

ring what happened in *Florence*, was by the way intercepted. All the rest after the apprehension of *Samminiato* for feare, fled. Then *Samminiato* and *Tomazo*, being according to their merits punished: authoritie was giuen to diuerse Cittizens to finde out more offenders, and assure the state. They then discovered for Rebels, sixe of the family of *Ricci*, sixe of the *Alberti*, three of the *Medici*, three of the *Scali*, two of the *Strozzi*, *Bindo Altouiti*, *Barnardo Adimari*, with many of the meaner sort. They admonished all the family of *Alberti*, *Ricci*, and *Medici*, for tenne yeares (a fewe of them excepted). Among the *Alberti* was one called *Antonio*, who being accounted a quiet and peaceable man, was in that respect not admonished. It chanced after the suspition of the conspiracie not quenched, there was a Monke taken, who had bene seene diuerse times during the conspiracie, to goe from *Bologna* to *Florence*. This Monke confessed that he had brought diuerse letters to *Antonio*, who denied the matter, yet being auowed by the Monke, he was condemned in mony, and confined 300. miles distant from the citie. Also to the end, that the *Alberti* might not daily put the state in daunger, all that family aboute fiftene yeares of age, were banished. This accident happened in the yeare 1402. The next yeare died *Giouan Galiazzo*, Duke of *Milan*: whose death (as is before said) ended the warre which had continued twelue yeares. In this meane space, the gouernment became of more authoritie: and hauing fewe enemies both within and without, the *Florentines* attempted the enterprise of *Pisa*, and gloriously conquered that citie. They continued then quiet within, from the yeare 1400. till 33. sauing that in the yeare 1412. the *Alberti*, hauing broken their confines, a *Balia* was chosen, wherby new ordinances were made to assure the state, and impose greater paiements vpon them. In that time also, the *Florentines* made war to *Ladislao* King of *Napoli*, which was ended by the death of the King: in the yeare 1414. In execution whereof, the King finding himselfe the weaker, yeelded to the *Florentines* the citie of *Cortona*, where he was Lord. Yet shortly after he reuiued the warre, which proued more dangerous then the former. And had the same not bene, as the other, ended by the Duke of *Milans* death, he had also brought the libertie of our citie into that daunger, that by the Duke it had bene. Neither did this war of the Kings end, with lesser aduenture then the other. For when he had surprized *Rome*, *Siens*, *La Marca*, and *Romagna*, and that he wanted nothing, but *Florence* to passe with a mightie force into *Lombardy*, hee died. So as, death was euer more friendly to the *Florentines*, then any other friend: and of more power to defend them, then any other vertue. After the death of this King, the citie continued quiet without & within eight yeares. In the end of which time, with the warres of *Philippe* Duke of *Milan*, the factions were reuiued: and continued til the ruine of that state, which from 1380. had bene gouerned, and with much glorie, enterprised many warres, and brought vnder the Empire thereof, *Arezzo*, *Piso*, *Cortona*, *Liorno*, and *Monte Pulciano*. And would haue done greater things, had the citie continued vnited, and the old humors not bene reuiued. As in the next booke shall particularly be declared.

The ende of the third Booke.

THE



THE FOURTH BOOKE.



ALL Cities (and chiefly they which be well gouerned vnder the name of Common-weales) doo often alter their state and gouernment: not by meanes of libertie and subiection (as many imagine) but by meane of seruitude and lycentiousnesse. For onely the name of libertie is honoured of the people, who are the ministers of lycentiousnesse, and seruitude still sought for by the Nobilitie: so as either of them do studie not to subiect themselves, either to lawes or men. True it is, that when it happeneth (as sildome it doth) that by good fortune of some Citie, there riseth vptherein, a wise, good, and mightie Citizen, of whome such lawes be made, as these humours of the Nobilitie, and of the people, be kept quiet (or at the least so restrained as they cannot doo euill) then may that Citie be called free, and that state firme and stable. For being builded vpon good lawes, and good orders, it needeth not afterwarde the vertue of anie man to vphold it. Of such lawes and orders, manie auncient Common-weales (whose estates continued long) were endowed. Such orders and lawes, those states wanted, and doo want, which haue oft times chaunged their gouernment from states tyrannicall, to lycentious, and from lycentious, to tyrannicall. And in them by meane of their mightie enemies, there is not, nor cannot be anie stabilitie at all: because the one pleaseth not the good men, and the other offendeth the wise men. The one may do euill with facilitie, the other can do good with difficultie. In the one insolent men, in the other, fooles haue too much authoritie. And therefore, it behoueth, that both the one and the other, by the vertue and fortune of some excellent man be maintained: who either by death may be taken away, or by aduersitie proue vnprofitable. I say therefore, that gouernment which had the beginning in *Florence* by the death of *Georgio Scali*, in the yeare 1381. proceeded first from the vertue of *Masso delli Albizi*, and after was by *Nicholo di Vzano* continued. The Cittie liued quiet from the yeare 1314. till the 22. At which time, the King *Ladislao* was dead, and the state of *Lombardy* into parties diuided. So that neither without nor within, there was any thing that could breede diffidence or mistrust. Next to *Nicholo di Vzano*, the Citizens of most authoritie, were *Bartolomeo Valori*, *Nerone di Nigi*, *Rinaldo degli Albizi*, *Neri di Guio*, and *Lapo Nicolini*. The factions which grew, by the discord of the *Albizi* & *Ricci*, and after with great troubles by *Saluestro di Medici* reuiued, were neuer quenched. And albeit the partie most faouered of the multitude, raigned not aboute 3. yeares, and in the yere 1381. the same was oppressed: yet that humor hauing infected the greater number of the people, could not be vtterly quenched. True it is, that the often contentions, & persecutions of the chief captains frō the 1381. til the 1400. brought the factions wel near to nothing. The families most persecuted were

The famely
of Alberti
confined.
An. 1402.

The death of
Ladislao king
of Naples.

the *Albizi*, *Ricci*, and *Medici*. Those houses were diuerse times spoyled, both of their men and substance, and if any of them remained in the citie, their honours and offices were taken from them. Which oppression made that part base minded, and (as it were) vtterly trodden downe. Notwithstanding, there remained in many men, a certaine memorie of iniuries receiued, and a desire to reuenge them. Yet wanting power to performe their will, they kept that desire within their breasts, secretly hidden. Those of the populer Nobilitie, who peaceably gouerned the citie, committed two errors, which were the causes of their ruine. The one through their insolency, which grew by continuall authoritie and being in office. The other, through enuie among themselues, & the long holding the state in their hands, they did not prevent those that might offend them: but daily renewing the vniuersall hatred by their sinister proceedings, not remoouing the matter that might hurt and was to be feared, were the causes that the house of *Medici* recouered authoritie. The first of them that begun to stand vp, was *Giouanni*, the sonne of *Bicci*. He, become exceeding rich, and being of nature curteous, & affable, was with the allowance of those that gouerned, ascended to the highest office. Whereat the multitude so greatly reioycd (supposing to haue gotten a protector) that the wiser sort conceiued some iust cause of suspicion: because thereby they found all the old humors begun to arise. And *Nicholo di Vzano* failed not to aduertise the other Citizens, how dangerous a thing it was to aduance one, who had among the multitude, so much reputation: saying, it was easie to oppresse any inconuenience at the first, but letting it growe, the remedie was hardly found. For hee knew well, that in *Giouanni*, there were many more excellent partes, then in *Saluestro*. *Nicholo* could not be heard of his companions: because they enuied his reputation, and sought for assistance to oppresse him. Men thus liuing in *Florence*, beset with contrary humours, (which secretly began to boyle within their breasts) *Philippo Visconti* second sonne of *Giouan Galiazzo*, being by the death of his brother, become Lord of all *Lombardy*, and deuising vpon some enterprize, desired greatly to be againe owner of *Genoua*, which at that present vnder *Tomazo Frogolo* liued in libertie. Yet feared he could neither compasse that nor any other thing, vnlesse first hee published a new accord with the *Florentines*: the reputation whereof, (as hee thought) might bring him to satisfaction. For which purpose, hee sent Embassadours to *Florence*: who being there, and perswading the league, it was by many Citizens thought vnfit to ioyne with him, and yet they wished that the peace which had many yeares continued, should still endure. For they knewe what fauoure and reputation the league would doo him, and how small profit the citie should receiue thereof. To others it was thought good, that the league should be made, thereby to procure the Duke to enter conditions and bondes, which if he passed, every man might discouer his euill intent, and should (if he brake the peace) the more iustly make warre vpon him. Thus (the matter being throughly debated) the peace was concluded. Wherein *Philippo* promised, that hee would not entermedle with anie thing on this side the Riuers of *Magra* and *Panaro*. After this conclusion *Philippo* surprized *Brescia*, and shortly after *Genoua*, contrary to the opinion of those that had perswaded the peace. For they beleued that *Brescia* had bene defended by the *Venetians*, and *Genoua* could haue defended it selfe. And because in the league which *Philippo* had made with the *Doge* of *Genoua*, he had reserued *Serezana*, and other Townes on this sides *Magra*, with condition that if he sold them, hee then to sell them to the *Genouesi*, the league was broken. Besides this, hee made peace with the Legate of *Bologna*. Which things, altered the mindes of our Citizens, and made them (doubting newe mischiefes) to looke for newe remedies. These

Error committed by the populer nobilitie.

Aduice of *Nicholo Vzano* a gainst the *Medici*.

Leage betwixt the *Florentines* and the Duke of *Milan*.

suspitions

suspitions come to the care of *Filippo*, either to gratifie, or feele the disposition of the *Florentines*, or else to abuse them, sent Ambassadours vnto *Florence*, and by them signified, how he maruelled much at the suspicion conceiued, and therewith offered to renounce euerie thing by him done, whereof anie mistrust might grow: which Ambassadours wrought none other effect, then diuision of the citie. For the one part, (and those that were most reputed in the gouernment) thought good to arme, and prevent the enemy. Notwithstanding if *Filippo* stood quiet, there should be no war at all, and in the meane time, that prouision was an occasion of peace. Many others, either enuying those that gouerned, or fearing the warre, iudged that it was no wisdome, lightly to become suspicious: neither were things by *Philippo* done, worthie to be suspected. But they knew wel, that to elect the Ten, and to hire souldiers, promised warre: which being taken in hand against so great a Prince, should be the ruine of the citie, without hope of any profit. For of his victories (hauing *Romagna* in the midst) we could not receiue good, nor become Princes of that country. And of *Romagna* it self (by reason of the neernesse of the church) they could not think to become owners. Notwithstanding, the authoritie of those that would make preparation for war, preuailed before the other, that desired peace. And therefore they created the Ten, hired souldiers, & imposed Subsidies. Which proceedings (because they burthened more the lesse, then greater Citizens) filled the citie with sorrow, and euery man blamed the ambition & authoritie of the great men, accusing them, that to fulfill their appetites, and oppresse the people, they would make a warre not necessary. Yet was not the Duke come to manifest breach, but euery thing was full of suspicion. For *Philippo*, at the request of the Legate of *Bologna* (who feared *Antonio Bentiuogli* banished, and remaining at the Castle *Bolognese*) had sent men to that citie: which being neare the dominion of *Florence*, held the state in mistrust. But that which most amazed euery man, and gaue much cause to discouer the warre, was the enterprize of the Duke at *Furli*. *Georgia Ordilaffi*, was Lord of *Furli*, who dying, left *Tibaldo* his sonne, vnder protection of *Philippo*. And albeit the mother, supposing the Duke to be a Tutor vnfit, and therefore sent her childe to *Lodouico Alidosi* her father, Lord of *Imola* yet was she forced by the people to obserue her husbands testament, and commit him to the Dukes hands. Then *Philippo* to make himselfe the lesse suspected, and the rather also to couer his intent, deuised that the Marquesse of *Ferrara* should send *Guido Torello* with some forces, to be his deputie, and take the gouernment of *Furli*. Thus came that towne into the possession of *Philippo*, which being knowne in *Florence*, together with the newes of the souldiers come to *Bologna*, made the resolution for the war the more speedie, notwithstanding it had before great contradiction, & *Giouan de Medici* publikely spake against it, saying, that although he were certaine of the Dukes euill disposition, yet were it better that hee should march first, thē they go towards him: for so the war should be iustificable, in the iudgement of other princes: neither could we so boldly aske aid, as we might after that his ambition was discouered. Also, mē wold with an other mind defend their own, thē assault the goods of others. To the contrary, was said, it were not good to tarry for the enemy at home, but rather go seeke him. And fortune was more friend to him that assaulted, thē to him that defendeth. Moreover with lesse losse (though with more charge) the war is made far frō home, then neare at hand. In the end, this opiniō preuailed. And resolution was set down, that the Ten should deuise some means how the city of *Furli* might be recouered frō the Duke. *Philippo* seeing that the *Florentines* went about to surprize those things which he had taken in hand to defend, set respects apart, & sent *Agnolo della Pargola* with great forces to *Imola*, to the end, that prince, hauing occasion to defend his own, should not think vpon his grandchild. *Agnolo* arriued neare *Imola*,

