused it. They continued their March till they came before *Dijon*, the Capital of *Burgundy*, to which they laid Siege. In the City was a Garrison of a Thousand Lances and Six Thousand Foot commanded by *Tremouille*. The Bulk of the Soldiers and Subalterns among the *Swiss*, being apprehensive of the Treachery of their Generals, who had already begun to treat with the *French*, planted the Artillery, and began to batter the Town*. *Tremouille* being under no small Apprehensions that he should not be able to defend the Place, had Recourse to the last Remedy, and suddenly came to an Agreement without waiting for a Commission from the King. The Articles were in Substance, that the King should be bound to renounce his Right to the Dutchy of *Milan*, and to pay the *Swiss*, at certain Times, Six Hundred Thousand Ducats; for the Performance of which Conditions he was to deliver into their Hands four honourable

Make
Peace.

* *Giovio* writes that it was *Ulric*, Marquis of *Wirtemberg*, Commander of the *German* Horse, and Director of the Siege, who ordered the Battery, that he might give the Besieged no Rest, because he distrusted the Faith of the *Swiss*.

honourable Persons of high Rank and Quality as Hostages. The *Swiss* were obliged to nothing but to return Home to their own Habitations, so that they were not bound to live in Friendship with the King of *France* for the future, but might even return whenever they pleased, and invade his Kingdom. The *Swiss* on receiving the Hostages immediately set out on their March homewards, excusing themselves for making an Agreement without the King of *England*, by alledging that they had not received the Money he had promised them at the Time when it was due.

THIS Agreement was thought to have saved the Kingdom of *France*; for if the *Swiss* had taken *Dijon*, they would have had it in their Power to march without Resistance to the Gates of *Paris*; and it was probable that the King of *England* would have passed the River *Somme*, and marched into *Champagne*, in order to join them: An Attempt, the Success of which could not be prevented by the *French*, who at that Time had no more than Six Thousand

A. D. ^{1513.} sand *German* Foot, and the Duke of *Guelderland* not being yet arrived were under a Necessity of keeping themselves inclosed within their Towns. The King, however, took it very much to Heart, and was highly dissatisfied with *Tremouille* on account of the Quantity of Money he had engaged to pay, but much more because he had obliged him to recede from his Rights, as a Step very prejudicial in itself, and unworthy of the Grandeur and Glory of the Crown of *France*. Wherefore tho' the Danger would still be very great if the *Swiss* should be provoked to return and make a fresh Attack upon his Dominions, yet trusting to the near Approach of Winter, and being sensible that the Enemy could not get their Forces together again under a considerable Time, he resolved to run the utmost Hazard sooner than deprive himself of his Right to that Dutchy, of which he was excessively fond. He determined then not to ratify the Agreement, but began to propose new Conditions, to which the *Swiss* shewed themselves utterly averse, and threatened to cut off the Heads of the Hostages if the

Ratification

King of
France re-
fuses to
ratify the
Peace.

Ratification did not arrive within a certain
Time.

A. D.

1513.

TERROUANE being taken, and the Archduke pretending a Title to it by antient Right, and the King of *England* claiming it as his own by Conquest in lawful War, it was thought fit by *Cæsar* and the King to suppress the Seeds of Dissention by demolishing the Walls, though it had been forbidden them by the Articles of the Capitulation. *Cæsar* then immediately left the Army, making this Observation on the *English*, That, as far as he could perceive by Experience, they were rash, and had but little Skill in War.

Cæsar's
Observa-tion on
the *English*

FROM *Terrouane* the King of *England* went and laid Siege to *Tournay*, a very strong and rich City, and most devoted by antient Inclination to the Crown of *France*, but surrounded by the Dominions of the Archduke, and therefore incapable of receiving Relief from the *French* while they were not Masters of the Field. This Step of the *English* was very acceptable to the King of *France*, who was afraid they

would

Tournay
besieged
and taken
by the
English.

A. D.

1513

would come and attack him in some more important Parts of his Kingdom, which would have reduced him to great Straits. For though he had by this time assembled a potent Army, in which, besides Five Hundred Lances in Garrison at *St. Quintin*, he had Two Thousand Lances, Eight Hundred *Albanian* light Horse, Ten Thousand *German* Foot, a Thousand *Swiss*, and Eight Thousand Foot of his own Kingdom, the *English* Army was much more powerful, and reported, from a daily Accession of new Troops, to amount, to no less than Eighty Thousand Fighting Men. The King therefore, who had no great Hopes of defending *Boulogne* and the rest of the Country beyond the *Somme*, to which he was apprehensive the *English* would turn their Arms, thought of nothing but how to defend *Abbeville* and *Amiens* and the other Towns on this Side the *Somme*, and to dispute the Passage of that River, and so to proceed temporising till the Setting in of the cold Season, or till the Diversion of the King of *Scotland*, from which he had great Expectations, produced some Effect, his Army in the mean time patrolling along
the

the *Somme* to prevent the Passage of the Enemy. It was believed that this Resolution of the *English*, which was certainly unworthy of military Men, and of so great an Army, was occasioned either by the Persuasions of *Cæsar*, who might hope that *Tournay* when taken would then or in Process of Time come under the Dominion of his Nephew, to whom he pretended it belonged; or by an Apprehension of wanting Provisions if they marched another Way, or that other Towns to which they might lay Siege would be relieved by the Enemy. The City of *Tournay*, being unprovided with foreign Troops, despairing of Relief, and battered on several Quarters, made but a short Defence, and surrendered on Condition of Safety to the Persons and all the Effects of the People within it, only paying, on the Account of redeeming themselves from Plunder, an Hundred Thousand Ducats.

A. D:

1513.

FORTUNE did not shew herself more favourable to the *French* in other Parts; for the King of *Scotland* passing the River

A. D. *Twiced*, and coming to an Engagement with the *English* Army, in which was *Catharine* Queen of *England* in Person, was defeated with a very great Slaughter, in which fell above Twelve Thousand *Scots*, together with the King himself, his natural Son, the Archbishop of *St. Andrews*, and many other Prelates and Nobles of that Kingdom. After these Conquests and Victories, the Season now drawing on towards the End of *October*, the *English* King, leaving a numerous Garrison in *Tournay*, and disbanding his *German* Horse and Foot, returned into *England*, having reaped no other Fruit from a War undertaken with such vast Preparations, and inestimable Charges, than the City of *Tournay*, for *Terrouane* being dismantled was left in the Power of the King of *France*. He was induced to pass the Sea because, it being impossible in those very cold Countries to continue the Operations of the War, it could be of no Service to tarry abroad at so vast an Expence; and besides he was thinking to take some Care about settling the Tuition of the new King of *Scotland*, a Child, and his Sister's Son;

the

King of
Scotland
defeated
and slain.

the Duke of *Albany*, one of the Blood *A. D.*
royal of the *Scots*, being already gone for *1513.*
that Kingdom.

UPON *Henry's* Departure the King of
France disbanded all his Army except the
German Infantry, being delivered from *King of*
the Fear of present Dangers, but not *France*
from Apprehensions of the Return of *under*
greater Difficulties with the succeeding *Appre-*
Year; for the King of *England* when he *hen-*
left *France* had protested with many
threatening Speeches that he would return
the next Summer, and that he might not
again be obliged to take the Field so late in
the Year had already begun to make new
Preparations. *Lewis* knew also that *Cæsar*
was in the same Disposition to act against
him, and he was afraid lest the Catholic
King, who had recourse to various Sub-
terfuges for excusing to his Adversaries the
Truce he had made, that he might not
wholly alienate them from him, should
take up Arms in their Favour; and he
had strong Reasons for his Apprehensions
from an intercepted Letter, in which that
King, writing to his Ambassador at *Cæsar's*

A. D. 1513. Court, and discovering an Intention far different from his Words, in which he always pretended an ardent Desire to enter into a War with the Infidels; and to pass the Seas in Person for the Recovery of *Jerusalem*, proposed to act in Concert with *Cæsar* for procuring the Dutchy of *Milan* to be transferred to *Ferdinando* their common Grandson, and younger Brother to the Archduke; demonstrating to him that when this Design was effected the rest of *Italy* would be necessitated to receive Laws from them, and that it would be easy for *Cæsar*, especially when assisted by his Forces, to obtain what since the Death of his Consort had always been his Wish, the Pontificate, which once accomplished he might transfer the Imperial Crown from himself to the Archduke; concluding that such grand Designs could not be brought to Perfection but by Time and Opportunities. The King of *France* was fully convinced that the Animosities of the *Swiss*, to whom he made very large Offers, were not in any Measure pacified; but rather exasperated by new Provocations, for the Hostages given them by *Tremouille*, being apprehensive

apprehensive, from the King's Non-observance of the Articles, that they should lose their Heads, had privately withdrawn themselves into *Germany*; whence the King had Reason to be afraid that either at present, or at least the next Year, taking Advantage of his other manifold Distresses, they would make a Descent either into *Burgundy* or *Dauphiné*.

THESE Difficulties were in some measure the Cause that induced the King to consent to an Agreement with the Pope in spiritual Matters, the principal of which was the total Extirpation of the *Pisan* Council. This Point, which had been under Debate several Months, was attended with many Difficulties, and particularly with respect to the Things done either by the Authority of that Council, or against the Authority of the Pope; the Approbation of which appeared utterly unworthy of the Apostolic See, and the Revocation of them, it was not doubted, would occasion very great Confusion. A Commission therefore was granted to three Cardinals to consider of Means for providing

A. D.

1513.

viding against this Disorder. Some Difficulties also arose because it did not appear convenient to grant the King Absolution unless he demanded it, and on the other hand the King refused his Consent to demand it, because he would avoid branding with Schism his own Person and the Crown of *France*. At last the King quite tired with these Vexations, and tormented by the Importunities of all the People of his Kingdom, who ardently desired to be restored to Communion with the *Roman Church*, and also greatly moved by the pressing Instances of the Queen, who had always shewn her Abhorrence of these Disputes, determined to comply with the Will of the Pope, and not without some Hope also that this Obstacle being removed, his Holiness, according to his Intention, which he had artfully intimated to him, would shew himself not averse to his Interest, tho' there was a new Occasion of Dispute added to those of long standing, for the Pope had by a Brief commanded the King of *Scotland* not to molest the King of *England*.

A. D.

1513.

IN the Eighth Session therefore of the *Lateran* Council, which was held in the latter End of the Year, the Agents of the King of *France*, in his Name, and producing his Commission, renounced the *Pisan* Conventicle, and adhered to the *Lateran* Council, and engaged that six Prelates of those who had been present at the Assembly at *Pisa* should come to *Rome* and perform the same Ceremony in the Name of the whole *Gallican* Church, and that some other Prelates should take a Journey thither in order to debate on the Pragmatique, with an Intention to refer themselves on that Head to the Declaration of the Council, of whom in that same Session they obtained plenary Absolution of all Offences committed against the *Roman* Church: And these were the Transactions in *Italy*, *France*, and *England* during the Course of the Year 1513.

IN the Beginning of the Year 1514 1514. died *Anne* Queen of *France*, a most excellent and thoroughly Catholic Princess, Queen of France dies. having scarce tasted the Joys of the Union

A. D. which she so fervently desired with the
 1514. Church, and extremely lamented by the
 whole Kingdom, and by her own People
 of *Bretany*.

THE Kingdom of *France* being reduced to the Obedience of the Church, to the utter Extinction of the Name and Authority of the *Pisan* Council, some of those Potentates, who had entertained a Jealousy of the Greatness of the King of *France*, now began to look about them, and to fear that the Power of that Monarch would be too much depressed. These Apprehensions created Uneasiness in particular to the Pope, who, tho' he still desired that the King should not recover the Dutchy of *Milan*, yet doubted that *Lewis*, under a Terror of so many Dangers, and the melancholy Remembrance of the Events of the past Year, would, in conformity to the constant Sollicitations of the Catholic King, which were not displeasing to *Cæsar*, precipitate himself into a Convention with that Prince, in which, by a Contract of Marriage between his Daughter and one of the Grandsons of those

those Monarchs, *Cæsar* would grant her A. D. 1514. in Dowry the Dutchy of *Milan*. He therefore took upon him to persuade the *Swiss* not to suffer their Hatred of the King of *France* to transport them so far as to throw him under a Necessity of taking a Resolution no less prejudicial to themselves than to him, as they knew also the evil Disposition of *Cæsar* and the Catholic King towards them, from desiring an Agreement, the Consequences of which, if they should get into their Possession the State of *Milan*, would prove no less dangerous to their own Liberty and Authority than to the Liberties of the Church and of all *Italy*. He advised them to persist in their Resolution that the King of *France*, Pope's Advice to the Swiss. should not regain the Dutchy of *Milan*, but at the same time to take care that, as it often happens in human Actions, they did not, in order to avoid one Extreme, run into another no less pernicious and dangerous, and by too great a Sollicitude to secure that State from returning under the King of *France*, be the Occasion of its falling into the Hands of others, with greater Hazard and Detriment to the Public,

A. D.

1514

Public, in proportion as it would be less easy to find Means for resisting their Power than it had been to check the growing Greatness of that King. The Republic of the *Swiss*, he said, had obtained all over the World the highest Reputation in the Arts of War by wonderful Exploits and most glorious Victories; it was now their Duty to render themselves no less illustrious by the Arts of Peace, in foreseeing future Dangers from the present Juncture, and providing Remedies by Prudence and Counsel, and not suffering the Affairs of the Public to run backward to so great a Length as to prove irretrievable but by Fierceness and Dint of Arms. For in War it has been found by Experience in all Times that human Valour is often oppressed by the predominant Power of Fortune. It was more advisable therefore to moderate in some measure the Agreement of *Dijon*, especially since the King offers larger Subsidies, and promises to make a three Years Truce with the State of *Milan*, provided he is not constrained to make a Cession of his Right, which being a Point that has rather a specious

Appearance than any just Effect (for if an Opportunity should return for the King to recover that Dutchy, his Cession would be no Hindrance to him but just as far as he pleased) it would be unreasonable for the Sake of such a Difficulty to set the Good of the Public at Stake.

ON the other Side his Holiness, by many Reasons, exhorted the King of France to make no Delay in ratifying the Treaty of *Dijon*, as a less Evil than to run the Risk of having so many Enemies next Summer within his Kingdom; admonishing him that it was the Duty of a wise Prince to embrace as good and beneficial the Choice of a lesser Evil in order to avoid a greater, and not, for the Sake of freeing himself from one Danger and one Disorder, to run headlong into another of greater Importance and more disgraceful. For what Honour could he get by giving up to his natural Enemies, who had pursued him with all the Arts of Treachery; the Dutchy of *Milan* with such manifest Marks of Cowardice? Or what Rest or Security could be expected from

A. D.

1514.

To the
King of
France.

A. D.

1514.

from increasing, with so great a Diminution of his own Reputation, the Power of those who thought of nothing but annihilating the Kingdom of *France*? That he himself knew that no Promise, no Word of Honour, nor even Oath could secure him against their Devices, as he had learnt, to his infinite Damage, from past Experience. It lay hard upon him, he confessed, to yield up his Rights, but the Disgrace was the less, because a little Piece of Parchment did not make his Adversaries more potent, and this Promise having been made by his Ministers without his Consent, it could not be said that it had been his Resolution from the Beginning, but he would be the more excused in executing it, because he was in a manner necessitated by the Promise made in his Name, and by some Regard due to the Keeping of Faith. All the World knew, he said, from what imminent Danger this Agreement had at that Juncture delivered the Kingdom of *France*. He commended him for endeavouring by other Motives to induce the *Swiss* to comply with his Intentions, and wished that for
the

the Security of his own Kingdom he would by all Means pursue an Agreement with them, for which End he would not fail; with all the Readiness imaginable, to use his good Offices for disposing the *Swiss* to conform themselves to his Majesty's Will; but if they continued obstinate, he exhorted him in a fatherly Manner to bend and submit to the Necessity of the Times, not only for all other Reasons, but also that he might not deprive him of an Excuse for separating himself from an Alliance with his Enemies.

A. D.
1514.

THE King acknowledged the Justice of these Reasons, tho' he complained that the Pope had tacitly mixed Threats with Persuasions, and confessed that he was under a Necessity of coming to some Resolution that might lessen the Number of his Enemies. But he was fixed in his Determination to expose himself to all Dangers, rather than recede from his Rights to the *Dutchy of Milan*, in which he was encouraged by his Council and the whole Court, who, tho' they were extremely concerned that the King should

King of
France
retains his
Claim to
the
Dutchy of
Milan.

make.

A. D. 1514. make any more Wars in *Italy*, yet, out of Respect to the Dignity of the Crown of *France*, thought it far more intolerable that he should be forced to renounce his Claim in so ignominious a Manner.

THE same pertinacious Humour prevailed in the Diets of the *Swiss*; for tho' the King offered to pay them at present Four Hundred Thousand Ducats, and Eight Hundred Thousand more at different Times, and the Cardinal of *Sion* with many of the principal Persons, considering the imminent Danger if the King of *France* should unite with *Cæsar* and the Catholic King, were inclined to accept these Conditions, yet the Multitude, who were bitter Enemies to the Name of the *French*, and, grown proud with so many Victories, believed themselves able to defend the *Milanese* against all other Princes in Combination, the Authority of *Sion* being also much diminished, and the other Chiefs suspected on account of the Pensions which they used to receive from the King of *France*, insisted, with the utmost Obstinacy, on the Ratification of the

Obstinacy
of the
Swiss.

the Treaty of *Dijon*. They were even so far transported with Rashness that they debated on making a new Invasion into *Burgundy*, but *Sion* and the other Chiefs opposed that Measure, not by open Authority, but by various Artifices and indirect Ways, referring a Resolution on that Head from Diet to Diet.

A. D.

1514.

THE King of *France* therefore, neither attacked nor secure of being attacked by the *Swiss*, continued without Intermission the Treaty of Affinity with the Catholic King, in which the principal Difficulty was, as before, whether the young Princess should be under the Tuition of the Father or of the Father-in-law till she were of Age fit for Consummation of the Matrimony. For if she remained with the Father, *Cæsar* could not assure himself that the Marriage would take Effect; and the King, as long as he entertained any Hopes that the Report of this Affair, which he studiously divulged, might make any Impressions on the Minds of others, out of a Concern for their own Interests, which might turn to his Benefit, freely

A. D.

1514

freely furnished Matter for the Disputes which arose on this Occasion. There came to his Court *Quintana*, Secretary to the Catholic King, who had been there the Year before on the same Account, and from hence with his Consent he passed forward to *Cæsar*, and returned again to the King of *France*. At his Return, to give Time for the more convenient Removall of the Difficulties which obstructed a Peace, the King, and *Quintana* in the Name of his Catholic Majesty, prolonged the Truce that had been made the Year before for another Year on the same Conditions, to which was added very secretly that the King of *France* should not be at liberty to molest the Dutchy of *Milan*; but *Asti* and *Genoa* were not comprehended within this Article. This Condition the King of *France* kept secret, but the Catholic King caused it to be published and solemnly proclaimed throughout all *Spain*, leaving the Public at a Loss whether to believe the Denial of the one or the Affirmation of the other. In the same Convention the Space of three Months was reserved for the Accession

Truce
prolong'd
between
the Kings
of *France*
and *Ara-
gon*.

of *Cæsar* and the King of *England*, who, as *Quintana* affirmed, were both ready to accede; as to the King of *England* he was mistaken, but the King of *Aragon*, who had resolved always to avoid a War on the Side of *Spain*, had persuaded *Cæsar* that there was no better Way to obtain the Marriage under Negotiation.

A. D.

1514.

THIS Prolongation of the Truce increased the Pope's Suspicion that between these three Kings some Agreement had been concluded, or was on the Point of Conclusion, on Affairs of great Importance to the Prejudice of *Italy*. His Holiness however continuing firm in his first Resolutions, that it would be very pernicious to the common Liberty for the Dutchy of *Milan* to fall into the Hands of *Cæsar* and the Catholic King, and prejudicial also to have it recovered by the King of *France*, found it very difficult to proceed, and to ballance Affairs in such a Manner that the Means which promoted one of these Intentions might not prove destructive to the other, considering that one of the Dangers proceeded from the Depression

Pope embarrased.

A. D. and Fears, and the other from the Great-
 1514. ness and Security of the King of *France*.

In order therefore to deliver that King from a Necessity of making an Agreement with the other Princes, he continued to exhort the *Swiss*, who were jealous of the Truce, to accommodate their Differences with him; and to render it difficult for him at all Events to pass into *Italy*, he took more Pains than ever to bring about an Agreement between *Cæsar* and the *Venetian* Senate. That prudent Body reflecting that a Truce would establish the Administration of *Cæsar* in the Towns that remained to him, resolved with a constant Mind either to make a Peace or to continue in Arms, without suffering themselves to be removed from so generous a Resolution by any Accident or Misfortune whatsoever. For besides their manifold Losses and unhappy Successes in the War, and their Despair of seeing a *French* Army in *Italy* this Year, they suffered also under the Wrath of Heaven, or the casual Events that depend on Fortune, a very terrible Fire happening the Beginning of this Year in *Venice*, which broke out by Night

Great Fire
 in *Venice*.

on

THE WARS IN ITALY.

243

on the Bridge of *Rialto*, and being favoured by a North Wind, in Spite of all the Labour and Diligence that could be employed, extended itself a very long Way through the richest and most populous Part of that City.

A. D.

1514.

BY the Interposition of the Pope for an Agreement a new Compromise was made between *Cæsar* and the *Venetians* in the Person of his Holiness, not restrained to Time, and with full and unlimited Power, with a Secret Promise however, confirmed under his own Hand-writing, to make no Declaration but by the Consent of both Parties. As soon as the Compromise was made the Pontiff, by a Brief, commanded a Suspension of Arms on both Sides, which was but little observed by the *Spaniards* and *Germans*. For that Part of the *Spaniards* which had their Quarters in the *Polesine* and at *Este* plundered all the circumjacent Country, and the Viceroy sent Troops to *Vicenza*, to take it into Possession when the Sentence of the Arbitration should be given.

Cæsar and the *Venetians* enter into a Compromise.

A. D.

1514.

War in
Friuli.

In the mean time *Frangipane* committed great Ravages in *Friuli*; the *Venetians* not standing on their Guard, and the *Germans*, by means of a Conspiracy formed by some Exiles, made themselves Masters of *Marano*, a Town of *Friuli* near to *Aquileia*, and seated on the Sea. The *Venetians* to recover the Place, ordered thither *Baldassarre di Scipione* with a Body of Troops, and *Girolamo da Savorniano* with a Multitude of Peasants by Land, who having laid Siege to the Place, while a Squadron of Ships straitened it by Sea, the *Germans* to the Number of Five Hundred Horse, and Two Thousand Foot came to its Relief; and being joined by the Garrison sallied out upon the *Venetians*, and routed them with considerable Loss of Men and of all their Cannon, and with their Shipping took from them a Galley and many other Vessels; after which Victorious they mastered *Monfalcone* by Storm. The Troops at *Marano* were a few Days after joined by Four Hundred Horse and Twelve Hundred German Foot from *Vicenza*, who in Conjunction with the other

Horse

Horſe newly arrived in *Friuli* ravaged all the Country. Wherefore *Malateſta da Sogliano*, Governor of that Province, with Six Hundred Horſe and Two Thouſand Foot, and *Girolamo da Savorniano*, with Two Thouſand Peaſants who were retired to *Udine*, finding themſelves too weak to reſiſt ſo great a Force, paſſed beyond the River *Liquenza* to give Aſſiſtance where they were able. But the *Germans* dividing themſelves one Part took *Feltro* and ſcour'd all the circumjacent Country; and the *Venetians*, who had ſeized all the Paſſes, attacked a Part of that Body, conſiſting of Five Hundred Foot, at *Baſſano*, where they were unprovided, and overpowering them put them to Flight with the Loſs of Three Hundred killed on the Spot, and many Officers and Soldiers taken Priſoners. The other Part of the *Germans* were gone to lay Siege to *Oſopo* ſeated on the Top of a rugged Mountain, where, after they had battered the Caſtle, and ſtormed it ſeveral Times without Succeſs, they had no other Hopes of taking it but by keeping it blockaded, flattering themſelves that the Beſieged were in Want of Water.

A. D.

1514

But the Favour of Heaven supplying that Defect by frequent and plentiful Showers for some Days, they fell to storming the Place anew, but being repulsed, and despairing of reducing that Fortrefs by Blockade or Assault, they decamp'd and march'd off.

THE Pope was very uneasy at these Proceedings, but much more concerned that he could find no Means for an Agreement satisfactory to both Parties. For as the frequent Changes in the Situation of Affairs, from the Progresses of the contending Powers, were constantly attended with a Change of Hopes and Expectations, it happened that when *Cæsar* had consented to give up *Vicenza*, retaining *Verona*, the *Venetians* refused a Peace unless *Verona* were also restored; and now when the *Venetians*, humbled by so many Blows, would have been contented with *Vicenza* alone, *Cæsar*, not satisfied with *Verona*, demanded also *Vicenza*. The Pontiff, quite out of Patience under these Difficulties, presumed that his Declaration would not be accepted: To convince the Public,

Public; however, that the Fault lay not in himself that an Accommodation could not be procured, he pronounced a Peace between the Parties with this Injunction; that there should be an immediate Cessation of Hostilities in all Parts, reserving to himself the Liberty to declare within a Year the Conditions of this Peace, in which, as well as in the Suspension of Arms, the Catholic King should be comprehended: That *Cæsar* should deposit *Vicenza* in his Hands, and all that he and the *Spaniards* possessed in the *Padouan* and *Trevigian*; the *Venetians* should in like manner deposit *Crema*, and as to all other Things each Party should keep Possession of what he now possessed till the Declaration: That this Sentence should be ratified by all the Parties within a Month, and at the Ratification the *Venetians* should pay unto *Cæsar* Twenty-five Thousand Ducats, and Twenty-five Thousand more within three Months next ensuing; but that this Sentence, if not ratified by all the Parties concerned, was intended to be void. The Pope chose this unusual Method of Arbitration, that he might not displease either

A. D.
1514.
Peace
pronounced
by the
Pope
without
Effect.

A. D.

1514.

Side; and because there was no Person present who had a Commission to ratify in the Name of his Catholic Majesty, though his Ambassador passed his Word for his Master's Consent, for this Reason he reserved so much Time for every one to ratify, that the King's full Powers might arrive in Season. But the *Venetians* having resolved not to give their Ratification, because the Pope at the same time had not pronounced the Conditions of Peace as they had desired, the Sentence took no Effect.

IN the mean time the Affairs of the *Venetians* had a prosperous Course in the Defence of *Crema*, which was distressed within by a Pestilence and Want of Provisions, and without by a Blockade from the Enemy: For *Prospero Colonna* was come to *Efenengo* with Two Hundred Men at Arms, Two Hundred and Fifty light Horse, and Two Thousand Foot; and *Silvio Savello*, with his own Regiment of Horse and Two Thousand Foot, was arrived on the other Side at *Umbriano*; both Places distant Two Miles from *Crema*.

Brave.

Actions of

Renzo da

Ceri.

This

This occasioned frequent Sallies from the Garrison, and Skirmishes with the Enemies, who were surpris'd by *Renzo da Ceri* with Part of the Garrison in their Quarters at *Umbriano*, and put to Flight with the Loss of many of their Foot; on which Occasion *Prospero* drew off his Troops, and quitted his Post. *Renzo* a few Days after, taking the Opportunity of the Lowness of the Waters, waded the *Adda*, and surpris'd fifty Men at Arms in their Quarters at *Castiglione di Lodigiana*. He acquired so much Reputation by these prosperous Actions, and his industrious Management, that he was universally accounted one of the best Officers in all *Italy*.

THE *Venetians* after this resolving to recover *Friuli* ordered *Alviano* to march thither with Two Hundred Men at Arms, Four Hundred light Horse, and Seven Hundred Foot. The General being on his March towards *Portonon*, his light Horse, which advanced before the rest, met without the Town *Rizzano* a German Officer with Two Hundred Men at Arms

and

A. D.
1514.

Alviano's
Exploits
in *Friuli*.

A. D. and Three Hundred light Horſe, and at

1514.

the firſt Charge were repulſed; but *Alviano* advancing with the reſt of the Troops a ſmart Battle enfued, with doubtful Event, till *Rizzano* was wounded in the Face, and taken Priſoner by *Malateſta Sogliano*, in conſequence of which his Troops were broken, and retired into *Portonon*, which they ſoon abandoned as defenceleſs, and betook themſelves to Flight, and the Town was plundered, and many of the Inhabitants were put to the Sword.

Alviano afterwards marched towards *Oſopo*, which was beſieged anew by *Frangipane* with another Part of the *Germans*, who on Notice of the Approach of the *Venetians* decamped, but having their Rear much preſſed by the Enemy's light Horſe were obliged to leave their Cannon and Baggage. By theſe Succeſſes the *Venetians* recovered almoſt the whole Country, and *Alviano*, after a fruitleſs Attempt on *Goritz*, returned with his Troops to *Padoua*, having in this Expedition, as he wrote to *Rome*, killed or taken Two Hundred Men at Arms, Two Hundred light Horſe, and Two Thouſand Foot. But the *Germans* after

after his Departure drew together again, retook *Cremonio* and *Monfalcone*, and obliged the *Venetians* to raise the Siege of *Marano*, where a few Days before *Frangipane* was taken in an Ambush, and carried to *Venice*. For the Besiegers perceiving the Approach of the Succours, decamped almost in as much Confusion as if they had been routed, and soon after their *Stradiotti* were put to Flight, and *Giovanni Vettorio* their *Proveditor* with One Hundred Horse taken Prisoners. These Changes and Vicissitudes of Fortune frequently happened in *Friuli* by the Vicinity of the *Germans*, who in their Wars in this Country employed none but Militia. These Troops, after scowering and plundering whatever came in their Way, whenever they perceived the Coming of the *Venetian* Troops accompanied by a Multitude of Peasants, immediately retired to their own Habitations, and returned again to the Field as Occasion served. The *Venetians* had ordered some Reinforcements for *Friuli*, on which the Viceroy appointed *Alarcone*, one of the Officers of those *Spaniards* who had their

Quarters

THE HISTORY OF

Quarters between *Esti*, *Montagnana* and *Cologna*, to march for that Country with Two Hundred Men at Arms, One Hundred light Horse, and Five Hundred Foot; but that Commander receiving Information on the Road that a Truce had been made for those Territories, to give Liberty for gathering in the Vintage, marched back to his Quarters.

THE Wars in *Italy* proceeding thus but slowly, the Negotiations of Peace and Concord were not intermitted; for the King of *France* still retaining some Hopes that the *Swiss* would accept of a Sum of Money in Recompense for the Renunciation of his Rights, solicited them for that Purpose with great Earnestness. But the Commonalty were so averse from granting his Request, that having, when the Hostages fled, constrained by Menaces the Governor of *Geneva* to deliver into their Hands as Prisoner the President of *Grenoble*, whom the King had sent to that City to treat with them, they examined him severely on the Rack to learn whether any Person of their Nation

tion

THE WARS IN ITALY.

253

A. D.

1514.

tion were still *French* Pensioners, or held secret Correspondence with the King of *France*, neither Humanity nor any Justification being sufficient to restrain their barbarous Cruelty.

LEWIS was not without Suspicion also that the Pontiff, who on account of his different Views was obliged to steer with very great Circumspection between so many Rocks, had secretly procured that the *Swiss* should not agree with him without his Intervention; not to incite them to make War upon him, from which he was continually persuading them, but either that they might remain firm to the Treaty of *Dijon*, or out of an Apprehension that their Agreement with the King would be followed by their Separation from himself. The King therefore threatened to precipitate himself into a Convention with the other Potentates, that he might not stand alone to be insulted by all the World. Besides, he was quite weary of the excessive Charges and of the Insolence of the Soldiery. For he had brought into *France* Twenty Thousand *German* Foot,

A. D.

1514.

Foot, a Number which he had not been able to compleat but when the King of *England* lay before *Tournay*; and that he might have their Assistance in Season, if any new Occasion should arise, had retained them in his Kingdom, where they did infinite Damages to the Country. The King in this Exigence complained that the Pope intended to shut him out of *Italy*, and the other Princes wanted to expel him out of *France*.

IN so difficult and perplexed a State of Affairs the King of *France* had a Way opened for his Security, with Hopes of recovering his former Power and Reputation, by the inexpressible Indignation which the King of *England* had conceived against his Father-in-law for renewing the Truce, contrary to his often repeated Promise that he would never more enter into any Convention with the King of *France* without his Consent. *Henry* complained in public of this injurious Treatment, and, declaring that this was the third Time he had been deceived by his Father-in-law, began to

cool

cool more and more in his Inclinations ^{A. C. D. 1514.} to prosecute the War against *France*. This Disposition of the King of *England* coming to the Knowledge of the Pontiff, his Holiness, induced either by a Jealousy that the King of *France*, if the other continued to molest him, would make Peace, and contract Affinity, as he constantly threatened, with the other two Kings, or else because he imagined that a Peace would certainly succeed between them, and was therefore willing to curry Favour with the King of *France*, and by his Interposition make a Merit of what he could not prevent, began to exhort the Cardinal of *York* to persuade his King to be content with the Glory that he had acquired, and, keeping in Mind what Correspondence of Faith he had found in *Cæsar*, the Catholic King, and the *Swiss*, to desist from employing his Arms against the Kingdom of *France*. We are assured that when it was represented to the Pope that as soon as the King of *France* had secured himself from a War with *England*, he would turn his Arms against the Dutchy of *Milan*, he answered that he was sensible

A. D.

1514.

ble of that Danger, but it was also his Duty to consider on the other Hand the Danger that might arise from the Disunion of those Kings; and that in so weighty a Matter it was too difficult to ballance Things so perfectly as to resolve on Measures that should be entirely free from these Dangers; but that at all Events the Dutchy of *Milan* would not be destitute of the Defence of the *Swiss*, and that it was necessary in such uncertain and difficult Resolutions to entrust some Part to the Disposal of Chance or Fortune.

A Treaty
set on
Foot.

BUT whatever was the Cause, whether the Authority of the Pope, or the Inclination of the Parties themselves, a Treaty of Peace was soon set on Foot between the Kings of *France* and *England*, the Negotiation of which, begun by the Pope with *York*, was shortly after transferred to *England*, whither the King of *France* on the same Business dispatched the General of *Normandy*, but under a Colour of treating about the Release of the Marquis of *Rothelin*. At his Arrival was published a Suspension of Arms only by
Land

Land between the two Kings during the ^{A. D.} Time that the General stay'd in the Island. ^{1514.}

The Inclination of the King of *England* to Peace was increased by new Affronts; for *Cæsar*, who had promised not to ratify the Truce made by the Catholic King without his Concurrence, sent to that King the Instrument of Ratification, who in a Letter to the King of *France*, ratified in *Cæsar's* Name*, keeping the Instrument as of Service to him in his Arts of Dissimulation.

As soon as the Treaty was begun between the two Kings, the Pontiff, desirous to ingratiate himself with both, sent Post to the King of *France* the Bishop of *Tricarico* to make an Offer of all his Labour and Authority, and that Prelate with the King's Consent passed into *England* for the same Purpose. At the Beginning of the Negotiation many Difficulties arose, for the King of *England* demanded *Boulogne* in *Picardy* with a great Sum of Money; but the Difference at last rested solely on the Affair of *Tournay*, for the King of *England* insisted on keeping it, and the *French*

VOL. VI. *Requis* made

* As if empowered by him.

A. D. 1514. made some Difficulty of complying with his Demand. *Henry* therefore posted away to the King of *France* the Bishop of *Tricarico*, who, without being informed in what particular Point the Difference consisted, had only a general Commission to exhort his most Christian Majesty in his Name, that, for the Sake of so great a Benefit as Peace, he would not insist so nicely on Difficulties that might be started. On this, the King not willing to incur the Reproaches of his People, because *Tournay* was a noble Town, and noted for its Fidelity to the Crown of *France*, proposed the Affair in Council, at which were present all the principal Men of the Court, who unanimously advised him to embrace Peace even on Condition of losing that City, tho' the Catholic King at this Juncture exerted his utmost Efforts to prevent it, proposing to the King of *France* many advantageous Conditions, and particularly to favour him in his Conquest of the State of *Milan*. As soon therefore as the Answer of the King was brought to *England*, which was in the Beginning of *August*, that he was satisfied

satisfied as to the Affair of *Tournay*, a Peace was concluded between the two Kings for the Term of their Lives and one Year afterwards, on Condition that *Tournay* should remain to the King of *England*, to whom the King of *France* was to pay Six Hundred Thousand Crowns in yearly Payments of an Hundred Thousand Livres: That for the Defence of their Dominions they should assist one another with Ten Thousand Foot in a Land War, but only with Six Thousand in a War by Sea: That the King of *France* should be obliged to furnish the King of *England* on every pressing Occasion with Twelve Hundred Lances, and this King to supply the other with Ten Thousand Foot, the Expences in this Case to be borne by the Party that had need of the Auxiliaries. Both the Kings nominated the King of *Scotland*, the Archduke, and the Empire, but neither *Cæsar* nor the Catholic King were nominated. The *Swiss* were nominated, but with a Restriction that whosoever defended the State of *Milan*, or the Cities of *Genoa* or *Asti* against the King of *France* should be excluded from the Nomination.

A. D.

1514.

Peace
concludedCondi-
tions.

A. D.

1514.

King of
France
marries
the King
of Eng-
land's Sis-
ter.

THIS Peace, which was embraced with wonderful Readiness, was strengthen'd by a Contract of Affinity, for the King of *England* gave his Sister in Marriage to the King of *France*, on Condition that he should acknowledge that he had received with her in Dowry Four Hundred Thousand Crowns. The Nuptials were solemnized in *England*, at which the King, out of the Greatness of his Resentment against his Catholic Majesty, would not suffer his Ambassador to be present.

Austrian
Match
frustrated.

THE Peace was hardly concluded when there arrived at the Court of *France* the Instrument of the Ratification made by *Cæsar* of the Truce, together with his Commission and that of the Catholic King for concluding of the Marriage treated of between *Ferdinando* of *Austria*, and the second Daughter of the King, yet but four Years of Age; but a Stop was put to all further Negotiation on this Head by the Conclusion of the Peace: And the King, the better to satisfy the King of *England*, ordered the Duke of *Suffolk*, who
was

was Captain General of the *German Foot* A. D. 1514.
 in his Pay, to leave the Kingdom of *France*; yet that Nobleman was dismissed
 by the King with such Careffes and Marks
 of Honour, that he departed well satisfied.

AT this Time the Pope also contracted
 new Alliances; for, as he was full of Ar- Treaties
 and Al-
 liances of
 the Pope.
 tifice and Diffimulation, he had a Mind on
 the one Hand that the King of *France*
 should not recover the State of *Milan*, and
 on the other to amuse him and the other
 Princes as much as he could by various
 and artful Ways. With this View, by
 the Mediation of Cardinal *San Severino*,
 who had the Management of the *French*
 Affairs in the Court of *Rome*, he had pro-
 posed to the King that, since the Times
 would not permit that there should be a
 greater or more open Alliance between
 them, they should at least make a Begin-
 ning, and lay a Foundation, on which
 they might hope to establish, at a more
 convenient Season, a very close Union and
 Correspondence, for which End he had
 sent him the Draught of a Convention.
 But the King, though he seemed to be
 R 3 pleased

A. D.

1514.

pleas'd with the Project, yet, either taken up with other Business, or expecting Answers from another Place, by which he might take his Measures according to the Progress of Affairs, did not answer so speedily as was hop'd, and spending fifteen Days in coming to a Resolution, the Pope made a new Convention with *Cæsar* and the Catholic King, for one Year, containing, however, nothing more than the Defence of their respective States. The Catholic King had before suspected, and not without Reason, that the Pontiff aimed at the Kingdom of *Naples* for his Brother *Giuliano*; on which Design he had lately been consulting with the *Venetians*. Scarce was the Agreement concluded when arriv'd the Answer of the King of *France*, in which he approv'd of all that the Pope had propos'd, only adding, that since he was bound to the Protection of the *Florentines*, of *Giuliano* his Brother, and *Lorenzo de' Medici* his Nephew, who was plac'd by the Pontiff at the Head of the Administration in *Florence*, he desir'd that they also should reciprocally oblige themselves to his Defence. On Receipt of this
 Answer

Answer the Pope excused his entering into Engagements with *Cæſar* and the Catholic King, by alledging that his Majesty had been ſo long in anſwering his reaſonable Demands, that he could not chuſe but entertain ſome Doubts of his Intention. However, he had made the Agreement but for a ſhort Time, and had entered into no Engagements prejudicial to his Majesty, or tending to obſtruct the Completion of the Negotiations begun between them. The King accepted of the Pope's Juſtification, and they united together in a Convention, though not by an Inſtrument for the greater Secrecy, but by a Schedule ſigned by both Parties.

A. D.
1514.

THE Peace between the Kings of *France* and *England* was brought about with greater Facility and Speed than the Public expected, for none ever believed that ſo much Enmity could on a ſudden be converted into Kindneſs and Tyes of Marriage. The Pope perhaps was not pleaſed with this Peace, becauſe he, as well as others, believed that a Truce was to be expected ſooner than a Peace, or if a

Peace between
France
and *Eng-
land* not
acceptable
to the
Pope, &c.

A. D. ^{1514.} Peace that the same would be attended with harder Conditions to the King of *France*, or at least that he would be restrained for some time from attacking the State of *Milan*. But above all this Peace of the Two Kings was highly disagreeable to *Cæsar*, and also to the Catholic King, who yet, as there is no Evil in human Affairs that is not accompanied with some Good, declared that he received two Benefits from it much to his Satisfaction: One was, that the Archduke his Nephew being excluded from all Hopes of giving his Sister in Marriage to the King of *France*, and falling into Distrust with the King of *England*, would be obliged to proceed in all his Affairs under the Influence of his Counsel and Authority; the other was, that it being likely enough that the King of *France* would have Children, the Succession of *Angoulesme* was rendered doubtful, of which he had Reason to be glad, because that Nobleman was very desirous to restore the King of *Navarre* to his State, and was therefore the Object of his immortal Hatred and Jealousy. Only the *Swiss*, though they retained the same
 Hatred

Hatred to the King of *France* as in Times A. D.
 past, declared that they were heartily glad 1514.
 of this Agreement, because that King
 finding himself at Liberty would, as it
 was supposed, turn his Arms against the
 Dutchy of *Milan*, which would give them
 a new Opportunity of displaying before
 all the World their Valour and their Faith.
 And it was not in the least doubted but
 that the King of *France*, being delivered
 in a manner from all Fears of Molestation
 beyond the Mountains, would return to
 his accustomed Desire of recovering the
Milanese; but it was uncertain whether he
 intended to take the Field without Delay,
 or defer the Expedition to the next Year;
 for though the Facility of the Undertaking
 appeared manifest, yet there were no Signs
 of Preparations for it.

IN this Uncertainty the Pontiff, though Policy of
 it would grieve him very much if the Pope.
 King should recover that State, sollicitated
 him with great Earnestness not to lose the
 present Opportunity by Delay, representing
 to him that the Country was in a bad
 State of Defence, for the *Spanish* Army
 was

A. D. 1514. was diminished and without Pay, the People of the State of *Milan* were impoverished, and reduced to utmost Despair, and that there was none there that could advance Money for putting the *Swiss* in Motion. These Persuasions were of the greater Authority, because not long before the Peace with *England*, the Pope expressing a Desire that the King should recover *Genoa*, had given him some Hopes of inducing *Ottaviano Fregoso* to come to an Agreement with him. It is not doubted but that the Pope played the Hypocrite in this Affair, for which his Motives, as it is supposed, were his Observation of the bad Provisions for the Defence of the State, and his Apprehensions that the King would undertake this Expedition even without his Solicitations, because he had his Men at Arms in Readiness, and a good Body of *German* Foot, for which Reasons he was willing to prepossess and secure himself of his Friendship in this artful Way; or else because, proceeding from a deeper Fetch of Policy, he knew that it was true, what the Emperor and Catholic King affirmed, and the King of *France* denied, that his

Most

Most Christian Majesty was prohibited to attempt any thing against the *Milaneſe* during the Truce, and therefore perſuading himſelf that *Lewis* would reſuſe the Expedition, he thought fit to beget in him a good Opinion of his Diſpoſition, and at the ſame time provide himſelf with an Excuse if he ſhould ſollicit his Aſſiſtance on another Occaſion. The Deſign ſucceeded according to his Wiſh, for the King having reſolved, either for the Reaſon aboveſaid, the Want of Money, or the Nearneſs of Winter, not to enter upon Action till Spring, and ſeeming to be confident that the Pope would not be wanting to favour his Enterpriſe at that Seaſon, answered with alledging various Excuses for his Delay, but ſtill concealing, what perhaps was the principal, the Truce, which was not yet expired.

A. D:

1514.

THE King, however, had an Inclination to make ſome Attempt upon *Genoa*, or at leaſt to ſuccour the Lantern, which had by his Orders the ſame Year received ſeveral moderate Supplies of Proviſions in ſmall Veſſels, which pretending to enter the

A. D. the Port of *Genoa* got by Stealth under
 1514. the Walls of that Fortrefs. But the Place
 was now reduced to such Extremities by
 Hunger, that the Garrison could no
 longer wait for Supplies, but were forced
 to surrender to the *Genoese*, who, to the
 vast Displeasure of the King, razed it to
 the very Foundations.

Lantern
 of *Genoa*
 demolish-
 ed.

THE Loss of the Lantern obliged the
 Pope de- King to lay aside for the present all
 ceives the Thoughts of molesting *Genoa*, but he
 King of wholly applied himself to make Prepara-
 France. tions for attacking the Dutchy of *Milan*
 the ensuing Year; and he was in Hopes
 from the good Intentions of the Pope,
 of which he assured him, and from the
 Disposition that he had shewn in the
 Negotiations of Peace with the King of
England and the *Swiss*, and because he
 had stimulated him to the Undertaking,
 that he should find in him a fast Friend,
 and a Favourer of his Designs, especially
 since he made him large Offers, and in
 particular promised to assist him in the
 Conquest of *Naples*, either for the Church
 or for his Brother *Giuliano*; but from
 some

some new Events which happened he began to entertain some Distrust of him.

A. D.

1514.

THE Pontiff could never be brought to accommodate Matters with the Duke of *Ferrara*, tho' at the Beginning of his Promotion he had given him very great Hopes of it when he was at *Rome*, and had promised the Restitution of *Reggio* at the Return of the Cardinal his Brother from *Hungary*. But after the Arrival of that Prelate he went on delaying the Restitution by various Excuses, confirming however the same Promises, not only in Words but by a Brief, and consenting that he should receive the Revenues of *Reggio*, as of a State that was shortly to return under his Dominion. But his Intention was far different and inclined to seize on *Ferrara*, to which he was stimulated by *Alberto Carpi*, Ambassador of *Cæsar*, and a most bitter Enemy of the Duke, and by many others, who proposed to him the glorious Example of *Julius*, who had immortalized himself by his enlarging in so ample a Manner the Dominion of the Church, and represented

Pope desirous of *Ferrara*.

A. D.

1514.

presented that now he had an Opportunity of bestowing an honourable State on his Brother *Giuliano*, who proposing to himself more immoderate Hopes, had freely consented that *Lorenzo* his Nephew should be invested with the Authority of the House of the *Medici* in *Florence*. The Pope then entering into these Measures easily obtained of the Emperor, who always wanted Money, the City of *Modena* in Pledge for Forty Thousand Ducats, according to an Agreement made with him a little before the Death of *Julius*, designing to erect that City, together with *Reggio*, *Parma*, and *Piacenza*, into a Vicariate, or perpetual Government, to be bestowed on *Giuliano*, with the Addition of *Ferrara* whenever he should find an Opportunity to make himself Master of it.

THIS Mortgage occasioned no small Suspicion in the King of *France*, who was jealous of the King of *France*, who was jealous of the Pope. he look'd upon it as a Sign of a close Correspondence with *Cæsar*; and he was vexed that the Pontiff had given him Money, tho' *Leo* in Excuse alledged that

Cæsar

Cæſar had granted him *Modena* as a Pledge for Security of Money he had before received. The King's Suspicion was increased because the Sultan of the *Turks* having obtained a great Victory over the *Sophi* of *Persia*, the Pope regarding it as an Event dangerous to Christendom had wrote a circular Letter to all the Christian Princes, exhorting them to desist from mutual Hostilities, and seriously to think of entering into a defensive or offensive League against the Enemies of their common Faith. But the Pope in a manner fully discovered his Disposition to the King by sending, under the same Pretence, *Pietro Bembo* his Secretary, afterwards Cardinal, to *Venice*, to dispose the Senate towards an Agreement with the Emperor, in which the former Difficulties recurring, they would not accept it, but notified to the King of *France* the Occasion of the Ambassy. Hence the King, taking it very ill that, at a Time when the Operations of War were so near, he should seek to deprive him of the Assistance of his Allies, renewed his former Negotiations with the Catholic King, with a Design to terrify the

A. D.

1514

A. D. ^{1514.} the Pope into his Measures, or, if no such Effect followed, to conclude an Agreement in earnest. So ardently did he desire to recover the Dutchy of *Milan!*

DURING these Transactions there were no other Movements in *Italy*, except against the *Venetians*, on whom Attempts were made in the most secret and treacherous Manner. For, if we may believe the *Venetian* Writers, some *Spanish* Foot Soldiers came into *Padoua*, pretending to be Deserters from the Enemy's Camp, and there lay in wait to assassinate *Alviano* by a Commission from their Commanders, who were in Hopes that by making a sudden Approach with the Army to the Town, while all Things were in Confusion by the Death of such a General, they might easily become Masters of it. So little Resemblance is there between the Methods of War in our Days and those of the virtuous Antients, who were so far from suborning Assassins, that on the first Notice of any such base and wicked Contrivance they discovered it to the Enemy, whom they trusted to overcome by

by Valour, and not by Treachery! But ^{A. D.} the Plot in *Padoua* coming to Light, the ^{1514.} Villains were seized by the Magistrates, and suffered the Punishment which they deserved.

THE *Spaniards*, much diminished in Number, were encamped between *Montagnana*, *Cologna*, and *Este*; and the *Venetians*, ^{Motions of the Spaniards} in order to oblige them to return into the Kingdom of *Naples*, had fitted out a Navy, of which they had constituted *Andrea Gritti* Captain General, with a Design to make a Descent on *Puglia*; but he met with so many Difficulties, that the Fleet was at last ordered to be disarmed and laid up. After this the *Spaniards*, at the Sollicitations of the *German Garrison* of *Verona*, marched to the Tower near *Vicenza*, in order to join with the others, and lay waste the Corn-Fields of the *Padouans*. But after they had waited in that Post several Days in vain, the *Germans* being reduced to a very small Number, and in no Condition to make good the Promises by which they had invited them, they laid aside

VOL. VI. S their

A. D.

1514

their Design against the *Padouan*, and having got from the *Germans* Fifteen Hundred Foot to join with their own Forces, which consisted of Seven Hundred Men at Arms, Seven Hundred light Horse, and Three Thousand Five Hundred Foot, they marched to besiege *Cittadella*, which had a Garrison of Three Hundred light Horse. The *Spaniards* marched all Night with great Expedition, and arrived before the Town two Hours after Sun-rise, and immediately planting a Battery took the Place the same Day by Storm at the second Assault, with all the Horse that was in it, after which they returned to their former Quarters about Three Miles from *Vicenza*. *Alviano* made no Motion, having received Orders from the Senate not to fight, but lay with his Army consisting of Seven Hundred Men at Arms, One Thousand light Horse, and Seven Thousand Foot strongly encamped on the River *Brenta*, from whence he was continually harassing the Enemy with his light Horse, tho' afterwards, for the greater Security of the Army, he retired to *Barciglione* almost under the Gates of *Padoua*.

THE WARS IN ITALY.

275

Padoua. But the whole Country being exhausted by the Incurfions and Ravages of both the Armies, the *Spaniards* in Want of Provisions retired to their first Quarters from whence they had fet out, abandoning the City of *Vicenza* and the Caſtle of *Brendola* ſeven Miles diſtant from it, having no Pay or any other Means of Subſiſtence but what they could raiſe by Contributions from *Verona*, *Breſcia*, *Bergamo*, and the circumjacent Territories.

A. D.
1514.

AFTER the Retreat of the *Spaniards* Motions
Alviano poſted himſelf with the Army in of Alviano.
a very ſtrong Camp between *Battaglia* no.
and *Padoua*, where having Advice that *Este* had but a ſmall and careleſs Garrifon, he ſent thither by Night Four Hundred Horſe and One Thouſand Foot, who entering the Place before they were perceived, ſurprized Eighty light Horſe of the Regiment of *Corvera*, that Commander ſaving himſelf in the Caſtle, and then returned to the Army. But *Alviano* having received ſome Reinforcements preſented himſelf before *Montagnana*, and offered Battle to the Viceroy, who, becauſe he

A. D. 1514. was much inferior in Force, declined an Engagement, and retired into the Polesine of *Rovigo*; so that *Alviano* meeting with no more Opposition beyond the *Adice* scoured the Country every Day up to the very Gates of *Verona*, whence the Viceroy, apprehending that City to be in Danger, left Three Hundred Men at Arms and a Thousand Foot in the Polesine, and with the rest of the Army entered *Verona*.