Confutation in *Florence*.

(the forces of the *Florentines* being also at *Magdigliana*) the weather frostie, and the towne ditches frozen, in the night, by stealth, surprized the towne, and sent *Lodouico* prisoner to *Milan*. The *Florentines* seeing *Imola* lost, and the warre discovered, commanded their men to go vnto *Furli*, and on euerie side besieged that citie. Also to the end that all the Dukes forces should not come to rescue it, they hired the Earle *Alberigo*, who from his towne *Zagonara* issued out, spoyling the country euen to the gates of *Imola*. *Agnola della Pergola*, finding he could not with securitie succour *Furli*, by reason of the strength where our Campe laie, thought good to besiege *Zagonara*, thinking that the *Florentines* would not lose that place, and if they did relieue it, then of force they must abandon *Furli*, and fight with disadvantage. The Dukes forces then enforced *Alberigo* to demaund composition, which was graunted; he promising to yeeld the towne at any time, if within fiftene daies, it were not rescued by the *Florentines*. This disorder knowne in the *Florentines* Campe and in the Citie, and euerie man desirous to prevent the enemy of that victorie, occasioned them to haue a greater. For their Campe being departed from *Furli* to succour *Zagonara*, and entercountring the enemy was ouerthrowne: not so much through vertue of the aduersarie, as the unhappinesse of the weather. For, our men hauing diuerse houres marched in the deepe myre and raine, found the enemies fresh, and for that reason by them were vanquished. Notwithstanding, in so great an ouerthrow published through all *Italy*, there died no more then *Lodouico degli Obizi*, with two others, who fallen from their horse were myred to death. All the citie of *Florence* at this ouerthrow, became sad: and chiefly the great Citizens who had counselled the warre. For they sawe the enemy braue, their selues disarmed, without friends, and the people against them: who murmured, and with iniurious words, complained of the great Impositions and Subsidies, they had payde to the maintenance of the warre taken in hand, without any cause or occasion. Saying moreouer, now they hauing created the Ten, to terrifie the enemy, haue succoured *Furli*, and taken it from the Duke. Thus do they bewraie their Councils to what end they are: not to defend the libertie, but encrease their own power, which God iustly hath diminished. Neither haue they only burthened the citie with this enterprize, but with many others: for like to this, was that against King *Ladislao*. To whome will they now resort for aide? To Pope *Martine*? who hath bene in their sight trodden vpon by *Braccio*? To the Queene *Giouanna*? she was by them abandoned, and forced to put her selfe vpon the King of *Aragon*. Besides these contumelies, they repeated all such iniurious reproues, as a people offended, could imagine. It was therefore thought good to the *Senators*, to assemble a good number of Citizens, and with curteous speech appease the humours moued in the multitude. Then *Rinaldo degli Albizi*, eldest sonne of *Masso*, (who with his owne vertue, & the memorie of his father, aspired to the chief honour of the citie) declared at large: that it was no wisdome to iudge enterprizes by their successe. Because many things well deuised, haue had no good end, & others euil deuised, haue good. Also, if euil counsels hauing good successe, should be commended, the same wold encourage men to commit errors, which would proue to great disadvantage of the Common weale: for it euer falleth out, that euill counsels be vnfortunate. In like maner they erred, to blame a wise counsell, that hath no desired end: for thereby they discouradge the Citizens to counsell the citie, & saie frankly, what they knew or vnderstood. Then he shewed the necessitie of that war, and how if it had not bene begun in *Romagna*, it should haue bene in *Toscana*. But sith it pleased God that their forces be ouerthrowne, the losse should be the lesse, if the enterprize were not abandoned. For if they would still shewe their faces to Fortune, and endenour themselves to recouer that was lost, neither should they finde any

The Florentines ouerthrowne.

The speech of Rinaldo degli Albizi to appease the people.

any losse, nor the Duke any victorie. They ought also not to repine at the charge or Impositions that should be laid vpon them, because those payments which they had made, were reasonable, and the rest that should after be imposed would not bee so great. For lesse preparation is required for them that defend, then those that will offend. In the end, he perswaded them to imitate their auncestors, who by being in euerie aduersitie couragious, did defend themselves against all Princes whatsoever. The Citizens encouraged with the authoritie of this man, entertained the Earle *Oddo* Braccio. sonne of *Braccio*, with whom they ioyned *Nicholo Piccinino*, brought vp vnder *Braccio* Piccinino., a man most esteemed of all those that serued vnder his Ensigne, and vnder them they appointed other leaders. Also of their owne forces lately broken, some Captaines of horse men remained. Moreouer they elected twentie Citizens to impose new Subsidies, who being encouraged with seeing the greatest Citizens oppressed by the late ouerthrow, imposed vpon them without respect. This imposition much greued the great Citizens, yet not to declare themselves vnwilling, at the first, shewed no priuate offence: but generally blamed the matter, giuing their aduise, that the Impositions might cease; which being knowne to many, tooke no effect in the Councils: and thereupon to occasion these repiners feele the smart of their counsell, and make the matter more odious, they ordered, that the Imposers should proceed with all seueritie, and haue authoritie to kill any man that should withstand the publique officers. Whereof followed many foule accidents, by murdering and hurting of the Citizens. In so much, as the factions came to blood: and euerie wise man feared future mischiefs. Because, the great men (who were vsed to respect) could not endure to be laide hand vpon: and others were not content that euerie man should equally be burthened. Many of the chiefe Citizens therefore assembled themselves, and concluded, that it behoued them to take the gouernment into their hands: because their small diligence had giuen head, and suffered the publique proceedings to be reproued: allowing ouermuch boldnesse in those that were wont to be heads of the multitude. Hauing to this effect consulted, they determined manie times to meete all together; and in the church of *S. Steffano* assembled more then 70. Citizens, with the lycence and allowance of *Lorenzo Ridolfi*, and *Francesco Giannigliuzzi*, who at that time were of the *Senate*. To this conuention, *Giouanni de Medici* came not, either because he was as a suspect, vncalled, or that hee would not (being of contrary opinion) appeare. But *Rinaldo degli Albizi*, as mouth of that companie, Rinaldo degli Albizi. discoursed the estate of the citie, & how by their negligence it was come to the hand of the multitude, from whome in the yeare 1381. by their auncestors it was taken: putting them in minde of the iniquitie that raigned in that state, from the yeare 77. till 81. And how sith that time, till this present, some had their fathers slaine, some their grandfathers, & now were returned to the selfesame perils, & the citie fallen to the like disorders; because the multitude had already at their pleasure imposed Subsidies: & wold ere long, (if the same were not by a greater force or better order withstood) appoint the Magistrates. Which being brought to passe, the multitude would vsurpe their places, and ruine that state, which had bene with much glorie of the cittie fortie and two yeares continued: and *Florence* should be gouerned either casually, vnder the will of the multitude (so as one part should liue lycentiously, the other daungerously) or vnder the commandement of some one that shall make himselfe Prince of all. Wherefore he assured them, that euerie man that loued his country, and his owne honour, was constrained to beware: and put them in minde of the vertue of *Bardo Mancini*, who with the ruine of the *Alberti*, saued the citie from those perils wherein it then was: and that occasion of boldnesse in the multitude, proceeded of the large *Squittini*, which were by their negligence made: which was the cause

cause also that the Pallace was filled with new men and people of base condition. He therefore concluded that the only remedie was, to yeeld the gouernment to the great Citizens, and remoue the lesse Artificers from their authoritie: reducing them from 14. to 7. companies. Which should be a meane that the multitude could haue in the Councels lesse authoritie: as well in respect, that the number of them were diminished, as that the great men should haue most power, who for the old enmity did disfaour the multitude, affirmiug likewise that to know how to imploy men, according to the time was great wisdom. For as their ancestors vsed the multitude to oppresse the insolency of the great men (who thereby became humble and the multitude insolent) so it were now fit to bridle the insolencie thereof, with the aide of the great men. And for compassing of these matters they might resort either to subtiltie or force. For some of them beeing of the Tenne, by that colour might bring men secretly into the citie. This counsell giuen by *Rinaldo*, was by euery man allowed. And *Nicholo of Vzano* among other, said; that all things alledged by *Rinaldo* were true, and the remedies good and certaine, if the same might be done without manifest diuision of the citie: which would come to passe if *Giouan de Medici*, were not perswaded from them. For hee being on our side, the multitude without head and force, could not offend. But if he wold not consent, without armes it could not be. And with armes it were daungerous, for either they should not preuaile, or not enioy the victory. Also, modestly he reduced to their memories, his former admonitions, & how they refused to preuent these difficulties, when they might. But now the time serued not to do it, without hazarding a greater mischiefe, and therefore, as the vttermoost refuge, it behoued to gaine his fauour. Commissiō therefore was granted for *Rinaldo*, to goe vnto *Giouanni*, and perswade him to be of their minde. This Gentleman performed his Commission, and with the best reasons he was able, perswaded him to enter with them into this action, and that he would not for the loue of the multitude become insolent, to the ruine of the state, & citie. Wherto *Giouanni* answered, that he thought it the office of a wise and good Citizen, not to alter the accustomed orders of the citie, because there was nothing that so much offended men, as alteration, sith thereby many be offended, & where many liue discontented, some euill accident is daily to belooked for. Also hee thought, that this their resolution might worke two effects verie dangerous. The one by giuing the honours to those, who neuer before hauing them, would not much esteeme them, and should haue the lesse occasion to complaine, if they neuer had them. The other by taking the honours from those that were vsed to haue them, should make them vnquiet till they were restored. And so shall the iniurie done to the one part, be greater, then the benefit, which the other part could thereby receiue. Thus shall the authour of this change, win few friends, & many enemies: and these will be more ready to offend him, thē the others to defend him. For mē are more naturally inclined to reuēge an iniury, thē be thankful for a good turne: because this bringeth losse, but that promiseth profit and pleasure. Then turning his face towards *Rinaldo*, saide. And you sir, if you remember matters passed & with what subtilties men walk within this citie, your self would be more lowe in these resolutions. For the giuer of that counsell, so soone as with your forces he hath taken away the authoritie of the people, would againe take the same from you, by the aide of those, who by this meane of iniurie, will become your foes. And it will befall to you as it did to *Benedetto Alberti*, who (through the perswasions of him that loued him not) cōsented to the ruine of *Georgio Scali* and *Tomazo Strozzi*: and shortly after, by the selfesame men that perswaded him, was sent into exile. Hee therefore wished him more naturally to thinke vpon matters, & be willing to follow his father, who hauing loue of the multitude, cared

not

The answer
of Giouanni
di Medico
Rinaldo.