Brave
Conduct
of *Renzo*
da Ceri.

BUT much greater were the Distresses of *Crema*, which was in a manner besieged by the Troops of the Duke of *Milan* that were quartered in the adjacent Towns and Villages; for that Fortrefs laboured under a Scarcity of Provisions, and a raging Pestilence, and the Garrison had been several Months without Pay, and in Want of Ammunition and many other Necessaries, which had been often demanded; so that *Renzo*, doubting whether he could any longer support himself, had in a manner protested to the *Venetians* against their Negligence. But the same happy Success still attended him, for he had the good Fortune to attack *Silvio Savello*, who was at the
Head

Head of Two Hundred Men at Arms, an Hundred light Horfe, and Fifteen Hundred Foot, and to come upon him fo suddenly that he immediately broke his Troops, *Silvio* himfelf with fifty Men at Arms efcaping by Flight to *Lodi*. After this Action the *Venetians* put into *Crema* a fresh Supply of Provisions, and Count *Nicolo Scotto* reinforced the Garrifon with Fifteen Hundred Foot. *Renzo* from thefe Supplies increased in Forces and Spirits in a few Days after entered the City of *Bergamo*, at the Invitation of the Inhabitants, the *Spaniards* flying into the *Capella*; and at the fame time *Mercurio* and *Mala-tefta Baglione* took Three Hundred Horfe quartered without the Walls. But a few Days after *Nicolo Scotto* marching with Five Hundred *Italian* Foot from *Bergamo* to *Crema*, was encountered by Two Hundred *Swifs*, routed, and taken Prifoner, and being conducted to the Duke of *Milan* was ordered to be beheaded. The Lofs of *Bergamo* roused the Viceroy and *Prospero Colonna*, who with the *Spanifh* and *Milanefe* Troops, to the Number of Five Thousand Foot, marched to befiege it.

He takes
Bergamo.

A. D. 1514. *it.* They planted a Battery against the Gate of *St. Catherine*, which did great Execution, and *Renzo*, finding that the Place could not be defended, capitulated on Condition that he might march out with all his Soldiers and their Baggage, but without Sound of Trumpet, and his Colours lowered, leaving the Town to the Discretion of the Viceroy, who compounded with the Inhabitants for Eighty Thousand Ducats.

The City
retaken.

Alviano
surprises
Rovigo.

BUT during these Transactions at *Crema* and *Bergamo*, an Action that was highly celebrated, and required extraordinary Diligence and Speed, was performed by *Alviano* in the Town of *Rovigo*. In this Place were quartered above Two Hundred *Spanish* Men at Arms, who imagined themselves very secure because they had the River *Adice* between them and the *Venetians*. *Alviano* unexpectedly laying a Bridge at the Town of *Anguillara*, passed the River with incredible Speed at the Head of some active Troops, and arriving before the Town, where the Gate had already been seized by an Hundred of his Soldiers,

Soldiers, whom he had sent before him dressed like Peasants, it being Market-day, he entered the Place, and made the whole Garrison Prisoners. On this Misfortune the rest of the *Spaniards* who were quarter'd in the *Polesine* retired to *Badia* as the strongest Place in the Country, and afterwards wholly abandoning the *Polesine* and also *Lignago*, fled away towards *Ferrara*.

A. D.
1514.

ROVIGO being taken, *Alviano* marched with the Army to *Oppiano* near *Lignago*, whither he had also conducted by the River his Fleet of armed Barks, and from thence to *Villa Cerea* near to *Verona*, a Post from which, if he could not succeed in reducing that Town, which had a Garrison of Two Thousand *Spanish* and a Thousand *German* Foot, he designed to annoy and distress it during the Winter. But on Advice that Three Hundred Men at Arms, Five Hundred light Horse, and Six Thousand Foot of the Enemy were on their March towards *Lignago*, being apprehensive that they would intercept his Provisions, and force him to an Engage-

Motions
of the
Armies.

A. D. 1514. ment, he decamped, and marched along observing them till they came to the *Adice*, which they passed at *Albereto*, in great Distress for Want of Provisions, which were intercepted by the light Horse and the armed Barks. Here the General, having Advice that the *Spaniards* had recovered *Bergamo*, and were returning towards *Verona*, resolved not to wait for them, but sent his Men at Arms by Land to *Padoua*, while he himself with the Foot, Baggage and Artillery, to avoid the Rains and the deep and miry Roads, embarked in the Night, and went down the *Adice*, not without Fear of being attacked by the Enemy, who were prevented by the too great Height of the Waters; but *Alviano* after landing his Troops conducted them with his usual Expedition in Safety to *Padoua*, where the Men at Arms were arrived two Days before. Some time after he distributed the Army into Quarters between *Padoua* and *Trevigi*, and the Vice-roy and *Prospero Colonna*, after assigning the Troops their Posts in the *Polesine* of *Rovigo*, set out for *Inspruck* to assist at a Council

THE WARS IN ITALY.

281.

Council to be held by the Emperor on the present Occurrences.

A. D.
1514.

THE Country of *Friuli* this Year enjoyed more Rest than usual through the Captivity of *Frangipane*, who was the principal Instrument in disturbing the Peace of that Province. The *Venetians*, therefore, knowing how much they were interested in keeping him a Prisoner, had refused to exchange him with *Gian Pagolo Baglione*. It had been treated before of exchanging this General for *Bernardin Carvagiale*, and *Gian Pagolo* had obtained Leave of the *Spaniards* to go to *Rome* upon his Parole of Honour to return if the Exchange did not take Effect. But while the Affair was in Agitation *Carvagiale* happened to die, and *Pagolo*, affirming that he was set at Liberty by this Event; refused to return under the Power of him who had taken him Prisoner. About the same time, which was towards the End of the Year, the *Adorni* and *Fieschi*, being secretly favoured, as it was thought, by the Duke of *Milan*, entered *Genoa* one Night by Means of a Plot, and advancing to the Square before the

Cafe of
Honour.

A. D. 1514
 Enter-prise on Genoa miscarries

the Palace were driven off by *Ottaviano Fregoso*, who with his Footguards encountering them without the Bars, and valiantly fighting in Person above all the rest put his Enemies to Flight, receiving a slight Wound in the Hand, and took *Sinibaldo dal Fiesco*, *Gieronimo Adorno*, and *Gian Camillo* of *Naples* Prisoners.

Leo X. presented with Elephants.

AMONG the memorable Events of this Year may be reckoned the Spectacle of Elephants in *Rome*, an Animal, perhaps, never seen in *Italy* since the Triumphs and public Games of the *Romans*. For *Emanuel* King of *Portugal*, having deputed a very honourable Embassy to pay Obedience to the Pontiff, accompanied it with a Multitude of Presents, among which were two Elephants imported from *India* in his Ships; and the Entrance of these Creatures into *Rome* drew together a vast Concourse of People.

AT this Juncture the King of *France*, who had his Mind employed on other Objects than on Pomp and Shows, was ardently intent on making all manner of Preparations

THE WARS IN ITALY. 283

Preparations for War; and, desirous to assure himself of the Inclinations of the Pontiff, though determined, howsoever he stood affected, to prosecute his intended Enterprize, he solicited him to declare in his Favour, renewing his former Offers, and declaring that, if he should be disappointed of his Alliance with him, he would accept the Conditions of the Emperor and the Catholic King which he had lately refused. He recommended to his Consideration the Power of his Kingdom, with the Confederacy and promised Assistance of the *Venetians*, the small Number of Forces of *Cæsar* and the King of *Aragon* at present in *Italy*, the extreme Want of Money of both these Kings, who were unable to pay their own Soldiers, and much less in a Condition to put the *Swiss* in Motion, who would not descend from their Mountains unless they were paid for it: That all the People of *Milan*, since they had so severely suffered under the Tyranny of other Lords, desired to return under the Dominion of the *French*: That the Pontiff had no Cause to provoke him to employ his victorious Arms against him as an Enemy,

A. D.

1514.

Pope solicited by the King of France.

A. D. 1514. Enemy, since the Greatness of the Kings of *France* in *Italy*, and his own in particular, had on all Occasions been of Service to the Apostolic See, for as they were always contented with the Possession of their lawful Rights, they never, as manifold Experience has demonstrated, attempted Encroachments upon the rest of *Italy*: But far different was the Intention of *Cæsar* and the Catholic King, whose constant Ambition was, either by Force of Arms, or by contracting Affinities, or by insidious Arts, to usurp the Empire of all *Italy*, and to bring under their Yoke the Apostolic See and the *Roman* Pontiffs themselves, as well as other Powers, which has ever been the ardent Desire of *Cæsar*, as all the World knows. He advised him therefore to provide at once for the Security of the Church, the common Liberty of *Italy*, and the Grandeur of his own Family the *Medici*, and to embrace the Opportunity, which would never offer at another Juncture, or with any other Alliance.

By *Cæsar* and the King of *Aragon*. NOR was the Pope less solicited by the pressing Invitations of *Cæsar* and the King of

of *Aragon* to join in Alliance with them for the Defence of *Italy*, representing to him that since their Conjunction had been powerful enough to drive the King of *France* out of the Dutchy of *Milan*, it was much more sufficient to defend that State against him. They put him in Mind of the Affront he had offered last Year to the King, by sending Money to the *Swiss*, when the royal Army passed into *Italy*; and desired him to consider that if the King obtained the Victory he would revenge himself for all past Offences, and take care to secure himself from future Dangers and Suspicions. But the Pope received deeper Impressions from the Authority and Offers of the *Swiss*, who persevering in their former Zeal offered, for Six Thousand *Rhenish* Florins *per* Month, to possess and defend the Passes of *Monsanese*, *Monginevra*, and *Finale* with Six Thousand Men; and, for Forty Thousand Florins *per* Month, to attack the Dutchy of *Burgundy* with Twenty Thousand Men.

A. D.
1514.

Offers of
the *Swiss*

THE Pontiff, in this fluctuating State,
irre-

A. D.
1514.
 irrefolute in himself, spurred by his Inclinations, and bridled by his Fears, gave Answers to each Party in general Terms, and delayed as much as possible to declare his Mind. But the King of *France* insisting, almost to Importunity, on a Declaration, he finally answered that none better knew how much he was inclined to the King's Interest than his Majesty himself, since he could not but remember how warmly he had sollicitated him to pass into *Italy* at a Time he might have obtained the Victory without Danger or Bloodshed: That his Sollicitations, for Want of observing that Secresy which he had so often recommended, were come to the Knowledge of the others, to the Detriment of the King as well as of himself; for he had been in Danger of being molested by them, and the Obstructions to the King's Enterprize were increased, the Adversaries having re-established their Affairs in such a Manner that the Victory could not be obtained without very great Danger, and vast Effusion of Blood. Besides, the Power of the *Turkish* Sultan being lately augmented by such extraordinary

nary

nary Success, it was neither agreeable to his Nature, nor consistent with the Duty of a Pontiff, to counsel or encourage the Christian Princes to go to War with one another: He could not therefore but advise his Majesty to desist from his Preparations in Hopes of a more favourable Opportunity, at which, whenever it should happen, he should find in him the same Disposition to promote his Glory and Greatness, which he might have discerned some Months ago. This Answer, tho' it did not so clearly express his Mind, would not only have deprived the King of all Hopes that the Pontiff would favour his Design, but, if it had come to his Knowledge, would in a manner have assured him that he would have opposed him both with his Counsels and Arms: These were the Transactions of the Year 1514.

A. D.
1514.

BUT Death, which frequently interrupts the vain Projects of Mortals in their most hopeful Course, by its Interposition delayed the impending War. The King of *France* too freely indulging himself in

1515.
Death of
Lewis XII
King of
France.

the

A. D.

1515.

the Embraces of his young and beautiful Bride but Eighteen Years old, not considering his Age and the Weakness of his Constitution, was seized with a Fever, and a Flux coming upon it, he was in a manner suddenly carried off the Stage of this World, making the first Day of the Year 1515 memorable by his Decease.

His Character and Fortune.

HE was a just Prince, and greatly beloved by his Subjects, but met with great Mutability of Fortune, for neither before he came to the Crown, nor during his Reign, was he attended with any constant and steady Course of Prosperity or Adversity; if we consider that from a petty Duke of *Orleans* he most happily succeeded to the Crown of *France* by the Death of *Charles* younger than himself and of his two Sons; that he acquired with the greatest Facility the Dutchy of *Milan*, and afterwards the Kingdom of *Naples*, by which he had for some Years together all *Italy* in a manner at his Devotion; that he recovered *Genoa*, which had rebelled, in the most prosperous Manner, and that he obtained a most glorious Victory

Victory over the *Venetians*, at which two last happy Events he was present in Person. On the other Side, while yet a Youth, he was constrained by *Lewis XI.* to marry his barren and deformed Daughter, without procuring to himself by that Matrimony the Favour or Protection of his Father-in-law, after whose Decease he was excluded from the Regency during the Minority of the new King by the Authority and Grandeur of *Madam de Bourbon*, and was in a manner necessitated to take Refuge in *Bretany*, where he was afterwards taken in the Battle of *St. Aubin*, and confined two Years in a Prison. To these Misfortunes we may add the Siege and Famine that he endured in *Novara*, his many Defeats in the Kingdom of *Naples*, the Loss of the State of *Milan*, of *Genoa*, and of all the Towns that he had taken from the *Venetians*, and the War made upon him by most potent Enemies in the Kingdom of *France*, at which Time he saw his Dominions exposed to very great Dangers. He died however at a Time when his Affairs seemed to be taking a prosperous Course, since

A. D. he had defended his Kingdom, made
 1515. Peace, contracted Affinity, and was in
 very close Union with the King of *Eng-
 land*; and in great Hopes of recovering
 the Dutchy of *Milan*.

Francis I. LEWIS XII. was succeeded by Mon-
 King of *François d' Angoulesme*, the next
France. in Succession of the Males of the Blood
 Royal, and of the same Line of the
 Dukes of *Orleans*, being preferred before
 the Daughters of the deceased King by
 the Disposition of the Salic Law, of very
 antient Establishment in the Kingdom of
France, by which, while there are any
 Males of the same Line, the Females are
 excluded from the royal Dignity. The
 Public had conceived so high an Opinion
 of the Valour, Magnanimity, natural
 Disposition, and generous Spirit of the
 new King, that it was universally acknow-
 ledged there had not for a very long Course
 of Years past a Prince of greater Ex-
 pectations ascended the Throne; for he
 was mightily recommended to the public
 Favour by his personal Appearance, being
 in the Flower of his Age, Twenty-two Years
 old,

His Cha-
 racter and
 Conduct.

old, and very handsome and well made, as well as by his extraordinary Liberality, his extremely obliging Carriage towards every Body, and his perfect Knowledge in many Affairs of State; but above all he was the Favourite of the Nobility, on whom he conferred distinguishing Marks of his Favour. He assumed, together with the Title of King of *France*, that of Duke of *Milan*, as belonging to him not only by the antient Rights of the Dukes of *Orleans*, but also as comprehended in the Investiture made by the Emperor pursuant to the League of *Cambray*, having the same Inclination to recover it as was in his Predecessors. To this Undertaking he was stimulated, not only by his own Impulse; but also by all the young Noblemen of *France*, by the Glory of *Gaston de Foix*, and by the Memory of so many Victories obtained by the last Kings in *Italy*. That he might not however put others on their Guard in order to resist him before the Time, by Advice of his Counsel, he dissembled his Intentions, and in the mean time applied himself to negotiate, as is customary for new Monarchs;

A. D.
1515.

A. D. 1515. Treaties of Friendship with other Princes, many of whom soon sent Ambassadors to him. He received them all with a chearful Countenance, but above all the rest those of the King of *England*. That Prince, the Offence he had received from the Catholic King still remaining fresh upon his Memory, was desirous to perpetuate the Friendship begun by King *Lewis*. At the same Time arrived an Embassy from the Archduke, at the Head of which was M. *de Nausau*, with Marks of great Submission as to a Sovereign Lord, because his Master was in possession of the Earldom of *Flanders*, which acknowledged the Superiority of the Crown of *France*. Both these Embassies had a quick and easy Dispatch; for the Confederacy between the King of *England* and the late King was renewed on the same Conditions, and during their respective Lives, reserving the Space of three Years for the King of *Scotland* to accede to it. And many of those Difficulties which, it was imagined, would have obstructed an Agreement with the Archduke, were ceased. That Prince, who was

was just come of Age, and had taken the Government of his States into his own Hands, was induced to make this Step by several Motives; as, the Instances of the People of *Flanders*, who were unwilling to have Wars with the Kingdom of *France*; a Desire to secure himself from the Obstacles which the *French* might throw in his Way to the Succession of the Kingdom of *Spain* after the Death of his Grandfather; and also because he thought it unsafe to leave himself without any Tyes of Friendship between the united Powers of *France* and *England*; and, on the other Side, the King of *France* was very desirous to remove all Occasions that might constrain the Archduke to be governed by the Counsels and Authority of either of his Grandfathers.

A. D.
1515.

A P E A C E therefore and perpetual Confederacy was concluded between them in the City of *Paris*, with Leave reserved for *Cæsar* and the Catholic King, without whose Authority the Archduke took upon him to make the Agreement, to accede within three Months. By this Conven-

Peace between the King of *France* and the Archduke.

A. D.
1515.

tion was confirmed the Marriage, so often negotiated, between the Archduke and *Renée* Daughter of the late King *Lewis*, with a Dowry of Eight Hundred Thousand Crowns, and the Dutchy of *Berry* in Perpetuity to her and her Children. The Princess, being as yet of a very tender Age, was to have this Dowry assigned to her as soon as she came to be nine Years old; on condition that she should renounce all Rights of Inheritance either by the Father's or Mother's Side, and namely those which might belong to her on the Dutchies of *Milan* and *Bretany*; and the King was obliged to furnish the Archduke with Men and Ships for his Voyage to *Spain*, after the Death of the Catholic King. At the King's Request the Duke of *Guelderland* was nominated, and some affirm that, besides the Premises, it was agreed that within three Months an Embassy should be sent to the King of *Aragon*, with a Commission from both Parties, to demand of him to cause the People to take an Oath to the Archduke as Prince of the Kingdom of *Spain*, which is the Title of the presumptive Successor,

to

to restore the Kingdom of *Navarre*; and to forbear defending the Dutchy of *Milan*. A. D. 1515.

It is not to be doubted but that each of these two Princes had more Rêgard in this Confederacy to the Conveniencies it seemed to offer at present, than Intention to observe it for the Time to come. For what Dependence could be placed on the promised Nuptials, the Spouse being as yet under Four Years of Age? Or how could the King of *France* like to see the Archduke espouse *Renée*, who, by the Marriage of her elder Sister to the King, was invested with a Right to the Dutchy of *Bretany*? For the *Brétons* being desirous to have at one time or other a Duke of their own; when *Anne* their Dutcheſs contracted a second Marriage, covenanted that if her first-born Child came to the Crown of *France*, the Dutchy of *Bretany* should descend to the next born, and to the Descendants of that Birth.

THE King of *France* treated also with the Catholic King on prolonging the Truce made with his Predecessor, but with an Exception to the Condition of not molesting,

A. D. 1515. moleſting, during the Truce, the Dutchy of *Milan*. He was in Hopes that he ſhould eaſily after this come to an Agreement with *Cæſar*, for which Purpoſe he kept the *Venetians*, who offered to renew the League made with the late King, in Suſpenſe, chuſing to be at Liberty to engage with *Cæſar* againſt them. But the Catholic King, though much influenced, as he was always, by his Deſire to keep all Wars at a Diſtance from the Frontiers of *Spain*, yet conſidering that the Prolongation of the Truce would give great Umbrage to the *Swiſs*, and that ſuch a Step, by which his Words would be no longer credited, nor his Advice regarded, might induce the Pontiff, who had hitherto ſtood doubtful, to embrace the Friendſhip of the *French*, he at laſt reſuſed to prolong the Truce but on the ſame Conditions on which the late King had renewed it.

Ferdinando reſuſes to prolong the Truce with the *French*.

FRANCIS therefore barred from all Hopes on that Quarter, and having leſs Reason to expect that *Cæſar* would enter into an Agreement with him contrary to the Will and Advice of the King of *Aragon*, confirmed

confirmed anew the League with the *Vene-* A. D. 1515.
tian Senate in the same Form in which it
 had been made by his Predecessor. There Francis
 remained now the Pontiff and the *Swiss*; renews the
 of these latter he demanded Admittance League
 for his Ambassadors, but they continuing with the
 as inexorable as ever refused to grant them Venetians.
 a Pass; and with the Pontiff, on whose
 Will the *Florentines* entirely depended, he
 proceeded no farther at present than to ad-
 vise him to keep himself free from all Ob-
 ligations of any Kind, that whenever he
 should be admonished by the Progress of
 Affairs to come to a Resolution it might
 be in his Power to chuse the better Part,
 assuring him at the same time that there
 was no Person upon Earth more devoted to
 him than himself, or from whom his Ho-
 linefs might expect a more sincere Af-
 fection, more of Honour and Integrity,
 or more advantageous Conditions for him-
 self and his Family.

THE King having laid these Founda- Francis
 tions for his Proceedings, began with great prepares
 Application to provide himself with a good for War.
 Fund of Money, and to augment his
 Establishment

A. D. 1515. Establishment of Lances to Four Thousand, publishing abroad that he had no Intention to act offensively this Year, but only to put himself in a State of Defence against the *Swiss*, who threatened, if he did not fulfil the Convention made in the Name of the late King at *Dijon*, to make an Irruption into *Burgundy* or *Dauphiné*. This Diffimulation passed with many for real Truth, from the Example of the last Kings, who had always avoided involving themselves in new Wars in the first Year of their Reign ; but it made not the same Impression on the Minds of *Cæsar* and the King of *Aragon*, who were apprehensive of the King's Youth, and of the Facility with which he could, beyond what was usual with the other Kings, serve himself with the Forces of the whole Kingdom of *France*, in which he was vastly beloved and esteemed. Besides, it was known that King *Lewis* had left great Preparations, whence it appeared that, since there were no Apprehensions from *England*, the War was not the Consequence of a new Resolution taken by the King, but rather the Execution

Execution of what had been before re-
solved.

A. D.

1515.

CÆSAR therefore and the Catholic King, that they might not be oppressed without Means for Defence, earnestly solicited an Alliance with the Pontiff and the *Swiss*. The Pontiff amused both Parties with fair Speeches, and endeavoured to feed them all with various Hopes, but declined as yet to make any positive Declaration. As for the *Swiss*, the Ardor of their first Resentment not only continued but still increased, the Causes of the public Indignation commenced from a Refusal to augment their Pensions, and from King *Lewis's* inviting *German* Foot to list themselves in his Service, with his uttering abusive and disdainful Speeches against their Nation, being aggravated by private Grievances, Uneasiness and Ambition, by the Jealousy which the Populace had conceived of many private Persons, who had received Presents and Pensions from the King of *France*, and because those who were most ardently zealous in opposing the Leaders of the Party that favoured the
French,

A. D. *French*, then commonly called *GALLI-*
1515. *CANS*, having, on the Merit of their Ser-
 vices, with the Favour of the common
 People, ascended to Honour and Great-
 ness, were apprehensive of a Diminution
 of their Authority if the Republic should
 again enter into Engagements with the
 Crown of *France*. Hence the public
 Councils and Debates not being managed
 with a Zeal for the common Good, but
 by Ambition and civil Diffension, the In-
 terest of those who opposed the *Gallicans*
 prevailed, and it was resolved that the vast,
 or rather profuse, Offers of the *French*
 should be rejected.

Swiss re-
ject the
Offers of
the French

Confede-
racy of
Cæsar,
King of
Aragon,
and the
Swiss.

IN this Disposition of Minds and Cir-
 cumstances the Ambassadors of *Cæsar*, the
 King of *Aragon*, and Duke of *Milan* as-
 sembled in Council with the *Swiss*, and
 contracted with them, in the Name of
 their Princes, a Confederacy for the De-
 fence of *Italy*, reserving Time for the Pope
 to accede till the *Sunday* called *Lætare* in
 the next *Lent*. In this Treaty it was
 agreed that, in order to oblige the King
 of *France* to renounce his Pretensions to
 the

the Dutchy of *Milan*, the *Swiss*, on the Monthly Payment of Thirty Thousand Crowns by the other Confederates, should invade *Burgundy* or *Dauphiné*; and that the Catholic King should, with a potent Army, enter the Kingdom of *France*, either by the Way of *Perpignan* or of *Fontarabia*, that the *French* King being obliged to defend his own Dominions might not have it in his Power, though he were never so much inclined, to molest the Dutchy of *Milan*.

A. D:
1515.

THE Resolution of the King was kept secret till *June*, but at last from the Greatness of his Preparations, and the Care and Diligence with which they were carried on, it was impossible to dissemble the Occasion of so considerable a Movement; for the King had provided himself with immense Sums of Money, enlisted great Numbers of *German* Foot, sent a large Train of Artillery towards *Lions*, and last of all dispatched into *Guyenne* *Pietro Navarra*, with Orders to levy Ten Thousand Foot on the Frontiers of *Navarre*. The King had lately taken this Officer into his Service,

A. D. Service, because the King of *Aragon* being incensed against him, as looking upon him to be in a great measure the Cause of the ill Success of the Battle of *Ravenna*, had never consented to pay his Ransom, which was rated at Twenty Thousand Ducats, and had been given by the late King to the Marquis of *Rothelin*, to indemnify him in Part for the Hundred Thousand Crowns which he had paid for his Ransom in *England*. But the new Monarch resolving to have the Benefit of his Service, had, when he came to the Crown, defrayed his Ransom himself, and afterwards taken him into his Pay, *Pietro* having previously, to clear his Honour, sent his Excuses to the King of *Aragon* for giving Way to Necessity when he found himself abandoned by him, surrendering at the same time into his Hands the Estate which the King had bestowed on him in the Kingdom of *Naples*.

Pietro Navarra enters into the French Service.

THE Public then being convinced that the War was prepared against *Milan*, and that the King resolved to make the Expedition in Person, *Francis* began openly to

to solicit the Pope. to join with him, employing for that Purpose, besides a Multitude of Persuasions and other Instruments, the Mediation of *Giuliano* his Brother, who had lately married *Philiberta*, Sister of *Charles* Duke of *Savoy*, Aunt to the King by the Mother's Side, and had settled on her a Dowry of an Hundred Thousand Crowns of the Pope's Money. This Alliance put the King in Hopes that the Pope would incline to be his Friend, having contracted, so near an Affinity with him, and the rather because having before treated with the Catholic King about matching *Giuliano* with a Kinswoman of his of the Family of *Cardona*, it appeared that more out of Respect to him than for any other Reason he had preferred this Match to the other. And the King did not doubt but *Giuliano* would heartily promote his Interest with the Pope, from an ambitious Desire of acquiring by his Means some State sufficient to support him in a Manner suitable to so grand a Marriage, and of more firmly establishing and rendering perpetual the Government of the Cities of *Modena*, *Reggio*, *Parma* and *Piacenza*, which

A. D.
1515.

Grand
Marriage
of the
Pope's
Brother.

A. D. 1515. which the Pope had lately given him, and in which he could hardly expect to maintain himself, without the Favour of mighty Princes, after the Death of his Brother.

BUT the Hopes of the King began soon to be blasted, for the Pope had granted to the King of *Aragon* the Croissades* of the Kingdom of *Spain* for two Years, by which, it was believed, he would raise above a Million of Ducats; and had besides given a very favourable Audience to *Alberto da Carpi* and *Girolamo Vich*, Ambassadors of *Cæsar* and the Catholic King, who were very assiduous in their Attendance on him, and were thought to communicate in all his Counsels. The Pope industriously kept the Public in this State of Ambiguity, giving fair Words, and shewing the best of Intentions to those who interceded for the King of *France*, without effectually coming to any Conclusion, but acting as one who

* A Tax, so called because it was levied for the Support of those who wore the Badge, and fought under the Banner of the Cross against the Infidels, as in the Holy Wars.

who desired above all things that the Dutchy of *Milan* should not fall into the Hands of foreign Princes. A. D. 1515.

THE King therefore, willing to be satisfied of the Pope's Disposition, deputed to him new Ambassadors, among whom was *Guillaume Budé* of *Paris*, a Man of profound, and perhaps singular, Erudition in the Studies of Humanity, as well *Greek* as *Latin*, above all the Men of our Times. After these he sent *Antonio Maria Palavicino*, a Person acceptable to the Pontiff; but he might have spared all this Trouble, for *Leo* had, before his Arrival, very privately, as far back as *July*, entered into a Convention with the other Princes for the Defence of the State of *Milan*. But as he was willing that this Resolution should remain an absolute Secret till the Necessity of Affairs constrained him to declare himself, and was moreover desirous that his Declaration should be supported by some Excuse, he sometimes demanded the King's Consent that the Church should keep Possession of *Parma* and *Piacenza*, and sometimes made other Petitions, with an Intent

Pope confederates against the French.

A. D.
 1515. that from a Denial of one or other of his Demands it might appear that it was Necessity rather than Choice that induced him to join with the King's Enemies; yet doubting that the King would deny him nothing that he could with any manner of Decency propose, he continued to amuse him with various, ambiguous, and irresolute Answers.

BUT *Leo*, was paid in his own Coin, and was treated by others in the same cunning and artful Manner; for *Ottaviano Fregoso*, Doge of *Genoa*, dreading the formidable Preparations of the King of *France*, and on the other Hand apprehensive of Danger from the Success of the Confederates, on account of the Inclination of the Duke of *Milan* and the *Swiss* to his Adversaries, had, by the Mediation of the Duke of *Bourbon*, very privately entered into an Agreement with the King of *France*, having, both while the Treaty was under Negotiation, and after it was concluded, with the greatest Constancy always assured the Pope of the contrary. And because *Ottaviano* had been

Ottaviano Fregosa
 capitulates with
 the French

THE WARS IN ITALY.

307

been an old and intimate Friend and Acquaintance of *Leo* and his Brother *Giuliano*, who had favoured him in his Attempt to make himself Doge, the Pontiff reposed so much Confidence in him, that when the Duke of *Milan*, suspecting his Design from general Report, was disposed to attack him with Four Thousand *Swiss*, who were already advanced to *Novara*, in conjunction with the *Adorni* and *Fieschi*, his Holiness interposed, and prevented their further Proceedings.

A. D.

1515.

THE Articles on which *Ottaviano* capitulated were in Substance as follows:

The Con-
ditions.

That the King should be restored to the Dominion of *Genoa*, together with the *Castelletto*: That *Ottaviano* should divest himself of the Title of Doge, and be constituted by the King perpetual Governor, with Power to dispose of the Offices of *Genoa*: That the King should give him the Command of One Hundred Lances, invest him with the Order of *St. Michael*, and settle on him an annual Provision during Life: That the King should not rebuild the Fortress of *Codifa*,

A. D. 1515. which had been a great Eyesore to the *Genoese*, and should grant to the City of *Genoa* all those Covenants and Privileges which had been disannulled and burnt by King *Lewis*: And lastly, that he should assign a certain Portion of Ecclesiastic Revenues to *Federigo* Archbishop of *Salerno*, *Ottaviano's* Brother; and to *Ottaviano* himself, if he should ever happen to be driven out of *Genoa*, some Lordships in *Provence*.

Ottaviano
justifies
his Con-
duct.

WHEN this Capitulation came to be made public it was no hard Matter for *Ottaviano* to justify his Resolution, because, as every one knew, he had just Reason to be afraid of the Duke of *Milan* and the *Swiss*. What only cast some Stain upon his Character was his frequently repeated Denial of the Truth to the Pope, from whom he had received so many Favours, and not keeping his Word with him, in which he had promised to make no Agreement without his Consent. However in a long Letter which he afterwards wrote to the Pope in his Justification, after he had accurately laid before him all the

Reasons

Reasons that had induced him, with all the Excuses he could make in Defence of his Honour, and of his Proceedings, in which he had by no means acted in Contempt of that Devotion which was due to him as Pontiff and his Benefactor, he concludes that his Justification would be more difficult if he were to write to private Persons, or to a Prince who measured the Affairs of State by private Considerations; but since he wrote to as wise a Prince as any in this Age, whose Wisdom enabled him to judge that it was impossible for him to secure his State by any other Method, it was superfluous to make Excuses to one who knew already, and perfectly understood what was lawful, or at least usual for Princes to do, not only when reduced to such a Necessity, but even for Improvement of their States, and putting them in a more flourishing Condition.

BUT by this Time the Face of Affairs was altered, and Words and Counsels were exchanged for Deeds and Execution; for the King of *France* was arrived at *Lions*,

A. D.
1515

King of
France
marches
for Italy.

attended by all the Nobility of *France* with the Dukes of *Lorraine* and *Guelderland*, on his March towards the Mountains with a greater and more flourishing Army than had for a very long Time passed out of *France* into *Italy*. The King was secure from being molested beyond the Mountains, for the King of *Aragon*, who had at first, from an Apprehension that these vast Preparations might be turned against himself, guarded his Frontiers, and that the People might with the more Alacrity fight in Defence of *Navarre*, united for ever that Kingdom to *Castile*, as soon as he was satisfied that the War manifestly directed its Course to *Italy*, disbanded all the Troops that he had assembled, and had no more Regard to the Promise which he had made that Year to the Confederates to make War in *France*, than he had to the Promises he had made them in the Year preceding.

AT the Fame of the March of the *French* Army, the Viceroy, who, after he had for many Months remained in a kind of

of

of Truce with the *Venetians*, was arrived in the *Vicentine* in order to approach the Enemy, who were very strongly encamped in the Neighbourhood of *Olmi* near to *Vicenza*, returned with his Army to *Verona*, with a Design, as he reported, to march to the Defence of the Dutchy of *Milan*. The Pontiff also ordered his own Men at Arms and those of the *Florentines* to march for *Lombardy* under the Command of his Brother, who was elected General of the Church, in order to succour the said Dutchy, according to his Agreement made not many Days before with the other Confederates, tho', with his usual Disimulation, he pretended that they were designed only for the Security of *Piacenza*, *Parma*, and *Reggio*, and had gone such great Lengths with the *French* Ambassadors that the King, persuading himself that he might depend upon his Alliance, had dispatched Orders from *Lions*. to his Ministers with full Powers for concluding an Agreement, consenting that the Church should keep Possession of *Piacenza* and *Parma* till she

A. D.

1515.

Pope
dissembles
with the
King of
France.

A. D. 1515. received from him such a Recompence as the Pope himself should approve.

Swiss
descend
into *Italy.*

BUT all these Remedies, for Reasons which will appear hereafter, were of no Service; it was decreed that the Dutchy of *Milan* should be saved or lost only with the Danger and by the Blood of the *Swiss*. That People, not retarded by any Neglect, or the small Supply of Money, descended with all Diligence into the *Milanesse*, to the Number of more than Twenty Thousand Men, Ten Thousand of whom drew off towards the Mountains, with a Design to possess themselves of the narrow Passes of the Valleys which from the Foot of the *Alps* that divide *Italy* from *France* extend themselves into wide and open Plains, and so prevent the Progress of the *French*.

THIS Resolution of the *Swiss* greatly disturbed the King, who before had assured himself of Victory from the Multitude of his Forces: For his Army consisted of Two Thousand Five Hundred Lances, Twenty-two Thousand
German

German Foot commanded by the Duke A. D.
of *Guelderland*, Ten Thousand *Basques**, 1515.

(so were called the Infantry enlisted by
Pietro Navarra) Eight Thousand *French*,
and Three Thousand Pioneers, who re-
ceived the same Pay as the other Foot.

The King, on consulting with his Officers, French
agreed that, considering the Valour of consult on
the *Swiss*, it would be impossible to force passing the
them from the strong and narrow Passes Alps.

even with a much superior Number,
which could be of no Service in such
strait Places; that it would be difficult
to perform any thing of Moment in a
short Time, and more difficult to stay long
in so barren a Country, with so great an
Army, tho' vast Convoys of Provisions
were continually on the Roads towards
the Mountains. In these Perplexities
some, who had more Hopes from making
a Diverſion than from a direct Attack,
proposed detaching Eight Hundred Lances
by the Way of *Provence*, and sending

Pietro

* In the Original *Guaschi*, which the *French* properly
enough translate *Basques*, which we chuse to keep, and is
as much as to say *Biscayners*, for *Navarra*, as we read
before, was ordered to levy Soldiers on the Frontiers of
Navarre, which joins to *Biscay*.

A. D. *Pietro Navarra* with his Ten Thousand

1515.

Basques by Sea, who might join with the Lances at *Savona*. Others objected against this Scheme, that so great a Compass required too much Time, that the Forces would be weakened, and the Reputation of the Enemy too much increased by betraying a Want of Resolution to encounter with them. It was then resolved that, without turning much out of the Road they were in, they should attempt a Passage at some other Quarter, which either might not be observed, or at least not so well guarded by the Enemy; for which Purpose *Emard de Prye* should march with Four Hundred Lances and Five Hundred Foot by the Way of *Genoa*, not with Hopes of making a Diversion, but to infest *Alessandria*, and the other Towns on this Side the *Po*.

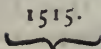
Two
Roads
over the
Alps.

THERE are two Roads over the *Alps* which are usually taken by those who travel from *Lions* to *Italy*; one by *Monsanese*, a Mountain within the Dominion of the Duke of *Savoy*, which is the shortest, straightest, and generally the most frequented;

ed; the other winds about from *Lions* to *Grenoble*, and passes over the Mountain of *Monginevra*, within the Jurisdiction of *Dauphiné*; both the Roads meet at *Susa*, where the Plain begins to open, but that of *Monginevra*, though somewhat longer, yet being easier, and more convenient for conveying the Artillery, was always taken by the *French* Armies. The *Swiss*, intent on guarding these two Passes and some others that led to the neighbouring Places, had posted themselves at *Susa*, because the Passes lower down towards the Sea were so narrow and steep that it would be very difficult for the Cavalry of so great an Army, and seemed impossible for the Artillery to make its Way through them. On the other hand *Trivulzio*, whom the King had entrusted with this difficult Affair, attended by a vast Number of Pioneers, and having about him some skilful and industrious Persons, who were well experienced in the drawing of Artillery, whom he ordered to view the Places that had been proposed, employed himself in searching out the easiest Way of Passage that was not obstructed by the *Swiss*; the Army in
the

A. D.

1515.



the mean time, the greater Part of which was extended along the Road between *Grenoble* and *Briançon*, proceeded but slowly, in Expectation of what would be resolved, and also of receiving some necessary Supplies of Provision.

Henry excited against the King of France.

AT this Juncture the King, who had set out from *Lions*, was addressed by a Gentleman deputed from the King of *England*, who, in the Name of his Master, remonstrated, in very strong Terms, against his disturbing the Peace of Christendom by his Passage into *Italy*. The Cause of so great a Change was, that *Henry* being jealous of the Friendship contracted between the Archduke and the King of *France*, whose Affairs, he fancied, went on with too prosperous a Career, had begun to hearken to the Ambassadors of the Catholic King, who never ceased demonstrating how pernicious to him he would find at last the Greatness of the King of *France*, whom, on account of his natural Hatred, and because he had made his first Campaign against him, he could not but regard as his bitter Enemy. But he was

more

more excited against him by Emulation, and Envy of his Glory, which he imagined would increase beyond Measure if he should subdue the State of *Milan*. He considered with himself that when he came to the Crown, though he found his Kingdom at perfect Rest, and grown very rich by a long Peace, and himself in Possession of so great a Treasure accumulated by his Father, yet he had not, till after some Years, ventured to attack the King of *France*, and then at an Opportunity when he was alone, surrounded by so many Enemies, and worn out by so many Labours and Vexations. But the present King, somewhat younger than himself, when he came to the Crown, though he found his Kingdom wearied and exhausted by so many Wars, had yet ventured, in the first Months of his Reign, to undertake an Enterprize, in which he was sure to meet with Opposition from so many Princes. As for himself, he thought, with such great Preparations, and so many Opportunities, he had brought back to *England* no Gain nor Honour but the Conquest of *Tournay*, and that at an infinite
and

A. D.

1515.

A. D.

1515.

and intolerable Expence; whereas the King of *France*, if he obtained the Victory, as probably he would, by the Acquisition of so fine a Dutchy, would return into his Kingdom in full Triumph and Glory, having opened a Way also, and, perhaps before he left *Italy*, taken an Opportunity, for attacking the Kingdom of *Naples*. Stimulated by such Motives and Incentives his old Antipathy easily revived in his Breast, and as he could not for Want of Time give any Check to *Francis* with his Arms, and perhaps seeking also Occasion to furnish himself with more Pretences for justifying his Designs, he took care to send him this dehortatory Message.

BUT the King of *France*, not retarded in his Expedition by *Henry's* Remonstrances, proceeded from *Lions* to *Dauphiné*, where he reviewed the *German* Forces, arrived some time before under the Command of *Robert de la Marche*, and called the *Black Band*. These Troops had been raised in *Lower Germany*, and were in high Estimation for their Valour, and constant Faithfulness in the *French* Service.

The *Black*
Band.

At

At this Time *Gianjacopo da Trivulzi* signified to the King that it was practicable to convey the Artillery over the Mountains between the maritime and *Coëtian Alps*, and descend towards the Marquisate of *Saluzzo*, where, though the Difficulties were almost inconceivable, yet considering the vast Number of Pioneers well provided with all Manner of Tools, he could not fail at last to succeed: That since there was no Guard on that Side, neither on the Tops of the Hills nor at the Entrances into the Valleys, it was better to attempt surmounting the Ruggedness of the Mountains, and the Precipices of the Dales, which, though a Work of vast Labour, yet did not endanger the Lives of the Men, than to use Efforts for compelling the *Swiss* to abandon the Passes, and forcing Troops so much dreaded, and obstinately bent to conquer or die, especially considering that, if they met with Resistance, the Army could not continue there many Days, since no Strength nor Art could convey, over such rough and barren Places, Provisions enough to subsist so great a Multitude. This Counsel was embraced, and

A. D.
1515.

New Passage over the Alps.

A. D.

1515.

and the Artillery, which had rested in a Place convenient for turning it any Way, was immediately moved along that Road.

French convey their Artillery over the Mountains with Difficulty:

TRIVULZIO had given Notice that the Difficulty of conveying the Cannon would be very considerable, but it was found by Experience much greater than had been imagined, for it was necessary to ascend to the Tops of very high and rugged Mountains, which could not be mounted without vast Labour and Toil, because there were no Paths, and every now and then there wanted a sufficient Breadth for the Artillery, till it was widened Foot after Foot by the Pioneers, who still advanced before the rest, and were employed sometimes in enlarging the narrow Passes, sometimes in levelling the Hillocks that obstructed the Way. From the Tops of the Mountains they descended by very abrupt Precipices, most frightful even to behold, into the vastly deep Grounds near the Channel of the River *Argentiera*, in which Descent the Horses that drew the Artillery, though very numerous, together with the Shoulders of the Pioneers that

that attended it, not being sufficient to guide and support it, they were often obliged to dismount the heavy Pieces of Cannon, and to let them down, suspended by very thick Cables, by the Hands of the Soldiers, who in these difficult Circumstances were ready to undergo all manner of Fatigue. Nor was their Toil at an End after they had passed the first Mountains and Valleys, for they had others to pass with the same Difficulties. At last, after a continued Labour of five Days, the Artillery arrived in the Plains of the Marquisate of *Saluzzo* on this Side the Mountains, having met with such Obstructions and Difficulties, that it is most certain if there had been any Resistance, or if the Mountains, as the greater Part of them usually are, had been covered with Snow, all Labour would have been in vain; but they were secured from any Opposition, because the *Swiss* posted at *Susa* were intent on guarding the Places through which you must come after passing *Monsanese*, *Monginevra*, or the neighbouring Mountains, and had imagined that it was impracticable to convey Artillery over such

A. D. 1515. rugged Eminences; and the Season of the Year, it being about the Tenth of *August*, had removed the Impediment of the Snows, which were already melted.

THE Men at Arms and the Foot, not without many Difficulties, passed the Mountains at the same time, some by the same Road, others by the Pass they call the *Dragoniera*, and others again over the high Tops of the Mountains of the *Rocca Perotta*, and of *Cuni*, Passes lower down towards *Provence*. *Monf. Palisse*, after passing by this last Road, had an Opportunity of performing a memorable Action; for departing from *Singlare* with four Squadrons of Horse, under the Conduct of the Peasants, after a very long March, he arrived at *Villa Franca*, a Town seven Miles from *Saluzzo*, and of more Note than it otherwise deserves, because near it rises the so much celebrated River *Po*. In this Place *Prospero Colonna* was quartered with his Company, without the least Suspicion of Danger, because of the great Distance of the Enemy, in whom he had no Apprehensions of that Quickness, which he

he himself, who was naturally very slow, was never wont to use, and some say that he intended that same Day to join the *Swiss*. But, however that be, it is certain that he was dining at his Table when the Troops of *Palisse* came upon him, unperceived by any before they were in the same House; for the Inhabitants of the Town, with whom *Palisse*, intent on so great a Prey, had before held private Intelligence, had, with as little Noise as possible, seized the Centinels. Thus was *Prospero Colonna*, so famous a General, and of so great Importance in that War on account of his Credit and Authority in the Dutchy of *Milan*, taken Prisoner on the Fifteenth Day of *August* in a Manner not suitable to his former Glory. With *Prospero* was taken *Pietro Margano*, a *Roman*. and Part of his Company, the rest at the first Alarm dispersing themselves into various Parts made their Escape.

THE Passage of the *French*, and the Misfortune of *Prospero Colonna* caused an Alteration in the Counsels of every Party concerned, and changed the State of Af-

A. D. 1515.

 fairs in general, creating new Dispositions in the Minds of the Pope, the Viceroy, and the *Swiss*. For the Pope, who had firmly persuaded himself that the King would never be able to pass the Mountains against the Opposition of the *Swiss*, and had great Confidence in the Valour of *Prospero Colonna*, being now much sunk in Spirits, commanded his Nephew *Lorenzo*, Captain General of the *Florentines*, to whom, because his Brother *Giuliano* lay ill of a lingering Fever at *Florence*, he had committed the Charge of conducting the Army into *Lombardy*, and who three Days after the Misfortune of *Prospero* was arrived at *Modena*, to proceed slowly. *Lorenzo*, taking this Opportunity to recover the Castle of *Rubiera*, which had been seized by *Guido Rangone*, and for which he paid him at last, upon their Agreement, Two Thousand Ducats, wasted many Days in the Territories of *Modena* and *Reggio*. Besides this, the Pontiff, having recourse to his usual Arts, dispatched away very privately *Cintio* his Confident to the King of *France*, to make his Excuses for all that had hitherto passed,

and

Pope
 alarmed
 at the
 Success of
 the King
 of *France*.

and to enter on a Treaty of Agreement by the Mediation of the Duke of *Savoy*, with a View that from this Beginning he might the more easily proceed much further, if the Defence of the Dutchy of *Milan* succeeded unhappily.

BUT Cardinal *Bibbiena* and some others, influenced more by private Passions than by the Interest of their Prince, would have hurried the Pontiff into more precipitate Measures; for they represented to him that it was to be feared the Fame of the prosperous Success of the *French* Army, and the Incitements and perhaps also the Assistance of the King would encourage the Duke of *Ferrara* to attempt the Recovery of *Medena* and *Reggio*, and the *Bentivogli* to return to *Bologna*: That in the Midst of so many other Troubles it was difficult to contend with so many Enemies, for which Reason as it was a better and doubtless a more prudent Measure to anticipate their Good-will by Kindness, and so win their Hearts as to make them, at all Events, his faithful Friends, they therefore persuaded him to

A. D. recall the *Bentivogli* to *Bologna*, and re-
 1515. store *Modena* and *Reggio* to the Duke of
Ferrara.

Faithful
 Counsel
 of Car-
 dinal *Giu-
 lio*.

THIS Counsel would certainly have been followed without Delay, if *Giulio de' Medici*, Cardinal, and Legate of *Bologna*, whom the Pope had sent thither to take upon him the Administration of Affairs in those Parts, in so critical a Time, and to be a Moderator and Counsellor to the unexperienced Youth of *Lorenzo*, had not been of a contrary Opinion. The Cardinal was deeply concerned at the Disgrace which the Pope would incur from so weak and pusillanimous a Step; a Disgrace certainly greater than the Glory that *Julius* had obtained by acquiring such considerable Dominions to the Church. He was moved also with Grief at the Infamy and Reproach that would be cast on the Memory of his Legateship, on which he had no sooner entered, it would be said, than he gave up *Bologna*, the principal City of the whole Ecclesiastic State into the Hands of its old Tyrants, sacrificing to their Revenge so great a
 Number

THE WARS IN ITALY. 327

Number of the Nobility, who had openly declared against them in favour of the Apostolic See. Induced by these just Motives he sent some proper Persons to the Pontiff, and by Reasons and Intreaties prevailed on him to hearken to safer and more honourable Counsels.

A. D.
1515.

GIULIO, tho' of illegitimate Birth, had been promoted by *Leo* to the Cardinalship in the first Months of his Pontificate, in which he followed the Example of *Alexander VI.* as to the Effect tho' not in the Manner. For *Alexander*, when he created his Son *Cæsar Borgia* a Cardinal, proved by Witnessess, who deposed, what was true; that his Mother at the Time of his Procreation had a Husband, inferring from hence that, according to the Presumption of the Laws, the Son ought to be esteemed the Offspring of the Husband rather than of the Adulterer. But in the Case of *Giulio*, the Witnessess, preferring the Favour of Men before the Truth, deposed that his Mother, who was a Virgin and not married when he was begotten, had obtained of his Father

Cardinal
Giulio il-
legitimate

A. D. *Giuliano* a Promise of Marriage before
 1515. she admitted him to her Embraces.

Viceroy
 temporises

THESE new Events produced also some Alteration in the Disposition of the Viceroy, who had not yet left *Verona*, on account of the Difficulty of taking the Field without Money, and because he expected a new Supply of Troops from *Cæsar*, who was arrived at *Inspruck*, that he might leave, as Necessity required, sufficient Garrisons in *Verona* and *Brescia*. On these and other Pretences he began to excuse his Inactivity, and to temporise in Expectation of the Success of the Operations in the Dutchy of *Milan*.

THE *Swiss* also were put in a Commotion by this Turn of Affairs; for immediately after the Passage of the *French* they retired to *Pinaruolo*, tho' afterwards on Advice that the King had passed the *Alps*, and joined his Forces at *Turin*, they removed to *Civas*, which, because the Inhabitants refused to give them Provisions, they took by Force and plundered, and afterwards did the same at *Vercelli*, almost

almost in the Eyes of the King, who was at *Turin*; but at last they assembled together at *Novara*, where those who were not so extremely averse to the *French* Interest, taking Encouragement from the bad Situation of their Affairs, began to debate about coming to an Agreement with the King of *France*.

A. D.

1515.

Swiss at
Novara.

Now the *French* Troops which came by the Way of *Genoa*, joining with Four Thousand Foot, paid, at the Instances of *Ottaviano Fregoso*, by the *Genoese*, took Possession first of the Town of *Castellaccio*, and afterwards of *Alessandria* and *Tortona*, in which Cities there was not a Soldier; and made themselves Masters of all the Country on this Side the *Po*. The King advanced to *Vercelli*, where he received the first Information that the Pope had declared against him, the Duke of *Savoy* signifying it to him in his Name. Tho' the King was extremely concerned at this Declaration of the Pontiff, he did not however suffer his Judgment to give Way to his Indignation, but, that he might not exasperate him, commanded by public

Pro-

Pope de-
clares a-
gainst the
French.

A. D. Proclamation, both in his Army and
 1515. among the Troops that had taken *Alessan-*
dria, that none should dare to molest or
 in any manner insult the Dominions of
 the Church.

Disorder-
 ly Beha-
 viour of
 the *Swiss*.
 THE King after this rested several
 Days at *Vercelli*, waiting the Issue of some
 Affairs under Negotiation with the *Swiss*,
 who treating without Intermiffion seemed
 on the other Hand full of Inconstancy
 and Confusion. In *Novara*, taking Oc-
 casion to be tumultuous because the Mo-
 ney which the King of *Aragon* was obliged
 to pay them was not yet arrived, they fell
 upon the Commissaries of the Pope, and
 took away by Violence the Money that he
 had sent them, and in the same Rage
 broke up from *Novara* with an Intention
 to return to their own Country; which
 was what many of them desired, who,
 having already been three Months in *Italy*,
 and loaded with Money and Plunder, were
 willing to carry home the Riches which
 they had gained in Safety to their own
 Houses. But they had hardly left *Novara*
 when the King of *Aragon's* Money ar-
 rived,

rived, and tho' at first they were so rash as to seize it, yet reflecting on the Shame and Reproach that must result from such precipitous Resolutions, they came in some Measure to themselves, restored both that and the other Money, and were contented to have it orderly distributed among them by the Commissaries. After this they removed to *Galera* in Expectation of Twenty Thousand more of their Countrymen, who were said to be on their March, and Three Thousand of them were arrived with the Cardinal of *Sion*, being designed to garrison the City of *Pavia*.