not to offend a fewe men euill disposed. It was then ordained that whoesoever had to paie halfe a Florine for Subsidie, should paie it, or not: as himselfe pleased. And besides all men indebted, should for the day of the councell goe free, with out molestation of his creditors. In the end he concluded, that for his owne part, he would leaue the cittie in that order and estate, it presently remained. These matters thus handled, were vnderstood abroad, and the same gaue great reputation to *Giouanni* and hatred to the other citizens. Neuertheless hee discontinued all affaires, the rather to discourage those, that vnder his fauour intended new practises. Also, in all his communication, hee let euerie man to vnderstand that hee would not nourish, but extinguish factions. And for himselfe, he desired nothing but the vnion of the citie: yet were manie that followed him, therewith discontented. For diuers of them did perswade him to be in those matters more quick: of which number was *Alamanno de medici*, who being fierce of nature, ceased not to sollicite him to persecute their enemies, & fauour friends, blaming his coldnesse, & slow maner of proceeding. Which was (as he alledged) occasion that their foes without respect, practised against him: Which one daie would take effect, with the ruine of his house and friends. To the same effect, was hee encouraged, by *Cosimo* his sonne. Yet notwithstanding all these reasons to him reuealed or prognosticated, hee stood firme in his intent, and by that meanes the faction became discouered, and the citie in manifest diuision. At that time were in the Pallace two Chauncellors, one called *Ser Martino*, and the other *Ser Pagolo*. This fauoured the parte of *Vzano*, that of *Medici*. *Rinaldo* seeing that *Giouanni* refused to concurre with them, thought fit to depriue *Ser Martino* of his office, hoping afterwards to finde the Pallace more fauourable. That practise foreseene by the aduersaries, *Martino* was defended; and *Pagolo* with sorrow and iniury of his friends remooued: which had presently wrought bad effects, if the present warre had not bene, & the citie by the ouerthrow receiued at *Zagonara*, terrified. During the time that these matters were managed in Florence, *Agnolo della Pergola* had with the Dukes forces taken all the townes which the *Florentines* possessed in *Romagna* (*Castaro* and *Modigliana* excepted) some of them beeing lost by the weakenesse of the place, and others by the default of those, that had them in garde. In the surprizing of these townes, two notable things appeared. The first, how much the vertue of men euen to their enemies, is acceptable. The other, how greatly cowardice and fainte heart, is contemned. *Biagio of Milan*, was Captaine of the fortresse called *Montepetroso*. He being enuironed with fire and enemies, not finding any meanes how to defend his charge, or escape with life, cast ouer the wall (where no fire yet burned) certaine cloathes and strawe, and vpon the same his owne two children, and said to his enemies; Take you here those goods which fortune hath giuen me, and you haue power to bereaue me of, but my riches of minde wherein glorie and my honour lieth, neither will I giue them, nor you can take them from me. The enemies ran to saue the poore children, and offered him roapes and ladders to conuey himselfe downe safe. But he refused all succours, chusing rather to die in fire, then receiue a life from the enemies of his country. An example truly like to those, of the auncient time so highly commended. And is the more notable, that such resolutions are but rare. The children were by the enemies restored to all thinges that were theirs, and could be found: and with great care conueyed to their friends, to whom their countrey also was no lesse kinde. For (during their liues) they were publikely releued and maintained. The contrary happened in *Galeata*, where *Zanobi di Pino* was *Podesta*. For he without any defence, yeelded his charge to the enemy: and besides perswaded *Agnolo* to abandon the Alpes of *Romagna*, and come into the hilles of *Toscana*, where he might make warre with lesse perill, and more profit. But *Agnolo* could not endure

Biagio of Milan.

Zanobi Pino.

the

the cowardice and base mind of that man, and therefore gaue him prisoner to his seruants, who in contempt, and disdain allowed him no more foode, but painted cards, saking, by that means they would make him of a *Guelfo* to become a *Ghibellino*. But within a few daies, *Pino* pined to death. In this meane time the Earle *Oddo* together with *Nicholo Piccinino* was entred into the vale of *Lamona*, to reduce the Lord of *Faenza* to the friendship of the *Florentines*, or at the least to empeach *Agnola della Pergola* in the spoile of *Romagna*. Yet by reason that vale is strong, and the country people warlike, it chanced that *Oddo* was slaine, and *Nicholo Piccinino* ledde prisoner to *Faenza*. But fortune would, that the *Florentines* obtained that by this losse, which if they had woon the victorie should percase neuer haue bene compassed. For *Nicholo* being prisoner, wrought so with the Lord of *Faenza* & his mother, that they by his perswasion became friendes to the *Florentines*. By this league *Nicholo Piccinino* was deliuered, but folowed not that counsel he gaue to others. For whiles he comoned with the cities that entertained him, either for that the conditions he had made seemed ouer meane, or that he hoped of better elsewhere, suddenly without leaue taking, departed from *Arezzo* where hee lodged, and went into *Lombardy*, and there tooke paie of the Duke. The *Florentines* by this accident became fearefull: and being dismayd with their charges lost, thought they could not alone maintaine the warre, and therefore sent Embassadors to the *Venetians*, desiring them while the enterprise was easie, to ioyne against one, who being suffered to grow, might become as dangerous to them as to the *Florentines*. To the same enterprise also *Francesco Carmignuola* did perswade them, who was in those dayes accounted a man of warre most excellent, and had bene sometimes a souldier vnder the Duke, yet at that time, rebelled against him. The *Venetians* stood doubtfull, not knowing how much they might trust *Carmignuola*, fearing that the enmitie betwixt the Duke & him was but fained. They thus standing doubtfull, it happened that the Duke procured one of the seruants of *Carmignuola* to poyson his maister: which poyson not being strong inough, killed him not, but brought him to extremitie. This being knowne to the *Venetians*, cleared all suspition: and the *Florentines* following their request, the league was made betwixt them, either partie binding himselfe to make warre at their common charge: and that whatsoever were gotten in *Lombardy* should be the *Venetians*, and whatsoever were possessed in *Romagna*, should be the *Florentines*, and *Carmignuola* to continue General of the league. Then was the war by mean of this league brought into *Lombardy*, and by *Carmignuola* gouerned with so great vertue, that in fewe moneths he had taken many townes from the Duke: together with the Citie of *Brescia*, the winning whereof (in those dayes, and in those warres) was accounted maruelous. This warre was continued fise yeares and the Citizens become wearie of the Impositions alreadie past, agreed to renew them, and prouided the same might be imposed according to the value of euerie mans wealth. In this Imposition, it fell out, that many mightie Citizens were sore charged. And therefore, before the lawe passed, it became of them misliked. Onely *Giouanni di Medici* openly did commend it, by which commendation, the lawe passed. And because in the execution thereof, euerie mans goods were charged (which the *Florentines* called *Accastare*) the Imposition was called *Catasto*. This law partly bridled the tirannie of the mightier Citizens, being thereby restrained from oppression of their inferiours, and their threatnings and counsels could not hold them silent, as before they might. That Imposition therefore was by the multitude willingly, but by the mighty citizens, verie vnwillingly, received. Norwithstanding (as it euer happeneth) that men be neuer satisfied; but hauing the thing they wish for, desire an other: so this people not content with this equalitie of Imposition by lawe, required that no respect should be

Piccinino
reuelted from
the league.

Carmignuola
generall for
the league.

had to time past, but desired to examine how much the great men (according to the *Catasto*) had paid too little; because they would haue them to be charged as themselves had before bene; who paying more then they ought, were forced to sell their possessions. This demaund, did more terrifie the great men, then the *Catasto*, therefore they ceased not to find fault, affirming it was most iniust, that the imposition should extend to their moueables, which many times were one day possessed, and the next day lost. And moreouer many men had money so secretly kept, that the *Catasto* could not find it. Adding thereto, that for seruice of the state, they omitted their priuate busines, and therefore ought be the lesse charged. For traouling in their persons, it was no reason that the citie should imploy both their goods and their industry, and of other men take onely their goods. The others (to whom the *Catasto* contented) did answer that if the goods moueable did varie, the Impositions might also varie, and so that inconuenience was remedied. And for goods concealed or hidden, therof it was not needfull to make accompt, for of such monies as are not occupied to profit, no reason would they should pay. And if they would imploy them, then should they thereby discover them. Moreouer, if they liked no longer to vse their industrie for the Common weale, they might at their pleasures leaue those paines, & that trauell. For the state should find other good Citizens willing to helpe and serue, both with their counsell and substaunce. Also the gouernment carried therewith so many commodities & honors, as the same might suffice them that gouerned, without deteining their impositions. But the grieue lay not where they alledged. For it greued them that they could not make warre without their owne losse, being to contribute to the charge as others did. As if this way had bene before found, the warre with King *Ladislaio* should not haue bene then, nor this warre with the Duke now. Both which warres were made to enrich the Citizens, and not for necessitie. These humors stirred, were appeased by *Giouan de Medici*, declaring that it was not well done, to call againe matters passed, but rather to foresee future euent. And if the Impositions before time were iniust, then ought they to thanke God for that warre, whereby they were made iust, and that this order might serue to reunite, not to deuide the citie: as it would, if passed Impositions were called in question, to make the present leasement: because whosoever is content with a reasonable victorie, doth best, seeing they that be enforced to pay for many pardons, do therby become desperate. With these or like wordes, hee appeased the humours, and the comparing of the old Impositions, with the new. The warre with the Duke yet continued, but shortly after a peace was made at *Ferrara*, by mediation of the Popes Legate. The conditions wherof, were by the Duke at the beginning broken. So that they of the league rooke armes againe, and ioyning battle with the Duke at *Macchio*, they ouerthrew him. After which ouerthrow, the Duke moued new communication of peace, whereto the *Venetians* and *Florentines* consented. These because they suspected the *Venetians*, and thought they spent much to make others mightie. The other, for that, since the ouerthrow, they perceiued *Carmignuola* to proceede slowly, and therefore feared to repose any trust in him. The peace therefore was concluded the year 1428 whereby the *Florentines* reouered the townes lost in *Romagna*, and *Brescia* remained in the hands of the *Venetians*. Besides these, the Duke gaue them *Bergamo* with the country thereto belonging. In this warre the *Florentines* spent three millions and fise thousand duckats. But the *Venetians* gained land and force: and they poertie and diuision. The peace thus made abroad, the warre at home began. And the great Citizens not enduring the *Catasto*, nor knowing by what meane to be free from it, deuised to make the lawe to haue more enemies, thereby to haue companions to repress it. Then they declared to the officers of the Imposition, that the