THE King therefore, whose Hopes of an Accommodation with the *Swiss* were much diminished by so many Variations in their Conduct, marched from *Vercelli* towards *Milan*, leaving at *Vercelli*, with the Duke of *Savoy*, the Bastard his Brother, *Lautrech*, and the General of *Milan*, to continue the Negotiations begun with the *Swiss*. He left also the Castle of *Novara* besieged, the City having opened its Gates to him at the Departure of the *Swiss*. The Castle, after a few Days Battery,

A. D. Battery, surrendered on Condition of
 1515. Safety to the Lives and Effects of the
 Garrison. The King afterwards, having
Pavia surrendered to him, passed the
Tesino, and the same Day *Gianjacopo da*
Trivulzi with Part of the Troops extend-
 ed himself to *San Cristofano* near to *Milan*,
 and afterwards to the Suburb of the Gate
 of the *Tesino*, in Hopes that the City,
 which he knew to be very uneasy under
 the Rapines and Exactions of the *Swiss*
 and the *Spaniards*, and therefore desirous
 to return under the *French* Government,
 and to have at present no Garrison, would
 receive him within its Walls. But the
 Fear of the *Swiss* had a mighty Influence
 on the People of *Milan*, and they had
 still fresh in their Memories what they
 had suffered the last Year, when, on the
 Retreat of the *Swiss* to *Novara*, they
 made an Infurrection in favour of the
 King of *France*. They resolved therefore,
 tho' they wished the King Success, to
 wait the Issue of the Enterprize, and sent
 to *Trivulzio* to intreat him to advance no
 further. And the next Day they sent
 Ambassadors to the King, who was at-

Bu-

Buſaloro, humbly to beſeech his Maſteſty to content himſelf with the Diſpoſition of the People of *Milan*, who were moſt devoted to his Crown, and ready to furniſh him with Proviſions, and not to inſiſt on a more manifeſt Declaration, which would be of no Service towards a Deciſion of the War, no more than it had been in their declaring themſelves laſt Year for his Predeceſſor, which had not in the leaſt promoted his Cauſe, but had done vaſt Prejudice to the City. They would have him go then in God's Name, and overcome his Enemies, aſſuring himſelf that when he came Maſter out of the Field the City of *Milan* would moſt readily receive him. The King, who was at firſt greatly incenſed againſt the *Milanefe* for their Refuſal to receive *Trivulzio*, gave the Ambaſſadors a favourable Reception, and answered that he was content to comply with their Deſires.

A. D.

1515.

Apology
of the
Milanefe
accepted.

FROM *Buſaloro* the King proceeded with his Army to *Biagraſſa*, and while he ſtaid there the Duke of *Savoy*, after giving an Audience to Twenty *Swiſs* Ambaſſadors

besides Three Hundred Thousand for the Restitution of the Valleys; and that the King should constantly keep Four Thousand *Swiss* in his Pay. The Powers nominated by common Consent were the Pope, in case he restored *Parma* and *Piacenza*, the Emperor, the Duke of *Savoy*, and the Marquis of *Monferrato*. But no Mention was made of the Catholic King, the *Venetians*, or any other *Italian* State.

BUT this Agreement was concluded and broken off almost in one Day by the Arrival of a new Body of *Swiss* *, who animated by their past Victories, and in Hopes of acquiring no less Riches than those with which they saw their Companions loaded, were utterly averse to a Peace, and to obstruct it refused to restore the Valleys; so that the first *Swiss* being unable to repress the Ardor and Eagerness of the others, they removed their Camp, to the Number of Thirty-five Thousand, to *Moncia*, in order to take up their Quarters

* Twenty Ensigns of Infantry commanded by *Rostio*, a Man of great Authority. *Giovio*.

A. D. ^{1515.} Quarters in the Suburbs of *Milan*, *Alberto Petra*, a famous General, with a Number of Ensigns, leaving them and taking their Rout homewards by the Way of *Como*, which the King had purposely left open and unguarded*.

Motions
of the
Spanish
and Ec-
clesiastic
Armies.

THE Peace then being broken almost as soon as made, Affairs returned to their former difficult and doubtful Situation, and even in a much greater Degree by the Approach of new Forces and new Armies to the Dutchy of *Milan*. For the Viceroy, leaving *Marc' Antonio Colonna* with an Hundred Men at Arms, Sixty light Horse, and Two Thousand *German* Foot in Garriſon at *Verona*, and Twelve Hundred *Germans* in *Brescia*, was at last come to encamp on the *Po*. near *Piacenza* with Seven Hundred Men at Arms, Six Hundred light Horse, and Six Thousand Foot, and had laid a Bridge in Readiness for passing the River. And that he might have no just Cause of Complaint *Lorenzo de'*

* Above Ten Thousand Men, commanded by *Alberto Pietra* and *Giow. Despachio*, Generals of the *Bernese*, took their Way home by the *Lago Maggiore* and *Domossula*. *Giovio*.

de' Medici, who had for many Days very circumspectly halted at *Parma* with his Army of Seven Hundred Men at Arms, Eight Hundred light Horse, and Four Thousand Foot, removed to *Piacenza*. But he had before, at the Request of the *Swiss*, while they were treating with the *French*, sent Four Hundred light Horse commanded by *Mutio Colonna*, and *Lodovico* Count of *Pitigliano*, the first an Officer of the Church, and the other of the *Florentines*, to serve them in collecting Provisions; and this he did not so much from a Desire to assist the common Cause, as to give no Occasion to the *Swiss*, if they came to an Accommodation with the King of *France*, to exclude the Pope from the Peace.

A. D.

1515.

ON the other Side *Bartolomeo d'Alviano*, who had given the King Hopes that he would keep the *Spanish* Army employed so as not to have it in their Power to hurt him, as soon as he was informed that the Viceroy had left *Verona*, took his March from the Polesine of *Rovigo*, and passing the *Adice*, proceeded all along the *Po*,
 VOL. VI. Y with

 Expedi-
 tious
 March of
Alviano.

A. D. 1515. with Nine Hundred Men at Arms, Fourteen Hundred light Horse, Nine Thousand Foot, and a suitable Train of Artillery, and was arrived with vast Expedition before the Walls of *Cremona*. Of this Swiftness, unusual with the Generals of our Times, *Alviano* used to boast, and compare it to that of *Claudius Nero*, when he led a Part of the Army ordered to oppose *Asdrubal* on the River *Metauro**.

Situation
of the
Armies.

THUS was the State of War not only various, but confused and much entangled. In the Neighbourhood of *Milan*, on one Side, was the King of *France* with an Army well provided with all Necessaries, and now removed to *Marignano*, in order to facilitate his Conjunction with *Alviano*, and to obstruct that of the *Spanish* and Ecclesiastic Troops with the *Swiss*: On the other Side lay an Army of Thirty-five Thousand *Swiss*, a Body of Infantry full of Fierceness, and hitherto in respect to the *French* invincible; the Viceroy on the *Po*, near *Piacenza*, and on the high Road to *Lodi*,

* *Livy*, Dec. III. Lib. 7: and *Plutarch* in his Life of *Hannibal*.

Lodi, with a Bridge laid for passing the River in order to join the *Swiss*; and in *Piacenza* lay *Lorenzo de' Medici*, with the Troops of the Pope and the *Florentines*, ready to join the Viceroy for the same Purpose; *Alviano*, an active and daring Commander, was encamped with the *Venetian* Army in the *Cremonese*, almost on the Bank of the *Po*, in order to assist the King of *France*, either by joining him, or by diverting the Ecclesiastic and *Spanish* Armies. The City of *Lodi*, seated in the Middle at an equal Distance from *Milan* and *Piacenza*, was abandoned by all, but it had been first plundered by *Renzo da Ceri* while he was in the *Venetian* Service. For that Officer, on occasion of some Misunderstanding between him and *Alviano*, had lately by Protestations, and in a manner by Threatenings, obtained of the Senate his Dismission, and had list'd himself with Two Hundred Men at Arms, and Two Hundred light Horse, in the Service of the Pontiff; but not being able readily to get together all his Soldiers, because the *Venetians* had prevented many of them from going out of *Padoua* where they were

A. D.
1515.

A. D. 1515 quartered, he was gone from *Lodi* in order to raise Recruits for filling up the Regiment with which he had been taken into Pay.

BUT the Cardinal of *Sion*, who, being before terrified by the Negotiations which his People held with the King of *France*, and by the wavering Disposition of the City of *Milan*, had with a Thousand *Swiss*, and Part of the Troops of the Duke of *Milan* fled to *Piacenza*, and from thence proceeded to *Cremona* to press the Viceroy to advance forwards, took his Way back from thence to *Milan*, before the *French* Army had obstructed that Road, leaving some of his Soldiers, tho' but few, to secure *Lodi*, who being alarmed at the Advance of the King of *France* to *Marignano* abandoned that City.

Lodi abandoned to the *French*

Pope secretly corresponds with the King of *France*.

WHILE the Viceroy lay on the Bank of the *Po*, and before *Lorenzo de' Medici* was advanced to *Piacenza*, his Soldiers intercepted *Cintio* sent by the Pontiff to the King of *France*, and as there were found upon him Briefs and credential Letters,

THE WARS IN ITALY.

341

A. D.

1515.

ters, though he immediately dismissed the Messenger out of Reverence to the Person who had sent him, he began strongly to suspect that the Hopes which had been given him that the Ecclesiastic Army was to pass the *Po* in Conjunction with his own, were fruitless, and the rather because about the same time he had learnt that *Lorenzo de' Medici* had privately sent one of his own Attendants to the same King. And he was not wrongly informed; for *Lorenzo*, either from his own Motion, or by Command of the Pope, had sent to excuse himself to the King for leading an Army against him, on account of the Necessity he was under to obey the Pope, but that, as far as it was possible for him, without provoking the Indignation of his Uncle, or staining his own Honour, he would do his utmost Endeavours to satisfy him, as it had always been, and was now more than ever, his Desire.

BUT as soon as *Lorenzo* arrived at *Piacenza*, there began between the Viceroy and him with others that assisted in Council, a Debate whether it were best

Debate
on passing
the *Po*.

A. D. 1515. } to pass the *Po* in Conjunction, in order to join the *Swiss*, several Reasons offering on each Side. Those who were for passing the River alledged that there was no Reason to dissuade them from taking Possession of *Lodi*, and that while they were Masters of that Post, it would be difficult for *Alviano* to join the *French* Army, and practicable for themselves to join the *Swiss*, either by advancing towards *Milan* to seek them out, or by the Motion of the *Swiss* towards them; and if the *French* should post themselves, as it was reported to be their Design, or were already posted, on the Road between *Lodi* and *Milan*, they would have at their Backs the joint Forces of their Enemies, which could not but be troublesome and dangerous; and perhaps too it might not be difficult to find a Way, though by a greater Compass, to join with the *Swiss*: That this Resolution would be of great Service, and even necessary to the Enterprize, both for removing from the *Swiss* all Occasions of entering on new Treaties of Agreement, and for augmenting their Forces, of which they stood in Need against so great an Army, and especially

Reasons
for it.

especially with Horse, of which they had none; and besides it was no more than what was required from the Faith and Honour of the Pontiff and Catholic King, who were obliged to succour the State of *Milan*, and had so often professed the Correspondence of their Intentions to the *Swiss*, who finding themselves deceived, might from true and hearty Friends become most bitter Enemies; and, lastly, that the Interest of their own proper States required such a Step, because if the *Swiss* should lose the Battle, or make an Agreement with the King of *France*, there would be no Forces left in *Italy* sufficient to restrain that Prince from over-running the whole Ecclesiastic State to the very Gates of *Rome*.

ON the other Side were offered many Reasons, and this chiefly, that it was not to be supposed that the King had not by this time sent Troops to take Possession of *Lodi*, and if they should find the *French* Masters of that Place, it would be necessary for them to make a shameful Retreat, and, perhaps, not without Danger, since

Y 4

they

A. D.
1515.

they might have at the same time the *French* and *Venetians* either in Front or Flank, and the Bridge could not be re-passed without Time, and without some Confusion. Such a Risque might indeed be run, if the Reward were worth the Danger; but supposing that *Lodi* should be abandoned to their Possession, of what Service could it prove for promoting the Success of the Undertaking? How could it be deemed practicable, while so potent an Army was posted between *Lodi* and *Milan*, either for them to go and join the *Swiss*, or for the *Swiss* to come and join them? Besides, it might, perhaps, be a dangerous Step to entrust the whole Force of the Pontiff and the Catholic King in the Hands of that rash and unreasonable People, a great Part of whom, they knew, had made Peace with the King of *France*, and there were great Contentions between these and the others who opposed it.

At last it was resolved that the next Day both Armies should with all Expedition, without any Baggage, pass the *Po*, leaving good Garrisons in *Parma* and
Piacenza

Piacenza for Fear of the *Venetian* Army, whose light Horse had for several Days been scouring and plundering all over the Country. In agreeing to this Resolution neither of the Parties, as it was then generally thought, acted with Sincerity, each thinking, by pretending a Willingness to pass, to transfer the Blame on the other, without putting himself in Danger. For the Viceroy entertaining a Jealousy of the Message of *Cintio*, and knowing with what Cunning and Artifice the Pope proceeded in his Affairs, persuaded himself that it was his Will that *Lorenzo* should not proceed any further: And *Lorenzo*, considering how loth the Viceroy was to put his Army in the Power of Fortune, formed the same Judgment of others that they passed upon him. In the Afternoon the *Spanish* Troops began to pass the Bridge, and were immediately to be followed by the Ecclesiastic Army; but by the Coming on of Night it being necessary to defer their Passage till the next Morning, they did not only not pass at all, but the Viceroy returned with his Army on this Side the River, on Advice, brought by Four Hundred

A. D.

1515.

Eccle-
siastic and
Spanish
Generals
distrustful
of each
other.

A. D. 1515. dred light Horſe ſent out from both Armies to obſerve the Motions of the Enemies, that an Hundred *French* Lances had entered *Lodi*, wherefore the Viceroy and *Lorenzo* returned to their firſt Quarters, while *Alviano* marched with his Army to *Lodi*.

THE King of *France* at this ſame Time removed his Camp from *Marignano* to *San Donato* three Miles from *Milan*, in which City the *Swiſs* aſſembled their whole Force, where one Party of them abhorring a War, and the other as much averſe to a Peace, frequent Conſultations were held, and many Tumults happened among them. At laſt, when they were met together in a full Aſſembly, the Cardinal of *Sion*, who was moſt ardent in his Exhortations to Perſeverance in the War, began with moſt vehement and pathetic Words to ſtimulate them to delay no longer, but march out and attack the King of *France* that ſame Day, and not ſtand ſo much in Awe of the numerous Cavalry and Artillery of the Enemy, or ſuffer themſelves to be ſo far diſturbed as to loſe
the

the Memory of the native Valour of the *Swiss*, and the Victories obtained over the *French*. “ What, says *Sion*, have the People of our Nation undergone all this Fatigue, exposed themselves to so many Dangers, and spilt so much Blood to lose in one Day so vast a Stock of Glory, and leave so great Renown and Reputation to Enemies whom we have overthrown? Are not these the same *French* who assisted by us have obtained so many Victories, abandoned by us have been constantly overcome by every Adversary? Are not these the same *French* who but last Year were, by an inconsiderable Number of our Men, with so much Glory, defeated at *Novara*? Are they not the same *French* who, astonished at our Valour, and confounded at Reflections on their own shameful Cowardice, have cried up to the Skies the Name of the *Swiss*? A Name famous when we were in Conjunction with them, but become more famous since we separated from them! Our Troops that fought at *Novara* had neither Cavalry nor Artillery, and expected a speedy Reinforcement; and yet at the Persuasions of *Mottino*,

A. D.

1515.

Speech of
the Cardinal of
Sion to
the *Swiss*.

A. D. *Mottino*, that illustrious Ornament of the
 1515. *Helvetians*, they valiantly attacked the
 Enemy in their Trenches, boldly advanced
 to seize their Cannon, routed them, and
 slew their *German* Infantry till they had
 blunted their Weapons, and tired their
 Arms with the Slaughter. And can you
 think they will now have the Courage to
 expect the Charge of Forty Thousand
Swiss, an Army strong and resolute enough
 to meet the Forces of the whole World
 united together in the Field? They will
 fly, believe me, at the very Report of our
 Coming. They have not ventured to ap-
 proach so near *Milan* in Confidence of
 their own Valour, but in Hopes of your
 Divisions. The Person or Presence of
 their King will not support them, for out
 of Fear of endangering his Life or his State
 he will be the first to consult his own
 Safety, and induce the rest to follow his
 Example. If you dare not attack them
 with this Army, that is, with the whole
 Strength of *Switzerland*, with what Forces
 can you ever hope to resist them? For
 what End are we descended into *Lombardy*?
 To what Purpose is our Arrival at *Milan*,
 if

if we thought we should be afraid to encounter with the Enemy? What will become of the lofty Speeches, and fierce Menaces that we have been throwing out all this Year, when we boasted of a Design to make a Descent into *Burgundy*, and when we rejoiced at the Agreement with the King of *England*, and at the Inclination of the Pontiff to confederate with the King of *France*, as imagining that the more the Powers were which united against the State of *Milan*, the more Glory we should acquire in defending it? It would have been better for us not to have obtained such noble Victories for these Years past, and not to have driven the *French* out of *Italy*, but to have rested satisfied within the Bounds of our antient Renown, rather than afterwards with one Consent to deceive the Expectations of all the World by betraying such base Cowardice. This Day will all Men judge whether the Victory of *Novara* were owing to our Bravery or to Fortune. If we shew ourselves afraid of the Enemy, it will be universally ascribed either to Chance or Temerity; if we exert the same Resolution,

every

A. D.

1515.

A. D.

1515.

every one will confess that we are indebted for it only to our own Valour, and having, as no doubt we shall have, the same Success, we shall not only be the Terror of the present Age, but also had in Veneration by Posterity, whose Judgment and Praises will exalt the Name of the *Swiss* above that of the *Romans*, of whom we do not read that they shewed such Undauntedness, or obtained any Victory with so much Valour, or ever without Necessity chose to fight against Enemies under such great Disadvantages. Of us they will find it recorded that we fought a Battle near *Novara*, where with few Troops, without Artillery, without Cavalry, we put to Flight a mighty Army, furnished with all Manner of Provisions, and commanded by two famous Generals, one without Doubt the best in all *France*, and the other the best in all *Italy*. They will read also the Battle at *San Donato*, fought with the same Difficulties on our Side, against the King of *France* in Person, and against so great a Number of *German* Infantry, who, the more numerous they are, will fall the more acceptable Sacrifice to our Hatred,

make

make it so much the easier for us to ruin for ever their Military, and the more effectually deter them from rashly pretending to rival the Arms of the *Swiss*. It is not certain, but on the contrary, from many Difficulties appears even impossible, that we shall be joined by the Viceroy or the Troops of the Church; and therefore to what Purpose is it to expect them? Nor is their Presence necessary; nay we ought rather to be pleased at such a Disappointment, for now all the Honour will be ours, and the vastly rich Spoils and Plunder of the Enemy's Camp will be all our own. *Mottino* would not suffer the Glory to be communicated even to ourselves, much less to others. And shall we be so base-minded, and set so low a Price upon our Valour, as, even supposing it possible for us to join them, to be willing to wait in order to be Sharers in so great a Profusion of Honours and Praises with Strangers? Neither the Fame of the *Swiss*, nor the State of Affairs require any further Delay or Consultation: It is now necessary that we should be on our March, now, now is the Time to hasten and attack the
Enemy.

A. D.

1515.

A. D. 1515. Enemy. Let Cowards consult, who think not of encountering with Dangers, but of securing themselves by Flight; but it is the Part of a fierce and warlike Nation, such as ours, to present themselves before their Enemies as soon as they can get a Sight of them. Go to, then, with the Help of God, who with just Hatred pursues the Pride of the *French*, with your usual Animosity take your Pikes, and beat your Drums, and let us march without losing a Moment, and hasten to try the utmost Force of our Weapons, and satiate our Hatred with the Blood of those whose Pride renders them a Nuisance, and their Cowardice a Prey to all Mankind."

INCITED by this Speech the *Swiss* immediately took their Arms in a Fury, and as soon as they were got out at the *Roman* Gate drew up in Order, and tho' there remained not much of Daylight set forwards on their March towards the *French* with so much Alacrity, and such Shouting, that one who knew no better would have taken it for certain that they had

had already obtained some very notable Victory. The Officers stimulated the Soldiers to quicken their March, and the Soldiers desired their Officers not to forget to give the Signal of Battle as soon as ever they were approached to the Camp of the Enemy; for they were determined to strew the Field with Carcases, and intended that Day to extinguish the very Name of the *German* Infantry; and especially of those Troops which prognosticating their own Death carried by way of Distinction black Ensigns. In this fierce and resolute Disposition they approached the *French* Camp, and but two Hours before Night began the Battle. They attacked the Artillery and Entrenchments with such Fury and Violence, that they entered the Trenches almost as soon as they arrived, and broke and dispersed the first Battalions that opposed them, and made themselves Masters of Part of the Artillery. But the *French* Cavalry advancing, and a great Part of the Army, with the King himself, surrounded by a valiant Squadron of Gentlemen, the Ardor of their Fury was in some measure re-

VOL. VI. Z pressed,

A. D.
1515.

Battle of
Marigna-
no.

A. D.

1515.

pressed, and there began a very terrible Battle, attended with various Events, but very destructive to the *French* Men at Arms, who were forced to give Way. This Fight lasted till four Hours after Night, in which some of the *French* general Officers were killed on the Spot, and the King himself received many Thrusts of Pikes. By this Time both Parties were so tired that they could no longer hold their Weapons in their Hands, and separated from one another without Beat of Drum, or Orders from their Officers, the *Swiss* betaking themselves to their Rest in the Field of Battle, and neither Party molesting the other, but expecting, as it were by a tacit Truce, the next Daylight. But the first Attack proving so successful to the *Swiss*, for whom by the Care of the Cardinal a Convoy of Provisions and Refreshments from *Milan* arrived while they were taking their Repose, Expresses were dispatched to all Parts of *Italy* with Advices that the *Swiss* had put the Army of their Enemies to Flight. The King was not idle during the Remainder of the Night, but being sensible

sensible of the Greatness of the Danger took care to draw off his Artillery into proper Places and in due Order, and employed himself in ranging his *German* and *Gascon* Infantry in just Battalions, and his Cavalry in Squadrons. When Day-light appeared the *Swiss*, despising not only the *French* Army but all the Forces of *Italy* united together, renewed their Attack with the same Rage and Impetuosity, and with great Temerity. They were valiantly received by their Enemies, but with more Policy, and in better Order, for on one Side they were galled by the Cannon, on the other by the Arrows of the *Gascons*, and at the same time charged by the Horse, so that they suffered in Front and on both Flanks. And at Sunrise, when the Fight was closest and fiercest, and Circumstances reduced to an Extremity of Labour and Danger, *Alviano*, who, on the Arrival of an Express from the King over Night, had immediately put himself in Motion with the light Horse and the most expeditious Part of his Army, the rest following Body after Body, arrived on a sudden, and fell with

A. D.

1515.

great Fury on the Rear of the *Swiss*, who, tho' they still maintained the Fight with the greatest Boldness and Valour, yet finding so vigorous a Resistance, and from the Arrival of the *Venetian* Army despairing of the Victory, several Hours after Sunrise sounded a Retreat, and putting their Shoulders to the Artillery which they had brought with them, turned their Battalions, and constantly keeping their usual Order marched with a slow Pace towards *Milan*, to the great Astonishment of the *French*, of whom not a Man in all the Army, either among their Foot or Horse, durst venture to pursue them; only two of their Companies, who had fled into a Country Seat, were burnt in it by the *Venetian* light Horse. The rest of their Army retired in perfect Order, and retaining the same Fierceness in their Countenances, and in their Eyes, returned to *Milan*, leaving behind them in the Ditches, as some say, fifteen Pieces of heavy Cannon, which they had taken from the *French* in the first Attack, for Want of Conveniences to bring them along.

Swiss
defeated.

IT is univerfally agreed that a fiercer and more terrible Battle had not been fought in *Italy* for very many Years; for by the Fury with which the *Swifs* began the Attack, and afterwards by the Mistakes through the Darknefs of the Night, the Arrangement of the whole Army being difordered, and the Combatants mingling in Confufion without Command or Signal, every Event was left entirely to the Difpofal of Fortune. The King himfelf was often in Danger, and was more indebted for his Prefervation to his own proper Valour, and to Chance, than to the Affiftance of his Attendants, by whom he was frequently in the Confufion of the Battle, and the Darknefs of the Night, abandoned. Hence *Trivulzio*, a General who had feen fo many Events, protefted that this was a Battle not of Men but of Giants, and that of Eighteen Battles in which he had been prefent, every one of them, in Comparifon of this, was but a Battle of little Children. And it is not doubted that, had it not been for the Affiftance of the Artillery, the Victory

Saying of
Trivulzio
on the
Battle.

A. D. 1515. would have been gained by the *Swiss*, who having entered the *French* Entrenchments at the first Attack, and afterwards made themselves Masters of most Part of their Artillery, had always gained Ground. Besides, the Coming of *Alviano* was of no small Importance, since his Arrival at a Time while the Victory was yet dubious put Spirits in the *French*, and Terror in the *Swiss*, who imagined that he had brought with him the whole *Venetian* Army.

Number of Killed. THE Number of the Dead, if ever it were uncertain in any Battle, as it is almost in all, was very uncertain in this, People varying in their Accounts, some out of Passion, others through Ignorance. Some make the Loss of the *Swiss* amount to above Fourteen Thousand, others will have it but Ten Thousand, others again more moderate make it but Eight Thousand, and there are not wanting some who reduce it so low as Three Thousand, all of the vulgar Sort, and of Names obscure. But of the *French* were killed in the Battle of the Night *Francis* Brother

to the Duke of Bourbon, Imbercourt, Sancerre, the Prince of Tallemont Son to Tremouille, Boyfi Nephew to the late Cardinal of Rouen, Count Saffart, Chatelarth of Savoy, Buffi d' Amboyse, and Mouy, Ensign of the King's Gens d' Arms, Persons all distinguished by their Nobility and great Estates, or for their honourable Posts in the Army. The Number of the Killed is for the Reasons before assigned variously reckoned, some making it Six Thousand, others reducing it to Three Thousand, among whom were some Officers of the German Infantry.

A. D.

1515.

AFTER the *Swiss* were retired to *Milan* they fell into very great Disagreement whether it were best to enter into a Convention with the King of *France*, or stay there for the Defence of the City. Those Officers who had before solicited an Agreement, being willing to alledge some less dishonourable Reason for their Departure, demanded their Pay of *Massimiliano Sforza*, who, it was very manifest, had no Money to spare; and the next Day afterwards all the *Swiss* Troops, at

A. D. the Persuasions of *Rost* their Captain
 1515. General, set out on their March home-
Swiss re- wards by the Way of *Como*, giving Hopes
 turn home to the Duke that they would soon re-
 turn to the Relief of the Castle, in which
 was left a Garrison of Fifteen Hundred
Swiss and Five Hundred *Italian* Foot.
 With these Hopes *Massimiliano Sforza*,
 accompanied by *Giovanni da Gonzaga*,
 and *Girolamo Morone*, with some other
Milanese Noblemen, betook himself to
 the Castle, after giving his Consent, tho'
 not without Difficulty, that *Francesco*
 Duke of *Bari*, his Brother, might retire
 into *Germany*, while the Cardinal of *Sion*
 went to wait upon *Cæsar* to solicit Suc-
 cours, promising to return within a few
 Days. The City of *Milan* being thus
 left without any Garrison surrendered to
 the King of *France*, and agreed to pay a
 very large Sum of Money *; but he re-
 fused to enter the Place while the Castle
 was in the Hands of the Enemy, as if
 it were unworthy of a King to make his
 Entry into a Town that was not wholly
 at his Devotion. In the mean time he
 ordered

City of
Milan sur-
 renders to
 the French.

* 300,000 Crowns at three Payments. *Gicvio.*

ordered solemn Masses to be celebrated for three Days successively in the Place where he had obtained the Victory; the first to return Thanks to God for his Success, the Second to pray for the Souls of those that were killed in the Battle, and the last to beseech God to grant a Peace; and on the same Spot he caused a Chapel to be erected for a perpetual Memorial. All the Towns and Fortresses of the Dutchy of *Milan* followed the Fortune of the Victory, except the Castles of *Cremona* and *Milan*, the Siege of which last was committed to the Direction of *Pietro Navarra*, who, to the Admiration of all Men, tho' the Castle was very strong, abundantly supplied with all Necessaries for its Defence, and had a Garrison of Two Thousand good Soldiers, engaged to reduce it within a Month.

THE Vicéroy, on the News of the Victory of the *French*, stayed a few Days in his old Quarters, more out of Necessity than Choice, because it was difficult for him to put his Army in Motion without Money. At length, receiving a certain Quantity,

A. D. ^{1515.} Quantity, and borrowing Six Thousand Ducats of *Lorenzo de' Medici*, he decamped, and retired to *Pontenuro*, with an Intention to march for the Kingdom of *Naples*. For though the Pontiff, on Advice of the unfortunate Event, had at first made the Public believe that he intended to imitate the Constancy of his Predecessor, the Ambassadors of the Allies encouraging him to resolve on shewing his Face to Fortune, and endeavour by all means to keep the *Swiss* in a good Disposition, or if they proved inconstant to supply their Places with hired *German* Infantry, yet on a serious Review it appeared to him that no Provisions for his Safety could be made with that Speed which his Danger required, and that the first Blow was likely to fall upon himself. For though the Reverence of the Church might induce the King of *France* to abstain from molesting the Ecclesiastic State, yet he did not believe it sufficient to restrain him from attacking *Parma* and *Piacenza* as Members of the Dutchy of *Milan*, or from molesting the State of *Florence*, in which Affair all Regard ceased, and yet the Pope would think

Pope under Apprehensions from the French

think himself as much injured as if an At-
 tack had been made upon the State of the
 Church. Nor indeed were his Appre-
 hensions groundless, for the King had or-
 dered a Bridge to be laid over the *Po*
 near *Pavia* for passing Troops to take Pos-
 session of *Parma* and *Piacenza*, and after
 the Acquisition of these Cities, if the Pope
 still continued averse to embrace the King's
 Friendship, the Forces were intended to
 proceed by the Way of *Pontremoli* to *Tus-*
cany, and attempt to drive the *Medici* out
 of *Florence*.

A. D.

1515.

BUT by this Time the Pope had given
 Commission to the Duke of *Savoy*, and
 the Bishop of *Tricarico*, his Nuncio, to enter
 into a Treaty with the King of *France*, who
 being still suspicious of new Confederacies
 against him, and inclined to the Reverence
 of the Apostolic See by the Terror which
 the Persecutions of *Julius* had excited in
 the whole Kingdom of *France*, was very
 desirous of an Agreement. A Confede-
 racy therefore was soon concluded between
 them for the Defence of the States of *Italy*,
 and particularly it was stipulated that the
 King

Pope en-
 ters into
 an Al-
 liance
 with the
 King of
France.

A. D.

1515.

King should take into his Protection the Person of the Pontiff, the State of the Church, *Giuliano*, *Lorenzo de' Medici*, and the State of *Florence*; should grant a Lordship in *France* and a Pension to *Giuliano* and to *Lorenzo*, with the Command of fifty Lances; and consent that the Pontiff should grant free Passage through the State of the Church to the Viceroy on his Return with his Army into the Kingdom of *Naples*: That the Pope should be obliged to recall his Troops from *Verona*, and from the Assistance of *Cæsar* against the *Venetians*; that he should restore to the King the Cities of *Parma* and *Piacenza*, in Compensation of which the Dutchy of *Milan* should be bound to take all its Salt from *Cervia*, which was computed to be very beneficial to the Church, and had lately been stipulated by the Pope in his Confederacy with the Duke of *Milan*: That it should be referred to the Arbitration of the Duke of *Savoy* whether the *Florentines* had violated the Confederacy made with King *Lewis*, and in Case of any Violation the Duke was to declare the Penalty. This Article the King said he insisted

insisted on more for the Sake of his Honour than for any other Reason.

A. D.
1515.

THE Treaty being concluded *Tricarico* immediately set out Post for *Rome*, to persuade the Pontiff to ratify it : And *Lorenzo*, that he might the sooner be rid of the Viceroy, withdrew the Troops he had in *Piacenza* to *Parma* and *Reggio*, and he himself waited on the King, to recommend himself to his Favour, and to persuade him, according to the artful Instructions of his Uncle, that he desired in all Events to depend only on his royal Protection.

THE Pope was not without Difficulty induced to ratify the Peace, for it grieved him very much to part with *Parma* and *Piacenza*, and he would willingly have waited till he had first known the Resolution of the *Swiss*. The Diet of that Nation was assembled at *Zurich*, the principal of all the *Helvetic* Cantons, and the greatest Enemy to the *French*, where they treated about succouring the Castle of *Milan* ; though they had abandoned the Valleys and the Towns of *Bellinzone* and *Lugarna*,

A. D. *Lugarna*, but not the Castles, yet the
 1515. King, on the Payment of Six Thousand
 Crowns to the Governor, had gotten Possession of the Castle of *Lugarna*; but the *Grisons* had not as yet abandoned *Chiavenna*. *Tricarico*, however, at last representing to his Holiness that it was to be feared the King would without Delay attack *Parma* and *Piacenza*, and send Troops into *Tuscany*, and magnifying the Loss of the *Swiss* in the Battle, he was content to ratify, but with these Qualifications and Restrictions: That neither he himself nor his Agents for him should be bound to make a formal Cession of *Parma* and *Piacenza*, but only leave them evacuated of his Troops and civil Officers for the King to take Possession of them; that the Pontiff should not be bound to withdraw his Troops from *Verona*, because he was not willing to do such an Injury to *Cæsar*, but he secretly promised to recall them on the first convenient Opportunity; and that the *Florentines* should be absolved from any pretended Contravention of the League. In this Agreement it was also provided that the King should not take
 under

Pope ratifies the Peace with Restrictions.

under his Protection any Feudatary or Subject of the State of the Church, and should not only not obstruct the Pope, as their supreme Lord, in proceeding against them, and chastising them, but should also be obliged, when sollicitated, to assist him for that Purpose. Mention was also made of an Interview between the Pope and the King in some convenient Place; which was proposed by *Francis*, but desired by both Parties; by the King, for the better Establishment of this newly contracted Friendship, for securing the States of his Friends in *Italy*, and because he was in Hopes by his Presence, and by his Offers of large Estates to the Pontiff's Brother and Nephew, to obtain his Consent for attacking, as he most ardently desired, the Kingdom of *Naples*; by the Pope, with a View, by this officious Condescension, to entertain the King, while he was in his Prosperity, after his engaging Manner, by which he was most excellently qualified for winning upon the Hearts of Men. Many, however, condemned such a Resolution as unworthy of the Majesty of the Pontificate, judging it
more

A. D.

1515.

more proper for the King, if he wanted such an Interview, to come and seek it of the Pope at *Rome*. But his Holiness alledged in Excuse that he condescended in this Manner from a Desire to induce the King to forbear molesting the Kingdom of *Naples* during the Life of the Catholic King, which, on account of an Indisposition of Body, under which he had laboured above a Year, it was thought, could not be long.

Castle of
Milan be-
sieged.

IN the mean time *Pietro Navarra* was busily employed in besieging the Castle of *Milan*, and having made himself Master of a Casemate in the Ditch of the Castle on the Flank towards the Gate of *Como*, and with Engines for Battery and Fences of Beams*, made his Approaches to the Ditch and to the Wall of the Castle, he worked at a Mine in that Place, and having ruined the Defences, he set about several other Mines, and with large Chiffels cut off a great Piece of the Wall on the Flank of the

* Orig. *Gatti e Travate*, the first a warlike Instrument with several Claws or Prongs for loosening and pulling out the Stones of the Wall, the other a Defence for covering the Workmen.

the Castle, which he supported with Props, A. D. 1513.
 in order to make it fall at the same Time that he set Fire to the Mines. But tho' these Contrivances were not, in the Opinion of many, sufficient to reduce the Place without much Time and Difficulty, and certain Advice was received that the *Swiss*, according to the Resolution taken in the Diet of *Zurich*, were preparing to relieve it, yet by virtue of a Treaty commenced between *Giovanni da Gonzaga*, a General of the Duke of *Milan*, who was in the Castle, and the Duke of *Bourbon* his Kinsman, and afterwards carried on with the Duke of *Bourbon* by *Girolamo Morone* in concert with two *Swiss* Officers in the Castle, to the great Surprise of all the World, a Capitulation was concluded Surrendered. on the fourth of *October*. *Girolamo Morone* was highly blamed on this Occasion for having, either out of too much Timidity, or too little Faithfulness, persuaded the Duke, with whom he had a very great Authority, to this Agreement; but he excused himself on account of a Quarrel that broke out between the *Swiss* and *Italian* Infantry in Garrison.

A. D.

1515.

Articles
of the
Capitula-
tion.

BY the Conditions of this Capitulation *Massimiliano Sforza* was immediately to deliver up to the King of *France* the Castles of *Milan* and *Cremona*, and to make over to him all the Rights which he had to the State of *Milan*: On this Consideration it was agreed that he should receive of the King a certain Sum of Money to discharge his Debts, and might retire into *France*, where the King was to allow him a yearly Pension of Thirty Thousand Ducats, or use his Interest that he should be created a Cardinal with the like Revenue: That the King should pardon *Galcazzo Visconti* and certain other Noblemen of the Dutchy of *Milan* who had been zealous in the Interest of *Massimiliano*: That he should give the *Swiss* who were in the Castle Six Thousand Crowns: That he should confirm to *Giovanni da Gonzaga* those Estates which the Duke had given to him in the *Milanesè*, and settle a Pension on him; and should also confirm to *Morone* his patrimonial Estates, and those which were bestowed on him by the Duke, with the Offices that

that he held, and should constitute him Master of Requests of the Court of *France*. A. D. 1515.

On this Agreement *Massimiliano*, otherwise *Moro* after his Father's Name, came out of the Castle, and set out directly for *France*, saying at his Departure that he was delivered from the Bondage of the *Swiss*, the Abuses of *Cæsar*, and the Cheats of the *Spaniards*. Every one however praised Fortune more for her Justice in speedily deposing from so high a Station, than for her Blindness in exalting to it, a Man who, from his Want of Capacity, the Extravagance of his Sentiments, and the extreme Sordidness of his Manners, was unworthy of any Post of Honour or Greatness.

BUT before the Castle of *Milan* was surrendered came Ambassadors to the King *Antonio Grimano*, *Domenico Triviano*, *Giorgio Cornaro*, and *Andrea Gritti*, *Venetian*
Embassy
to the
King of
France. four of the principal and most honourable Members of the *Venetian* Senate, to congratulate him on his Victory, and to request his Assistance, to which he was bound by the Articles of the Confederacy,

A. D.

1515.

in the Recovery of their Towns: An Enterprife which had no other Obstruction but from the Forces of *Cæſar*, and thoſe auxiliary Troops of the Pope which were with *Marc' Antonio Colonna* in *Verona*; for the Viceroy, after leaving the Territory of *Piacenza*, and then halting ſome time in the *Modeneſe*, to ſee whether the Pope would ratify the Agreement he had made with the King of *France*, as ſoon as he was certified of the Ratification, proceeded on his March through *Romagna* for *Naples*.

THE King readily ordered to the Aſſiſtance of the *Venetians* the Baſtard of *Savoy* and *Teodoro da Trivulzio*, with Seven Hundred Lances and Seven Thouſand Foot; but while they delayed their March, either in Expectation of the Succeſs of the Enterprife on the Caſtle of *Milan*, or becauſe the King deſigned theſe ſame Troops for the Siege of the Caſtle of *Cremona*, *Alviano*, who was not permitted by the *Venetians* to follow the Viceroy, becauſe they were deſirous to recover, if it were poſſible, *Breſcia* and
Verona

Verona without the Assistance of others, A. D.
marched with the Army towards *Brescia*. 1515.

But the Garrison being just before reinforced with One Thousand *German* Foot, *Bergamo* having several Days before surrendered to the *Venetians*, he resolved to march first and lay Siege to *Verona*, as not so well fortified, and for the greater Conveniency of Provisions, and because if *Verona* were taken, *Brescia* remaining alone, and difficult, on account of its Situation, to be succoured from *Germany*, would fall an easy Conquest. But this Undertaking was retarded from an Apprehension that the Viceroy and the Troops of the Pope, which were in the Territories of *Reggio* and *Modena*, would pass the *Po* at *Ostia* in order to relieve *Verona*; all Fears of which now vanishing at the Departure of the Viceroy, a new Obstacle arose from the Sicknes of *Alviano*, who was taken ill at *Gbedi* in the *Brescian*, and departed this Life in the Beginning of Death and
October under Sixty Years of Age, mightily Character
regretted by the *Venetians*, but much of Alviano.
more by his Soldiers, who, not knowing how to satisfy themselves with his Re-
A a 3 membrance,

A. D.
1515.

membrance, kept his Body twenty-five Days in the Army, carrying it about with them wherever they marched with extraordinary Pomp; and when it was afterwards to be conveyed to *Venice*, *Teodoro Trivulzio* would not suffer a Pass to be demanded, as many had proposed, of *Marc' Antonio Colonna* for its free Passage through the *Veronese*, saying, it was not fit that a Man who was never afraid of Enemies in his Lifetime should give any Sign that he feared them after his Death. He was interred by public Decree with extraordinary Marks of Honour in *St. Stephen's Church* at *Venice*, where his Monument is still to be seen, and the funeral Oration was made by *Andrea Navagiero*, a young *Venetian* Nobleman of great Eloquence. *Alviano* was by every one acknowledged to be a General of vast Boldness and Courage, and one who executed his Resolutions with the utmost Expedition, but, either through the Malice of Fortune, or, as many were of Opinion, because he was rash and precipitous in taking his Measures, was frequently defeated by his Enemies, and perhaps, what

THE WARS IN ITALY.

375

is more, where he was Commander in chief never obtained a Victory.

A. D.

1515.

ON the Death of *Alviano* the King, at the Request of the *Venetians*, granted Leave to *Trivulzio* to take upon him the Command of their Army. They desired him for their General on account of his Skill and Reputation in military Discipline, and because, from their common Inclination to the Faction of the *Guelfs*, there had been always a good Correspondence and mutual Benevolence maintained between him and that Republic. While the new General was proceeding to the Army the Troops of the *Venetians* took *Peschiera*, after they had first routed Three Hundred *Spanish* Foot, and some Horse that were coming to relieve it; they next recovered *Asola* and *Lona*, which were abandoned by the Marquis of *Mantoua*.

ON the Arrival of *Trivulzio* the Army, at the Instances of the Senate, laid Siege to *Brescia*, tho' it appeared to him very difficult to be taken without the Assistance of the *French*, for the Town was strong,

A. D. and had Two Thousand *German* and ^{1515.} *Spanish* Foot in Garrison, a very considerable Number of the *Guelfs* had been forced to leave the Place, the Winter was just at Hand, and the Season seemed much disposed to Rains. The General was not deceived in his Judgment of the Event of the Undertaking; for after they had begun to play on the Walls from a Battery planted on the Ditch at the Side whence the Rivulet *Garzetta* takes its Course, the Garrison, which made frequent Sallies, took once an Opportunity to march out to the Number of Fifteen Hundred *German* and *Spanish* Foot in order to attack the Guard of the Artillery, for which Service were appointed One Hundred Men at Arms, and Six Thousand Foot, and charged them so vigorously, while others of the Besieged, who were disposed along the Walls for that Purpose, with their small Arms kept a continual Fire, that they easily put them to Flight, tho' *Gian Pagolo Manfrone* with Thirty Men at Arms for some time sustained their Fury. They killed about Two Hundred Foot, set Fire to the Powder, and brought off

Ten

Brescia
besieged
by the
Venetians.

Ten Pieces of Cannon into *Brescia*. On this Disaster *Trivulzio* thought fit to remove the Army to a greater Distance from the Town, in Expectation of the *French*, and retired to *Coccai* twelve Miles from that City, the *Venetians* in the mean time taking care to provide a new Supply of Cannon and Ammunition. When the *French* had joined them they returned to the Siege, and erected Batteries in two different Places, one on the Side of the Gate of the *Pile* towards the Castle, and the other on the Side of the Gate of *San Giovanni*. In one of these Posts lay encamped the *French* Army, which, on the Dismission of the *Germans* because they would not fight against a Town in the Possession of *Cæsar*, was reinforced with Five Thousand *Gascon* and *French* Foot under *Pietro Navarra*. The other was possessed by the *Venetians* commanded by *Trivulzio*, on whom lay the whole Care and Burden of the War, for the Bastard of *Savoy* was taken ill, and had left the Army. A Breach was made, but the Assault was not given because the Besieged had drawn Trenches, and cast up Ramparts,

A. D.

1515.

A. D. parts, and with vast Diligence and Reso-
 1515. lution provided every Thing necessary for
 their Defence. *Pietro Navarra* therefore
 had recourse to his usual Remedy, and
 set about constructing of Mines, and at the
 same time cutting the Wall with Pick-
 axes.

Action of
M. Anto-
nio Colonna.
 AT this Time *Marc' Antonio Colonna*
 marched out of *Verona* with Six Hundred
 Horse, and Five Hundred Foot, and
 meeting on the Plains with *Gian Pagolo*
Manfrone and *Mercurio Bua*, who with
 Four Hundred Men at Arms and Four
 Hundred light Horse were appointed to
 garrison *Valeggio*, he charged and broke
 them, in which Encounter *Giulio* Son of
Gian Pagolo, his Horse being killed under
 him while he was fighting, was taken
 Prisoner, and his Father fled to *Goito*;
 the victorious Party afterwards took Pos-
 session of *Lignago*, where they made some
Venetian Noblemen Prisoners.

BUT at *Brescia* the Siege appeared
 more and more difficult and incommo-
 dious, for the Mines prepared by *Pietro*
Navarra

Navarra did not succeed according to the Expectations he had given, and Intelligence being received that Eight Thousand Foot were on their March from *Germany* to succour the Place, which the Generals before *Brescia* could not warrant from taking Effect, it it was at last agreed by the *Venetians*, to cover in some Measure the Shame of a Retreat, that the Garrison, if not relieved within thirty Days, should deliver up the City, and the *Venetians* promised that they should have Liberty to march out with Colours flying, with the Artillery and all their Effects. This Engagement every one knew to be of no Signification, so well were they assured of Succours; but it was of some Service to the People in *Brescia*, by freeing them in the mean time from Molestations. The *Venetians* after this sent Eight Thousand Foot to *Bre*, a Castle belonging to the Counts of *Lodrone*; but as soon as these Troops perceived the *German* Foot, who had taken Possession of the Castle of *Anso* by Surrendry, advancing forwards, they cowardly retreated to the Army. Nor were there to be found greater Marks of

Resolution

A. D.

1515.

A. D. Resolution in the Generals, who, under
 1515. } terrible Apprehensions of being at the same
 time attacked by the Troops from *Germany*, by those in *Brescia*; and by *Marc' Antonio* with the Garrison of *Verona*, retired to *Gbedi*, whither they had before, for fear of such a Disaster, sent their heavy Artillery, and almost all their Baggage. Thus the *Germans* entered *Brescia* without Opposition, and as soon as they had supplied the Place with Provisions, and increased the Garrison, returned to *Germany*.

Brescia
relieved.

IN the mean time the Pope and the King of *France* had agreed on an Interview at *Bologna*, the King chusing that Place rather than *Florence*, because he would not be at so great a Distance from the Dutchy of *Milan*, especially since he was continually treating, by the Mediation of the Duke of *Savoy*, of an Accommodation with the *Swiss*, and because, as he said, it would have been necessary, if he passed into *Tuscany*, to lead with him a great Train of Soldiers, since it would not be suitable to his Honour to enter *Florence* with less Pomp than King
Charles

Charles had done before him, and the Preparations for such a Solemnity would have caused a Delay of some Days, which would have been very disagreeable to the King, as well in other Respects, as because he would have been necessitated to keep on Foot his whole Army, no Part of which, though it was very expensive, he had as yet disbanded, nor intended to disband while he stayed in *Italy*. The Pontiff then entered *Bologna* the Eighth Day of *December*, and two Days after the King made his Entry, having been received on the Borders of the *Reggian* by two Apostolic Legates, the Cardinals of *Fiesco* and *de' Medici*. He was attended by no Men at Arms, nor by any great Retinue, and being introduced, according to Custom, into the public Consistory before the Pontiff, he himself in Person, the Grand Chancellor making a Speech in his Name, offered him his Obedience, which he had not paid before. After this they held Communication for three Days together, being lodged in the same Palace, and shewing one towards another extraordinary Marks of mutual Benevolence and Affection.

A. D.
1515.

Interview
between
the Pope
and the
King of
France.

A. D. 1515. fection. On this Occasion, besides confirming anew both by Words and Promises the Obligations formerly contracted, they had long Conferences about the Affairs of the Kingdom of *Naples*, which the King not being provided to attack at that Time, contented himself with the warm and hearty Assurances given him by the Pontiff of his favouring that Enterprize whenever they should hear of the Death of the King of *Aragon*, which in common Opinion could not be far off, or else as soon as his Confederacy with that Prince, which would terminate in sixteen Months, should expire. The King interceded also for the Restitution of *Modena* and *Reggio* to the Duke of *Ferrara*, which the Pope promised to restore on the Duke's reimbursing him the Forty Thousand Ducats which he had paid to *Cæsar* for *Modena*, besides a certain Sum of Money in Recompence for what he had expended on those Cities. The King interposed also his Mediation in Favour of *Francesco Maria* Duke of *Urbino*. This Duke had the Command of Two Hundred Men at Arms in the Service of the Church, and was appointed to attend
Giuliano

Giuliano de' Medici to the Army. But *A. D.*
Giuliano falling sick, and *Lorenzo* consti- ^{1515.}
 tuted General in his Stead, the Duke not
 only refused to go, alledging that though,
 for the Sake of his old Friendship with
Giuliano, he had, contrary to his Dignity,
 consented to attend him as a simple Offi-
 cer, and subject to the Command of others,
 in the Army of the Church, of which he
 had been so often Captain General, and
 superior to all, he would not yield the same
 Submission to *Lorenzo*, but besides, after
 he had promised to send the Troops that
 were under his Command, recalled them
 when they were upon their March. For
 it seems he had just before secretly agreed,
 or was then treating of an Agreement, with
 the King of *France*, and after the Victory
 of the King never ceased, by means of
 proper Persons, to incense him, as much
 as he could, against the Pontiff. His
 Holiness, mindful of these Injuries, and
 having before projected to transfer that
 Dutchy to his own Family, denied the
 King's Request, representing to him, in
 the mildest Expressions, how difficult it
 would be with regard to the Affairs of the
 Church

A. D.

1515.

Church to grant his Demand, and how pernicious an Example it must prove for encouraging Subjects to rebel against their Sovereigns. The King patiently submitted to the Reasons and Will of the Pontiff, though he had desired, for his own Honour, to preserve the Duke, who was fallen into Danger for his Adherence to him; and he was advised also to take him under his Protection by many of his Council and Court, who represented how unpolitic a Resolution it had been in the late King to permit *Valentino* to oppress the petty Sovereigns of *Italy*, by which he rose to such Grandeur, that, if his Father *Alexander* had lived much longer, he would without Doubt have done much Mischief to his Affairs. The Pope promised the King to grant him Power to levy, for one Year, the Tenth Part of the Ecclesiastic Revenues in the Kingdom of *France*. It was agreed also that the King should have the Nomination of Benefices, which before belonged to the Colleges and Chapters of Churches; an Ordinance of great Advantage to the Kings of *France*, who by that Means had the Disposal of
 so

THE WARS IN ITALY.