Catasto.

to be
ob am
did not
died

Peace betwixt
the League
& the Duke.

lawe

lawe commaunded them also to seaze the Townes subiect, to see, if among them remained any *Florentines* goods. Thereupon all subiects were commaunded within a certaintime to bring in bills of their goods. Then the inhabitants of *Volterra* sent vnto the Senate to complayne of that matter, insomuch that the officers put xviii. of them in prison. This made the *Volterrani* much offended, yet for the respect they had to their prisoners, they rebelled not. At this time *Giouanni de Medici* fell sicke, and knowing his disease mortall, called vnto him his sonnes *Cosimo* and *Lorenzo*, and sayd vnto them: I thinke now to haue liued so long, as at my birth God and nature had appoynted. I dye content, because I leaue you rich, healthie, and in estate (if you follow my footsteps) to liue in *Florence* honorable, and fauoured of all men: For, there is nothing that maketh me dye so contented, as to remember, that I haue neuer offended any man, but rather (so farre as I could) pleased all men. Sodo I perswade you (if you will liue securely) to take of the State no more then by the lawes, and by men is giuen you, which shall neuer bring with it, either enuie or perill. For that which is woun by violence, not that which is giuen freely, doth make men hated. And you shall find many coueting an other mans, to lose their owne, and before that losse, liue in continuall disquiet of mind. With these rules among so manie enemyes, and contrarieties of opinions, I haue not onely maynteyned, but also encreased my reputation in this cittie. Euen so, if you follow my course, you shall in like sort maynteyne and augment your credit. But when you do otherwise, looke that your end shall be no more fortunate then theirs, who haue ruyned themselues, and vndone their houses. Shortly after these words pronounced, he tooke leaue of life, and was much lamented by the greatest number of Citizens, for so his excellent vertues deserued. This *Giouanni* was charitable, and accustomed to giue almes not onely to them that asked, but also many times vnasked. He bestowed reliefe on the poore, where need required. He loued euery man, praying the good, and pittying the euill. He neuer desired offices, yet had he them all, he went not at any time to the Pallace vncalled, he loued peace, and shunned warre, he relieved men in aduersitie, and furthered them in prosperitie. He medled not with publique extortion, but encreased the common profit. He was in office courteous, of no great eloquence, but singuler wise. His complexion seemed melancholy, yet was he in couersation pleasant and merrie. He died rich in treasure, but more rich of loue, and good report: which inheritance as well in goods of fortune as of mind, was by *Cosimo* not only preserued, but also enlarged. The *Volterrani* being wearie of imprisonment, promised to condiscend to that which was demaunded. They then being deliuered, and returned to *Volterra*, found the time come for the election of new *Priori*. Among whom was chosen one iust man, a base fellow, yet of credit among the multitude, and was in the number of those that had ben prisoners in *Florence*. He being moued with the iniurie offred both in publique and priuate by the *Florentines*, was encouraged by one *Giouanni* a noble man (who also sat in office with him) to stirre the people with the authority of the *Priori* and his owne credit, to take the towne from the *Florentines*, and make himselfe Prince thereof. By whose perswasion this *Giusto* (for so he was called) tooke armes, ransacked the towne, imprisoned the Captayne of the *Florentines*, and made him selfe by consent of the people, Lord thereof. This new matter happened in *Volterra*, greatly displeased the *Florentines*. Yet hauing lately made peace with the Duke, they imagined a time was come to recouer it. And not omitting oportunitie, they sodeinly sent thither *Rinaldo degli Albizi*, and *Palla Strozzi*, as their Comissaries. *Giusto* in the meane space, supposing the *Florentines* would assault him, prayed ayd of the *Sanesi* and *Lucchesi*. The *Sanesi* denyed him, saying they were in leaguē with the *Florentines*.

The speech of
cosimo de
Medici at his
death.

Volterra re-
belled.

Giusto sur-
ped Volterra.

rentines. And *Pagolo Guinigi* Lord of *Lucca*, to recouer the fauoure of the *Florentine* people (which in the Dukes warres he feared to haue lost) did not onely refuse to ayde *Giusto*, but also sent his messenger prisoner to *Florence*. These comissaries in the meane space, to come vnlooked for of the *Volterrani*, assembled all their men of Armes, and in the neather *Valderno*, and the Prouince of *Pisfa*, leauied many fooremen, from whence they marched to *Volterra*. Neyther did *Giusto* for being abandoned of his neighbours, nor the assault of the *Florentines*, abandon himselfe: but trusting to the strength of the Scite, and the greatnes of the Towne, prepared for defence. There was at that time in *Volterra*, one called *Arcolano*, brother to *Giouanni*, who had perswaded *Giusto* to take the gouernment, a man among the Nobilitie of good reputation. He, assembling his friends, declared how God by this accident had supplied the necessitie of their Cittie. For now if they were pleased to take armes, remoue *Giusto* from the Senate, and restore the Cittie to the *Florentines*, they should thereby become chiefe of their Cittie, and continue their auncient priuiledges. These men consenting to the enterprise, went to the Pallace where this Lord *Giusto* remayned: some of them also being left belowe, *Arcolano* with three others went vp, and finding him with some other Cittizens, drew him aside, as though he had to speake with him in some earnest matter, so enterteyning him from chamber to chamber, till he came to the place where the rest of the companie remayned. Yet were they not so sudein, but that *Giusto* drew his sword, and before himselfe was slayne, hurt two of them. Notwithstanding, in the end vnable to resist so manie, was murthered, and cast out of the Pallace. Then all the rest of the conspiracie with *Arcolano* tooke Armes, and gaue the Towne to the Comissaries for the *Florentines*, who were with Souldiers neere at hand. They, without other capitulation, entered the Towne, whereby the *Volterrani* made their condition worse then before. For among other things, they dismembred the greater part of the Countrey, and was reduced to *Vicariato*. Thus *Volterra*, as it were at one instant lost, and recouered, no occasion of new warre remayned, had not the ambition of men bene cause thereof. There serued long time the *Florentines* in their warres against the Duke of *Milan*, one called *Nicholo Ferribraccio*, sonne to one of the sisters of *Braccio di Perugia*. He after the peace made, was by the *Florentines* discharged, and at such time as this chance happened at *Volterra* was lodged at *Fucecchio*, whereby the Comissaries in that enterprise employed him and his Souldiers. It was supposed that at such time as *Rinaldo* trauelled with him in that warre, he perswaded *Nicholo* vnder some fayned quarrell to assault the *Lucchesi*, saying, that if he would goe against *Lucca*, he should be made Generall of the iourney. *Volterra* thus surprized, and *Nicholo* returned home to *Fucecchio*, either by perswasion of *Rinaldo*, or of his owne will, in Nouember, the yeare 1429. with 300. horse, and 300. fooremen, surprized *Ruoti* and *Compito*, Castles belonging to the *Lucchesi*, and after came into the Countrey, and there made great spoyle. The newes of this enterprise published at *Florence*, many people assembled in diuers places of the Cittie, and the greater number wished that *Lucca* might be assaulted. The great Cittizens that fauoured the enterprise were those of the faction of *Medici*, and with them ioyned *Rinaldo*, thereto perswaded, either because he thought the enterprise profitable to the common-weale, or else for his owne ambition, hoping to haue the honor of the victorie. Those that disfauoured the attempt, were *Nicholo de Vzano*, and his followers. And it seemeth a thing incredible, that so great contrarietie should be in one Cittie, touching the making of a warre. For those Cittizens, and that people, who after tenne yeeres of peace blamed the warre against the Duke *Philippo*, for defence

Pagolo Guinigi Lord of
Lucca.

Giusto slaine.

Volterra re-
couered by
the Floren-
tines.

fence of their libertie: now after so great expences, and so much affliction of the Cittie, withall earnestly desired to make a new warre against *Lucca*, and to vsurpe the libertie of others. On the other side, those that desired the first warre, found fault with this motion, so greatly did the opinions of men alter with time; for the multitude seemeth more readie to take from others, then keepe their owne. Also, men are more moued with hope of winning, then feare of losing: For this feare is not beleued, till it be neere at hand, but that hope, is hoped for, although farre off. The people of *Florence* was full of hope, both by the victories they had obteyned, and by letters sent vnto *Fortebraccio* from the *Rettori* neere to *Lucca*. For the Deputies of *Pescia* and of *Vico* did write, that if they might haue leaue to receiue those Castles, they would be deliuered to them, and by that meanes all the Countrey of *Lucca* should be gayned. Besides these good newes, the Lord of *Lucca* sent his Embassador to *Florence*, to complayne of the spoyles committed by *Nicholo*, desiring the *Senate*, not to moue warre against their neighbours, and a Cittie that had euer been friend to the *Florentines*. This Embassador was called *Iacopo Viuiani*. He not long before had been kept prisoner with *Pagolo* for a conspiracie against him: whereof although he were guiltie, yet was his life saued. And *Pagolo* supposing that *Iacopo* had likewise forgotten the iniurie, put him in trust. But *Iacopo* remembering more the perill he had passed, then the benefite he receiued, being arriued in *Florence*, secretly encouraged the Citizens to proceed in the enterprize: which encouragement, ioyned to other hope, was the cause that the *Senate* assembled a Councell, wherein were foure hundred ninetie eight Citizens, before whome, by the principall men of the Cittie, the matter was debated. Among the chiefe that perswaded the iourney (as is before sayd) was *Rinaldo*, who alleadged the profite that might ensue of victorie. Hee also declared the occasion of the enterprize, and how the *Lucchesi* were abandoned by the *Venetians* and the Duke. And that the Pope (being busied in the affayres of the Kingdome) could not succour them. Thereto he remembered how easie it was to winne the Cittie, being in subiection to one Citizen, whereby it had lost that naturall strength and auntient care to defend the libertie. So that, either by meane of the people, who studied to driue out the Tyrant, or the Tyrants feare of them, the successe was not to be doubted. Hee likewise layd before them the iniuries which that Lord had done to our Common-wealth, and his euill disposition towards the same: And how dangerous a thing it were if the Pope or the Duke should make warre, concluding, that no enterprize attempted by the people of *Florence*, was euer more easie or more iust. Against this perswasion, *Nicholo de Vzano* sayde, that *Florence* did neuer take in hand any thing more vniust, nor more perilous, nor whereof more daunger might followe. First, they should goe about to offend a Cittie affectionate to the *Guelfi*, and such a one as had euer bene friend to the people of *Florence*, and had with perill to it selfe many times receiued the *Guelfi*, when they durst not abide in their owne Countrey. And by the memoriall of our proceedings, it cannot be found, that *Lucca* being free, did euer offend *Florence*: but the offence at any time done, was committed by those that vsurped, as heretofore by *Castruccio*, and now by this man, which defaults cannot be imputed to the Cittie, but the Tyrants. And therefore if the warre might be made vpon the Tyrant, and not the Cittie, the displeasure should be the lesse. But because that could not be, he might not consent that a Cittie, beforetime a friend, should be spoyled of her substance. Yet sith at this day, men liue as though of right

A warre against *Lucca* perswaded by *Ri. de Albizi*.

The perswasion of *Ni. de Vzano* to the contrary.

or wrong none account is to be made, hee would leaue to speake thereof, and thinke onely vpon the profit of the Cittie. His opinion therefore was, that those things might be called profitable, which would not lightlie procure losse. Wherefore he knewe not how any man could call that enterprize profitable, where the losse was certaine, and the gayne doubtfull. The certeine losses were the charges it carried with it, which seemed so great, as would terrifie any peaceable Cittie, much more ours, hauing bene by long warres wearied. The profit of the enterprize, was the possession of *Lucca*, which hee confessed to be great; Yet were they to consider the lets thereof: and they seemed to him so great, as hee thought the successe impossible. Neither could hee beleue that the *Venetians* and *Philippo* were therewith pleased: Because the *Venetians* consent, was onely to seeme thankfull, hauing lately with the *Florentines* woon a great Dominion. The other would be glad, that in a new warre wee shoulde spende more treasure: so as worne, and wearyed on euerie side, wee might after be the more easily annoyed. Also, there would not want meanes for him, euen in the best hope of victorie, to succour the *Lucchesi*, eyther covertly with money, or with casing of bands, and sending souldiers as aduenturers to ayde them. Hee therefore perswaded that the enterprize might stay, and suffer them liue with the Tyrant, whereby they shoulde haue the more enemyes. For there was no way so apt to subdue the Cittie, as to suffer it continue vnder a Tyrant, and be by him assaulted or weakened. This matter wisely handled, the Cittie would be brought in termes, that the Tyrant not able to hold it, nor knowing how to gouerne it selfe, shoulde of force fall in our bozome. Neuerthelesse, seeing his words were not heard, hee would prognosticate that they would make a warre, wherein much should be spent, many hazards made, and in stead of surprizing *Lucca*, deliuer it from the Tyrant, and procure that Cittie which before was subiect and weake, to become a towne free, and full of displeasure: yea with time, an obstacle to the honour of the *Florentine* common-wealth. This enterprize thus perswaded, and dissuaded, they begun (as the custome is) to practise with men secretly for the winning of their good wills, so as onely 98. persons did speake against it. Then the resolution set downe, and the Tenne elected for government of the warre, they enterteyned souldiers both on horsebacke and foote. *Astore Gianni*, and *Rinaldo de gli Albizi* were appointed Generalls, and they agreed, that *Nicholo Fortebraccio* should haue the government of the Townes, if the enterprize tooke successe. The Generalls with the Armyes beeing arriued within the territorie of *Lucca*, diuided their forces. *Astore* went into the playne, towards *Ca Maggiore* and *Pietrasanta*: And *Rinaldo*, towards the Mountaynes, thinking, that the Countrey being spoyled, the Cittie would be easily taken. The attempt of these men prooued vnfortunate, not because they surprized no Townes, but for the dishonor committed by one of them in the seruice: For true it is, that *Astore Gianni* gaue great occasions of his owne dishonour. Neere vnto *Pietrasanta*, there is a Vale called *Serauezeza*, rich, and full of inhabitants, who hearing the Generall was come, presented them selues: desiring him to receiue them for faithfull seruants to the people of *Florence*. *Astore* seemed to accept the offer, and after caused his Souldiers to possesse all the passages, and strong places of the Vale: then commaunding all the inhabitants to assemble in the principall Church, and there willed his men to take them prisoners, sack them, and spoyle all the Countrey most cruelly: not sparing the sacred places, but without respecte, abusing aswell Virgins, as married women. The manner of

The warre of *Lucca* resolved.

cruelty of the *Florentine* Generall.

The com-
plaint of the
Sarauzeffi.

these proceedings being knowne in *Florence*, offended not onely the Magistrates, but the whole Cittie also. Some fewe of the *Sarauzeffi*, who escaped the hands of the Generall, ran to *Florence*, telling in euery streete, and to euery man their miseries, and were by many Citizens encouraged, either because they desired to haue the Generall punished, thinking him indeed an euill man, or else for that they knewe him not to fauour their faction. So that the *Sarauzeffi* were brought before the tenne, where one of them stepped forth, and spake to this effect. Sure we are (my good Lords) that our words should find beliefe, and compassion, if your Lordships did know in what sort your Generall hath vsed our Countrey, and how we haue bene by him handled. Our *Vale* (as we hope your memorials do make mention) did alwayes loue the faction *Guelfa*, and hath bene many times a faithfull receptacle for your Citizens, when flying persecution of the *Ghibilini*, they came thither. Our auncestors, and we also, haue euer adored the name of this noble common weale, being the head and chiefe of that secte. So long as the *Lucchessi* were *Guelfi*, we willingly obeyed their gouernment, but since they submitted themselues to a Tyrant, (who hath abandoned his old friends, and followed the *Ghibilini*) rather by compulsion, then voluntarily, we haue obeyed him. And God knoweth, how often we haue prayed for occasion, whereby to shewe our zeale to the auncient faction. But alas how blind are men in their desires? that which we wished for our helpe, is now become our harme. For so soone as we heard your Generall marched towards vs, we went, not as enemyes to encounter him, but (as our auncestors were wont) to yeeld into his hand our Countrey and fortunes: hoping that in him, although there were not the mind of a *Florentine*, yet should we find him a man. We beseech your Lordships to pardon vs, for our extremitie is so much, as more may not be indured, which is the cause we make bold to speake thus plainly. This your Generall hath not of a man more then his presence, nor of a *Florentine* any thing saue the name: but may be called a mortall plague, a cruell beast, and as horrible a monster, as by any wrighter can be described. For he hauing assembled vs in our Temple, vnder pretence to talke with vs, hath made vs his prisoners: spoyling the whole countrey, burning the houses, robbing the inhabitants, sacking their goods, beating and murthering the men, forcing the Virgins, yea, pulling them from the hands of their Mothers, made them the pleasures of his souldiers. If for any iniury done to the people of *Florence* or him, we had deserued so great a punishment, or if we had armed our selues against him, and bene taken, then should we haue had lesse cause to complayne, yea, we would rather haue accused our selues, confessing, that eyther for iniurie or pride, we had so merited to be handled. But being disarmed, and freely offering our selues, then to rob vs, and with so great despight and ignomie to spoyle vs, we thinke it strange, and are inforced before your Lordships to lay downe our griefe. And albeit we might fill all *Lombardy* with offence, and with reproch of this Citie, publish our iniuries through all *Italy*, yet would we not, lest thereby to blemish so honest, so honorable, and so compassionate a common weale, with the dishonestie and crueltie of one wicked Citizen, whose auarice before our ruine, was partly knowne vnto vs. And wee intended to strayne our selues to satisfie his greedie mind, which hath neither measure nor bottom. But sith our gifts come too late, we thinke good to resort to your Lordships, beseeching the same to relieue the misfortune of your subiects, to the end, that other men may not be afraid to yeeld themselues to your deuotion. If our infinite miseries cannot moue you, yet let the feare of Gods ire perswade you, who hath seene the Churches sacked and burnt,

burnt, and our people betrayed in them. These words pronounced, they presently fell downe prostrate vpon the ground, weeping, and desiring their Lordships, that their goods and countrey might be restored, and that (though the womens honors could not be recouered) yet the Wiues might be deliuered to their Husbands, and the Children to their Fathers. This heauie case being before reported, and now by the liuely voyce of those afflicted men confirmed, did much moue the Magistrates: and without delay, they reuoked *Astore*, who after was condemned, and admonished. Then was there Inquisition made for the goods of the *Sarauzeffi*, and so much as could be found, was restored. For the rest, they were in time diuers wayes satisfied. *Rinaldo de gli Albizi*, was likewise defamed, for hauing made the warre, not for the profit of the people of *Florence*, but his owne. Hee was also charged that so soone as hee became Generall, the desire of surprizing *Lucca* was forgotten, because hee sought no further then to spoyle the countrey, fill his pastures with cattle, and furnish his houses with the goods of others. Moreouer, that his owne share of the bootie contented him not, but hee also bought the priuate spoyles of his souldiers. So that of a Generall, hee was become a Merchaunt. These slaunders come to his owne hearing, moued his honest and honorable mind more, then they ought to haue done. In so much, as hee became therewith so amazed, that taking offence against the Magistrates and Citizens, without delay or leaue taken, hee returned to *Florence*, and presenting himselfe to the Tenne, sayd: He knew well, how great difficultie and perill there was in seruing a loose people, and a Cittie diuided. For the one is credulous of euery rumor, the other, punisheth no euill doings, rewardeth not the good, and blameth the indifferent; so that no man commendeth him that is victorious: For as much, as his fellowes for enuie, and his foes for hatred, will persecute him. Notwithstanding, himselfe had neuer for feare of vnderferued blame, omitted to performe an action that promised a certaine good to his countrey. But true it was, that the dishonestie of the present slaunders had oppressed his patience, and made him change nature. Wherefore hee besought the Magistrates, to be from thence-foorth more readie to defend their Citizens, to the end, they might be likewise more readie to labour for their countrey. And although that in *Florence* no triumph was graunted, yet might they, at the leaste defende them from ignominious reproche, and remember that they themselues were also Citizens of the same towne, and that to them selues euerie houre the like might happen: whereby they shoulde vnderstand howe great griefe false slaunders might breede in the mindes of men of integritie. The Tenne as time would serue, laboured to appease him, and committed the care thereof to *Neri di Gino*, and to *Alamanno Saluiati*: who leauing to spoyle the countrey of *Lucca*, with their Campe, approached the Towne. And because the season was colde, they stayed at *Campanuole*. Where it seemed to the Generall that time was lost: and desirous to besiege the Towne, by reason of the euill weather, the Souldiers would not thereto consent. Notwithstanding, that the Tenne did sollicite them to the siege, and would accept none excuse at all. At that time, there was in *Florence* an Architector, called *Filippo Brunellesco*, of whose handie-worke our Cittie is full: In so much, that after death, hee deserued to haue his Image of Marble, erected in the chiefe Church of *Florence*, with Letters, to testifie hys greate vertue. This man declared, howe *Lucca* considering the scite of the Cittie, and the passage of the Riuer *Serchio*, mighte bee drowned.

Astore con-
demned and
Ri. slandred.

The speech of
Ri. in his pur-
gation.

Filippo Bru-
nellesco.