385

A. D.

1515.



so many vastly rich Benefices; and on the other Side his Majesty consented that the Annates of the Churches of *France* should be paid to the Pontiff according to the true Value, and not according to the antient Rates, which were much less. But in this Article the Pope found himself deceived, for when he designed to prosecute those who concealed the true Value, and had deputed Commissaries in the Kingdom of *France* for that Purpose, no Documents were to be had, nor Prosecutions obtained against the Incumbents, so that every one continued to pay according to the old Rates. The King also promised not to take under his Protection any of the Cities of *Tuscany*; but not long after, on soliciting the Pope's Consent for receiving into his Protection the *Lucchese*, who had offered him Twenty-five Thousand Ducats, alledging that he was bound to it by the Obligations of his Predecessor, his Holiness refused to grant it, though he promised to give no manner of Molestation to that People. They resolved also to send *Egidio*, General of the *Augustin* Friars, and a most excellent Preacher, to the

A. D. 1515. Emperor in the Name of the Pope, in order to dispose him to restore *Brescia* and *Verona* to the *Venetians*, and to accept of a Recompense in Money. These Affairs being dispatched, though nothing was put in Writing except the Articles relating to the Nomination to Benefices, and the Payment of the Annates according to the true Value, the Pope, to oblige the King, declared Cardinal *Adrian de Boisi*, Brother to the Grand Master of *France*, and Prime Minister. The King afterwards departed highly satisfied with this Conference, and in great Hopes of the Good-will of the Pontiff, who shewed all the outward Marks of mutual Satisfaction, but his inward Sentiments were very different, for he was still grieved as before that the King should be in Possession of the Dutchy of *Milan*, and he was extremely chagrined at his being obliged to relinquish *Piacenza* and *Parma*, and no less at the Restitution of *Modena* and *Reggio* to the Duke of *Ferrara*, though the Performance of this last Article was not long after eluded. For the Pope, while he was in *Florence*, where he staid a Month after his Departure from

.IV *Bologna*,

THE WARS IN ITALY.

387

Bologna, being promised the Money which the Duke was to pay as soon as he should be put in Possession of the said Cities, and Writings being drawn between them for that Effect by common Consent, would not plainly deny to fulfil the Agreement, but by interposing various Excuses and Delays, and always promising fairly, could never be brought to have it put in Execution.

A. D.

1515.

THE King, after his Return to *Milan*, immediately disbanded his Army, retaining only, for the Defence of that State, Seven Hundred Lances, Six Thousand *German* Foot, and Four Thousand *French*, of that Kind of Soldiery, which they call Volunteers; and in the Beginning of the Year 1516 he returned with the utmost Expedition into *France*, leaving as his Lieutenant *Charles* Duke of *Bourbon*. He now imagined his Affairs in *Italy* on a good Footing by the Confederacy he had contracted with the Pope, because he had much about the same time made a Convention with the *Swiss*, who, tho' stimulated by the King of *England* to take the

1516.

A. D.
1516.
League renewed between the King of France and the Swifs.

Field afresh against him, renewed the Confederacy, obliging themselves at all Times to furnish him, in the Name and with the Ensigns of the Public, with any Number of Foot he should demand to take into his Pay, to serve either in *Italy* or elsewhere, and to act as well offensively as defensively against any Power, except only offensively against the Pope, the Empire, or *Cæsar*. On the other Hand the King confirmed their antient Pensions, and promised to pay them at certain Times the Six Hundred Thousand Ducats stipulated at *Dijon*, besides Three Hundred Thousand more when they restored the Towns and Valleys belonging to the Dutchy of *Milan*. But the five Cantons which were in Possession of them refusing to restore them, and to ratify the Agreement, the King began to pay the other eight Cantons their proportionate Share of the Money, who accepted it, but with an exprefs Condition of not being bound to march in his Pay against the five Cantons.

A. D.

1516.

IN the Beginning of this Year the Bishop of *Petrucchi*, an old Acquaintance of the Pontiff, assisted by him and the *Florentines*, expelled *Borghese*, the Son of *Pandolfo Petrucci* his Kinsman, who had the Government of *Siena*, from that City; and took upon himself the same Authority. What induced the Pope to this Step was his Desire that *Siena*, being situated between the State of the Church and that of the *Florentines*, should be governed by one who was at his Devotion, and perhaps much more his Hopes that whenever the Times should favour him with an Opportunity, he might, with the Consent of the Bishop himself, bring it under Subjection either to his Brother or to his Nephew.

THE Affairs of *Italy* were still embroiled by the Disputes between *Cæsar* and the *Venetians*, the Republic being eager to recover *Brescia* and *Verona* by the Assistance of the *French*; other Parts seemed to enjoy a tolerable State of Rest. But on a sudden appeared the Beginnings

A. D. 1516. of new Movements, which were excited by the Operation of the King of *Aragon*, who being apprehensive that his Kingdom of *Naples* would be endangered by the Greatness of the King of *France*, treated with *Cæsar* and the King of *England* about commencing a new War against him. It was not difficult to prevail on *Maximilian*, who was always desirous of Novelties, and could hardly of himself preserve the Towns taken from the *Venetians*, to come into his Measures: And the King of *England*, on whom the Memory of his Father-in-law's Breach of Promises had less Influence than his present Emulation and Hatred of the King of *France*, also gave his Consent, to which he was besides stimulated by his Desire that the King of *Scotland* in his Minority should be under the Tutelage of Persons either recommended by him, or dependent on him *. But their Designs would

* His chief Governor was *John Stuart*, Duke of *Albany*, Cousin German to the late King *James*, and appointed to that Charge at the Recommendation of the King of *France*, in whose Favour he established many Regulations and Changes, which gave Umbrage to the King of *England*.

would have been prosecuted with better ^{A. D.} Conduct, and with greater Forces, if ^{1516.} there had not intervened, while they were on the Carpet, the Death of the King of ^{Death and} *Aragon*, who, after labouring under a ^{Character} tedious Indisposition, died in ^{of the} *January* at ^{King of} *Madrigalegio*, a very poor Village, in his ^{Aragon.} Progress with his Court to *Seville* *. He was a Prince of most excellent Wisdom and Valour, and if he had made Conscience of keeping his Promises would hardly have left Room for Censure; for that niggardly and tenacious Temper, for which he was calumniated, was demonstrated a Falshood by his Death, when after a Reign of Forty-two Years he left no Treasure of Money behind him. But it almost constantly happens, through the depraved Judgment of Men, that in Kings Prodigality, tho' in conjunction with Rapacity, is reckoned more commendable than Parsimony when joined with abstaining from the Property of others. The rare Virtues

B b 4 of

* He died at *Madrid*, then an obscure Village, in the County of *Toledo*, in his Way from *Castile* to *Andalusia* with a Design to raise Troops and man out a Fleet at *Cartagena*, aged, according to *Giovio*, 75, of which he reigned in *Spain* about 40 Years.

A. D.

1516.

of this King were attended with a very rare Prosperity, which, if you except the Death of an only Son, was perpetual and uninterrupted during the whole Course of his Life; for the Misfortunes of the Females and of his Son-in-law were the Occasion of his retaining his Greatness till his Death, and the Necessity of his departing out of *Castile* on the Death of his Consort was rather a Sport than a Stroke of Fortune. In all other Events he was extremely fortunate; being the second Son of the King of *Aragon* he obtained that Kingdom by the Death of his elder Brother; by contracting Marriage with *Isabella* he enjoyed the Kingdom of *Castile*, victoriously driving away his Adversaries who were in Competition with him for that Crown. After this he recovered the Kingdom of *Granada*, which had been in the Possession of the Enemies of our Faith near Eight Hundred Years. He added to his Dominions the Kingdoms of *Naples* and *Navarre*, with *Oran* and many other important Places on the Coasts of *Africa*. Ever superior, and almost always Conqueror wherever he met his Enemies, and where

where Fortune appeared in manifest Conjunction with Industry, he usually covered his ambitious Desires with the Cloke of a laudable Zeal for Religion, and a pious Intention of promoting the common Welfare. About a Month before his Death died the Great Captain, absent from Court, and dissatisfied with his Prince. The King however was pleased to have such Honours paid to the Memory of his noble Exploits, both by himself and by the whole Kingdom, as were seldom shewn to any in *Spain* but at the Death of Kings, for which he was highly applauded by all the People, to whom the Name of the Great Captain for his boundless Liberality was most precious, and for the Reputation of his Prudence, and Skill in the military Art, above all the Generals his Cotemporaries, was had in the highest Veneration.

A. D.
1516.

Death of
the Great
Captain.

BY the Death of the Catholic King the King of *France* was the more animated to the Enterprize against *Naples*, on which he was inclined to send immediately the Duke of *Bourbon* with Eight Hundred Lances

King of
France
meditates
the Con-
quest of
Naples.

A. D.
1516;

Lances and Ten Thousand Foot, persuading himself that, from the Tumults excited in that Kingdom on occasion of the Death of the King, and its ill State of Defence, the Archduke being unable to send any Succours in Season, he might easily make himself Master of it. He doubted not that the Pope, on account of the Hopes he had given him when they met together at *Bologna*, and the Friendship they had contracted together at the Interview, would be favourable to the Undertaking; and no less out of Regard to his own Interest, since he must of necessity take Umbrage at the exorbitant Greatness of the Archduke, the Inheritor of so many Kingdoms left him by the Catholic King, and the presumptive Successor of *Cæsar*. He was besides in Hopes that the Archduke, being sensible that to have him for his Enemy might be of great Prejudice to his Endeavours in settling the Kingdom of *Spain*, and particularly the Kingdom of *Aragon*, to which, if Power had been joined to Right, some of the same Family would have aspired, would proceed with Moderation in opposing

posing him. For while the late King and his Consort *Ifabella* were living it had indeed been interpreted that, in the antient Parliaments of that Kingdom which excluded Females from the Succession, it was not intended to prejudice the Males born of them, when in the male Line there were no Brothers, Uncles, or Nephews of the late King, or of one who was nearer to him than the Issue by the female Side, or at least in an equal Degree, and on this Account the Succession was declared to belong to the Archduke *Charles* after the Death of *Ferdinando*. But tho' for this was brought as a Precedent that *Martin* King of *Aragon* dying without male Issue, *Ferdinando* the Grandfather of this *Ferdinando* had, by the Sentence of the Judges deputed from all Parts of the Kingdom for this Purpose, tho' related to *Martin* by the female Line, been preferred to the Count of *Urgel* and the others related to *Martin* by the male Line, but in a more remote Degree than *Ferdinando*, yet there had been always to this present Time a secret Murmuring among the People that in this Interpretation and Declaration

A. D.
1516.Succession
of Aragon.

A. D. 1516. Declaration the Power of *Ferdinando* and *Ifabella* had more Influence than Justice, it appearing to many not a just Interpretation that Females should be excluded, and yet their Issue admitted, and that the Sentence given for old *Ferdinando* was rather extorted by the Fear of his Arms than a Conviction of Reason. The King of *France* being well apprised of these Things, and knowing also that the People of the Provinces of *Aragon*, and *Valentia*, and of the County of *Catalonia*, which are all comprehended under the Kingdom of *Aragon*, were desirous of having a King of their own, was in Hopes that the Archduke, to avoid endangering his Succession to so many great and considerable States, would at last be induced to yield him the Kingdom of *Naples* on some reasonable Composition. At the same Time, to gain his Ends by Favour as well as by Force, he was pleased that *Prospero Colonna*, who had agreed to ransom himself for 35000 Ducats, should be released for half that Sum; whence many were of Opinion that *Prospero* had made him a secret Promise not to bear Arms against him,

him, or perhaps to be assistant to him in the *Neapolitan* War, tho' with some Restriction or Reserve to save his Honour.

A. D.

1516.

WHILE the King's Thoughts were taken up with these Projects, and he was on the Point of resolving to put his Troops in Motion without Delay, he found himself obliged by some new Incidents to turn all his Cares on providing for his own Defence: For *Cæsar* having received, in Consequence of the Negotiations before begun with the King of *Aragon*, an Hundred and Twenty Thousand Ducats, was preparing, according to his Agreement with that King, to attack the Dutchy of *Milan*, after he had first put Succours into *Verona* and *Brescia*, which was necessary because the *Venetian* Army, now under the Command of *Teodoro da Trivulzi* appointed General after the Return of *Trivulzio* to *Milan*, was encamped within Six Miles of *Brescia*; and with their Stradiotti scoured the whole Country. The Garrison of *Brescia* one Day made a Sally on these Rovers, but after a sharp Contest, each Party receiving continual Reinforcements,

were

Actions of
Parties.

A. D.

1516.

were repulsed within the Walls with the Loss of many killed on the Spot, and the Brother of the Governor of the City was taken Prisoner. Within a few Days after *Lautrech*, General of the *French* Army, and *Teodoro da Trivulzi*, receiving Intelligence that Three Thousand *German* Foot were escorting a Sum of Money sent to pay the Soldiers, detached *Janus Fregoso* and *Giancurrado Orfino* with some Troops selected out of both Armies to the Castle of *Anfo* to prevent their Passage, who killed about Eight Hundred of the *Germans*, the rest with the Money escaping to *Lodrone*. The *Venetians* sent afterwards Twenty-five Hundred Foot into the *Val di Sabbia*, to fortify the Castle of *Anfo*, who burnt *Lodrone* and *Astorio*.

Maximilian's Expedition into Italy.

THE Danger that *Brescia*, thus distressed and molested, would surrender, obliged *Cæsar* to hasten his March. He led with him Five Thousand Horse, Fifteen Thousand *Swiss* granted him by the Five Cantons, and Ten Thousand *Spanish* and *German* Foot, and took the Road from *Trento* to *Verona*. The *French* and *Venetian*

netian Army therefore, leaving good Garrisons in *Vicenza* and *Padoua*, went and posted themselves at *Peschiera*, with a Design, as it was pretended, to prevent the Emperor from passing the River *Mincio*. But the Execution, as it often happens, did not answer the Resolution; for as soon as they perceived the Approach of the Enemy, they had not Courage enough to execute in the Field what they had resolved in their Tents, but passed the *Oglio*, and retired to *Cremona*, the Reputation and Boldness of the Enemy increasing as their own diminished. *Cæsar*, either induced by bad Counsel, or impelled by his evil Fortune, halted to besiege *Afola*, which had a Garrison of an Hundred Men at Arms and Four Hundred *Venetian* Foot, where he spent several Days to no Purpose, which Delay is undoubtedly believed to have been the Cause of his ill Success. Decamping from *Afola* he passed the River *Oglio* at *Orci Nuovi*, and the Enemy leaving in *Cremona* Three Hundred Lances and Three Thousand Foot retired on the other Side the *Adda*, with an Intent to dispute the Passage of that River. By
their

A. D.
1516.

A. D. 1516. their Retreat the Emperor became Master
 of all the Country between the *Oglio*, the
Po, and the *Adda*, except *Cremona* and
Crema, the first garrisoned by the *French*,
 and the other by the *Venetians*. *Cæsar* was
 attended by the Cardinal of *Sion*, by many
 Exiles of the Dutchy of *Milan*, and by
Marc' Antonio Colonna in the Service of the
 Pope with Two Hundred Men at Arms.
 His Progress struck the greater Terror into
 the *French*, as their chief Hopes depended
 on the speedy March of Sixteen Thousand
Swiss, to whom they had advanced three
 Months Pay. *Cæsar*, after passing the
Oglio, proceeded to the River *Adda*, de-
 signing to pass it at *Pizzichitone*, but find-
 ing that his Passage would be difficult at
 that Place, he marched to *Rivolta*, the
French being drawn up in Order at *Casciano*
 on the other Side of the River. But the
Swiss not being yet arrived, and the *Adda*
 being fordable in several Places, the next
 Day the *French* Army retired to *Milan*,
 not without reproachful Reflexions on
Lautrech, who had published, and written
 to the King, that he would stop *Cæsar*
 from passing that River. That Prince
 having

*French re-
 treat to
 Milan.*

having thus passed without Opposition, the City of *Lodi* immediately surrendered to him; and from thence approaching within a few Miles of *Milan* he sent a Herald to demand the Town, threatening the *Milanese* that if they did not drive away the *French* Army within three Days he would treat their City worse than it was treated by his Predecessor *Frederic Barbarossa*. That Emperor, not contented with burning and demolishing *Milan*, caused the Ground on which it stood to be sowed with Salt, in Memory of his Anger and of the Rebellion of the Citizens.

BUT among the *French*, who were retired under great Consternation into *Milan*, was a Variety of Proposals; some inclining basely to abandon the Town, because they did not think themselves in a Condition to oppose the Enemy, nor did believe that the *Swiss*, though they were known to be already on the Road, would ever arrive; for they had Intelligence that the Cantons had either already ordered, or were upon the Point of ordering, that the *Swiss* should relinquish the Service of

A. D.
1516.

French
consult at
Milan.

A. D.
1516

both the hostile Parties; and it was doubted that the Troops on the Road would be more ready to pay Obedience to the Orders of their Masters, than those in the Service of the Enemy. Others detested this Resolution of a Departure as infamous and disgraceful, and putting more Confidence in the Coming of the *Swiss*, and in their own Ability to defend the City, advised taking the best Measures for its Preservation, and that laying aside all Thoughts of hazarding a Battle they should keep all the Foot with Eight Hundred Lances in *Milan*, and distribute the other Forces with those of the *Venetians* and all the light Horse into the neighbouring Towns, to guard them, and to cut the Enemies short of Provisions. The first Counsel, however, would have been followed, had it not been earnestly dissuaded by *Andrea Gritti* and *Andrea Trivisano* the *Venetian* Proveditors, whose Authority yet could do no more than just prevail with them not to be too hasty in their Resolution to depart, so that when they had now determined to be gone, certain Advice came that *Alberto Petra* with Ten Thousand *Swiss* and *Grisons*

Grifons would the next Day be in *Milan*. A. D. 1516.

This News revived the drooping Spirits of all; but not depending, however, on their own Strength for the Defence of the Suburbs, they retired within the Walls, setting Fire to the Suburbs by Advice of the *Venetian* Proveditors, who gave them this Counsel, either because they judged it necessary for the Preservation of the City, or because they were willing to take this Opportunity to gratify the antient Enmity that subsisted between the *Milanese* and *Venetians*. They expelled also out of the City, or kept under honourable Custody, many of the principal Persons of the *Ghibelline* Party, as inclined to embrace the Authority of the Empire out of Zeal for a Faction, and because there were such Numbers of them with the *German* Army.

CÆSAR in the mean time took Post with his Army at *Lambra* two Miles from *Milan*. While he was there the *Swiss* arrived in that City, where they professed themselves ready to defend *Milan*, but refused to go out to Battle against the other *Swiss*. Their Coming put new Spirits in

A. D. the *French*; but gave much greater Terror to *Cæsar*, who, considering the inveterate Hatred of that Nation against the House of *Austria*, and recalling to Mind what had happened to *Lodovico Sforza* from a Meeting of opposite *Swiss*, began to be apprehensive that they would serve him in the same Manner, since he thought them more likely to deceive him who lay under Difficulties how to pay them, than the *French*, who wanted no Money to pay, or corrupt them. And his Suspicions were increased because *Giacopo Stafflier*, Commander in Chief of the *Swiss*, had with great Arrogance demanded of him the Pay, which, not to mention other Difficulties, was deferred because the Money that was coming from *Germany* was stopped by the *Spanish* Foot who were in Garrison at *Brescia* for the Payment of their Arrears. *Maximilian* therefore, in a wonderful Commotion from the Fear of his Danger, decamped in a Hurry, and retired towards the *Adda**

Cæsar
retreats
from
Milan.

but

* *Triulzio* wrote counterfeit Letters directed to the chief Officers of the *Swiss*, in which he put them in Mind of executing what they had promised him by the Agree-

ment

but if he had approached *Milan* three Days sooner, which Time he wasted before *Afola*, the *French*, who were then under much greater Doubt and Uncertainty of the Coming of the *Swiss*, would have returned beyond the Mountains : Or, even if he had not so soon decamped, it was firmly believed that either the *French*, who had no full Confidence in the Faith of the *Swiss* because of the Regard they shewed to their Countrymen with *Cæsar*, would have followed the first Counsel ; or that the *Swiss* themselves, taking an Excuse from the Commandment of their Superiors, which was already published, would have abandoned the *French*.

CÆSAR passed the River *Adda*, but was not followed by the *Swiss*, who halted at *Lodi*, protesting they would depart if they were not paid within four Days. But *Cæsar*, who was encamped in the Territory of *Bergamo*, continually gave them Hopes of Payment, saying that he

C c 3 expected

ment within two Days : These Letters being intercepted by *Maximilian* threw him into violent Suspicions that he was betrayed by the *Swiss*. *Giovio*.

A. D.
1516.

expected new Supplies of Money from the King of *England*, and threatened to return to *Milan*. These Proceedings held in vast Suspense the *French*, who were more uncertain than ever of the Faith of the *Swiss*, who, besides the Slowness which they purposely used in coming, and their constant Asservations that they would never fight against the *Swiss* in the Enemy's Army, had received the Orders of the Cantons commanding them to quit the *French* Service, in Obedience to which about Two Thousand of them were already gone, and it was feared that the rest would follow them, though the Cantons on the other hand assured the King that they had sent private Orders to their Troops not to quit him. At last *Cæsar*, after exacting Sixteen Thousand Ducats of the City of *Bergamo*, making a Motion, in Expectation of the Success of a Plot, towards *Crema*, and returning without Effect into the *Bergamasco*, resolved to set out for *Trent*. He acquainted the General Officers of the Army with his Resolution, and assured them that his Motive to it was from an Intention to provide himself

self with new Supplies of Money, with which and those from the King of *England* now on the Road, he would soon be with them, encouraging them to wait with Patience for his Return. His Army, after plundering *Lodi*, and forcing the Castle without Artillery, plundered also the Town of *Sant' Angelo*, being straitened for Want of Provisions, and then took up their Quarters in the *Ghiaradadda*. After the Departure of *Cæsar* there were some Hopes that the *Swiss*, who were joined by the whole Army at *Romano*, would again have passed the *Adda*, because the Marquis of *Brandenburg* was arrived in the Camp, and the Cardinal of *Sion* at *Bergamo* with Thirty Thousand Ducats remitted by the King of *England*. Under this Apprehension the Duke of *Bourbon*, who had been left by almost all the *Swiss*, and by the *Venetians*, was advanced with the Army to the further Bank of the River. But the Designs of the Enemy were easily frustrated, for the *Swiss*, not finding the Money that was brought sufficient to pay their Arrears, returned by the Valley of *Valtelina* into their own Country; and for

A. D.
1516.
Cæsar returns in-
glorious
to Ger-
many.

A. D.
1516.

the same Reason Three Thousand Foot, Part *Spaniards* Part *Germans*, went over to the Camp of the *French* and *Venetians*, who with their combined Forces, after passing the *Adda*, had never ceased molesting for several Days together the Enemy with various Incurfions and Skirmishes with different Succes, sometimes the greater Lofs falling on the *French*, who in a great Skirmish near *Bergamo* lost Two Hundred Men at Arms; sometimes on the Enemy, who in a like Conflict had *Cesare Fieramosca* taken Prisoner. The Remainder of the Troops receiving a Ducat each Man drew off to *Brescia*, but as they were greatly incommoded by the light Horfe *Marc' Antonio Colonna* with the *German* and some *Spanish* Foot betook himself to *Verona*, and all the rest dispersed themselves.

SUCH was the End of the Movement made by *Cæsar*, in which the King of *France* had strong Suspicions of the Pope; for having requested of his Holiness that, according to the Obligations of the League made between them, he would send Five Hundred

Pope suspected by the King of France.

Hundred Men at Arms to the Defence of the State of *Milan*, or at least order them to the Frontiers, and pay the Hire of Three Thousand *Swiss*, as he charged him with having offered by *Antonio Maria Pallavicino*, the Pope coldly answered as to the Payment of the *Swiss*, and excusing himself from sending his own Troops on account of their bad Condition, promised to send those of the *Florentines*, which accordingly put themselves on their March, with some of his own Soldiers, very slowly towards *Bologna* and *Reggio*. The Suspicion that the Pontiff was privy to this Expedition of *Cæsar* was increased by considering that his Holiness, on the first Advice that the Emperor was entered into *Italy*, appointed for his Legate to him *Bernardo da Bibbiena*, Cardinal of *Santa Maria in Portico*, who always used to oppose the *French* Interest at the Court of *Rome*; and much more by the Pope's permitting *Marc' Antonio* with his Troops to serve under *Cæsar*. But the Truth was that the Coming of the Emperor with so great a Force made the Pope uneasy on account of his own Interest, being

appre-

A. D.
1516.

A. D.
1516.

apprehensive that *Cæsar*, if he should come off Conqueror, would, according to his antient Inclination, attempt to oppress all *Italy*; yet out of Fear, and because it was agreeable to his Nature to proceed in this Manner, he concealed his own Sentiments, and endeavoured to render himself as little obnoxious as possible to either Party. Wherefore he durst not recall *Marc' Antonio*, nor durst he send the stipulated Auxiliaries to the King, and he appointed a Legate to *Cæsar*. And on the other Hand when *Cæsar* had broke up from *Milan*, he contrived that the Legate, on Pretence of Sicknes, should stop at *Rubiera*, and look about him, before he proceeded any further, and observe on which Side the Victory seemed to incline; and after this, to soften the King's Heart, he was pleased that his Nephew *Lorenzo* should continue the same dissembling Professions of Dependence on him which he had begun at *Milan*, and should cause the *Florentines* to present him with a Month's Pay for Three Thousand *Swiss*. The King accepted the Money, but to shew that he had a right Notion of the Pope's

Pope's Artifices, said that, since he found him always contrary to him in War, and that his Confederacy did him no Service in Times of Danger, he would make a new League with him, which should bind him only in Times of Peace and Security.

CÆSAR'S Army being broken, the *Venetians*, without waiting for the *French*, one Night on a sudden approached *Brescia* with Scaling-Ladders, trusting to the Smallness of the Garrison, which amounted to no more than Six Hundred *Spanish* Foot, and Four Hundred Horse; but the Ladders proving too short, and the Defendants making a vigorous Resistance, the Attempt miscarried. After this arrived the *French* Army under the Command of *Odet de Foix*, lately appointed Governor of *Milan* in the Place of the Duke of *Bourbon*, who had resigned. The two Armies now in conjunction play'd upon *Brescia* from four Batteries, in order to render it impossible for the few Defendants to resist in so many Places. The Garrison however defended themselves as long as they had any Hopes that

Seven

A. D. 1516
 Seven Thousand Foot of the County of *Tirol*, which by Orders from *Cæsar* were come to *Montagnana*, would advance forwards; but as all Attempts for that Purpose were frustrated by the Opposition which the *Venetians* made at the Castle of *Anfo* and at other Passes, they did not care to stand the Assault which was to be given the next Day, a great Length of the Wall being ruined, but capitulated on Condition that the Soldiers might march out of the Town and Castle only with their Effects if they were not relieved within Twenty-four Hours.

Brescia
 recovered
 by the
Venetians.