And perswaded them (so farre as the tenne gaue commission) that this experiment should be tried, yet thereof followed nothing, but disorder to our camp, and suretie of the *Lucchesi*: for the *Lucchesi* aduanced their land, and then in the night brake the sluice of that ditch whereby the water was conducted: so that the ground towards *Lucca* being mounted, the water could not enter, and the ditch whereby the water should passe being broken, caused theriuier to reuert towards the plaine, by meane whereof the Campe was forced to remoue, and could not approach the towne. This enterprize, by meanes aforesaid preuented, the tenne newly elected, sent *Giouanni Guicciardini* for their Generall. He, with all speede possible, besieged the Cittie. The Lord thereof, finding himselfe enuironed with enemies, and encouraged by *Antonio del Rosso* (who there remained as Embassador for the *Sanesi*) sent vnto the Duke of *Milan Saluestro Trenta*, and *Lodouico Bonusi*. They in the behalfe of their Lord, desired the Dukes aide, but finding him cold, secretly desired him to graunt them souldiers, and in recompence thereof, they promised to deliuer into his hands their Lord, with the possession of their Cittie: Assuring him, that if hee did not accept this offer, their Lord would giue the Towne to the *Florentines*, who with great promises, required to haue it at his hand. The feare which the Duke conceaued thereof, caused him to lay aside all respects: and gaue order, that the Earle *Francesco Sforza*, his chiefe Captaine, should openly aske him leaue to make a iourney to the Kingdome of *Napoli*. Which being obtained, he with his forces, went vnto *Lucca*, although that he knewe the practise was mistrusted, and that the *Florentines* had sent to the Earle *Boccacino Alamanni* their friend, to preuent it. The Earle *Francesco* being arriued at *Lucca*, the *Florentines* retired their Campe to *Librafatta*, and the Earle presently besieged *Pescia*, where *Pagolo da Diacetto* was Gouvernor: who being rather counsellled by feare, then any other passion, fled vnto *Pistoia*. And if that towne had not bene by *Giouanni Malanolti* defended, it had bene presently lost. The Earle then after one assault retired thence, and surprized *Borgo a Buggiano*, and burned *Stiliano*, a Castell neere thereunto. The *Florentines* seeing these ruines, resorted vnto those helpes which oftentimes had before saued them: well knowing, that against mercinarie souldiers, when force preuaileth not, corruption may: and therefore proffered vnto the Earle certaine money, to the end he should not onely depart, but also deliuer the towne into their hands. The Earle supposing that more money could not be had of the *Lucchesi*, was contented to take of those that could giue it. Wherefore he concluded with the *Florentines*, not to deliuer them *Lucca*, (because with his honestie he could not so do) but so soone as he should receiue fiftiethousand duckets, he would abandon the enterprize. This bargaine being made, to the end the people of *Lucca* might excuse him to the Duke, he practised with them to driue out their Lord. At that time (as is before said) *Antonio Rosso* Embassador of *Siena* was at *Lucca*. He with the authoritie of the Earle, practised with the Citizens the destruction of *Pagolo*. The chiefe of this conspiracie were *Piero Cennanni*, and *Giouanni da Chiuzano*. The Earle was lodged without the towne by the Riuer *Scirchio*, and with him *Lanzilao* the sonne of *Pagolo*. The conspirators being in number fortie, all armed, went vnto *Pagolo*, who seeing them, demanded the cause of their comming. To whome *Piero Cennanni* answered, that they had bene gouerned by him till their enemies besieged them with sword and famine, and therefore they were now determined from that time forward, to gouernethemselues. Therewith they required the keyes of the Cittie, and the treasure. *Pagolo* answered, that the treasure was consumed, but the keyes and himselfe also were at their deuotion. Then he desired thē, that as his gouernmēt was begun and

The Lucchesi pray aide of the Duke of Milan.

Francesco Sforza sent to relieue Lucca.

Pagolo Lord of Lucca deposed.

continued without bloud, so without bloud, by their fauours, it might be ended. *Pagolo* and his sonne, were by the Earle *Francesco* brought to the Duke, and died in prison. The departure of the Earle, deliuered *Lucca* from the tyrant, & the *Florentines* frō feare of his souldiers. So as then, the one prepared to defend, & the other returned to offend, electing the Earle of *Vrbino* to be their Generall: who againe straightly besieging the citie, enforced the *Lucchesi* to resort anew vnto the Duke, who (vnder the same colour that hee had sent the Earle) did now imploy in their aide *Nicholo Piccinino*. He, being readie to enter into *Lucca*, was encountred vpon the Riuer of *Scirchio*, and in the passage thereof, our men receiued the ouerthrow, and the Generall with a fewe of our souldiers saued themselues at *Pisa*. This misfortune greeued the whole citie, yet because the enterprize was taken in hand by generall consent, the people not knowing whom to blame, flandered onely them that were officers of the warre, sith they could not accuse those that were the deuisers therof. Then they reuined the former fault laid vpon *Rinaldo*, but aboute al others, they charged *Giouanni Guicciardini*, accusing him for not hauing ended the warre after the departure of the Earle *Francesco*: saying that he had bene corrupted with mony, whereof he had sent part to his own house, and the rest he had carried with him & consumed. These rumours, and these accusations, proceeded so farre, that the Captaine of the people moued with publike voices, and also by the contrary partie prouoked, sent for him. *Giouanni* full of offence, appeared: wherupon his kinsfolkes for their owne honour, laboured the matter so earnestly, that the Captain did not proceed. The *Lucchesi* after the victorie, did not onely recouer their owne townes, but also surprized all others belonging to *Pisa*, except *Bientia*, *Calcinana*, *Liorno*, & *Librafatta*. And had not a conspiracie bene discovered in *Pisa*, the citie it selfe should haue bene lost. The *Florentines* repairing their forces, made *Michelletto* their Generall, who had bene trained vp by *Sforza*. On the contrarie side, the Duke followed the victorie (and the rather to molest the *Florentines*) procured that the *Genouesi*, *Sanesi*, and the Lord of *Piombino*, ioyned in league for the defence of *Lucca*, and that *Nicholo Piccinino* should be entertained for their General, which was the cause that the practise was laid open. Therupon the *Venetians* and *Florentines* renewed their league, and the warre began to be openly made both in *Lombardy* and *Toscana*. In either of which Countries, with diuerse fortune, diuerse conflicts followed. So that either side wearie, a peace was concluded, in the yeare 1343. whereby the *Florentines*, *Lucchesi*, and *Sanesi*, who had surprized the Castles one of the others in the warre, left them all, and euerie man repossessed his owne. During the time that this warre continued, the euill disposition of factious men within the citie, beganne to worke, and *Cosimo de Medici*, after the death of *Giouanni* his father, gouerned all things concerning the Common wealth, with more care of the publike profit, and more liberalitie towards his friends, then was by his father vsed. In so much, as those that reioyced at the death of *Giouanni*, seeing the vertue of *Cosimo*, became sorie. This *Cosimo* was a man of excellent wisdom, of presence graue and gracious, greatly liberall, curteous, and such a one as neuer attempted any thing either against any faetion or the state, but sought by all meanes to pleasure euerie man, and with his liberalitie to gaine the good wil of many Citizens. So that his good deserts defaced those that gouerned, & brought himself to beleue, that he might by that meanes liue at *Florence*, in sufficient strength and securitie. And if the ambition of his aduersaries should moue any extraordinarie occasion to the contrarie, hee hoped both by armes and fauoure of friendes to oppresse them. The greatest instruments to worke his greatnesse, were *Auerardo de Medici*, & *Puccio Pucci*. Of them *Auerardo* with courage, and *Puccio* with wisdom, proctured him great reputation. For the counsell and wisdom of *Puccio*, was so well knowne to euerie man,

The Florentines defeated

Peace betweene the Florentines, and Lucchesi.

man, that the faction of *Cosimo* was called not by his owne name, but by the name of *Puccio*. The citie notwithstanding thus diuided, the enterprife of *Lucca* proceeded, whereby the humours of the factions, were rather encreased then extinguished. And although the faction of *Cosimo* chiefly counselled the warre, yet many of the contrarie part were appointed officers therein, as me most reputed in the state: which *Auerardo* and others not being able to remedie, sought by all industrie and practise to flander them: and if any losse happened (as many did) they imputed the same not to fortune or force of the enemy, but want of wisdom in the officers. This was the cause that the offences of *Astor Gianni* were esteemed so great. This made *Rinaldo delli Albizi* offended, and without licence to depart from his charge. This was the occasion that the deliuerie of *Giouanni Guicciardini* was required at the hand of the Captaine of the people. And heereof proceeded all blames that had bene imputed to the Magistrates and ministers of the warre. For the true flanders were encreased, and the vntue were inuented: and both the true, and not true, were of the people that loued them, not beleued. These matters and manner of proceeding extraordinarie, was well knowne to *Nicholo di Vzano*, and others of his faction, who had many times thought vpon remedie, but found no meanes how to deale therein: Because it seemed to them, that the suffering thereof was dangerous, and forcibly to helpe it, was not easie. *Nicholo di Vzano*, was the first vnto whom this extraordinary way displeased. Thus the warres continuing without the citie, and these disorders within: *Nicholo Barbadori*, desirous to bring *Nicholo di Vzano* to consent to the oppression of *Cosimo*, went vnto his house, where he found him sadly set in his Closet, and there with the best reasons he could, perswaded him to ioyne with *Rinaldo* to driue *Cosimo* out of the Citie. Vnto whome *Nicholo di Vzano* answered, as followeth. I thinke it were better for thy house and our Commonweale, that all the rest, whose opiniō thou herein followest, had their beards (as men saie) rather of siluer, then gold, as thou hast. For then, their counsels proceeding from heads graie, grounded in experiēce, would be more aduised, & more profitable. It seemeth to me, that those which desire to banish *Cosimo* frō *Florence*, had neede first of all to measure their forces, with his. This our side, you haue called by the name of Nobilitie: and the contrarie part, you haue termed the plebeial partie. If the truth answered to these names, in euerie accident, the victorie would proue doubtfull, and we haue more cause to feare then to hope, moued with the example of the auncient Nobilitie of this citie, which hath ben by this plebeiall sort heretofore oppressed. But the greatest cause of our feare is, that our side is dismembred, & our aduersaries continue whole and entyre. First you must consider, that *Neri di Gino* and *Nerone de Nigi* (two of our principall Citizens) be not, as you know, more friends to vs, then to them. There be also many families, among themselues diuided. For diuerse through enuie of their brethre or their kinsmen, do disfaour vs, & faour thē. I wil resite vnto you the names of some few, the rest you may the more easly remember with your self. Of the house of *Guicciardini*, and amōg the sonnes of *Luigi*, *Piero* is enemy to *Giouanni*, & faoureth our aduersaries. *Tomazo* & *Nicholo Soderini*, for the hate they haue to *Francesco* their vncle, are openly protested our enemies. So that, if we consider well what they are, & what we our selues be, I know not for what reasō we shuld cal our or their partie more noble. And if it be, that we cal their part plebeial, bicause they are by the multitude most followed, their state therein is the better, & ours the worse. For whēsoeuer we shal come to arms, we can not resist thē. Also if we stād on our dignities, they haue bin giuē to vs by the state, & by vertue therof, we haue cōtinued thē these 50. yeres. Yet whēsoeuer we shal come to prooffe, our weaknes wil appear, & we shal lose our authority. If you haply say, that the iust occasiō which moueth vs to this enterprife,