At the same Time the Pope prepared to deprive *Francesco Maria della Rovere* by Force of Arms of the Dutchy of *Urbino*, and begun to proceed against him with Censures, publishing a Monitory, in which was expressed that the Duke being in the Service of the Church had refused her the Troops for which he had received her Pay, and had made a secret Agreement with her Enemies; the Murder he had so long ago committed of the Cardinal of *Pavia*, of which he had been absolved by

by Grace, not by Justice; other Murders perpetrated by him; that in the greatest Heat of the War against Pope *Julius*, whose Nephew, Subject, and General he was, he had sent *Baldassarre da Castiglione* to list in the King's Service; that he had at the same time refused a Passage to some Troops that were marching to join the Army of the Church; and that in the State which he held as a Feudatary of the Apostolic See, he had persecuted the Soldiers of the same See in their Flight from the Battle of *Ravenna*. The Pope had formed a Design to attack the Duke several Months before, being not only provoked against him by late Offences, but by the Memory of his former Refusal to assist his Brother and him in their Return to *Florence*; but he was restrained in some measure by the Shame of persecuting the Nephew of a Pope by whose Means the Church had arrived to such a Height of Grandeur, and much more by the Intreaties of his Brother *Giuliano*, who in the Time of their Exile having lived many Years in the Court of *Urbino* with the Duke *Guido*, and after his Death with the
present

A. D.

1516.

A. D.
1516.

present Duke, could not bear to see him deprived by his own Family of that Dutchy in which he himself had been supported and honoured. But *Giuliano* dying of a lingering Disorder in *Florence*, and *Cæsar's* Undertaking proving abortive, the Pontiff, stimulated by *Lorenzo* his Nephew and *Alfonsina* his Mother, who coveted the Appropriation of that State to themselves, resolved to delay no longer, alledging, to acquit himself of Ingratitude, with which he was charged by many, not only the Injuries received from the Duke, with the Penalties which, according to the Disposition of Justice, were incurred by a Vassal who was contumacious to his Lord, and by a Soldier, who being under military Obligations, and having received Money, refused his Troops to one who had paid him, but much more the Danger of tolerating in the Bowels of his State a Man who, having already, without any Regard to Faith or Honour, begun to offend him, he might be certain, would not fail, when a fairer Opportunity offered, to be so much the more

more ready to commit the like Offences
in Time to come.

A. D.
1516.

IN the Prosecution of this War, as soon as *Lorenzo*, with an Army composed of the Soldiers and Subjects of the Church and of the *Florentines*, touched upon the Borders of that Dutchy, the City of *Urbino*, with the other Towns of that State, freely submitted to the Pontiff, the Duke, who was retired to *Pesaro*, consenting that, since he could not defend them, they should consult their own Safety. *Pesaro* did the same as soon as the Enemy came before it; for tho' it had within it Three Thousand Men, the City was fortified, and the Sea open, yet *Francesco Maria*, leaving *Tranquillo da Mondolfo* his Confident in the Castle, set out thence for *Mantoua*, whither he had before sent his Wife and Son, either putting no Confidence in his Soldiers, or as many, excusing his Fear with his Love, affirmed, because he could not bear to be absent from his Consort. Thus was the Dutchy of *Urbino*, together with *Pesaro* and *Sinigaglia*, in the Space of four Days reduced under

Gets Possession of it.

A. D. under the Obedience of the Church, except the Castles of *Sinigaglia*, *Pesaro*, *San Leo*, and *Rocca di Majuolo*. But the Castle of *Sinigaglia* immediately after surrendered, and the Castle of *Pesaro*, tho' very strong, after two Days Battery, agreed to surrender if it were not relieved in twenty Days, on Condition that no new Fortifications or Batteries should be made during that Time, which Agreement being but ill observed was the Occasion that *Tranquillo*, who had received no Succours within the Term prefixed, refusing to yield up the Castle, began to fire his Cannon anew, and made a Sally upon the advanced Guards of the Besiegers. But his Fate was the harder, for *Lorenzo*, as soon as he had taken Possession of the Town, returning to *Florence*, the Generals that were left with the Army had cast Intrenchments about the Castle, and manned out some Vessels to prevent all Relief by Sea, and when the Time for surrendering was expired the Batteries immediately began to fire. But on the same Day the Soldiers of the Garrison mutinied against *Tranquillo*, and for their own Security delivered

livered him into the Hands of the commanding Officers of the Besiegers, who, as a Punishment for his breaking the Capitulation, sentenced him to be hanged on a Gallows. A few Days after surrendered the Fortrefs of *Majuolo*, which was a Place the Possession of which was necessary for forming the Siege of *San Leo*, since it is but a Mile distant from it, and situated over against it.

A. D.

1516.

ABOUT *San Leo* were posted Two Thousand Foot, to keep it blocked up, because it was so very strong by its Situation that there were no Hopes of reducing it but by Famine. The Place however was three Months after taken by a Stratagem owing to a Carpenter, who one Night by means of a very long Ladder getting upon a Precipice or Cliff, esteemed the most difficult of that Mountain, ordered the Ladder to be taken away, and remaining in that Place the whole Night, as soon as Day appeared set about climbing by the Help of some iron Instruments, till he made his Way at last to the Top of the Mountain, whence descending,

A. D.

1516.

and with his Instruments rendering easier some of the most difficult Places, he returned the next Night by the same Ladder to the Camp. Here giving Assurances that the Mountain might be climbed, he returned on a Night appointed by means of the same Ladder to his Post, and was followed by One Hundred and Fifty of the choicest Foot; and after they had lodged during the Night on the Precipice, because it was impossible to climb in the Dark, they began at Break of Day to ascend Man after Man by those very narrow Places, and about thirty of them, with a Drum and six Colours, were already got to the Top of the Mountain, where they lay close to the Ground expecting their Companions who were clambering after them, when it being now broad Day, a Watch of the Garrison going off from their Post espied those who lay prostrate on the Ground, and gave the Alarm. The Men seeing themselves discovered, without waiting for their Companions, gave the Signal, as they had agreed, to those in the Camp, who, according to the Orders that had been given, with

with a Multitude of Ladders suddenly attacked the Mountain in many Places to distract the Garrison, who running to their appointed Posts, and being terrified at the Sight of six Colours within their Fortifications, who were scouring the Plain on Top, and had already killed some of them, betook themselves to the Castle which was built on the Mountain. But the others who had by this time climbed up after their Companions, opened the Gate which gives an Entrance upon the Mountain, and so gave Admission to those who had not as yet climbed. The Mountain being thus taken, the Garrison of the Castle, tho' it was well provided with all Necessaries, surrendered the second Day. After the Conquest of this State, which, together with *Pesaro* and *Sinigaglia*, separate Members from the Dutchy of *Urbino*, yield not a Revenue of more than Twenty-five Thousand Ducats, *Leo*, following the Process which he had begun, deprived *Francesco Maria* of these Dominions by solemn Sentence, and afterwards gave the Investiture of them in a Consistory to *Lorenzo* his Nephew, all the

A. D.
1516.

Castle of
San Leo
taken by
Stratagem

A. D. Cardinals, for the greater Validity, setting
 1516. their Hands to the Bull expedited for this
 Effect. But *Domenico Grimano*, Bishop
Lorenzo de' Medici of *Urbino*, and a great Friend to the Duke,
 invested with the Dutchy of *Urbino*, refused to concur with the rest, and there-
 fore, being apprehensive of the Anger of
 the Pope, a few Days after departed from
Rome, and did not return till after his
 Death.

THE King of *France* was displeas'd at
 the Ruine of the Duke of *Urbino*, who was
 deprived of his State for treating with his
 Majesty. But he was more displeas'd at
 many of the Pope's Actions ; for *Prospero*
Colonna, when he returned from *France*,
 having stopt at *Buffeto*, a Town of the
 Pope dis- affected to the *French* Interest.
Pallavicini, and from thence, suspecting
 the *French*, removed to *Modena*, met with
Girolamo Morone, who was also retired
 thither as a Place of Safety, being appre-
 hensive of the *French*, because, contrary
 to their Promises, they had ordered that
 he should go for *France*. These two were
 continually plotting all the Time that
Prospero stay'd at *Modena*, and afterwards
 at *Bologna*, how to surprize, by means of
 some

some Exiles, some important Place of the Dutchy of *Milan*, in which Design they had also the Concurrence of *Muxio Colonna*, to whom the Pope, being privy to the Plot, had granted Quarters for his Regiment in the *Modenese*. Besides this, the Pope had advised the Catholic King (which was now the Title of the Archduke by the Death of his maternal Grandfather) to enter into no new Agreements with the King of *France*: And *Emmio* Bishop of *Veruli*, Apostolic Nuncio, and afterwards, though almost decrepit, promoted to the Cardinalship, besides doing many other ill Offices to the King with the *Swiss*, exhorted the Five Cantons to cultivate the Friendship of the Emperor. Hence, as a Treaty was at the same time carrying on between *Cæsar* (who, keeping himself between *Trent* and *Inspruck*, terrified the *French* more with Noise and Show than Efforts) the King of *England*, and the *Swiss*, for making a fresh Attack on the Dutchy of *Milan*, the King of *France* was apprehensive that these Affairs were transacted with the Consent of the Pontiff, whose evil Disposition appeared

A. D.
1516.

A. D.

1516.

also in another Instance, by raising Difficulties, and making various Exceptions in granting him the Tenths of the Benefices of the Kingdom of *France*, which he had promised him at *Bologna*. Such, however, is the Majesty of the Pontificate that the King studied to pacify him by many kind Offices; hence when he designed, after the Departure of the Emperor, to send Troops to exact Contributions of Money from *Mirandola*, *Carpi* and *Correggio*, as Imperial Towns, he desisted on the Pope's remonstrating that he had before taken the Lords of those Places under his Protection. And when the *Moors* of *Africa* with a Multitude of Ships infested the Lower Sea*, the King offered, for the Security of those maritime Parts, to send a good Fleet of Ships, which *Pietro Navarra* was by his Consent fitting out at *Marseilles*, to be manned with Six Thousand Foot, for attacking, with a View only to Plunder, the maritime Places of *Barbary*. The Pontiff, however, not altering his

* The *Tuscan Sea*, or the Sea which washes *Tuscany* and the Southern Coasts of the Kingdom of *Naples*, in Opposition to the *Adriatic*, or *Gulf of Venice*, which is called the *Upper Sea*.

his Sentiments, though he partly denied, and partly excused the Facts, never gave ear in the least to the earnest Importunities of the King for removing the Bishop of *Veruli* from *Swisserland*. Nor did he ever remove *Muxio Colonna* from the *Moderense*, where, as he pretended, he took up his Residence by his own Authority; till, by the Departure of *Prospero Colonna* from *Bologna*, and the entire Frustration of what they had been so long concerting, his Stay was become of no Importance. But his Departure proved most unfortunate to him, for not long after, having with the Forces of the *Colonna's* and some *Spanish* Foot surpris'd *Fermo* by Night, while he was busy in plundering the City, he received a Wound, of which he died in a few Days.

A. D.
1516.

IN this State of Affairs the *Venetian* Senate being importunate for the Recovery of *Verona*, *Lautrech* having in his Army Six Thousand *German* Foot, whom the *Venetians* had agreed to pay for this Enterprize, advanced to the *Adice*, with a Design to pass that River at *Ufolingo*, and in

A. D.
1516.
 conjunction with the *Venetian* Army to lay Siege to *Verona*. But afterwards the Report of the Coming of the *Swiss* increasing, and the Umbrage taken at the Stay of *Prospero Colonna* in *Modena* being augmented, because the Cardinal of *Santa Maria in Portico* had taken up his Residence in the same City, the *French* General drew off his Forces, not without the Complaints of the *Venetians*, and retired to *Peschiera*, distributing his Troops in the Territory on both Sides of the River *Mincio*. And though all Fears and Jealousies on the abovementioned Accounts were ceased, and above Two Thousand *Spanish* and *German* Foot had deserted from *Verona*, and enlisted under the *Venetians*, and Deserters continually came over, he remained in those Quarters above a Month, expecting, as he said, some Money from *France*, and that the *Venetians* would make greater Provision of Money, Artillery and Ammunition. But the truer Reason was his Expectation of the Success of the Negotiations between his Master and the Catholic King. For the King of *France* knowing how necessary

his

his Friendship was to the other King, in order to remove the Difficulties of his Passage into *Spain*, and for the Establishment of those Kingdoms, was not content with the Agreement which they had before concluded at *Paris*, but endeavoured to impose on him harder Conditions, and to make Peace by his Mediation with the Emperor, which could not be effected without the Restitution of *Verona* to the *Venetians*. And the King of *Spain*, by the Advice of *M. de Cheures*, by whose Authority, being as yet but fifteen Years of Age, he was wholly governed, did not refuse to accommodate his Resolutions to Times and Necessities.

THERE assembled therefore at *Noyon*, on the Part of the King of *France*, the Bishop of *Paris*, the Grand Master of the Household, and the President of the Parliament of *Paris*; and on the Part of the Catholic King, the said *M. de Cheures*, and the Grand Chancellor of the Empire. While *Lautrech* expected the Event of this Congress, the Soldiers, according to the Custom of the Military in our Age, were continually

Congress
at *Noyon*.

A. D. 1516. continually employing their Arms against the unhappy Peasants. For while *Lautrech*, after laying a Bridge at the Country Seat of *Monzarbanio*, was employed in cutting off the Corn in the Fields of the Territory of *Verona*, and in scouring all the Country with his light Horse, and a Part of his Troops, quartered in the *Mantouan*, did such vast Damage to that Country that the Marquis of *Mantoua*, to free himself from the Trouble of Quarters, was content to pay the General Twelve Thousand Crowns, the Garrison of *Verona* made daily Incurfions into the *Vicentine* and *Padouan*, and plundered the miserable City of *Vicenza*. *Lautrech*, however, afterwards being stimulated by the moving Complaints of the *Venetians*, passed the *Adice* by the Bridge laid at *Ufo-lingo*, and having made a vast Booty in the Country, because it was not in the least imagined that the Army would pass on that Side, came before *Verona* with an Intent to lay close Siege to it, having in the mean time with the Assistance of the Men of the Country taken Possession of *Chiusa*, in order to render more difficult the

the

the Passage of the Succours which might be sent from *Germany*. But the very Day that he approached *Verona* the *German* Infantry, either voluntarily, or at his secret Instigation, though they had been maintained three Months at the Cost of the *Venetians*, protested they would not, where the principal Interest of the King of *France* was not concerned, fight against any Town in the Possession of *Cæsar*. *Lautrech* therefore repassed the *Adice*, and encamped at the Distance of a Mile from the Walls of *Verona*; and the *Venetian* Army, which consisted of Five Hundred Men at Arms, as many light Horse, and Four Thousand Foot, not thinking itself secure on the farther Side of the River, passed it and joined him.

AT this Juncture, the Commissioners of the two Kings came to an Agreement on the Fifteenth Day of *August* at *Noyon*, on the following Conditions: That between the Kings of *France* and *Spain* there shall be a perpetual Peace, and a Confederacy for the Defence of their Dominions against all Powers whatsoever: That the

Treaty of
Noyon.
King

A. D.
1516.

King of *France* shall give his Daughter, then a Year old, in Marriage to the Catholic King, and shall make over to her in Dowry the Right which he claims to the Kingdom of *Naples* according to the Partition formerly made by their Predecessors, but with this Proviso, that till the Daughter comes to an Age fit for Matrimony the Catholic King shall pay every Year to the King of *France* towards her Maintenance an Hundred Thousand Crowns; but if she should die before her Marriage, and the King should have another Daughter, she shall be given to the Catholic King on the same Conditions; and in case there should be none, then *Renée* should be given, who had been promised in the Treaty made at *Paris*: That if any one of these Ladies died in Marriage without Children, that Part of the Kingdom of *Naples* shall revert to the King of *France*: That the Catholic King shall restore the Kingdom of *Navarre* to its antient King within a certain Time; and, if it be not restored, it shall be lawful for the King of *France* to assist him in the Recovery of it: But this Clause was to be understood, as
the

the *Spaniards* afterwards affirmed, with the Proviso, if that King first gave him satisfactory Evidence of his Right: That *Cæsar* shall have Liberty to accede to this Peace within the Term of two Months, and it shall be lawful for the King of *France* to assist the *Venetians* in the Recovery of *Verona*; but if *Cæsar* deposit that City in the Hands of the Catholic King, with free Liberty to surrender it within Six Weeks to the King of *France* to be disposed of at his Discretion, he shall receive of *Francis* an Hundred Thousand Crowns, and the like Sum of the *Venetians*, Part of it at the Time of Surrendry, and the rest within Six Months, and shall moreover be acquitted of about Three Hundred Thousand Crowns received of King *Lewis* when they were in Confederacy; and that in such a Case there shall be a Truce between *Cæsar* and the *Venetians* for Eighteen Months: And that *Cæsar* shall remain in Possession of *Riva di Trento* and *Rovere*, with all that he possesses at present in *Friuli*; and the *Venetians* continue to hold the Castles belonging to *Cæsar* which they keep at present, till the Kings of *France*

and

A. D.
1516.

A. D.

1516.

and *Spain* shall have decided the Differences between them concerning their Frontiers. Both Parties nominated the Pontiff.

Verona
besieged.

THE Agreement made at *Noyon* did not prevent the *Venetians* from continually solliciting *Lautrech* to lay Siege to *Verona*, for they were uncertain whether the Emperor would accept the Peace, and they were desirous to recover it the sooner by Force of Arms because of the Quantity of Money they were to pay. On the other Part the King of *France* was better pleased with an Agreement than Force, for the Establishment of the Peace with *Cæsar*. *Lautrech*, however, had no Excuse left, for the *Venetians* had made great Levies of Foot, and made all the Provisions that he had demanded, and the *Germans* no longer refused to march with the rest, and therefore complied with their Desire. The Armies then passed the *Adice* separately, one by a Bridge laid above the City, the other by a Bridge laid below. The *French* posted themselves at *Tomba*, and planted Part of their Artillery against the Gate of
Santa

Santa Lucia, and the rest, with the German Infantry, before the Gate of *San Massimo*, to play all on the Place where the Wall between the Cittadel and the City comes to join with the Wall of the Town, that, by making practicable Breaches for entering the City and Cittadel at once, the Defendants might be necessitated to divide themselves into two Parties separated by a Length of Wall. The *Venetian* Army passed the *Adice* below *Verona* into the *Campus Martius*, and posted itself at *San Michele* between the River and the Canal, with a Design to ruin the Defences on that Side, and to batter the Works towards *Bishop's Gate*, as the weakest and least fortified Place. In the two first Days they ruined with their Cannon the Defences, which were of considerable Strength; and the Batteries of the *Venetians* playing in Flank, though with greater Difficulty, destroyed the Outworks of three Bastions, on which they began on each Side to batter the Wall with eighteen heavy Cannon, and fifteen of a proper Size for Battery; and on the third Day each Army had made a Breach in the Wall of Seventy Braces,
and

A. D.
1516.

A. D.
1516.

and continued battering to make the Breaches much larger. But the *Venetians*, on whose Side the Wall was weaker, tho' they had in a manner levelled the Bastions and their Ramparts, yet they had not entirely destroyed the inner Defences that flanked them, for being so low, and almost within the Ditch, the Bullets either went over them, or buried themselves in the Earth before they came at them. At the same Time they undermined the Wali, which, though it was underpropped, fell before the Time designed by the Generals. In *Verona* were Eight Hundred Horfe, Five Thousand *German* and Fifteen Hundred *Spanish* Foot, all under the Command of *Marc' Antonio Colonna*, who was no longer in the Service of the Pope but of *Cæsar*. The Besieged were very diligent in casting up Ramparts, providing for their Defence wherever it was necessary, and making a stout and resolute Resistance, highly to the Honour of *Marc' Antonio*, who being wounded, though but slightly, by a Musket Ball in the Shoulder, was never wanting, at any Hour of the Night as well as Day, to expose himself to all manner of Fatigues and Dangers. The Batteries

A. D.
1516.

Batteries of the *French*, which were erected against the four Places where the Towers stood between the Gate of the Cittadel and the Gate of *Santa Lucia*, had now razed the Walls to such a Degree, that each of the Breaches was capable of receiving Soldiers in Line of Battle; and the Cannon of the *Venetians* had done as much Execution. *Lautrech* however demanded more Artillery for enlarging his Batteries, and without giving Ear to the Exclamations of the *Venetians*, who were continually stimulating him to storm the Place, was ready to embrace all Occasions for deferring the Assault. And it happened for his Purpose that a Convoy of Waggons, loaded with Eight Hundred Barrels of Powder, and great Quantities of Ball, coming to the Army through the Plains of *Verona*, through the Fault of the Drivers, who strove to get one before another, the rapid Motion of the Wheels struck Fire, which lighting in the Powder blew it up, together with the Waggons and the Oxen that drew them. But the Besieged were forced to struggle with other Difficulties, for in the City,

A. D.
1516.

which had now for so many Months been distressed by the Neighbourhood of the Enemy, there began to be a Scarcity of Provisions, none entering but in small Quantities, and by Way of the Mountains.

The City
relieved.

SUCH was the melancholy Situation of Affairs in *Verona*, when there arrived Nine Thousand *German* Foot sent by *Cæsar* to relieve that City. These Troops advancing to *Chiusa* got Possession of it by Agreement, and made themselves Masters of the Castle of *Corvara*, seated on a Hill, near the *Adice*, towards *Trent*, and several times taken and retaken in the War between *Cæsar* and the *Venetians*. On the Approach of these Forces *Lautrech*, struck with Fear either real or feigned, raised the Siege, contrary to the Will of the *Venetians*, and retired to *Villafranca*, accompanied by Part of the *Venetian* Troops, the rest, under *Gian Pagolo Manfrone*, retiring beyond the *Adice*, over a Bridge that was prepared, to *Boseto*. The *Venetians* therefore, despairing of making themselves Masters of *Verona*, sent all their heavy Artillery to *Brescia*; and the
Germans

Germans finding no Opposition posted themselves at *Tomba*, where the *French* Army had encamped before, whence Part of them entered the City, and the other which remained without was employed in introducing Provisions into the Place, after which they departed, leaving in *Verona* a Garrison of between Seven and Eight Thousand *German* Foot, for most of the *Spaniards*, not being able to agree with the *Germans*, were, under Colonel *Maldonato*, gone over to the *Venetians*. It was the Opinion of the Public that this Relief was of no great Moment, for it brought no other Money than Twenty Thousand *Rhenish* Florins sent by the King of *England*, and the Troops consumed almost as great a Quantity of Provisions while they stayed as they had brought with them thither. As the Forces retired to *Villafranca* were daily eating up and exhausting the *Veronese* and *Mantouan*, and the *French* Troops no longer to be restrained by the Orders of their King from repairing to their Garrisons, the *Venetians* to keep them in the Field were obliged to supply them with all their necessary

A. D. 1516. } cessary Food from the City of *Brescia*,
 which cost them above One Thousand
 Crowns a Day.

Verona re-
 stored to
 the *Vene-*
tians, and
 Peace
 made be-
 tween
 them and
Cæsar.

AT last the Sinews of War were
 slackened, and the Course of Affairs
 manifestly tended towards a Peace; for
 Advice was received that *Cæsar*, who
 had at first earnestly solicited his Nephew
 to make no Agreement with the King of
France, at length suffering his greedy
 Desire of Money to get the Ascendent
 over his natural Antipathy to the Name
 of the *French*, and his antient Project of
 subjecting *Italy*, had accepted and ratified
 the Peace, and had determined to restore
Verona according to the Form of the Ar-
 ticles of the Agreement. Hence resulted
 another Event in Favour of the King of
France; for all the Cantons of the *Swiss*,
 seeing a thorough Accommodation effected
 between *Cæsar* and him, and that both
 Parties had laid down their Arms, were
 inclined to make an Agreement with him
 as the *Grisons* had done before, *Galeazzo*
Visconti mightily bestirring himself for that
 End. In recompense for this good Office
 that

that Nobleman, who was in Disgrace with the King *, and an Exile, obtained of him Restoration to his Country, and in Process of Time many Favours and Honours.

By the Convention between the King of *France* and the *Swiss* it was agreed, that the King should pay them within the Term of Three Months Three Hundred and Fifty Thousand Ducats, and from thenceforth a perpetual yearly Pension: That the *Swiss* should be obliged to grant Leave to the King by public Decree, whenever he should require it, to enlist into his Service a certain Number of their Foot: But in this Article the *Swiss* proceeded differently; for the Eight Cantons obliged themselves to lend their Troops even when the King acted offensively against the States of others, but the Five Cantons no otherwise than for the Defence of his own Dominions: That it should be in the Power of the *Swiss* to restore to the King of *France* the Castles of *Lugano* and *Lucerna*, strong Passes, and

* Orig. *in Contumacia del Re*, outlawed by the King.

A. D.
1516. and of Importance to the Security of the Dutchy of *Milan*; and that if they should chuse to restore them, the King should be bound to pay them Three Hundred Thousand Ducats: But as soon as the Convention was made, the *Swiss* demolished these Castles.

1517. THESE were the Transactions in *Italy* during the Course of the Year 1516; but in the Beginning of the next Year the Bishop of *Trent* came to *Verona*, and offered to *Lautrech*, with whom he had a Conference between *Villafranca* and *Verona*, to resign that City, which, he said, he held in the Name of the King of *Spain*, to the King of *France* within the Term of Six Months appointed by the Articles. But a Difficulty remaining, whether the Term was to begin from the Day of the Ratification of *Cæsar*, or from the Day when it was acknowledged to be held for the King of *Spain*, some Days were spent in disputing the Point. But the Troops at *Verona*, demanding their Pay in a tumultuous Manner, constrained the Bishop of *Trent* to hasten the Proceedings:

ceedings : Wherefore dating the Beginning of the Term from the Day in which *Cæsar* had given him Commission, he agreed to resign *Verona* on the Fifteenth Day of *January*, at which Time having received of the *Venetians* the first Fifty Thousand Ducats, and Fifteen Thousand more, which according to the Convention were to be paid to the Troops in *Verona*, and of *Lautrech* a Promise that the Artillery in *Verona* should be conveyed to *Trent*, he consigned that City to *Lautrech*, who received it in the Name of the King of *France*, and immediately after, in the Name of the same King, consigned it to the *Venetian* Senate, and, for them, to *Andrea Gritti* the Proveditor. But inexpressible was the Joy and Satisfaction of the *Venetian* Nobility and People for having at last seen a happy End of so long and dangerous a War, tho' after infinite Costs and Trouble, for, as some of their Historians assure us, they expended in the whole War since the League of *Cambray* no less than five Millions of Ducats, of which Five Hundred Thousand were raised by the Sale of Places. Incredible also

A. D.

1517.

A. D. 1517. also were the Rejoicings of the *Veronese* and of all the other Cities and People within the Jurisdiction of the Republic, since they now promised themselves, from the Benefit of Peace, to enjoy Rest and Quiet, and to be freed from that World of Vexations and Calamities, under which they had for a long Time so miserably suffered, sometimes from one and sometimes from the other of the contending Parties.

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