shall

shall encrease our credit, and diminish theirs? Thereto I answer, that it behooueth this iust quarrel of ours to be knowne, & beleued of others, as wel as of our selues: which falleth out cleane contrarie, for the occasion alledged, is altogither builded vpon the suspicion we haue, that he goeth about to make himselfe Prince of this citie. This is the mistrust we haue, which others haue not, but they rather accuse vs of that, we accuse him. The matters which make *Cosimo* suspected, are that he employeth his mony to serue euerie occasion, not onely to priuate vses, but also to the publicke affaires: and that as well to the *Florentines*, as the Captaines and Leaders. The cause why he doth faouere this, and that Cittizen, hauing need of authoritie, is for that his credit with the multitude, hath aduanced this and that friend, to great honours. Therefore it behooueth you to alledge the reasons why hee should be expelled. Because he is charitable, friendly, liberall, and loued of all men? And now tel me I pray you, what lawe inhibiteth, blameth, or condemneth men for their charitie, their liberalitie, and their loue? And albeit these be meanes for him to aspire, yet are they not so taken, neither are wee of credite inough to make them so to bee thought. For our proceedings haue wrought our discredit, and our cittie (naturally disposed to diuision, and liuing alwaies in corruption) cannot giue care to such accusations. But admit you could expulse him, which (hauing a *Senate* for the purpose may easly come to passe): yet how can ye deuise, that he hauing in the citie so many friends studying for his reurne, should not be reuoked? This I thinke impossible, because his friends being many, and he (hauing loue vniuersal) you cannot assure him. The more of his chiefe friends you labour to banish, the more enemies you winne to your selues. So that within short space he shall be returned, and you haue gained thus much, that a good man he was banished, and returned an euil man: because his nature shall be corrupted by those, that will labour his reuocation. To whom being made beholding, he may not oppose himselfe, and if you would put him to death, by order of Magistrates, you could neuer procure it: because his riches, and our corruptible nature, would assuredly saue him. Yet admit he were dead, or banished neuer to returne? I see not what is gotten to our Common weale: for though it be thereby deliuered of *Cosimo*, it becommeth subiect to *Rinaldo*, and I am one of those, who with, that no Citizen should surpass an other in power and authoritie. But if any of these two should preuaile, I know not for what cause I ought to loue *Rinaldo* more then *Cosimo*. Neither will I say more, then I pray God to defend, that any Citizen should aspire to be Prince of this citie. And though our sinnes haue merited such a plague, yet God forbid we should obey him. Do not therefore perswade an enterprife, which in euerie respect is dangerous, nor thinke that you (accompanied with a few) can withstand the will of many. For all these Citizens partly through ignorance, and partly of their lewdnesse, be prepared to make sale of the Common weale: and fortune is so friendly vnto them, as they haue already founde a chapman. Be therefore pleased to follow my counsell: liue modestly, and so shall you find cause, as well to suspect some of our side for enemies to the libertie, as those of the contrarie: and when any troubles happen being neutrall, you shall be to both acceptable. So shall you helpe your selfe, and not hinder your country. These words did somewhat appease the minde of *Barbadoro*: and the citie continued quiet, during the war of *Lucca*. But the peace made, and *Nicholo da Vzano* dead, the citie remained both without warre and order. By meane whereof, euill humours grew, and *Rinaldo* thincking himselfe to be onely Prince, ceased not to entreate, and perswade all those Citizens (whom he thought likely to be *Gonfalonieri*) to arme themselues for the defence of their country, against that man, who through the lewdnesse of a few, & the ignorance of many, should of necessitie bring the same to seruitude. This course holden by

Perwasion of
Barbadori to
Nicholo Vza-
no against
Cosimo di
Medici.
Answere of
Nicholo Vza-
no to Barba-
dori.

by *Rinaldo*, and the contrarie laboured by the aduerse part, filled the citie with suspicion: and at the election of euerie Magistrate, the one against the other partie, publickly murmured, & at the election of the *Senators*; all the citie was in open uproare. Euerie matter brought before the Magistrates (how litle soeuer it were) occasioned a mutinie. All secret matters were laide open; good and euill, were fauoured & disfauoured: good men, and euill men, equally molested; and no Magistrate could execute his office. *Florence* remaining in this confusion, and *Rinaldo* labouring to oppresse the greatnesse of *Cosimo*: knowing that *Barnardo Guadagni*, was likely to be elected *Gonfaloniere*, paide his debts, to the end, that such mony as he owed to the state, should not be a meane, to keepe him from that dignitie. The *Senators* being chosen, (and fortune fauouring our discords:) it came to passe, that *Barnardo* was chosen *Gonfaloniere*, to sit in that office, during the two moneths of September and October. Him presently *Rinaldo* visited, and told him how greatly the Nobilitie reioyced for his being aspired to that honour, which for his vertue he deserued: and therefore required him, so to behaue himselfe in the office, that their reioycing should not be in vaine. Then he laide before him, the perils which proceeded of faction, & that there was no other remedie to vnite the citie, but the oppresion of *Cosimo*: because hee, with the loue which his exceeding riches had gained him, held others downe, and aspired to make himselfe Prince. It were therefore conuenient, for remedie of so great a mischiefe, that the people should be assembled in the Market place: And by vertue of the *Gonfaloniere* the citie restored to libertie. He moreouer declared, how *Saluestro de Medici*, could without iustice bridle the greatnesse of the *Guelfi*, vnto whome by the bloud of their auncestors lost in that quarrell, the gouernment to them apperteined. And if he iniustly could do that against so many, then might *Barnardo* with iustice do the same, against one alone. Then he perswaded him not to feare any man, because his friends would be readie armed to asist him. Of the multitude which so greatly honoured *Cosimo*, none account was to be made, for *Cosimo* should haue by their fauours none other good, then had *Georgio Scali*. Neither should he feare his riches, for they being come to the hands of the *Senators*, should be theirs. And in conclusion said, that this action should make the state vnited, and him famous. To these perswasions, *Barnardo* briefly answered; how he thought necessary to do according to that counsell. And because the time was to be imploied rather in actiō, then words, he would presently prepare forces, to be readie, so soone as his companions could be perswaded to the enterprise. *Barnardo* being placed in office, and hauing woon his companions, & counselled with *Rinaldo*, sent for *Cosimo*: who, albeit he were otherwise aduised, did appeare, trusting rather to his owne innocencie, then the mercie of the *Senators*. So soone as *Cosimo* was entered the Pallace, *Rinaldo* with many others armed, came to the Market place, and there met with the rest of that faction. Then the *Senators* caused the people to be called, and made a *Balia* of two hundred men, to reforme the state of the citie: which *Balia*, with such speed as possibly they could, consulted vpon the reformation, and also of the life and death of *Cosimo*. Many perswaded he should be banished, others would haue him put to death, and many also said nothing, either for the compasion they tooke of the man, or for the fear of themselves. This diuersitie of opinions, did procure that nothing was concluded. In a Tower of the Pallace called *Albergettino*, *Cosimo* was kept prisoner vnder the guard of *Federigo Malanolti*. From which place, *Cosimo* hearing them talke, and perceiuing the noyse of armed men in the Market place, together with the often ringing of the Bell to the *Balia*, he stood in great suspicion of his life: and feared also, least his particuler enemies would extraordinarily murder him. For these respects, during the space of foure dayes, he would eate nothing, but one litle peece of bread: which *Federigo*

perceiuing,

Cosimo di Medici cited & committed.

perceiuing, saide vnto him. *Cosimo*, I see thou fearest to be poysoned, and therefore would first famish thy selfe. But thou doest me great dishonor, to thinke that I would put my hand to so wicked a deede. I surely beleue, that thou art not to die for this matter, hauing so good friends both within & without the Pallace. But if it be ment, that thy life shall be taken from thee, be sure, they should finde other ministers then me, to performe that deed. For I will not imbrew my hands in the bloud of any man, and chiefly in thine, who neuer offended me. Be therefore of good cheare, eate thy meate, and preferue thy life to the comfort of thy friends and country, and because thou shalt mistrust the lesse, I my selfe will eate part of those meates which be set before thee. These words comforted *Cosimo* exceedingly, and with teares in his eyes, he embraced and kissed *Federigo*; thanking him most heartily for his friendly and pious dealing: offering to be thankfull when soeuer occasion should be presented. Thus *Cosimo* somewhat comforted, and his cause disputed among the Citizens: It happened, that *Federigo* brought with him to supper a friend of the *Gonfaloneries*, called *Farganaccio*, a man verie wittie, and pleasantly disposed. The supper being almost ended, *Cosimo* hoping to helpe himselfe by this mans presence (for he was with him well acquainted) made signes to *Federigo* to go aside: who knowing the occasion, fained to go for something that wanted. And leauing them alone, *Cosimo* after a fewe friendly words spoken to *Farganaccio*, gaue him a token, and sent him to the Hospital of *Santa Maria Nuova*, for a thousand and one hundred crownes: wherof one hundred to be kept to his owne vse, the other to be beluered to the *Gonfaloniere*. *Farganaccio* performed his Commission, the mony was paide: and by vertue thereof, *Barnardo* became more fauourable. So as, then it was ordered, that *Cosimo* should be onely confined to *Padua*, contrary to the expectation of *Rinaldo*, that desired his life. *Auerardo* & many others of the house of *Medici* were also banished; and with them *Puccio*, and *Giouanni Pucci*. Also to terrifie others that were offended with the exile of *Cosimo*, they gaue Commission of *Balia*, to the Eight of the Guard, and the Captaine, of the people. After which order taken, *Cosimo* vpon the third of October, in the yeare 1433. came before the *Senators*, who pronounced his banishment, and perswaded him to obey the same: Or if he would refuse, more seueritie would be vsed, both vnto his person and goods. *Cosimo* with chearfull countenance receiued his confinement, protesting that whither so euer the *Senate* should please to send him, hee was most willing to obey. Humbly desiring, that as they had preferued his life, so it might please them to defend him: for he was giuen to vnderstand of many, that watched in the Market place to haue his bloud. He said moreouer, that himselfe and his substance should be euer at the commandement of the citie, the people, and their Lordships. The *Gonfaloniere* did comfort him, and kept him in the Pallace till night was come. There he supped, & after brought him to his house: which done, caused him to be accompanied with many armed men, & by them was conducted to the confines. Wheresoeuer *Cosimo* passed, he was honourably receiued, and by the *Venetians* publickly visited, not as banished, but as a man in great authoritie. *Florence* thus deprived of so worthie a Citizen, so vniuersally loued, euerie man was dismayed, and as well they that had the victorie, as those that were victored, did feare. *Rinaldo* mistrusting future misadventure, to serue his owne turne and his friends, assembled many Citizens, and said to them, that he now saw their ruine at hand, because they were with faire words, teares, & the enemies mony vanquished: forgetting that shortly themselves should be forced to entreate and weepe, when their suites shall not be heard, and of their teares no man would take compasion. Also touching the monies receiued, the same must be repaid, with torments, death, & exile, in stead of vsurie. Moreouer, that it had bin better for themselves to be dead, then suffer *Cosimo* to passe with life,

Cosimo di Medici banished.

life; and leaue his friends in *Florence*. Because great personages should either not be touched, or being, must be made sure from taking reuenge. No other remedie therefore remained, but to fortifie themselves within the citie: to the end, that the enemies taking knowledge thereof (as easily they will) we may resist them with armes, sith by order and lawe we could not annoyd them. The remedie of all this was (that which long before had bene remembred); to recouer the great men, restoring & giuing to them all the honors of the citie, making our selues strong with that faction: because the aduersaries were strengthened by the multitude. By this means their partie should be knowne of how great force, vertue, courage, and credite it were. Alledging also, that if this last and truest refuge were not put in prooffe, he sawe not by what other meane, the state might be among so many enemies preserued. And therefore he beheld at hand, a destruction of them and their Citie. To answer this speech, *Mariotto Baldouineti* one of the company opposed himselfe, and said; that the pride and insupportable nature of the Nobilitie was such, that it were no wisdom to submit themselves to a tyrannie certain, to eschue the doubtfull perils of the multitude. *Rinaldo* seeing his counsell not heard, lamented the misfortune of himselfe and his friends, imputing euerie thing rather to the heauens that so would haue it, then to the ignorance and blindness of men. The matter thus depending, without any necessarie prouision made, a letter was found, written by *Agnolo Acciaiuoli* to *Cosimo*, wherein he aduertised the disposition of the citie towards him, and wished him to moue some warre, making *Nero di Gino* his friend. For hee thought the Cittie had much need of mony, and no way knowne that would supplie that want. By occasion wherof, the desire of his return, would be greatly reuiued in the Citizens minds. And if *Neri* should fall from *Rinaldo*, then that side would become so weak, as could not defend it selfe. This letter come to the handes of the Magistrates, was the cause that *Agnolo* was taken, and sent to exile. By this example, some part of that humour which fauoured *Cosimo*, was cooled. The yeare of *Cosimo* his banishment expired, & the end of August at hand, in the yere 1430. *Nicholo di Cocco* was chosen *Gonfaloniere* for the two moneths next following, and with him eight *Senators*, all friends to *Cosimo*. So as, that *Senate* terrified *Rinaldo*, & all his followers. Also because the custome was, that the *Senators* elected, should three dayes before they enter their office, remaine as priuate men at home: within that time, *Rinaldo* conferred with the chiefe of his faction, and shewed them their certaine, and approaching perill: the remedie whereof was, to take armes, and by force procure that *Donato Velluti* (who was yet *Gonfaloniere*) should assemble the people in the Market place, call a new *Balia*, depriue the new *Senators* of their office, creating a new *Senate* for their purpose, & exchanging the old *Squittini*, put in new, with the names of their friends. This deuise was by many thought secure and necessarie. Of others, it was holden ouer violent, and dangerous. Among those that disallowed thereof, was *Palla Strozzi*, who being a man indeed quietly disposed, gentle, curteous, & inclined rather to learning, then apt to encounter a faction, or oppose himselfe to ciuill disorder: said, that enterprises hauing in them either craft or courage, do seeme at the beginning easie, but afterwards they prooue hard in their proceeding, and in the end dangerous. Hee also beleued, that the feare of new warres abroad, begun by the Duke in *Romagna*, neare to our confines, should be a meane, that the *Senators* would be more mindfull of them, then of these discords at home. But if it were seene, that they would change the government, the same could not be with such speed, but armes might be taken, and all things done necessarie for defence of the publike state. And this being performed vpon necessitie, and not sooner, should be the lesse maruelled at of the people, and with lesse reproach to themselves. For these reasons it was concluded, that the new

new *Senators* should be suffered to enter, and heede betaken to their proceedings; to the end that if any thing were attempted contrarie to the faction, that then euerie man should take Armes and resort to *S. Pulinare*, (a place neare to the Pallace) from whence they might go to performe whatsoever should be thought necessary. This conclusion made, euerie man returned home. The new *Senators* entered their offices, and the *Gonfaloniere* (to giue himselfe reputation, and terrifie the contrarie partie) condemned to prison *Donato Velluti*, his predecessor, for hauing imploied the publike treasure. After these things were done, he founded the minds of his companions, touching the returne of *Cosimo*: & finding them well disposed, consulted with all those whom he thought to be chiefe heads of the faction of *Medici*. By them he was greatly encouraged: And thereupon commanded that *Rinaldo* (as principall man of the contrary faction) should be sent for. After this commandement giuen, *Rinaldo* thought good no longer to protract time, but came from his house followed with many armed men, & with him ioyned presently *Ridolpho Peruzzi*, & *Nicholo Barbadori*. Amongst them were also diuerse other Citizens, and many souldiers, who at that time hapned to be in *Florence* without pay. All which company, according to the order take, resorted to *S. Pulinare*, & there staid. *Palla Strozzi* had also assembled much company, but came not out: the like did also *Giouanni Guicciardini*. For which so doing, *Rinaldo* sent to sollicite them, & reprove them of their delaie. *Giouanni* answered, that hee made warre inough to the enemy, if by his tarrying at home, he could holde *Piero* his brother from going out, to rescue the Pallace. *Palla* after manie messages sent vnto him, came on horse backe to *S. Pulinare*, with two onely foote men, and himselfe, vnarmed. And *Rinaldo* seeing him, went towards him, and reproued him greatly of negligence, saying that hee shewed himselfe thereby a man either of small troth, or little courage. Both which reproachfull fautes, a man of that sort, whereof he was holden, ought to eschue. And if happily he beleued, for not performing his promise, that the enemy (hauing victorie) would pardon either his life or his exile, therein he was deceiued. As for himselfe, if any misfortune happened, yet this content of minde should remaine, that before the perill, hee was not dismayd, and the perill being come, hee was not afraid. But he (and such others as he was) should double their owne discontentments, knowing they had three times betraied their Countrey. First when they saued *Cosimo*, next when they refused his counsell, and last for not comming in Armes, according to appointment. To these speeches, *Palla* answered not any thing that was heard of those that were there, but murmuring, turned his horse, and went home. The *Senators* hearing that *Rinaldo* and his followers were in Armes, and seeing themselves abandoned, shut the Pallace gates, and as amazed, knew not what to doo. But *Rinaldo* delaying his going thither, attending for forces which came not, lost the occasion of victorie, and gaue courage to the *Senators* to make prouision, and to other Cittizens to goe vnto them, and aduise them how matters might bee appeased. Then some friendes to the *Senators* least suspected, went vnto *Rinaldo*, and saide, that the *Senate* knew no cause of these motions, and that they had no intent to offend him, or if it were for *Cosimo*, there was no meaning of his reuocation. If therefore these were the occasions of their suspicion, they might assure themselves, come to their Pallace, be welcome, and haue their demands graunted. These words could not alter the resolution of *Rinaldo*, but said that hee would make the *Senators* priuate men, and by that meane bee assured: which done, reforme the Cittie to the benefite of all men. But it euer cometh to passe, that amongst those whose authoritie is equall, and their opinions diuerse, for the moste parte, nothing is well resolved. *Ridolpho Peruzzi*

Rinaldo and his friends armed against the *Medici*.

Peruzzi moued with the words of those Citizens, said, that for his owne part, hee sought not further, then that *Cosimo* might no more return, which being granted, he thought the victorie sufficient. Neither desired he in hope of more, to fill the Citie with bloud, and therefore he would obey the *Senate*. Then went he to the Pallace, where he was ioyfully receiued. Thus the staie of *Rinaldo* at *S. Pullinare*, the fainte heart of *Palla*, and the departure of *Ridolpho*, had vtterly ouerthrowne the enterprise: and the mindes of those Citizens that followed *Rinaldo*, beganne to faile of their wonted courage, whereunto the authoritie of the Pope was ioyned. For at this time, Pope *Eugenio* being expelled *Rome*, happened to be in *Florence*, where he heard of these tumults, and thought it his office to be a meane to pacifie the Citie. And therefore sent *Giouanni Vittelleschi*, Patriarke and friend to *Rinaldo*, to desire, that hee would come vnto him, for hee intended to imploy all his credite and authoritie to the *Senate*, to make him contented and assured, without bloud or daunger to the Citie. *Rinaldo* perswaded by the message of his friend, went to *Santa Maria Nouella*, where the Pope laie, and was followed with all those whome hee had armed. To him the Pope declared, what credite the *Senate* had giuen him, which was, to determine all controuersies, and order all matters as should by him be thought good. *Rinaldo* hauing made prooue of the coldnesse of *Palla*, and the inconstancie of *Ridolpho Peruzzi*, and wanting a better shift, yeelded himselfe into the Popes hands, hoping his authoritie should haue continued. Thereuppon the Pope caused knowledge to be giuen to *Nicholo Barbadori*, and the rest, who attended without, that they should laie downe their Armes: because *Rinaldo* remained with him, for the concluding a peace with the *Senatours*. Which wordes resolued euerie man, and they disarmed themselves. The *Senators* seeing their aduersaries disarmed, practised a peace by mediation of the Pope, and in the meane time sent secretly to *Pistoia*, for certaine bandes of foote men, whome (accompanied with all their men at Armes) they suffered in the night to enter the Citie: and possessing the strongest places, and calling the people to the Market place, created there a new *Balia*, which at the first assembly, determined the reuocation of *Cosimo*, with all others that were banished. And of the contrary faction, they confined *Rinaldo delli Albizi*, *Ridolpho Peruzzi*, *Nicholo Barbadori*, *Palla Strozzi*, and many other Cittizens, that the number of them was such, as that fewe Townes of *Italy* (and many other places also) but were full of them. By this accident the Citie of *Florence* became depriued, not onely of honest men, but also of riches and industry. The Pope seeing the ruine of those men, who at his request had laide downe Armes, became greatly discōtented, lamenting with *Rinaldo* for the iniury to him done vnder his credit, perswading him to patience, and hope of better fortune. To whome *Rinaldo* answered, the small credit which they gaue me, who ought to haue beleued me, and the ouermuch credite which I haue giuen to you, hath vtterly vndone me, and my Country. But I complaine more of my selfe then anie others, for beleeuing, that you being banished your Country, could maintaine mee, in mine. Of Fortunes dalliances I haue had experience inough, and sith I little trusted to prosperitie, mine aduersitie shall the lesse offend mee, for I knowe well, that (Fortune being so pleased) can againe fauoure mee. But if shee neuer so do, I shall euer care little, to liue in that Citie, where the lawes are of lesse authoritie, then men. Because that Country is to be desired, where the wealth and friends of men may be with securitie enjoyed, and not that, where mens goods may be taken from them, and their friendes (for feare to loose theyr owne) in greatest necessitie forsake them. It was also euer lesse greuous to good and

Pope Eugenio
laboureth a
Pacification
in Florence.

Cosimo reuo-
ked, and Ri-
naldo with o-
thers, confis-
ned.

The words of
Rinaldo at his
banishment.

and wise men, to heare the miseries of their Countrey, then with their owne eyes to see them. And it is also thought a thing more glorious, to be reputed an honourable Rebel, then a slauish Citizen. After this speech made, being much troubled in mind, he tooke leaue of the Pope, finding great fault with his Councils, and the coldnesse of his friends, and so went towards his exile. *Cosimo* on the other side, hauing receiued knowledge of his restitution, returned to *Florence*, and was there receiued, with no lesse pompe, then is vsed to other Citizens, who after victorie, came home in triumph. So great was the Concourse of people; so great the demonstration of their beneuolence towards him, at this his returne from banishment, as the Cittizens willingly saluted him by name of the peoples Benefactor, and Father of the Country.

The ende of the fourth Booke.



THE FIFT BOOKE.



ALL Countries in their alterations, doo most commonly change from order to disorder, and from disorder to order againe. For nature hauing made all worldly thinges variable, so soone as they haue attained their vttermost perfection and height, doo of force descend: and being come downe so low, as lower they cannot, of necessitie must ascend. So that from good they descended to euill, and from euill ascend to good. Warre begetteth quiet, quiet occasioneth idlenesse, Idlenesse breedeth disorder, Disorder maketh ruine: Likewise of ruine groweth order, of order vertue, and of vertue, glorie with good fortune. It hath bene therefore by wise men obserued, that learning followeth Armes, and in all Cities and Countries, Captaines were before Philosophers. For good and well governed Armes, hauing wonne victorie, of that victorie followeth quiet. And surely the courage of warlike mindes cannot with a more honest idlenesse, then the studie of Letters, be corrupted; nor idlenesse by anie greater or more perilous craft enter Cities well governed: which *Cato* (at such time as *Diogenes* and *Carneades* Philosophers, were sent Embassadours from *Athen* to the *Senate*) did well obserue. For hee seeing with what admiration the youth beganne to follow them, and knowing the inconueniences which might of that honest idlenesse ensue, provided that no Philosopher, might after be receiued into *Rome*. Euerie Country therefore by these meanes doth come to decaie. Wherewith men being beaten and weary of troubles, returne (as is before said) to order, if by extraordinarie force